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SUSAN B. ANTHONY.  
IN HER EIGHTY-SIXTH YEAR.

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THE LIFE AND WORK

*344905*

OF

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

INCLUDING THE TRIUMPHS OF HER LAST YEARS, ACCOUNT  
OF HER DEATH AND FUNERAL AND COM-  
MENTS OF THE PRESS

BY

IDA HUSTED HARPER

A Story of the Evolution of the Status of Woman

DONATION

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME III

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS, PICTURES OF HOMES, ETC.



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INDIANAPOLIS  
THE HOLLENBECK PRESS  
1908

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DATA..... 31982 CONTROL..... 1953

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THE EXECUTORS OF THE ESTATE OF MARY S. ANTHONY, A PART OF WHOSE  
BEQUEST TO THE CAUSE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE WAS USED  
IN THE PUBLICATION OF THIS VOLUME.

**B.C.U. Bucuresti**



**C34754**

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,  
WHO GAVE HER OWN LIFE TO MAKE THE LIVES OF ALL  
WOMEN FREER, HAPPIER AND MORE VALUABLE TO  
THEMSELVES, THE HOME AND THE STATE.

The writer of this volume wishes to express her high appreciation of the helpful suggestions and cordial coöperation of the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery and Miss Lucy E. Anthony, executors of the estates of Susan B. and Mary S. Anthony. Thanks are especially due to Mrs. Avery for constant assistance during all the long task of proof-reading both type-written and printed copies.

## PREFACE.

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THE writing of the two preceding volumes was completed early in 1898, but the revising, proof-reading, indexing and the many details connected with the publishing of a book delayed its appearance until the last months of the year, just in time to be utilized as a Christmas present. It had been a serious problem whether or not to give it to the public during Miss Anthony's lifetime, but the same reasons which impelled her to have it written while she yet lived, decided her to have it published at once. For many years Miss Anthony and the work she was trying to do were so cruelly misrepresented by individuals and by the press that she felt it but simple justice to herself and her cause to present the facts and the evidence, and in case these were questioned to be able herself to defend them. It is a deep satisfaction to know that this never was necessary, for, notwithstanding the large number of persons mentioned and the many controversial matters discussed, in only one instance was any statement really disputed and this hardly to the extent of a denial or a challenge.

To Miss Anthony's friends the publication of the book was a thousandfold justified in the pleasure it afforded her. For years she had been oppressed by the feeling that it must be written and by the realization of the time, the work and the responsibility its preparation would involve. It was with the utmost relief and gratification that she saw it completed, and her joy was unbounded when she received hundreds of approving letters from friends and favorable reviews from most of the leading papers and magazines in this country and Europe. The press notices included, for instance, a full page in the *New York Herald*, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* and the *Indianapolis News*, three columns in the *New York Sun* and as many in the *London Times*, and among all the reviews there was scarcely an unfavorable com-



ment. It is a great comfort to know that all these came while Miss Anthony was here to have her heart gladdened and to receive this recompense for the years of coldness, unappreciation and contumely. And then her delight in presenting these volumes—no one will ever know how many—to her dearest friends; to those who had given her hospitality or assistance; to clubs and libraries too poor to buy them, always with a message of affection or gratitude or encouragement which infinitely enhanced their value! For seven years her generous heart found this charming expression, and all who loved her rejoiced indeed that the book had taken shape, received her consecrating touch and added its measure of happiness to those last precious days.

When the first two volumes were finished it was understood that if Miss Anthony lived for a number of years and the events of her life justified it another should be written. She was then seventy-eight years old and apparently as vigorous physically and mentally as in her prime. She came from a long-lived race and believed that she would round out the ninety-seven years of her paternal grandfather, but she did not take into account the greater strain of mind and body to which she had subjected herself. The end came at eighty-six, but the last eight years were among the most important of her long existence in incident and achievement, and strongly demanded the completion of the wonderful story. The intention was to write this volume immediately after her death but circumstances prevented. Through the delay there has been recorded in it the passing away of the beloved "Sister Mary," the last of her generation.

The inspiration of the other volumes has been sadly lacking in the present. The environment of the Anthony home where they were written was strongly conducive to work; nobody therein ever knew an idle moment. The maid in the kitchen was busy looking after the material wants of the household; Miss Mary, in her little retreat off the back parlor, carried on the president's duties of the large Rochester Political Equality Club and those of her church and charity organizations; Miss Anthony in her historic study, conducted a large part of the vast business of the National Suffrage Association and her cor-

respondence which extended around the globe, and three typewriters made harmonious music all day long. No idlers tarried here, the many visitors were all workers in various lines of life's activities. The very atmosphere was stimulating, it aroused enthusiasm, quickened ideas, incited to effort. In the quiet "attic" or third-story work-rooms one was isolated from the world and wrote day after day without an interruption; from its treasure house of materials it was a keen delight to select, to shape, to construct; and when a date, a name, a link was missing, one had but to call down to the occupant of the study at the foot of the stairs, and, almost without a moment's hesitation, came back the needed information from the depths of that marvelous memory. In the evening there was a long walk, or, if the weather were too inclement, an hour by the fire, when the chapter of the day was talked over and the recollection awakened of many a forgotten incident. How clear the perceptions, how wise the judgment, how fine the criticism—fortunate the writer who could submit her work to such a Mentor! All the wearisome task was lightened by the interest, the sympathy, the quick appreciation, the generous word of praise. The tedious seclusion, the nervous strain, the mental and physical drudgery, were far more than compensated by daily association with that splendid intellect, that strong, philosophical nature—the rarest of privileges for which no price could be too great.

In preparing the present volume there has been only the inspiration which lingers in the memory of those days long past; only the loyal effort to keep the promise that the story should be finished; only the earnest desire to tell it as Miss Anthony would have wished it told. It ends the record of this noble life consecrated to service for humanity in the firm conviction that through the highest and fullest development of womanhood the whole race will be uplifted. The entire social system already shows the beneficial results of Miss Anthony's work, but for women existence itself has been transformed because she lived and wrought. It will be always a matter of the keenest regret that she did not live to see the complete realization of her three-score years of heroic endeavor, but she died in the perfect faith that, in the not

distant future, women will surely be protected by the law in their political rights as they are today in all others. She found her deepest pleasure in the thought of the millions now in full enjoyment of the new world which has been opened to them, and in the observance of their remarkable evolution under the conditions of freedom. All the vast army of women who are now carrying forward her work to completion, all who shall hereafter take it up, will receive as a blessed inheritance something of her indomitable will, dauntless courage, limitless patience, perseverance, optimism, faith.

New York, September, 1907.

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1898.



THE thread of the story that ended for awhile in the preceding volume is taken up again at the beginning of 1898, which, compared to most of the years in the strenuous life of Susan B. Anthony, was quiet and uneventful, filled to the limit of waking hours with the usual activity but unmarked by any occurrence of special public interest. The second Sunday of the year she was not quite equal to braving the weather and going to church, so, according to the little journal's entry for that day, she "read the papers and wrote twenty-four letters!"

Extended preparations were under way for the annual meeting of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, February 13-19, which was to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention, that historic gathering in Seneca Falls, N. Y. In a fierce blizzard Miss Anthony left home February 2, going as far as Syracuse, where she addressed the State Grange in the afternoon. She spent the night with the family of Mr. C. D. B. Mills, as was her custom, and then went on to New York for a few days' visit with Mrs. Stanton. In the olden times she always stopped en route to conventions and carried this lady with her, generally under much protest, but for the past five years Mrs. Stanton had not been able to take the journey. Miss Anthony, however, still made the pilgrimage to her home and never failed to bear away one of Mrs. Stanton's fine addresses, which she proudly presented to the convention and usually at the hearing before the Congressional Com-

mittees. Just now she was much disturbed because Mrs. Stanton, appalled at the flood of immigration, had repudiated her life-long demand for universal suffrage, and was advocating a strict educational qualification. Nevertheless, although strongly opposed to this view, Miss Anthony insisted that it should have a fair and full presentation.

Hearing at this time that Miss Frances E. Willard was very ill at the Hotel Empire Miss Anthony hastened to leave a message of love and sympathy, but when Miss Willard learned she was there she sent at once for her, saying, "It will do my eyes good to see her." In speaking of the interview Miss Anthony said: "She seemed like an angel, so white and frail one could almost see the spirit, but so bright and cheerful and so full of wise and helpful plans, I felt as if she must recover and take up her splendid work again." But in less than two weeks, while in the midst of the convention, Miss Anthony received a telegram from Anna Gordon: "Frances entered upon heavenly ministries at midnight." A wreath of violets and Southern ivy was sent by the association, adorned with miniatures of Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and other suffrage leaders, with whose aims Miss Willard had been in closest sympathy for many years.

This thirtieth convention, which was the largest ever held in number of delegates, had been anticipated as a continuous love feast and gala time, but the week was changed almost into one of mourning by the death of Miss Willard and the blowing up of the Maine in Havana harbor. Miss Anthony opened the meetings standing by the old-fashioned, round, mahogany table on which in the parlor of the McClintock family, in the summer of 1848, the first Declaration of the Rights of Women was written, and which had been brought from the Anthony home for this occasion.<sup>1</sup> She enumerated the demands in that famous document and called attention to the significant fact that all had now been granted except the suffrage. *The Evening Star*, of Washington, said: "Just half-a-century Susan B. Anthony has been fighting for suffrage for women. She looks no older than that today and

<sup>1</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Volume I, page 67.

yet she has passed the allotted space of man. She comes of a fighting family which never says die, and with moderate care she looks to be able to live out the century and fight to the finish." Referring to the noted red shawl the paper said: "It is silk crepe of exquisite fineness, with long, heavy, knotted fringe.<sup>1</sup> For full thirty years Miss Anthony's red shawl has been the oriflamme of suffrage battle. She wears it with the grace of a Spanish belle. A shawl is a horror on most women. Miss Anthony, with her square, well-shaped shoulders and soft, silvery hair held primly by an antique tortoise-shell comb, gets just the rich touch of color necessary in that incarnadined silk shawl."

Another paper said at this time: "Spring is not heralded in Washington by the approach of the robin red-breast but by the appearance of Miss Anthony's red shawl." At one session she was persuaded to wear a handsome white one and when she appeared on the platform the reporters immediately sent her a note, saying, "No red shawl, no report." Reading it aloud she said with a laugh, "All right, boys, I'll send to the hotel for it." This she did and as she put it around her shoulders in a graceful way peculiarly her own, the audience broke into applause and the reporters took up their pencils with a zeal that boded well.

Pioneers' Evening was to Miss Anthony the happiest of the convention and her delightful qualities as presiding officer were never more evident than in "the roll call of the years." As the workers of each decade were summoned, beginning with 1848, and came forward on the stage or rose in the body of the house, she moved the audience now to laughter, now to tears, by her clever introductions or bits of reminiscence.

Among the women speakers at this convention were ministers, editors, doctors, (including the dean of a Medical College), lawyers, (one of them assistant attorney-general of Montana), a State senator from Utah, a representative from the Colorado Legislature, the State superintendent of public instruction from Wyoming, a State factory inspector from Illinois, heads of

<sup>1</sup> The shawl which Miss Anthony was wearing at this time was the gift of Miss Helen Mar Wilson, of Philadelphia, to whom it was the most valued legacy of her mother, in whose memory she gave it to Miss Anthony.

schools, college professors, colored women, (one a member of the Washington school board), and several women from foreign countries.<sup>1</sup> One may imagine Miss Anthony's thoughts as she looked upon this body of women, illustrating the possibilities of education and freedom of development, and remembered that when she began her work to secure these for women, she was met on every side with the assertion that they were not mentally capable of being educated and that full liberty would result in social chaos. Messages of greeting and approval of the movement for woman suffrage were sent to her personally and to the convention from the Universal Peace Union, the King's Daughters and Sons, National Councils of Women, and suffrage and other societies in Canada, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and from noted individuals in many countries.

Miss Anthony conducted the hearing before the House Judiciary Committee, seated at the right hand of its chairman, David B. Henderson, (afterwards Speaker), her group of able orators gathered about her and the room crowded with women. Both chairman and committee spoke in highest terms of the dignity and logic of the addresses and seemed deeply moved by Miss Anthony's own intense and forceful argument. Fifteen of the seventeen members were there and she referred to the early years when she had come to the Capitol and made her plea with only two of the committee present.

A touching incident of the convention occurred when Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker read her scholarly address on United States Citizenship. Her once fine voice showed the feebleness of age, and the audience, not being able to hear, grew restless. Miss Anthony at once arose and told them they ought to be satisfied just to sit and look at Mrs. Hooker, for to see her was a benediction, but a moment later, noticing that she was almost overcome by the exertion, Miss Anthony stepped quickly to her side and put her strong arm around the fragile form. At once Mrs. Hooker turned and pressed her lips to Miss Anthony's cheek,

<sup>1</sup> Extended personal mention is made in accounts of conventions, History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV.



she gently returned the kiss, and a thrill of emotion swept over the spectators at the sight of these two beautiful old ladies, co-workers since their early womanhood and still loving comrades in the evening of life. As Mrs. Hooker sank into a chair Miss Anthony turned to the audience and in a voice vibrant with feeling exclaimed: "To think that such a woman, belonging by birth and marriage to the most distinguished families in our country's history, herself the intellectual peer of any statesman, should be held as a subject to all classes of men—yes, and with the prospect of there being added to her rulers the Cubans and the Kanakas of the Sandwich Islands! Shame on a government that permits such an outrage!"

On Miss Anthony's seventy-eighth birthday a handsome luncheon was given in her honor by Mrs. John R. McLean, attended by several score of the most prominent ladies in the social life of the national capital. It was followed by a reception at which Mrs. McLean was assisted by Miss Anthony and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant. The birthday cake, three feet in diameter, on which burned seventy-eight wax tapers, was presented to Miss Anthony, and, wreathed with flowers, was carried in state to the convention, where it was cut into slices that were sold as souvenirs, realizing \$120. It is hardly necessary to say that the treasury of the National Association was increased by exactly that amount.

A little anecdote will illustrate Miss Anthony's quaint remarks which always kept the listeners on the alert to know what was coming next. A grandniece, Miss Guelma Baker, sang one evening and was heartily encored. She finally came back on the stage and whispered to Miss Anthony, who at once turned to the audience and said, "She wants to know whether she shall bow or sing another song. I tell her to sing, I can't see what good it would do just to bow!"

The spring months of 1898 were largely devoted to reading and revising the chapters of the Biography, which had long since been irreverently dubbed the "Bog." These Miss Anthony went over again and again, paragraph by paragraph, line by line, word by word, and many were the long drawn-out arguments when the writer insisted that certain letters or statements must

be retained in order to justify Miss Anthony's action in various matters or place her in the right on disputed questions. If these reflected on someone else, if they were likely to hurt somebody's feelings, out they must come regardless of the consequences to herself. After one of her own letters to a prominent woman had been discussed for hours she finally consented that it might remain, and the biographer went to bed triumphant, revelling in the effect it would have on the readers. The next morning Miss Anthony, looking pale and worried, said, "I didn't sleep a bit all night thinking of that letter." It is needless to say that before breakfast it lost its chance of going down to posterity. And then the contest over the *names* which should be mentioned! In vain the writer begged, expostulated and protested that the book would be swamped with them. "It is all the return I can offer for the friendship, the hospitality, the loyalty of those who have made it possible for me to do my work all these years," was the unvarying reply, and not one could be smuggled out from under that watchful eye. In several instances where the writer, after an extended battle, was successful in retaining certain statements and sending them off victoriously in the manuscript, she met defeat when the proof came back and the final mandate was pronounced to cut them out. Doubtless it was wise but the public lost some sensations.<sup>1</sup>

Between the days of proof reading in the spring and summer Miss Anthony found time to receive many visitors, which always was a great delight to her. Once when it was gently suggested that this involved much expense she answered: "My friends helped me to get nicely settled in a home of my own so that I could entertain the suffrage workers when they were passing through Rochester and it is my duty to do it." Of course those who had contributed to the fitting up of the home had had no thought except her personal comfort, but it was characteristic of her to regard everything from the altruistic standpoint, and

<sup>1</sup> The next day (Sunday) after the manuscript had been shipped to the publishers Miss Anthony wrote in her diary: "I hope no one mentioned or not mentioned in the book will feel that there was any willingness to be unjust to her;" and farther on: "It seems as it does after a long sickness, death and funeral in the family—so still and empty-handed."

for the eminent and the obscure there was always a welcome place under this hospitable roof.

During these months when Miss Anthony was obliged to stay at home, she gave brief talks to the Woman's and Ethical Clubs, the Society of the D. A. R., the A. M. E. Conference, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Suffrage Conference that met here; to educational, religious, temperance and many other local organizations, which gladly availed themselves of this opportunity. On every occasion she pointed out to the women that whatever the object of their association they could promote it with far more success if they possessed the great power of the ballot, and few there were whom she did not persuade to realize this truth.

In July the State Teachers' Convention met in Rochester, and, after it was over, Miss Anthony in an interview in the *Democrat and Chronicle* referred to her effort in 1853 to secure for women the right to speak in these annual meetings, and expressed her opinion of the present one in these words: "I have fought some of the hardest battles of my life for women school teachers, and yet many of these of today know little of what was done for them in those early years. They appear to be lacking in spirit and content to occupy subordinate positions; they do not seem to have the ambition to sustain their rights. On the program of this convention not a woman's name appeared for the principal meetings. Not an address was made by a woman and not at one where I was present did I hear a woman's voice raised on any question. There were ten women to one man, and yet the men ran the convention to suit themselves and took the credit for whatever was or had been done. The women, to be sure, were on the programs and managed the meetings of the side shows, but that is all they did do." This interview created almost as much of a panic as did Miss Anthony's noted speech at the convention of forty-five years before in this very city.

Among the few letters of this year in existence was found a draft of one which evidently was undertaken in answer to a request from some college girls for the name of her favorite cake

and a recipe for making it. It was filled with erasures and interlinings and read as follows:

DEAR JUNIOR GIRLS: My favorite cake is the old-fashioned sponge, made of eggs, the whites lashed to a stiff froth, the yolks beaten thoroughly with cups of pulverized sugar, a pinch of salt, a slight flavor of almond. Into these stir cups of flour—first a little flour, then a little of the white froth—and pour the foaming batter into a dish with a bit of white buttered paper in the bottom. Clap into a rightly tempered oven as quickly as possible and take out exactly at the proper minute, when it is baked just enough to hold itself up to its highest and best estate. Then don't cut, but break it carefully, and the golden sponge is fit for the gods. . . .

Well, the dickens is to pay—I can not find the old cook book—so just put in any good sponge cake recipe for me, and then add: "It matters not how good the recipe or the ingredients may be, the cake will not be good unless there is a lot of common sense mixed in with the stir of the spoon!" Lovingly yours.

There was another letter, written to the *Union Signal*, organ of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in which Miss Anthony requested them to remove her name from the list of regular contributors, where she had just learned that it had been placed, and said: "I want to stand for woman suffrage alone. If I knew that the majority of women would vote against temperance and social purity and all other reforms, I should still work to secure the ballot for them. I do not ask it wholly because of the good I hope they will do with it, but because it is their right, and I demand it for the low as well as for the high." Miss Anthony always held that, while some would undoubtedly misuse the ballot, women in general would reach a higher development through freedom and responsibility, and as a means to this end the suffrage was of the highest importance. She never swerved from the position that it was a citizen's right without regard to the use that would be made of it, but she held an absolute belief that the vote of women, taken as a whole, would result in a vast improvement of conditions.

Every year now recorded the death of old friends. Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage passed away March 18. Miss Anthony and she had been co-workers long before the Civil War; at the time of the famous trial for voting, and again in the preparation of the

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History of Woman Suffrage, Mrs. Gage had given invaluable assistance, and in a published interview Miss Anthony paid high tribute to her great ability. In July she received a telegram announcing the death of Parker Pillsbury in his eighty-ninth year. "Samuel May, Jr., is now the only one left of the old Anti-Slavery Committee," she wrote in her journal. "It seems as if I must go on to Concord to be with his dear daughter, now left entirely alone, but here I must stay and work on this book just as I had to when they laid Robert Purvis to rest." And afterwards she wrote: "I have just read the funeral oration by William Lloyd Garrison; it was worthy of his royal father and well merited by Parker Pillsbury's life and work." Readers of the preceding volumes know how closely associated with these she herself had been in the ante-bellum days, in the early contest for the rights of women and in the publishing of her paper, *The Revolution*.

On May 22 Miss Anthony wrote in her diary: "Mr. Gannett's text today was 'Gladstone, England's Grand Old Man.' He eulogized him as the champion of emancipation and extension of the suffrage, but ignored the sad fact that he set his face against the enfranchisement of one-half of England's people, and when a petition of more than a quarter-of-a-million asked it of Parliament, the great Commoner went out with the opposition. Granting all that he was for English and Irish men he was far from a Liberal towards the women of the nation."

In August Miss Anthony went for a little visit to Sherwood, in the lovely old home of Miss Emily Howland, and on the 25th she made a half-hour's address at the Farmers' festival in Center Grove with fully a thousand people present.

The proof-reading at last was finished, and, feeling as if she had escaped from prison, Miss Anthony started September 22 for the Maine Suffrage Convention. She stopped on the way for a much enjoyed visit with relatives at North Adams, Mass., her birthplace, and the neighboring village of Cheshire, and then went through the beautiful valley of the Deerfield river to Boston and on to Portland. Here she was the guest of Miss Charlotte J. Thomas for a few days and then they went to the convention at

Hampden Corners. It was held in the town hall and she had a most cordial reception, but her greatest pleasure was the five days' visit with her much loved friend, Mrs. Jane H. Spofford, who had entertained her for so many winters when hostess of the Riggs House in Washington. On her way back she stopped in Concord, N. H., at the Pillsbury home, to visit the daughter, Mrs. Helen P. Coggeswell, and her old co-worker, Mrs. Armenia S. White, and spoke in the Universalist Church. In Boston she called at the *Woman's Journal* office, had luncheon with Frank P. Garrison, took her train, was delayed by washouts and did not reach home until one o'clock the next afternoon. Here she dined, bathed, dressed and presented herself at three o'clock at a committee meeting to discuss the opening of Rochester University to women, just as wide-awake, alert and full of vigor as if she were twenty-eight instead of seventy-eight.

A week later, October 15, Miss Anthony started westward for the State conventions of Missouri, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska. In Chicago, where she was the guest of Mrs. Emily Gross, she went to hear President McKinley. "The streets were all decorated with arches and banners," she wrote in her journal that night, "but not on one of them nor in any of the speeches was there the name of a woman; all was for the glorification of man!" She presided at the business meetings and spoke at the convention in St. Joseph, Missouri; then, with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, went on to Council Bluffs, Iowa. The Kansas convention was held in Paola. Here she met Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, who was canvassing the state for the Republicans, and recorded in her diary: "She was asking the women to work for the party that voted against their enfranchisement in 1894."

After the convention Miss Anthony returned to Omaha, where the Exposition was in progress, met the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. May Wright Sewall, and remained for a week's session of the National Council of Women. One afternoon she attended a Congress of the Liberal Religions to hear Rabbi Hirsch, Dr. H. W. Thomas and the Rev. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones; they called her to the platform and she spoke briefly. Later she addressed a large meeting of the Jewish Women's Council.

At this time the country was much stirred over the large number of deaths from disease among the soldiers in the Spanish-American War because of the incompetency of the officers, as shown in the location of camps and in the inferior quality of food provided. In an address before a large audience Mrs. Foster defended the administration of the officers, particularly Surgeon-General Sternberg. She was wildly applauded because of the patriotic sentiment inspired by any allusion to the nation, the flag, the war and everything connected with them. At its close Miss Anthony sprang to her feet, and in an impassioned speech boldly charged the Government and army officials with incompetency and neglect of duty. At first she was coldly received, but as she sketched the going forth from home of the young men, the unsanitary camps they were forced to occupy, the greed and graft of the men who provided them with unwholesome food and the sickness and death which resulted, the people began to realize the truth of what she said. Soon they were intensely moved, and, as she pictured the agony of the mothers at home and their powerlessness to change these conditions, a great wave of enthusiasm swept over the audience and she had to wait for the applause to subside. At last turning to Mrs. Foster she said: "I am not denying that your doctor is a great bacteriologist, that he knows all about germs and such things, but what I am saying is that he does not know how to look after boys. There isn't a mother in the land who would not know that a shipload of typhoid-stricken soldiers would need cots to lie on and food to eat and fuel to cook it with, and that a swamp was not a desirable place in which to pitch a camp. To make the crime more atrocious there was high and dry ground within easy reach where cities were near enough to supply every necessity. Such an outrage against the loyal, courageous men who offered their lives in defence of their country cannot be too severely censured. What the government needs at such a time is not alone bacteriologists and army officers but also women who know how to take care of sick boys and have the common sense to surround them with sanitary conditions."

The papers and the people commended the courage which had impelled Miss Anthony thus to voice the indignation that was

so widely felt. She always spoke what seemed to her the truth, regardless of praise or blame, and no one ever catered less to popular sentiment.

An entry in the diary, December 2, said: "Our dear mother's 105th birthday and the 39th anniversary of the hanging of John Brown! And this morning Corinthian Hall burned—the dear, old hall in which in times past so many great men and women presented their highest thoughts to Rochester's best people—Phillips and Garrison, Beecher and Curtis, Mrs. Stanton, Ernestine L. Rose, Lucy Stone, Frances D. Gage, Clarina Howard Nichols—and here we formed the first State Woman's Temperance Society in 1852." Among other incidents of the month she noted that she assisted Mrs. Sewall to form a local Council of Women in Rochester; that she became a charter member of the George Washington Memorial Association; that she was guest of honor at the reception of the Educational and Industrial Union; that she talked to the girls of the public schools; that she signed one thousand letters asking subscriptions to the work of the National Suffrage Association; that she entertained the Political Equality Club; that she wrote her name and an inscription in seventy sets of her Biography for friends. It is only by specific mention that one can realize the constant occupation of this busy and useful life which never had an idle or a wasted moment, and never knew cessation of its varied activities until after these had extended through more than four-score years.



## CHAPTER LII.

MEDIEVAL JOURNALISM—WOMEN IN OUR NEW POSSESSIONS.

1899.



ANY times in preparing the first two of these volumes the writer said to Miss Anthony, "O, if you ever had stayed at home and done nothing for one year, or even for one month, what a relief it would be to your biographer!" But as the years went on the days became more and more crowded and the interim between journeys less and less.

On New Year's Day of 1899 Miss Anthony started for New York where she was met by Mr. George W. Catt and accompanied to his home in Bensonhurst-by-the-Sea. Here the Business Committee of the National Suffrage Association, as guests of Mrs. Chapman Catt, were to have a four days' meeting. As there was a strong spirit of harmony and fellowship among the members of this committee, their meetings were always greatly enjoyed and the pleasure of this one was much enhanced by the hospitality of this beautiful home. At its close Miss Anthony returned to New York and consummated a plan she had long cherished for having a department devoted to suffrage in one of the metropolitan dailies. She arranged with Mr. Paul Dana, editor of the *Sun*, for two columns in the Sunday edition of that widely circulated paper, which were filled by the present writer for five years—until Mr. Dana transferred the journal to other hands. Mrs. Stanton, as well as Miss Anthony, took the keenest interest in this department—The Cause of Woman—and both continually sent information, suggestions and helpful criticism.

Theodore Roosevelt was at this time Governor of New York,

and, as he had recommended a woman suffrage bill to the Legislature, it was decided to present him with a copy of Miss Anthony's Biography, in which she was asked to write an inscription. This she did as follows: "To Governor and Mrs. Roosevelt: It is with pleasure that I comply with the request of the Political Equality Club of my city to inscribe on this fly-leaf what should be the aim of every true patriot, viz: to establish for women perfect equality of rights with men—civil and political—in every State of the Union, and to make our Stars and Stripes, over whatever outlying possessions they may float, carry to the people thereof 'equal rights for all,' irrespective of race, creed or sex. With highest respect and admiration."

What an interesting chapter it would make if all the inscriptions Miss Anthony wrote in History and Biography could be collected—such delicious touches of humor, quaint bits of philosophy, strong words of wisdom and admonition, tender ones of love and friendship! No *edition de luxe* which may be issued by an admiring posterity can have the priceless value of those enriched by the tracing of her own pen.

Miss Anthony was interviewed by the *New York Herald*, during this winter, in regard to some notoriously unjust discriminations which had recently been made against women in the educational and business world, with little concealment of the fact that it was because men were beginning to fear their competition. She said no more than the circumstances justified, and closed with the opinion that, if the coming generation of men did not change some of their habits, women would surpass them not only mentally but also physically. For many years she had been treated with much respect by the press and its billingsgate of the past seemed to have dropped into oblivion. These remarks, however, aroused the ire of the *Memphis Scimitar*, and it began an abusive editorial of a column as follows:

Miss Susan B. Anthony, we are very much more than pleased to observe, is again before the footlights. We had sighed for Susan through the many long and weary moons of her beautiful silence—for of all the beautiful things about Susan her silence is the most artistically and acceptably beautiful—even as the heart panteth after the brook . . . But, behold! she hath arisen, and

she returns to the old warpath with a pair of sound lungs and a healthy and well-developed desire to see her name in print, and re-engages in the crusade against her hideous former foe, the bifurcated beast, the braggart brute, the miserable and melodramatic monster—Man. Madly she snatches the veil from the face of her maidenly reserve, launches the gunboat of her vengeance, uncorks the bottle of her wrath, and goes after this heinous wretch in a way that would make doughty Aguinaldo himself quake with perceptible fear and arouse a flame of admiration in the breast of Colonel Quixote sufficient to justify the calling of the fire department. Yes, Susan is on tap with a vengeance, and the slight, spare-made tyrant who has lorded it so long over her oppressed and unfortunate sex would do well to take wings and fly to tall timber—for Susan is an avenger worthy of note.

This was copied in full on the editorial page of the *Birmingham News*. (February 11, 1899.)

Miss Anthony went to Washington on February 10 for the triennial of the National Council of Women. It was the week of the never-to-be-forgotten blizzard, when street traffic was practically suspended, but she missed very few sessions. She forbade any attempt to celebrate her birthday, however, but the friends who were there presented her, through Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, with a generous check. After the Council closed she attended a reception given in the Corcoran Art Gallery by the Daughters of the American Revolution which, she noted in her journal, "was a perfect jam of splendid dresses." The next evening she went to a colored women's club at Mrs. Mary Church Terrell's, in which she found much more enjoyment.

A stop was always made in Philadelphia, when Miss Anthony went to or from Washington, for a visit to the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Avery, and the nieces, Miss Lucy E. Anthony and Mrs. Helen Mosher James. During her stay this time she addressed the New Century Club. This winter as usual she went to New York to talk things over with Mrs. Stanton, and, as for many years, she was the guest of her cousin, Mrs. Samantha V. Lapham, who sent her each day in the carriage across Central Park to Mrs. Stanton's home. Just now the two were working diligently over letters of protest to Congress in regard to the proposed injustice toward the women of Hawaii.

On March 7 Miss Anthony continued her journey to Hartford, Conn., to be present at the State Suffrage Convention, and

was delightfully entertained in the fine, old home of Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker. She addressed the convention and attended the legislative hearing at the Capitol on a municipal woman suffrage bill. When at last she arrived home, March 13, she was, as usual, "appalled at the huge pile of letters" but attacked them with might and main. Her brother, Col. D. R. Anthony, of Leavenworth, Kas., coming a few days later, everything was cast aside and she gave herself up to the luxury of "visiting" from early morning until late at night. "It was snowing and blowing so hard," the journal said, "that we could not go out, so we sat with Sister Mary by an open fire and never had as quiet and pleasant a time, as always before we were both in a hurry but now both felt at leisure."

The diary recorded that on the 22nd Miss Anthony was struggling with an article on the International Council of Women for the *New York World*. She went to Geneva, N. Y., on the 27th and addressed a large audience, but from fatigue or some other cause she "had not a free minute in the whole hour." It was one of those experiences which she sometimes had when it was simply impossible for her to make a speech, and, as she never used even notes, she was entirely helpless. She wrote in her journal, "My failure was followed by an all night's sleeplessness and the memory of it was worse than a nightmare." Afterwards she heard that some one said, "Miss Anthony thought that anything from her would do on account of her great reputation," and she wrote: "I was crushed with the fact of my failure before, but to have it ascribed to that cause is a blow too cruel. I always feel my incapacity to give a 'set' address—I can when in the best condition make a few remarks, but a sustained speech was, is and always will be an impossibility. Alas, that the friends will forever press me into a position where I must attempt it!"

Readers of the preceding volumes and those who heard Miss Anthony at her best will understand how mistaken she was in this estimate of her abilities, but she always insisted that she had not the power of oratory, that her strength lay in organizing, presiding, raising money and keeping other people at work. An entry in the journal, April 14, said, "Sister Mary and the



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THE ANTHONY HOME.

MISS ANTHONY IN THE DOOR.

maid cleaning house while I am agonizing over points for my speech at Grand Rapids."

After opposing it for many years Miss Anthony had yielded to the demand for holding the alternate national conventions in various cities, but she never was entirely satisfied with the plan. Under the date in her diary when this one was to open in Grand Rapids she wrote: "The 31st—it used to be annual Washington convention—now it is only the annual convention of the National Association." It opened April 27 in the handsome Saint Cecilia club house and was welcomed by the presidents of many organizations of women. In the course of her response Miss Anthony said:

Since our last convention the area of disfranchisement in the possessions of the United States has been greatly enlarged. Our nation has undertaken to furnish provisional governments for Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, Cuba and Porto Rico. Hitherto the settlers of new Territories have been permitted to frame their own government, which was ratified by Congress, but today Congress itself assumes the prerogative of making the laws for the newly-acquired Territories. When those in the West were organized there had been no practical example of universal suffrage in any of the older States, hence it might be pardonable for their settlers to ignore the right of the women associated with them to a voice in their government.

But to-day, after fifty years' continuous agitation of the right of women to vote, and after the demand has been conceded in one-half the States in the management of the public schools; after one State has added to that the management of its cities; and after four States have granted women the full vote—the universal reports show that the exercise of the suffrage by women has added to their influence, increased the respect of men, and elevated the moral, social and political conditions of their respective commonwealths. With those object lessons before Congress, it would seem that no member could be so blind as not to see it the duty of that body to have the governments of our new possessions founded on the principle of equal rights, privileges and immunities for all the people, women included. I hope this convention will devise some plan for securing a strong expression of public sentiment on this question, to be presented to the Fifty-sixth Congress, which is to convene on the first Monday of December next.

During the reconstruction period and the discussion of the negro's right to vote, Senator Blaine and others opposed the counting of all the negroes in the basis of representation, instead of the old-time three-fifths, because they saw that to do so would greatly increase the power of the white men of the South on the floor of Congress. Therefore the Republican leaders insisted upon the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to secure the ballot to negro men. Only one generation has passed and yet nearly all of the Southern

States have by one device or another succeeded in excluding from the ballot-box very nearly the entire negro vote, openly and defiantly declaring their intention to secure the absolute supremacy of the white race, but there is not a suggestion on their part of allowing the citizens to whom they deny the right of suffrage to be counted out from the basis of representation. Some of the northern newspapers have been growing indignant upon the subject, declaring that one vote in South Carolina counts more than two votes in New York in the election of the President and the House of Representatives. It seems to me that a still greater violation of the principle of "the consent of the governed" is practiced in all the States of the Union where women, though disfranchised, are yet counted in the basis of representation, and I think the time has come when this association should make a most strenuous demand for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding any State thus to count disfranchised citizens.

Referring to some of the disappointments of the year Miss Anthony continued: "None of these so-called defeats ought to discourage us in the slightest degree. Our enemies, the women remonstrants, may comfort themselves with the thought that the liquor interest has joined in their efforts, but we surely can solace ourselves with the fact that the very best men voted in favor of allowing women to exercise their right to a voice in the conditions of home and State. So we have nothing to fear but everything to gain by going forward with renewed faith to agitate the question and educate the public, until the vast majority of men and women are thoroughly grounded in the great principle of political equality." Then dropping into the conversational style that her audiences liked she said: "I thank you, friends, for your cordial words of welcome. We are glad to come here. I always feel a certain kinship to Michigan since the constitutional amendment campaign of 1874, in which I assisted. I remember that I went across one city on a dray, the only vehicle I could secure, in order to catch a train. A newspaper said next day: 'That ancient daughter of Methuselah, Susan B. Anthony, passed through our city last night, with a bonnet looking as if she had just descended from Noah's Ark.' Now if Susan B. Anthony had represented votes, that young political editor would not have cared if she were the oldest or youngest daughter of Methuselah, or whether her bonnet came from the Ark or from the most fashionable man milliner's."

Later when a Colorado woman spoke of her own possession of the suffrage Miss Anthony said: "I am glad you have it. We are not working for ourselves alone and that is one reason why our society does not grow as fast as some others." In referring to the effort in behalf of the Hawaiian women, she said: "We are told that it will be of no use for us to ask this measure of justice—that the ballot be given to the women of our new possessions on the same terms as to the men—because we shall not get it. It is not our business whether we shall get it; our business is to make the demand. Suppose during these fifty years we had asked only for what we thought we could secure, where should we be now? Ask for the whole loaf and take what you can get." She urged all women to make an effort for the suffrage and inquired, "Why is it the duty of the little handful on this platform to be working and talking for the enfranchisement of women any more than that of all of you who are sitting here? Every woman can do something for the cause. She who is true to it at her own fireside, who speaks the right word to her guests, her family and her neighbors, does an educational work as valuable as the woman who speaks from the platform." And to the charge of "abusing the men" she answered, "We have not been fighting the 'male' citizen anywhere but in the statute books."

On Sunday evening Miss Anthony spoke in the Fountain Street Baptist Church on The Moral Influence of Women. The entry in the journal that night said: "In the afternoon I tried hard to get a nap but was too anxious to sleep. There was a packed audience, mostly bonnets, so it looked like a flower garden from the pulpit. I succeeded better than I had hoped—tried to show them that woman's moral influence to be effective must have the political backing of the vote." The next evening she addressed the convention on The Power of the Ballot in Municipal Elections.

While in Grand Rapids Miss Anthony was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Deloss A. Blodgett, who gave several social functions in her honor and also entertained the Business Committee.

The convention was largely occupied with the constitution



which Congress had prepared for the proposed new Territory of Hawaii and which enfranchised natives, half-breeds, Portuguese, every sort and condition of men, but barred out all women and made them ineligible to all offices; it even deprived the Legislature of the power to confer the suffrage on women, a privilege possessed by all other Territories. This was done in opposition to the wishes of President Dole and Justice Frear of the Supreme Court, who came to Washington to represent the Islands. The Executive Board of the National Association memorialized Congress; Miss Anthony wrote to President McKinley, to Senators, to the Congressional Committee, and sent petitions to every State to be signed protesting against this outrage. She wrote a long and eloquent letter to President Sanford B. Dole, imploring him to have official action taken against it in Hawaii. All was in vain, and at the very dawn of the new century a Territory came into the Union with more unjust discrimination against women than had existed in any which ever had been admitted.

Miss Anthony joined Miss Shaw at Chicago where they were made members of the Woman's Relief Corps, and then she hastened home to see her sister off for Europe and herself to prepare for the long journey. She was going to attend the International Council of Women in London and she had been using all her powers of persuasion for the past six months to induce her sister to go also, had written pages while away and spent hours in argument at home. At last she was successful and Miss Mary decided to join a party of friends, go over early and make a tour of the continent before the Council opened. Miss Anthony went to the station with her on May 11, and the next evening she wrote in her diary: "How fearfully lonely the house is with Sister Mary gone out of it even for a few months! What would it be if it were for all time and I were to be left alone?"

Mrs. Clara B. Colby made her a little visit and they went to hear the Rev. W. C. Gannett preach on Co-education. That night she said in her journal: "He spoke of the need of co-education and cooperation in the home, the school, everywhere save in the Government. After church I told him of his failure and he looked so sad I felt sorry for doing it." But two Sundays

later she recorded: "In Mr. Gannett's Decoration Day sermon he showed how the Civil War had a holy purpose, but the conquest of the Philippines was only a grasping greed for empire. I told him afterwards that it was worthy of Parker Pillsbury, of whom he more and more reminded me." This was the highest praise she could have bestowed unless she had said Wendell Phillips. Mr. Gannett often laughingly remarked that he always expected her after the services to tell him whether his sermons were good or bad, but her family knew that she counted the Sunday lost when she did not hear one of them.

Miss Anthony had been invited to speak at Chautauqua, N. Y., this summer and had many other invitations but was obliged to decline all. Sunday afternoon, May 21, she spoke in the Brick Church of Rochester for the Young People's Loyal Legion. The *Democrat and Chronicle* said: "It was announced as a temperance meeting but when it is stated that Susan B. Anthony was the speaker, it will be understood at once that it was bound to partake more or less of the character of a suffrage meeting also, and it was bound to be interesting in each of its phases." After giving many reminiscences of her early temperance work, she was quoted as saying: "Today women are not only not denied the right to speak in public, but the men seem to have stepped back and allowed them to assume the whole burden in certain kinds of public work. I do not complain that this work is turned over to women, but I do complain that they are not given the power that men have in order to do it. Every one of the great monopolies is not only owned and controlled by men, but most of the employees are men, and therefore when a capitalist speaks he represents thousands of men and money. If it is proposed to increase the power of the women of the country, these men head it off unless they decide that it will be harmless. Men make the laws and they enforce them—or fail to enforce them, and they generally fail in the case of moral laws. Do you not see, my good temperance friends, that it will not be possible to get good laws enforced until women can vote? What you need is not new statutes—we have them to cover

every evil—but the power to enforce these laws. You couldn't elect a 'good government' official in this city if the saloon element and the gambling element and the low elements generally didn't know that 'good government' official would 'go easy' on them for the sake of holding on to his office."

"Up to this time," the account said, "the audience were in doubt as to the propriety of manifesting approval on Sunday but now they burst into applause."

At eight o'clock on the morning of May 29 Miss Anthony, all alone, left her home to take the train for New York en route for Europe, her faithful neighbor, Mrs. L. C. Cook, closing the front door and promising to "watch the house." She might have been accompanied by a retinue had she not liked it better this way, but when she reached the station, feeling a little bit depressed in spite of her independence, there were her beloved Mr. and Mrs. Gannett waiting for her! "And so I had their loving good-by," the diary said, "and they were much amused to hear all the station men give me a hearty 'God bless you'."

Miss Anthony spent several days in New York, bidding Mrs. Stanton good-by and receiving many farewell calls from relatives and friends. Miss Shaw, and Lucy Anthony joined her here and on Saturday, June 3, all started for London on the Atlantic Transport Menominee. Others in the party were Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Mrs. Emily Gross, Mrs. Emma Shafter Howard, Miss Emily Howland, Misses Harriet and Alice Purvis, Miss Nora Stanton Blatch and twelve delegates from Canada. Among the passengers was Marie Wainwright, the actress, who soon became devoted to Miss Anthony. When arrangements for the Sunday evening entertainment were in progress she insisted that Miss Anthony should speak and the latter agreed only on condition that Miss Wainwright should introduce her. This she did in charming fashion and Miss Anthony delighted everybody with her simple, straightforward talk. Captain John Robinson soon became one of her enthusiastic admirers and all on board were her friends before the voyage was ended. She was an excellent sailor, had her salt-water bath

at seven every morning, her three frugal meals, her afternoon nap, her long walks, and a sea trip was unalloyed pleasure.

After ten days of fine weather the ship entered the Thames River and at the London dock Mr. William Henry Blatch met Miss Anthony and his daughter and took them to his home at Basingstoke. Here Miss Anthony had a quiet, restful visit with Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, reading, answering the many letters that awaited her and driving through the beautiful country. Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies came down for a day. At the earliest possible moment, Miss Anthony wrote the following letter to Mrs. Leland Stanford:

Before sailing I had read of your magnificent gift to the university and rejoiced in you exceedingly as having excelled all other women; and here in old England I have handed me a special telegram to the *New York Tribune* which contains the following: "Mrs. Stanford specifies that she wishes to have the number of women students limited to 500, as she sees a possible danger to the institution in the rapid increase of the percentage of girls—which has grown from 25 to 41—and there are now 450 women. Many of the alumni feel that the college spirit is injured—that it cannot hold its own in athletics, oratorical contests, etc." This sends a chill over me—that this limitation should come through a woman and that one my dear Mrs. Stanford to whom I had looked for the fulfilment of our dream of perfect equality for women in her university. Who are the alumni that are thus afraid? The men, of course. And what do they think is endangered? Physical prowess—sports—not high intellectual attainments. I know full well that the men in co-educational universities have to suffer contempt from the shallow-pated of colleges for men only, but Stanford's splendid work hitherto has been to teach its men to stand up bravely and demolish those false ideas. You have done as much as any other human being to educate men to respect women and I cannot bear to have you destroy this work. Had you provided that, when the number of students had reached its maximum, care should be taken that the proportion of the sexes should be the same—that for the well-being of all, there should not be any great preponderance of either—it would have seemed fair and just. But to limit the women to 500 and set no bounds to the number of men makes you virtually say that the presence of women is deteriorating to a university to such an extent that not more than 500 of them can be allowed without jeopardizing its best interests.

Suppose all of the co-educational universities throughout the country should follow your example, where would the thousands and thousands of women find chances for education but in girls' colleges, seminaries and boarding schools, which would mean a return to the old-time methods. Indeed your

proposed limitation is a most fatal step backward. Do you think your dear husband would have yielded to the fears of the male alumni? And if not, why should the wife to whom he intrusted all? I wish I could see you and talk it over. I am sure you would change it to half-and-half of the sexes, for the highest good of the students, the home and the university. Lovingly and trustingly yours.

## CHAPTER LIII.

### THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN IN LONDON.

1899.



THE International Council of Women in London—not one chapter, not many chapters, could contain an adequate account of that remarkable meeting which was a distinct and significant event in the great progressive movement among women. The space allotted here must be given largely to Miss Anthony's own part in this world's convention whose official proceedings fill seven volumes. That it was no small part the printed transactions of the business sessions show, for her name appears upon nearly every page, making reports, moving resolutions, speaking to the question, giving wise and helpful suggestions out of the depth of her long experience. She was chief among the founders of the Council, in Washington, in 1888;<sup>1</sup> was a leading factor in its first Quinquennial at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in 1893;<sup>2</sup> and now, in her eightieth year, had crossed the ocean to participate in its third convocation.

To Miss Anthony was assigned the important chairmanship of the Nominating Committee. During a warm discussion on electing prominent women members of the Council simply as a mark of honor, she characteristically observed that "those who wished to honor them should put their hands in their pockets and pay to make them patrons." When the vigorous attempt was made to override the constitution and keep out of the presidency an American woman who already had been practically

<sup>1</sup> Volume II, Chapter XXXV.

<sup>2</sup> Volume II, Chapter XLI.

elected, it was largely owing to Miss Anthony's firm attitude and excellent generalship that the plan was defeated. While it was a matter of keenest regret to her and the other delegates from the United States to be compelled to antagonize the women of other countries for whom they felt the warmest friendship, they regarded the action strictly as an observance of the constitution and an adherence to principle.

At the close of the last business meeting, the committee were entertained at luncheon at Cassiobury Park, the ancient country seat of the Earl of Essex, by Lady Aberdeen, the retiring president. When the new president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, had eloquently moved a vote of thanks for this hospitality, which was seconded by the Baroness Gripenberg, of Finland, Miss Anthony rose and said with deep feeling: "Girls,—yes, I call you so, for you are all girls compared with me—you have expressed your joy and thankfulness that you have had an opportunity to be present at this Congress. What do you think I feel, I, who remember the time when woman's cause had no friends outside a little group now called the 'pioneers'? What do you think I feel to know that now there is a whole generation of women able to carry on the work when the 'pioneers' have passed away?"

After the applause which followed this little speech, Mlle. Sarah Monod, the delegate from France, responded, saying: "On behalf of the 'girls', I, although sixty years old, beg to thank Miss Anthony for what she has done toward the uprising of womanhood and humanhood. Many of us here present are already grey-haired, but still we confess ourselves inexperienced 'girls', who receive with thankfulness the inheritance she has given us."

Miss Anthony spoke on the opening day of the great Congress held in connection with the Council, June 27, the subject of her address, Position of Women in the Political Life of the United States. It fills six pages of the printed report and is an able and complete résumé of the beginning, progress and present status of the movement for the emancipation of women, and their legal,

industrial and social position at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It concludes by saying:

Until woman has obtained that "right protective of all other rights—the ballot," this agitation must still go on, absorbing the time and energy of our best and strongest women. Who can measure the advantages that would result if the magnificent abilities of these women could be devoted to the needs of government, society and home, instead of being consumed in the struggle to obtain their birthright of individual freedom? Until this be gained we can never know, we can not even prophesy the capacity and power of women for the uplifting of humanity. It may be delayed longer than we think, it may be here sooner than we expect, but the day will come when man will recognize woman as his peer, not only at the fireside but in the councils of the nation. Then, and not until then, will there be the perfect comradeship, the ideal union, between the sexes that shall result in the highest development of the race. What this shall be we may not attempt to define, but this we know that only good can come to the individual or the nation through the rendering of exact justice.

The present writer ventures to use a few extracts regarding this unprecedented meeting from her own syndicate letters to the United States.

Four great halls in London have been occupied by the Congress—Westminster, Town and Church Halls, St. Martin's and, for the mass meetings, the splendid Queen's Hall, with its fine decorations and massive organ. What a wonderful body it is! What a broad conception, this bringing of the representative women of all nations to counsel together on questions directly affecting the evolution of humanity! The London *Sunday Times* said: "It will certainly be interesting to see if women can successfully achieve what, so far as we know, men never have attempted." May we say, in all humility, that it is possible for men to learn some things even from women? We have had at this Congress an educated Chinese woman, sent by the Emperor of China to represent the women of that nation; native delegates from India; highly educated women from Australia and New Zealand, who traveled 12,000 miles just to attend this Council; women of culture and ability who came for the same purpose from the Argentine Republic, South Africa, Persia and Palestine. Almost every country in Europe has been ably represented. All of these have brought the story of what women are doing in their respective nations and all are eagerly seeking to learn from others how the work may be advanced.

Miss Anthony was one of the principal speakers at the mass meeting for woman suffrage held in Queen's Hall, the evening

<sup>1</sup> International Council Report, 1899. Women in Politics, page 3.



of June 29 under the auspices of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of Great Britain. The official report says, "Miss Anthony was received with prolonged applause, the audience all rising." Mrs. Fawcett, president of the Union, made the opening address; the resolution was presented by Mr. Faithful Begg, M. P., seconded by Mrs. Wynford Phillips and the Hon. Mrs. Arthur Lyttleton. Miss Anthony came next and she seemed to feel the inspiration of the vast audience of over 3,000 earnest, enthusiastic men and women as she outlined the present position of women and the work that had been and was yet to be done. She was followed by the Hon. W. P. Reeves, of New Zealand, and Frau Marie Stritt, delegate from the Council of Germany, and the meeting closed with an eloquent address by Lady Henry Somerset.

The syndicate letter continued :

The colossal figure of the present Congress has been, without question, Susan B. Anthony. None other has called forth a fraction of the enthusiasm which has greeted her every appearance on the platform. When she has risen to speak the applause has been so long-continued it seemed as if she never would have a chance to begin. At nearly eighty years of age, her voice has still the best "carrying quality" of any of the fine voices which have been heard during the meetings. In these large halls, filled with thousands of people, she has been able to reach the farthest corners without apparent effort. . . .

She has told how the woman's rights movement, which now extends around the globe, had its first beginning in this very city of London, when, in 1840, the women delegates were not allowed to take seats in the World's Anti-Slavery Convention; how the clergy of all denominations united in denouncing them; how Wendell Phillips eloquently pleaded for them; how William Lloyd Garrison refused to take any part in the deliberations because of this injustice. And then how Lucretia Mott, one of the rejected delegates, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a bride, walked home from this stormy meeting, arm in arm, and resolved that something should be done to secure recognition for women; and how eight years later this resolution took shape in the calling of that first Woman's Rights Convention in Mrs. Stanton's home, Seneca Falls, N. Y. As Miss Anthony has recounted the gains of sixty years and sketched the status of women of the present day, and the audiences have realized that, during more than half-a-century, this one woman has stood in the thickest of the fight, some of them have shouted their applause and some been moved to tears.

The London correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* said:

"The papers here are going wild over Miss Anthony, declaring her to be the most unaggressive woman suffragist ever seen;" and the dispatches to the *New York World*: "When Susan B. Anthony, the great pioneer in the work for woman's enfranchisement, arose to speak there was a tumult of applause lasting fully five minutes." The *Methodist Times*, (London), said in a long and dignified article on the Council: "A hopeful sign was the unrestrained enthusiasm with which the opening meeting greeted Susan B. Anthony, the 'General' of the suffrage movement in the United States." Similar quotations might be made indefinitely to show the recognition of the woman and her work, by women of all countries and by audiences composed of all classes, in this largest and most cosmopolitan city in the world.

Miss Anthony did not escape the interviewers. On the morning the Council opened the *Daily News* had a column-and-a-half, covering the topics of suffrage, temperance, organizations of women, marriage, dress, law and the industries. The *Sunday Times* contained an excellent interview of a column devoted principally to the question of woman suffrage in all parts of the world, what it has done and what it is expected to do. An extract will show the trend.

Chatting about the Congress, the meetings and the organization, we touched on the question of housing educated women in London. Miss Anthony shook her head. "I care very little for these palliatives. It seems to me a very poor plan simply to make women comfortable in their poverty. The real aim should be to pay them better, give them the value of their work. It is to the advantage of men, too, that this should be done, for as long as women will take less pay than men for the same work, men will be driven out of their places. You see it all comes back to enfranchisement. Negroes never got the value of their work until they were enfranchised. When the Irish emigrated to the United States they were paid less than native-born men until they were naturalized, and then their pay became equal. They declared that the ballot was worth fifty cents a day to them."

"And do you think it would be worth that to womankind?"

"I don't pretend to assess the value precisely, but I do say that when women get the ballot they will be on fighting ground. At present they have not arrived. When men know that women can vote their heads off, then officials and office-seekers will attend to women's wants."

Such long personal interviews are unusual in London papers and there were many of them during Miss Anthony's stay.

Even a brief account of this meeting would be inadequate if no mention were made of the many social courtesies extended during the two weeks. These included two official receptions, one at Stafford House, the town residence of the Duchess of Sutherland, and the other at Surrey House, Marble Arch, that of Lady Battersea—two homes most noted in London for their wealth of art in every form. The garden party in Gunnersbury Park, at which the hostesses were Lady and Mrs. Leopold de Rothschild, was said to be the handsomest ever seen in England. Regrets were sent by the Prince and Princess of Wales for their inability to be present.

The old castle stands in the finest of English parks, with many acres of turf as soft and smooth as velvet, trees which have stood for centuries, conservatories filled with rarest plants, summer houses covered with luxuriant ivy, a lake with an exquisite Italian temple on its shore. Gaily striped marquees, adorned with rugs and draperies, were scattered about the lawn, and here, from gold and silver service, scores of servitors in livery of pale blue plush and white silk stockings dispensed elaborate refreshments. Four bands of nearly two hundred pieces played all the afternoon, each so far away from the others that there were no conflicting sounds; while, for the further entertainment of the guests, there was a circus performance on the greensward, with equestrians, jugglers, acrobats, etc.

Another charming garden party was given by the Lord Bishop of London and Mrs. Creighton, at their residence, Fulham Palace, built by Henry VII five hundred years ago. The beautiful grounds are surrounded by a moat kept full of running water from the Thames, crossed by only a single bridge, and the great trees are full of singing birds which no enemy can approach.

Many of the delegates have been entertained at tea on the terrace of the House of Commons. One cannot imagine a more interesting sight than this broad stone terrace occupied by the most distinguished men of Great Britain, accompanied by handsomely dressed ladies, either strolling up and down or seated at the little tables with their snowy covers; the white-capped maids moving about with the steaming silver tea-pots, plates heaped with thin slices of bread and butter and great bowls filled with luscious strawberries. On one side is the magnificent Gothic front of Westminster, on the other the deep and swift waters of the Thames, with the endless procession of vessels of every description; close by, the splendid bridge supported by its seven great arches, and, beyond, those glorious views which inspired Wordsworth's poem, "Earth has not anything to show more fair."

A delightful afternoon affair was given by Mr. Charles Hancock at the National Liberal Club, its wide verandas overlooking Victoria Gardens; and the teas, dinners and garden parties by

private individuals were far too numerous for special mention. At these functions the most eminent men and women in the literary, artistic and political life of London were present to greet the foreign guests. Invitations were extended for week-end visits at country estates, and every form of English hospitality was charmingly illustrated.

The Women's Clubs have opened wide their doors for luncheons and receptions—University, Pioneer, Albemarle, Writers', Sesame, Camelot, Lyceum, Grosvenor Crescent—and visitor's cards, or "honorary membership," have been widely granted. . . . It would be impossible to enumerate the official invitations extended by schools of cookery, students' associations, industrial councils, local government boards, horticultural societies, hospitals, social settlements, vegetarian unions, etc., etc., to come and inspect and have the inevitable cup of tea. The delegates select the things they are specially interested in and, with visiting these, trying to hear as many as possible of the excellent Congress papers and attending two or three elegant social affairs each evening, we have felt like accepting unanimously the cordial invitation to visit the home for feeble-minded.

Ambassador and Mrs. Choate gave an afternoon tea for the delegates from the United States in their beautiful home on Carlton House Terrace. Lady Aberdeen's reception at the Royal Institute of Water Colors was one of the handsomest entertainments. None was more enjoyed than the large luncheon party given by the Society of American Women in London in the grand banquet hall of Hotel Cecil, where Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Mrs. Craigie, Lady Randolph Churchill, Mme. Sarah Grand, Miss Genevieve Ward, Mrs. Antoinette Sterling, the Marchioness of Dufferin and many other noted women greeted the guests from abroad.

From the gaiety and sparkle of this gathering we went directly to Westminster Abbey where near "Poet's Corner" special services for the delegates were held by Bishop Lyttleton. Never will that scene pass from memory! The long, vaulted arches, the light falling dimly through the high stained-glass windows, the ancient tombs of royalty, the statues of warriors, statesmen and poets, white ghosts of the dead centuries—and in this most impressive spot on earth a group who represented the divine discontent of the world's womanhood, the struggle to emerge from the dying traditions of the past into a newer and larger life! And here in the midst of crumbling relics of bygone times and conditions, we heard a sermon so broad and hopeful and advanced in thought as to fill us with courage and strength. We came

out from the old abbey as from the old existence, and the great rush of humanity that surged through the streets seemed typical of the new and unrestrained activities which awaited us.

As Miss Anthony was the leading figure in the Council and Congress, so she was the one most in demand at every social affair and in all the brilliant galaxy of women none was so widely honored.

On all occasions, Miss Anthony has been the center of attraction and the other American women have been happy to shine by her reflected light. It can truthfully be said that she never has accepted one invitation without asking permission to bring some of her countrywomen with her. In the glittering parade of rainbow hues, tinsel, feathers and pompadours, which mark fashionable society of today, she has stood in dignified simplicity, clad in rich black satin, with its refined decoration of lace, and her crown of silver hair outshining the jewelled coronets. With all the adulation, she is not the least bit puffed up with pride, but declares it is intended solely for the cause she represents, when everybody else knows it is in reality for her very own self—a tribute to her life of service.

Two little stories are told about that staunchest exponent of democratic and republican institutions, Susan B. Anthony. On one occasion she actually undertook to introduce one of the greatest lords of the kingdom to two poor little girl employees on a London paper, and, as if this were not sufficiently heinous, she told him frankly that she had forgotten his name. He did not tell it to her and if Gibson could have caught the expression of his lordship's face he might have produced his masterpiece.

At another time she was invited to a luncheon to meet the Princess Christian, the Queen's daughter. After shaking hands with her and talking a few minutes, Miss Anthony sat down. Presently some one came and told her she must not sit while royalty was standing. Some of her friends say that her eighty years and the fatigue from the strain of the past weeks justified her in sitting. Others say that she could have stood up two hours if she had had a suffrage speech to make, but that the awful breach of etiquette was due to that spirit of her Quaker ancestors which made them face death rather than take off their hats to a king. Miss Anthony herself only laughs and "refuses to be interviewed."<sup>1</sup>

The culmination was the visit to Windsor Castle and this in a measure was due to Miss Anthony. When interviewed on this

<sup>1</sup>The London *Times* said: "Miss Anthony is being entertained by all the lords and ladies of the United Kingdom. She dines with Lady Somerset, stops over night with the Countess of Aberdeen and breakfasts with her, lunches next day with the Duchess of Sutherland, is received by the Queen and threatens every day to call upon the Princess of Wales, who is really very anxious to see the dear, old lady suffragist."



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THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN.

PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

point (after her return to America) she gave this characteristic account:

One day I said to Lady Aberdeen, "Now if this great Council were in Washington, I should certainly get an invitation for you to call on the President and his wife. Isn't it possible for us to secure some recognition from the Queen?" She said she didn't know, but she would try, so she sent a letter to the Queen and soon received a reply from her secretary that Her Majesty would be very happy to see us. The Queen gave directions to provide tea for the ladies. "Ah, but," said the secretary, "you must remember that you will have to provide for hundreds." "Well," was the Queen's answer, "if there be thousands, provide for thousands. I cannot allow the ladies to call upon me without giving them a cup of tea." The tables were placed in St. George's hall, the banquet-room of the palace, where all kinds of refreshments, with the luxuries of the season, hot-house grapes, strawberries, etc., were served on the royal china by the Queen's own retainers in scarlet livery.

In an interview in the *Daily Chronicle* of London Miss Anthony was quoted as saying: "All our delegates felt very grateful to Lord and Lady Aberdeen for securing them this opportunity of seeing the Queen, and thought it most gracious of her Majesty to grant their request. I shall always remember the delightful sensation of sitting there on a sofa in the Queen's own home, drinking her tea, and, as it were, breaking bread with her. It was not a mere matter of curiosity with us; we felt that the Queen is a grand woman, who has set a good example to the nations of the world, that her influence has always been for peace, and that she has been a good wife and a good mother; moreover in her reign woman has made enormous advance."

No sovereign in Europe would personally receive a great body like this and Queen Victoria was one of the most exclusive of royal rulers, but it was really a friendly act for her to admit the delegates to the court of Windsor Castle to see her start for her afternoon drive. The situation, however, was not wholly without its humorous features, it seemed to the present writer, who thus described it in part:

Our party passed through the old Norman gateway, the most ancient portion of the castle, and then we paused under the shadow of the great round tower. . . . The omnipresent red-coated, fur-topped soldiers stand guard at the entrance, a solitary policeman paces back and forth and tries to evade the volley of questions from the crowd of women who are afraid to approach

the soldiers but who have policemen at home. Far across the court in an open doorway stand three individuals in long coats, white "spats" and silk hats. They are the gentlemen-in-waiting. We have a fellow feeling for them, we have been ladies-in-waiting for more than an hour.

At last a wave of excitement goes scurrying over the dry gravel. We are all arranged in a semi-circle along the driveway. A broad, low carriage dashes up to the main door in the southeast corner, drawn by two beautiful dappled bay horses with black points, attended by two outriders, mounted on prancing steeds, a perfect match to the others. The coachman is an exact counterpart of the typical John Bull. Various functionaries appear; one stands at the horses' heads, another blocks the wheels so they may not move. White-aproned maids are seen in the hall—and now comes the Queen! Carried in a chair by a stalwart Scotchman in plaid and kilts and bare legs, and a tall, black East Indian in white skirt and turban, she is gently placed in the carriage. The Princess Beatrice takes a seat beside her, and the chief lady-in-waiting sits opposite, but we have eyes only for Victoria.

As slowly as the horses can step she approaches the line. All around us the English women whisper, "Don't forget to courtesy!" We Americans have not been taught to crook the knee but we make our very best bow. The carriage stops before Lady Aberdeen, who stands at the head of the line. She courtesies to the ground and kisses the extended fingers. A Canadian woman, who is presented on account of some special service, does the same. Then, horror of horrors, up steps a woman from the United States and shakes the Queen's hand! She supposed, of course, Her Majesty was going to greet all of us in that democratic fashion. Slowly the carriage passes on, pausing for another moment in front of the delegates from India in their picturesque garments. The English women begin to sing "God Save the Queen." We Americans do not know the words, but, led by Emma Thursby, we sing "America" to the same tune, and it answers just as well. Her Majesty smiles and looks pleased. She is a lovely old lady, with fair hair and blue eyes, a complexion as pink and white as a girl's, and does not appear a day over sixty. On goes the carriage, under the high arch beneath which only royalty can pass—and the great event is over. The Queen has sanctioned the Woman's Congress!

It was suggested to Miss Anthony that it would be a graceful thing for her to send her Biography to the Queen, and this she did, selecting a set bound in full morocco and writing this inscription: "To Her Royal Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India, with profound appreciation of Her Majesty's service to all womanhood, Susan B. Anthony presents this story of her own life-work." The book was appropriately acknowledged.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> People always seemed to enjoy giving Miss Anthony presents and she received many during her stay in London. Among them was \$100 from her cousin, Mrs. Emily Clark



Miss Anthony found it extremely difficult to recollect to say "your grace" and "your ladyship" when speaking to members of the nobility, and she thus related one incident:

That reminds me of another conversation I had with a titled lady. In England, you know, they are always treated with the greatest deference, which seems to Americans much like sycophancy. I asked this lady if I seemed unduly familiar in my greetings and conversation with titled people, and said I couldn't get the feeling into me that they were any different from the distinguished women in America. And she answered, "Miss Anthony, that's just the way I like to be approached. I have more respect for you, forgetting my title, than if you played the subservient part like the women here, who have always been taught that it is their duty to do so."

It would be impossible to mention all the social attentions of a private nature which Miss Anthony received. She was entertained at luncheons by Lady Battersea, Lady Rothschild, the Countess of Montefiore and Lady Jeune, and was the guest over night of the Countess of Warwick. She visited the home of her dear friends, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright, and dined with Mrs. Fisher Unwin, daughter of Richard Cobden and living in the old family home. Through Mrs. Unwin she received a cordial invitation to visit Lady Carlisle at Castle Howard near York. Her ladyship wrote, "It would be a very great privilege and delight for me to receive Miss Anthony here and I have written to beg her to come if she possibly can do so."

After the Congress adjourned and Miss Anthony paid a little visit to Mrs. Fenwick Miller at Reigate, she went to the Isle of Wight with Mrs. Emily Gross, for a brief rest. Here they were joined by Mrs. Sewall and Mrs. Harper and spent several days exploring this beautiful island. Then Miss Anthony hastened to gratify her dearest wish on coming to Great Britain, which was to visit her much loved old friends at Bristol, Miss Mary Estlin, daughter of the noted oculist and friend of Coleridge, and the Misses Margaret, Mary and Anna Priestman, sisters-

Griggs, of New York, who went abroad with her. It was given for the express purpose of buying a cloak in London, and very much against her judgment she was persuaded into getting the royal purple velvet lined with white satin, which some of her friends declared gave just the finishing touch of elegance to her evening toilets. She herself wanted one of black velvet that she could wear on all occasions.

in-law of John Bright. Thence she journeyed to Edinburgh for another precious visit to his sister, Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, then eighty-four years old, whom she found "just as sweet and bright as sixteen years ago."<sup>1</sup> She remained five days in this lovely home—Newington House—enjoying the society of the daughter, Dr. Agnes McLaren, and various members of the Bright family and driving about the historic city.

On returning to London Miss Anthony went to Richmond Hill to spend the day with Miss Rebecca Moore, now past eighty, who had been the English correspondent for her paper, *The Revolution*, thirty years ago. The diary said, "I had a very pleasant time and rode home on the roof of an omnibus, which gave me a fine top view of things." Then she went down to Basingstoke for a three days' farewell visit with Mrs. Stanton Blatch, who was almost as one of her own family, and August 10 she sailed for home on the Atlantic Transport Marquette.

Miss Anthony found a number of acquaintances on board, among them the Rev. C. E. Hamilton, of the first M. E. Church of Rochester. He conducted the Sunday evening services and at the close introduced her to the audience with eulogistic remarks. Sunday though it was she improved the occasion by telling them why women ought to vote, and they said it was just as good as a sermon. The ship entered New York harbor the afternoon of August 20. When the customs officer examined her trunks he told her he was the son of the Rev. A. N. Cole, whom she described as "my best friend in that stormy temperance convention of 1852."<sup>2</sup>

One day of New York's intense heat was sufficient to start Miss Anthony on the fastest train for her own cool and comfortable home. She arrived early in the morning and the diary said, "Soon after six o'clock I was sitting down with Sister Mary enjoying my simple breakfast with plenty of peaches and cream." Within a few days she had had calls from over fifty friends and had been interviewed by the reporters again and again, finding a fresh idea for every one. To the Rochester *Post-Express* she

<sup>1</sup> Volume II, page 569.

<sup>2</sup> Volume I, page 70.

gave a clear exposition of the action of the House of Lords, while the Congress was in session, in vetoing the bill passed by the House of Commons providing that women should sit in the London County Council, quoting from memory the opinions expressed by the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister.<sup>1</sup> She described the Women's Local Government Society, naming the officers and prominent members; and then she discussed the need of women on government boards in the United States. On this point she said: "In the sphere of local administration, at least, the special gifts of women are sure to be utilized before many years. Certainly the public should not be fettered in its choice of servants to do its bidding and administer its offices. The time has gone by when political disabilities were imposed on account of religion; they are no longer imposed for reasons of poverty, and the time must come when they shall not be imposed for reasons of sex."

These interviews illustrated Miss Anthony's keen perceptions, her wonderful memory and her broad grasp of affairs—just as the trip abroad had shown her superb physical condition—when she was nearing her eightieth birthday. The writer recalls that many evenings when they were going out for the customary walk and she would get down stairs first, which she always did, she would skip up and down the sidewalk while waiting, and when starting would say, "O, if I were but fifty or even sixty years old! I never saw so much to do nor so many chances for doing it—but I think I am good for a great deal of work yet, I feel so strong and well." To live in order to work—that was her ambition at the end of fourscore years.

<sup>1</sup> As this volume is being written, in the summer of 1907, a bill has passed both Houses of Parliament by large majorities making women eligible as councillors, aldermen and mayors of any county or borough of Great Britain.

## CHAPTER LIV.

PLURAL MARRIAGE—VICTORIA—WOMEN COMMISSIONERS.

1899.



THE last day of August Miss Anthony went to Geneva, N. Y., where Mrs. Stanton was visiting Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, and here in this delightful home, its spacious grounds swept by the breezes of Lake Seneca on which they bordered, the three old friends of fifty years had several happy days together. Immediately after returning home Miss Anthony started for Stroudsburg, Penn., the diary said, "to visit my dear, first-adopted niece, Rachel Foster Avery." She was spending the summer in the mountains, with her three young children, and they combined business with pleasure, as there were many arrangements to be made for the next annual convention, which would mark an epoch in the National Woman Suffrage Association.

When Miss Anthony was at home she was constantly importuned to address all sorts of gatherings in Rochester. On September 10 she spoke to the Joseph T. Alling S. S. class of young men in the Central Presbyterian Church on the notorious non-enforcement of law in the city, which was to be an issue in the fall elections. In a column report the *Herald* quoted Miss Anthony as saying:

As a representative of the most radical and hence the most unpopular demand for the practical application of the Golden Rule as the basis of our religion, and the Declaration of Independence as the basis of our Government, I esteem the invitation to address this class not only a high honor but a most significant "sign of the times." I shall take it for granted that the members of it are believers in good government. To acquire this we must have good citizens. The old maxim that the fountain can rise no higher than its head,

is no truer in the law of physics than in the law of political ethics, that the government can be no higher and purer than the majority of its constituents. Hence, if our city, State or national government is not what we wish, the remedy is not in securing new officials but larger numbers of good constituents—in other words make the source higher.

Is it not fair to assume that men alone have done their very best to purify and elevate the voting constituency? I shall not charge them with not having tried to do so. Yet today, after a century-and-a-quarter of masculine rule, new political parties constantly appearing to put down bribery, corruption and all sorts of dishonesty in our Government are proof of the futility of their efforts.

Miss Anthony then gave statistics to show the proportion of women in the churches (three-fourths) and said: "If you put the ballot in the hands of the half that has in it three to one of the best citizens, you at once change the balance of law abiding voters. The three good women put into the scales with one good man would certainly be a help in bringing over to the right side enough voters to elect officials who would enforce laws. Legislators and officers are powerless to bring about reforms and maintain them because they are not supported by the women in the community who would make it possible for them to carry out their policies without facing defeat for re-election."

After describing the results of women's municipal suffrage in Canada and Kansas Miss Anthony closed by saying: "Although I doubt if it will be possible to have any extended and permanent reform in the liquor traffic until women are in a position to stand back of the effort with ballots, still I advise you young men to vote for the candidate for mayor who pledges himself to try to enforce law and order, and I urge you not to forget to uphold the hands of such a man after he has been elected."

Miss Anthony addressed a meeting at the Zion A. M. E. Church, and, although complying with their request to talk about her trip abroad, she did not fail to express her faith in the colored race and her appreciation of what they had already accomplished. Speaking of the new statue to Frederick Douglass in Rochester she said: "I wonder how the mistake was made of having it face the South. It ought not be so and I shall endeavor to have it changed. He always faced the North; his paper was called the

'*North Star*,' and I do not like to see him looking back to the South."

At the desire of a neighbor and friend, Miss Frank Reichenbach, principal of School No. 1, Miss Anthony spoke at the dedication of her handsome new school building, October 4. She wrote a great many encouraging letters to State suffrage conventions during the autumn but attended only one, that of New York, at Dunkirk, November 1-4, where she addressed a large audience on the opening evening.

A considerable portion of Miss Anthony's time and strength was given in aid of the effort which was being made to put a woman on the school board of Rochester. To the usual cry that it was unconstitutional she said in an interview: "There never seems to be any difficulty in stretching the laws and the constitution to fit any kind of a political deal, but when it is proposed to make some concession to women they loom up like an unscalable wall." She then quoted from a dozen different States where women were rendering excellent and satisfactory service on school boards. She did everything in her power to secure the election of Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, both then and in her subsequent candidacy at different times in the next seven years, supported her policies and took great pride in her notable record.

The State Federation of Women's Clubs met in Rochester November 9-12 and Miss Anthony was a highly honored guest, sat on the platform at the right hand of the president, Mrs. William Tod Helmuth, and received marked attention at all the social functions. She was made chairman of the section of Political Study and the journal said: "I am informed that there are to be six brief addresses but none of them must mention woman suffrage—they must talk of the study of politics but not one word of its practical application!!"

Miss Anthony behaved beautifully all through the convention—whatever she may have been thinking to herself—until the very last day, and then she dropped her bomb. A wave of hysteria had been sweeping over the country and large numbers of women had been besieging Congress not to seat Brigham H. Roberts, elected Representative from Utah and a polygamist. The man-

agers of the convention had not intended to have the subject brought up and it had no place in the official resolutions presented, but a delegate offered it from the floor. It looked as if it would be carried and the president hurriedly appealed to Miss Anthony to "say something." Under the spur of the moment she came forward and said that she saw "no reason for protesting against the seating of a Mormon who had violated the law of monogamy and yet never raising a voice against seating in Congress, or any other high official body, Gentile men known to be violators of that law and many others for the protection of women and girls outside of Utah."

The resolution was defeated and the president, turning to Miss Anthony, said, "I thank you." That evening over one hundred of the delegates called at the Anthony home with every demonstration of respect and friendship. Some of the others, however, were deeply incensed at her remarks; the newspapers of the entire country commented on them, and bishops, ministers and many prominent men were interviewed. Some of them agreed with her, among them the well-known Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York, who said: "The thing that Susan B. Anthony contends against will certainly continue until violating the Seventh Commandment damages a man's reputation as much as it does a woman's. The wickedness of Gentile polygamy does not wash the stain out of Mormon polygamy, but there is a trace of cowardice and a taint of hypocrisy in getting hysterical over one sinner out of Utah and forgetting to be morally and religiously indignant over precisely the same brand of iniquity that luxuriates in our own immediate midst."

Miss Anthony, however, was so terribly misrepresented and so bitterly denounced that at last she found it necessary to define her position, which she did in the *New York World* as follows:

No person could abhor polygamy more than myself, but I detest even more the license taken by men under the loose morals existing in what the Mormons call the Gentile world. It is not that I uphold polygamy or any of its exponents, but I do feel more charity for a Mormon who has been taught from his birth that it is not only his right but his duty to God to enter into

plural marriages, and that the man who has the greatest number of wives stands highest in God's favor, than I do for the man who has been taught from his cradle that the unpardonable sin is the desecration of womanhood; whose religious training and the moral code of civilization in which he is reared both make it a crime to violate the Seventh Commandment and the established law of monogamy. Yet, judging from the testimony we see all about us—our Doors of Hope, our lying-in and foundling hospitals and our fallen womanhood—the married or single man who lives a pure life is rare. I have more respect for the Mormon polygamist, who follows his teachings and lives up to the traditions of his religious sect by marrying the different women with whom he cohabits and supporting them and their children, than I have for the man who defies public opinion and in the light of our advanced civilization and religious moral teachings gives his name and support to one woman openly while secretly desecrating the lives of others, thus committing a crime against his lawful wife as well as the other women whom he wrongs. If he have no wife the sin is as great against morality, and he should suffer equally with the woman.

Therefore, while abhorring the principles of polygamy, I think the wives and mothers of the country might better enter into a crusade against the licentiousness existing all around us and polluting our manhood, and leave it to our lawmakers to settle the matter of Roberts' fitness to be their associate in Congress.

If women would require the same purity in men that men require in women, and if mothers would refuse to entertain in their homes or to give their virtuous daughters to men whom they know to have transgressed the moral code, society would soon undergo a purification—a revolution. If our women would take this decided stand it would strike the strongest, most decisive blow at polygamy; for the root of the two evils—polygamy in Utah and licentiousness in the other States—is the same, and nothing but the highest moral teaching and the example of pure lives can blot out either.

With that man Roberts I have no sympathy personally. He is a strong anti-suffragist and did all in his power to prevent the women of Utah from securing the ballot.

This always had been Miss Anthony's position.<sup>1</sup> The preceding April she had written a letter to the Anti-Polygamy League for Amending the Constitution, forbidding them to put her name on their national committee as they had requested. She gave reasons similar to those just quoted and ended by saying: "As you are doubtless aware I have devoted my time and energy for the last thirty years to the securing of a Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution that should protect women in all the States from disfranchisement on account of sex. I am surer to-

<sup>1</sup> Volume I, pages 388-390.



day than ever that with the right to a voice in the making and unmaking of every law and every law-maker in the hands of the women of this nation, there would be no need of a Seventeenth Amendment 'making a polygamist or a libertine ineligible to public office.' ”

In order to complete Miss Anthony's record on the question of polygamy it seems advisable to publish here a letter of hers written six years after the one just quoted. There had been several attempts to force out of the National Council of Women the two Benevolent Associations of Mormon women. Miss Anthony, as well as various officers of the Council, had firmly resisted these efforts, holding that it could not discriminate against race, creed or politics. A prominent Mormon woman, whom personally Miss Anthony liked very much and had entertained in her own home, wrote a letter thanking her for this stand and asking permission to put her name and picture in a book she was preparing, as one who had always dared to be a friend of Mormon women. 'To this Miss Anthony replied December 31, 1905 :

You, like others, do not seem to know the difference between endorsing a movement itself and upholding the affiliation with the National Council of organizations composed of those who are connected with that movement. I do not consider that I endorsed Mormonism, or the beliefs or actions of Mormons, by protesting against the exclusion from the Council of associations of women who were doing a large humane work, because they belonged to the Mormon Church. I cannot let you use my name in any way in your book. You fail to comprehend that I am among those who hate polygamy and all the subjection of women in the Mormon faith.

The situation is indeed bad enough as we have it in what you call "the Gentile world," but in that when a man and woman consort outside of the monogamic marriage they do so against the law of the State, the law of religion and the law of society. They, (and especially the woman), who are guilty of such a partnership are shunned by all decent people. When you justify polygamy as a requirement of religious faith you make it entirely too respectable. I recognize no excuse for it.

Other letters of a public and a private nature might be quoted but surely enough evidence has been presented to make perfectly clear Miss Anthony's attitude on this question. Her lofty ideas in regard to the marriage relation may be found in the preceding volumes.

For several days during the second week of December Miss Anthony was in Indianapolis, the guest of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, to assist the other officers of the National Suffrage Association in forming a State organization, the old one for various causes having gone out of existence. This city had always a sincere welcome for her and she had only enjoyable memories connected with it. An interview in the *Sentinel* gave this pleasing picture:

The bright sunlight streamed through the south windows of Mrs. Sewall's drawing room yesterday morning and made a halo about the head of Miss Susan B. Anthony. She carries her eighty years well, walks with a graceful, springing step, stands erect and strong, and her very handclasp denotes vitality and strength. The hair brought down smoothly covering the ears and arranged in a simple knot behind is snow-white. The blue eyes that look at one through gold-bowed spectacles seem slightly dimmed until some favorite topic comes up, then they sparkle like those of a young girl. Miss Anthony has a delightful smile, the smile and laugh of real enjoyment; her love of fun bubbles all through her talk. She will pause in the most serious conversation to laugh at a joke and her sense of humor is very keen. Her voice is gentle and womanly and one can hardly realize what a vast power she has been and still is on the platform. . . .

No one can converse with Miss Anthony without being deeply impressed with her personality, for her magnetism is strong and her manner winning. She does not rant, she does not argue; she puts her facts tersely and is always ready to see the other side of a question. She possesses to an unlimited extent the tact of a politician and a leader and she utters more common sense philosophy in the course of a half-hour than most people think in a whole year.

From here Miss Anthony journeyed to Detroit to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor. In October she had written its president, Samuel F. Gompers, saying she felt the time had come when great bodies of men should give practical assistance to the cause of woman suffrage. She had urged that able women should be permitted to present the subject to their conventions and that the delegates should petition Congress to submit an amendment which would enable women to vote, and thus continued:

Now that our government is proposing to formulate constitutions for the Hawaiian Islands, Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, I want not only that women should petition Congress to leave the adjective "male" out of their

suffrage clause, but also I want to rouse the men of all the different associations to declare for woman suffrage and to join with us in demanding of Congress the establishment of a genuine republican form of government in all of these islands, instead of foisting upon them sex oligarchies. In all probability there will be a larger ratio of intelligent women in all of these newly-acquired Territories than of men, because the vast majority of missionaries and teachers will be educated, cultivated women, as will be the wives of the business men who go there and of the officials who will be sent by the United States. It will surely be a great crime for Congress to compel all these intelligent women to be without any voice in the government under which they live. I am sure you will agree with me and will help me to secure the weight of the influence of all the workingmen's organizations possible.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Gompers sent a cordial answer and she was assured that an opportunity would be given her to present her question. On the morning of December 12 Miss Anthony spoke for half-an-hour to Per Gradus, a woman's club, and in the afternoon she had just lain down for the daily nap when word came from Secretary Frank Morrison that she was to go at once and address the Labor Convention. She dressed quickly and hastened to the hall where she was received with the greatest enthusiasm. She made her argument and the four hundred delegates adopted by a rising vote a strong resolution demanding that Congress take the necessary steps for enfranchising women.<sup>2</sup> Miss Anthony was so happy she forgot she was tired and went to a Unitarian supper and fair where she was the belle of the evening.

The next day Miss Anthony visited a photographer and with her usual kindness gave a number of sittings. She then acceded to a request that she would address the students of Spencer's Business College and spoke forty minutes. After this she went with Miss Octavia W. Bates to lunch at the country home of ex-Senator T. W. Palmer. While in Detroit she was the guest of her cousins, Mr. and Mrs. B. M. and Mr. and Mrs. Howard M. Anthony. She reached home the night of the 14th and the diary said: "Sister Mary had kept the lamp burning and one eye open till 12 o'clock."

<sup>1</sup> Year after year Miss Anthony sent similar letters to the presidents of all large organizations of men. There never can be an adequate estimate of the amount of work performed by that tireless brain and hand.

<sup>2</sup> For action of other organizations see Chapters LV and LIX.

Miss Anthony "didn't know which plunge to take first—into the mass of letters or the article for the World's Centennial Calendar on the Status of Woman at the close of the Nineteenth Century and the Hope for the Twentieth," but as she loved to write letters and hated to prepare articles, the Calendar waited. The next Sunday she went to hear Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells speak on the Legacy of the Nineteenth Century Women to Those of the Twentieth. The journal said: "She remembered to forget to name the climax of these legacies—the desire for a voice in the government. All the other legacies will be as nothing without this for the Twentieth Century women."

On the 19th Miss Anthony was obliged to go to Butler, Penn., to fill an engagement of Miss Shaw's to lecture before the Teachers' Institute the next day. She spoke an hour-and-a-half to a large and deeply interested audience, and the next morning made a brief address to the teachers in the court house. The evening before her lecture she went to hear Dr. R. S. MacArthur of the Calvary Baptist Church, New York, and the journal said: "He gave S. B. A. a great puff—compared her to Queen Victoria. I ought to have gone up and thanked him, but I sped me to my hotel and to bed." The hotel was crowded and a gentleman kindly gave up his handsome room to her. "But alas! I couldn't sleep for the smell of the creosote everywhere," said the diary. "When I pulled the blankets up around my neck it was fairly suffocating." She was not used to the Pennsylvania coal regions.

Miss Anthony and Miss Mary took Christmas dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Gannett, as they had done so many times before, and there were the usual number of remembrances from far and near, more than usual from abroad because of friendships renewed and made at the International Council of Women within the past year.

During the holiday season the present writer, just home from Europe, was asked by the McClure syndicate to go to Rochester and get Miss Anthony's impressions of Queen Victoria and her reception of the Council. This interview filled several columns and in the course of it she said:

The Queen is a close student of public questions, very conservative in

speech and action, and discriminates carefully in the people and the affairs that receive her personal sanction. This Congress, representing a score of nationalities, stood strongly and unmistakably for the new era in womanhood. These were the uncompromising advocates of the highest education, of the opening of all avenues of employment, including the professions, and of the franchise on the same terms as for men. The Queen was fully cognizant of all this, and her gracious and kindly reception cannot have any other interpretation than approval of the aims of this International Congress of Women. . . .

I thought Her Majesty was a very human looking woman—a good, motherly woman. That is usually one's first impression in meeting royalty or nobility—that they are much like other people—that is, refined and cultured people. It was difficult to realize her age. I always feel when I meet persons who are eighty, "How very old that is!" and then all of a sudden I think, "Why I am eighty myself!" and it seems impossible. The Queen is a most conspicuous example to refute the oft repeated assertion that public life destroys the feminine instincts and unfits women for home duties. As the mother of nine children and head of the largest household in the world, she always has been distinguished for her wifely and maternal devotion and for her thrift and ability in managing her domestic affairs.

Miss Anthony gave many instances and continued: "With all these essentially feminine qualities, nevertheless history shows that she is one of the keenest students of politics, and that, when she signs or withholds her signature from any official document, her decision displays clear discrimination and rigid conscientiousness." After illustrating this point she added with much feeling:

However much I appreciate her splendid record I cannot but remember that in all matters connected with women she has been very conservative, never wholly yielding her assent to any innovation until it was already practically established. I have no recollection of her ever giving her influence for any improvement in the laws relating to women. Take for instance the three great movements in England—the abolition of the Contagious Diseases Act, the obtaining of property rights for wives and of suffrage for women—the Queen has appeared wholly oblivious when a word from her would have turned the scales. . . . The difficulty with the Queen all the way through—one horn or the other of the dilemma we must accept—has been either that she has felt popular sentiment would not sustain her or else she has lacked the philosophy to discern the relation between political power in the hands of women and the improved condition of society which she herself has labored sixty years to secure. I am inclined to think she has failed in this perception rather than that she has desired to cater to the public.

Miss Anthony paid high tribute to the Queen's attitude in opposition to war, but expressed regret that home rule for Ireland

had not been granted during her reign, saying: "Civilization and education have gone so far that it is impossible for the people of any progressive colony or nation to be content without local self-government and a proportional share in national representation." She thus concluded: "However I do not wish to go into the politics or the religion of this contest. It is a family and a church feud and not one for outsiders to try to settle. On this, as on all public questions, whether between nations or the parties within a nation, I must hold to the one conclusion, viz: They never can be settled wisely, justly or permanently except by the combined judgment of men and women, instead of that of men alone, and with due regard to the will of the whole instead of one-half the people."

An amusing illustration of the way Miss Anthony utilized every moment of other people's time as well as her own occurred during this few days' stay. Scarcely was the ink dry on this interview when she began bringing down into the study arm-loads of dusty documents from the attic, and to an amazed inquiry she made answer, "I've been thinking for some time that we ought to put into pamphlet form all of the favorable Congressional Reports ever made on woman suffrage and we'll do it right now!" And, thanks to Miss Anthony's energy and determination and her habit of saving the records, the twelve-page pamphlet was put into shape, which is still in circulation, containing a résumé of these valuable reports. It does not state what is the indisputable fact that all but one of these reports were the direct result of Miss Anthony's own personal effort.<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet closes with this paragraph:

No petitions for human liberty have equalled in the number of signatures those presented to Congress during the past thirty years by the women of the nation asking for their enfranchisement. They urge the submission of the Sixteenth Amendment in order that this question may be taken before the Legislatures of the various States, instead of having to depend upon the slow process of gaining the consent of the masses of voters in each separate State. Not a step in the progress of women—higher education, increased property rights, larger industrial opportunities—could have been gained if it had depended upon the individual votes of a majority of the men. It would be only

<sup>1</sup>History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, page 366.

an act of simple justice for Congress to grant their prayer and permit them to refer the final decision to the Legislatures of their respective States.

How many, many times during those thirty years, and six more added to them, did Miss Anthony offer her petitions, arguments and appeals to Congress, only to have them fall on deaf ears, hardened hearts and calloused consciences!

Among many other matters that were claiming the attention of Miss Anthony during this busy year was that of an official representation of the women of the United States at the Paris Exposition of 1900. She considered this of great importance, and, remembering the splendid work of Mrs. Bertha Honore Palmer as president of the Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition, wrote her on the subject and asked if she would accept an appointment as commissioner. Mrs. Palmer answered:

Thank you very much for your kind letter. You are very good to remember me and I am more than ever impressed by your constant care for all the interests of women. It would be most unfortunate if no woman were appointed by our Government for the Paris Exposition, because it would be a retrograde step after our very advanced position during the Columbian Exposition. All the world would notice the changed policy, and the abandonment of the field just when we were carrying conviction to other Governments would be most disastrous. . . .

With the warmest thanks for your kind remembrance and hoping that we soon may have the pleasure of welcoming you to Chicago.

Strong pressure was brought to bear upon President McKinley during 1898 and 1899 and there was supposed to be no doubt that one or more women would be appointed, but under date of December 1, 1899, Mrs. Palmer wrote Miss Anthony:

I fear the President is not going to appoint women on the Paris Commission and I write in haste to say that I think a few letters showing that women are really in earnest would be very valuable at this moment. The appointments will probably be announced soon after Mr. Peck goes to Washington, about December 10.

The point raised is that the President fears, as the Act of Congress says he is to appoint twelve "Commissioners," that he cannot legally appoint women. We all know what rubbish that is, and that the President would not like to give to the public such foolishness. A commissioner is "one who is commissioned," without reference to age, sex or previous condition.

Would you be willing to be one of several women at the head of large and

influential organizations to unite in sending him letters that would be almost uniform in substance, thus showing that they were acting together? Your letter should give the resolution passed by your organization asking for the appointment of women; state how many members you have and say further, quite simply, without any effort to argue the question, that you have heard that he hesitates only because he fears it might be illegal to appoint a woman in view of the word "Commissioners" in the Act of Congress, and ask him if he will be good enough to tell you if he so construes the Act, as your organization has a deep interest in learning this decision.

Please add anything that occurs to you about your wish to have women appointed, and that you are sure you must have been misinformed as to his narrow construction of the words of the Act, etc. I know you will pardon my venturing to suggest a form for your letter. It is only because the letters would be stronger if the presidents or organizations seemed to be acting together, and the time is too short for consultations. Argument on the main point is useless, as Mr. McKinley would only make that an excuse for not reading the letters, and really the matter is too plain to require discussion. It is merely a quibble.

I need not say that this is not at all a personal matter with me save that I should feel it a tacit reproach upon the Board of Lady Managers if no women were on the Paris Commission.

I have heard much of your splendid meeting in London. If my invitation had reached me I would surely have been present. With kindest regards and always great sympathy in all your undertakings, as ever yours.

Miss Anthony lost no time in preparing and circulating a strong letter to the President, which was signed by her own organization and many others. She was not satisfied even with this but went in person to make an earnest appeal to Mr. McKinley to appoint a woman commissioner and to name Mrs. Palmer. Later she used her good offices to obtain the appointment of Mrs. May Wright Sewall as official delegate to represent the organized work of women in the United States. Both appointments were made by President McKinley, and the results justified their wisdom.



## CHAPTER LV.

### RESIGNS PRESIDENCY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

1900.



THE belief of Miss Anthony that a large and fruitful field of work lay in presenting the subject of woman suffrage to conventions of men and securing resolutions from them has been referred to. On January 13, 1900, she had an opportunity to address in her own city of Rochester a convention of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union. She spoke by invitation and a full report of her address was taken by their stenographer and published in their official organ. This paper said: "Miss Anthony was greeted with an ovation on entering the room and again on rising to speak, and her first words were lost in the continued applause." Such an audience was most stimulating and she was equal to the occasion; those who heard her said it seemed impossible that in a few weeks she would be eighty years old. She sketched the progressive history of the franchise as it was extended to one class after another until only women were left; then she traced the evolution of woman's work from the home to the factory and showed how men wage earners were suffering from the competition of women's disfranchised and therefore degraded labor, and said: "Slave labor used to be the enemy of free labor, but now that all labor is free we have learned that it must be not only free but enfranchised." She gave many instances of the great disadvantage of being without a vote and said at the close of her speech:

Help women to become enfranchised. Do this that we may be able to join with you to bring about the good that we all desire. Think of the waste of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's life—she is in her eighty-fifth year now, and all of

her working days have been spent in begging for the tools to work with! Think of what she might have done for the world if she had had these at the beginning! And I make bold to say that I myself could have done more if I had had the tools—the ballot and the opportunities that the ballot gives—put into my hands at first instead of having had to spend fifty years in pleading for them. Your own interest demands that you should seek to make women your political equals, for then, instead of their being, as now, a dead weight to drag down all workingmen, a stumbling block in their path, a hindrance to their efforts to secure better wages and more favorable legislation, the workingwomen would be an added strength, politically, industrially, morally.

Women should vote for the sake of the home. By working to give your wives and daughters the ballot you would be working to double the representation of the home in government; for the lowest men—the men who make up the slum vote, the floating vote, the vote that can be bought by anyone for any measure—these men seldom have homes and women in them whose votes could be added to theirs. It is the honest, hardworking men, with homes and families, those who have done most to build up this country and who are the bone and sinew sustaining it today, who have most to gain from women's getting the ballot. But the best argument of all is justice—the sister should have the same rights as her brother, the wife as her husband, the mother as her son. . . .

I appeal to you as men, I appeal to you as brothers, I appeal to you as voters of this republic, clothed with the regal power of the ballot, I appeal to you as sovereigns! We want the same political rights that you have, the same weapons that you have; and we will stand by our fellow women and fellow men as loyally as you now stand by each other.

The printed report punctuated this address with "loud applause," "yes, yes," "you're right," and said, "Miss Anthony closed amid a storm of applause and every delegate in the hall sprang to his feet and stood while the vote of thanks was given." One can hardly overestimate the value of such an argument before the representatives from all parts of the country of this large and influential body of organized labor.<sup>1</sup>

The event of 1900 which ever will be most strongly impressed upon those engaged in the movement for woman suffrage was the retirement of Miss Anthony from the presidency of the National Association. In describing it the writer has drawn freely from the account in the *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume IV, as that was written very soon after the occurrence and under its

<sup>1</sup> For further accounts of Miss Anthony's efforts with conventions see Chapters LIV and LIX.

wonderfully inspiring influence, when every incident was fresh in memory and the enthusiasm still lingered to quicken the mind and vivify the pen.

The convention, February 8-14, was held in Miss Anthony's beloved Washington, the one place above all others which she would choose for the end of her official career, for here the association's annual meetings had begun in 1870 and hither its delegates had journeyed every succeeding year with three exceptions. In no other city did she feel so much at home when presiding over a convention, and in none did the audiences seem so sympathetic, because nowhere else were they so cosmopolitan, and naturally those from all localities who were interested in woman suffrage would come to the meetings. It had been her desire to keep the matter a secret, but, as she expressed it, she "probably confided it to one too many," and so she was obliged to tell a New York paper about the resignation some time before it took place. "It has been for several years my intention," she said, "to hold the presidency only until I had rounded out fourscore, in order that the younger women, who have actually been doing the work of the association for the last decade, might feel that they had on their shoulders the full responsibility before the world." It was so like Miss Anthony to say that the other women had been doing the work for ten years! And then with the optimism which never deserted her she said:

The hardships of the last half-century are forgotten as I look at the wonderful evolution of the womanhood of this nation. From an absolute non-entity in the government of the home, the church and the State, woman is now an authority in the first, a power in the second and a largely recognized factor in the last. In philanthropy, in education and in the social world she takes the lead. With present economic conditions women are the leisure class, and intelligent men are beginning to see the necessity of utilizing their great abilities in the law-making and law-enforcing departments of the Government. When women themselves awake to the ultimate destiny to which all these changes are tending, they will rise en masse to demand their rightful place in the world as the peers of men in the administration of its affairs. If they could only be made to realize what a revolution this will bring about in social and political conditions they would not delay nor shirk their responsibility. That the younger workers, into whose hands I shall commit the sacred trust with the greatest confidence, may speedily bring this to pass is my earnest wish.

Just before the convention opened the present writer said in a syndicate article: "When Miss Susan B. Anthony lays down the gavel this week as president of the National Suffrage Association, she will have rounded out nearly fifty years in office. The most significant fact in this connection is that she has never received one cent of salary, but, on the contrary, has put into the cause every dollar she has earned during all that time. When she dies and her slender annuity ceases, it will be found that she has left behind nothing of a money value as the result of her long and unflagging toil. This result must be measured alone by the difference between the status of women now and fifty years ago. It does not need to be put into words, but just one woman in all the world has given every day of her life for half-a-century to bring about this evolution."

After reviewing the early work of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, it continued:

The first "memorial" ever sent to Congress asking for the enfranchisement of women was prepared by these two in 1867. They, with others, organized in 1869, in New York City, the First National Woman Suffrage Association. Miss Anthony has missed only two or three of its thirty-one annual conventions. How many State and local conventions she has attended it would be impossible to say, but many hundred without doubt. The first "hearing" ever granted to women by a Congressional Committee for the purpose of presenting their claims to the ballot was arranged by her in 1869, and they have appeared before every Congress since that time. The statement can be made without challenge that Miss Anthony has been directly behind all the congressional action ever taken on this subject. How many letters she has written, how many interviews she has held with Senators and Representatives to secure even the little that has been done, never can be computed, and always with mental protest and revolt of spirit. She loathes this begging and importuning, and would infinitely prefer being burned at the stake if that would accomplish the purpose.

Referring to Miss Anthony's declaration that she did not regret giving up the presidency the article said:

And yet those who know her best know that it is not without a pang that she relinquishes the management of an organization which she has controlled since its beginning. When thirty years ago she gave into other hands her paper, *The Revolution*, into which she had put her toil, her ambition, her very soul, she wrote to a friend: "I feel a great, calm sadness like that of a mother binding out a dear child." And this feeling is in her heart today,

but the world will never know it from this heroic Spartan. She has said that the younger women must learn to bear the burdens and accept the responsibilities, but it is not to get rid of these that she retires from office. She comes of a long-lived race and expects to live and work for many years, but, nevertheless, she realizes that after one has passed fourscore the tenure is precarious. There are several important things which she is determined yet to accomplish, and which she cannot do in addition to the arduous duties of her office. . . .

Not long ago as we were walking out together and I was trying to keep pace with her rapid steps, she exclaimed, "Oh, if I were but thirty years younger! The plans crowd upon me and everywhere I see new opportunities for pushing this work, but I can't rouse the women to take advantage of them. They are willing, but they don't know how." And then, like a great General or an experienced politician, she began outlining a campaign, which, if the women of the country had the desire and the ability to carry out, would unquestionably secure the suffrage in a few years. No one can study the victories, legal, civil, political, social, gained by women during the past half-century without recognizing in Susan B. Anthony the master mind which made them possible.

Interest in Miss Anthony's contemplated action soon became wide spread; sketches of her career and of the movement whose history was almost synonymous with her own appeared in most of the leading papers and magazines; special reporters were sent to Washington and the celebration of her eightieth birthday at the close of the convention was in the nature of a national event. Miss Anthony seemed at the very zenith of her powers. She presided at three public sessions of the convention daily and at all the business meetings; held a day's conference and made a speech in Baltimore; conducted the hearing before the Senate Committee; addressed a parlor meeting and attended several dinners and receptions; participated in her own great birthday festivities, afternoon and evening; and remained for nearly a week of executive committee meetings.

As she rose to open the convention there were many a moist eye and tightened throat at the thought that this was the last time. Her fine voice with its rich alto vibrations was as strong and resonant as fifty years ago, and her practical matter-of-fact speech, followed by Miss Shaw's lively stories, soon dispelled the sadness and put the audience in a cheerful mood. Miss Anthony commenced by saying: "I have been attending conventions in Washington for over thirty years. It is good for us to come to

this Mecca, the heart of our nation. Here the members of Congress from all parts of the country meet together to deliberate for the best interests of the whole Government and of their respective States; so our delegates assemble here to plan for the best interests of our cause in the nation and in their individual States. We come here to learn how we may do more and more for the spread of the doctrine of equality, but chiefly to study how to get the States to concentrate their efforts on Congress. Our final aim is an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing that no citizen over whom the Stars and Stripes wave shall be debarred from suffrage except for cause."

In beginning her vice-president's address Miss Shaw said: "Before giving my report I want to tell a story against Miss Anthony. We suffragists have been called everything under the sun, and when there has been nothing else quite bad enough for us we have been called infidels, which includes everything. Once we went to hold a convention in a particularly orthodox city in New York, and Miss Anthony, wishing to impress upon the audience that we were not atheists, introduced me as 'a regularly-ordained orthodox minister, the Rev. Anna H. Shaw, my right bower!' That orthodox audience all seemed to know what a 'right bower' is, for they laughed even louder than you do. After the meeting Miss Anthony said to me, 'Anna, what did I say to make the people laugh so?' I answered, 'You called me your right bower.' She said, 'Well, you are my right-hand man. That is what right bower means, isn't it?' And this orthodox minister had to explain to her Quaker friend what a right bower is."

Miss Shaw told of the universal recognition accorded Miss Anthony at the International Council of Women in London the preceding year, and the latter afterwards gave her own report of the Council, in the course of which she said:

Every young woman who is today enjoying the advantages of free schools, opportunities to earn a living and other enlarged rights for women, is a child of the woman suffrage movement. This larger freedom has broadened and strengthened women wonderfully. At the end of the Council, Lady Aberdeen, who had been its president for six years, in a published interview summing up the work of the women who had been present, said there was no denying that the English-speaking women stood head and shoulders above all the

others in their knowledge of parliamentary law, and that at the very top were those of the United States and Canada—the two freest parts of the world. I answered: "If the women of the United States, with their free schools and all their enlarged liberties, are not superior to women brought up under monarchical forms of government, then there is no good in liberty." It is because of this freedom that Europeans are always struck with the greater self-poise, self-control and independence of American women. These characteristics will be still more marked when we have mingled more with men in their various meetings. It is only by the friction of intellect with intellect that these desirable qualities can be gained.

After a graphic account of the honors they received Miss Anthony concluded: "What I wish most to impress upon you is this: If we had represented nothing but ourselves we should have been nowhere. Wendell Phillips used to say, 'When I speak as an individual I represent only myself, but when I speak for the American Anti-Slavery Society, I represent every one in the country who believes in Liberty.' It was because Miss Shaw and I represented you and all that makes for freedom that we were so well received, and I want you to feel that all the honors paid to us were paid to you."

Later in reporting as chairman of the Congressional Committee, Miss Anthony said: "One reason why so little has been done by Congress is because none of us has remained here to watch our employees up at the Capitol. Nobody ever gets anything done by Congress or a State Legislature except by having some one on hand to look out for it. We need a Watching Committee." In closing the hearing before the Senate Committee she urged them to report in favor of an amendment to the National Constitution; described the hardships women had endured in making State campaigns, and said:

Now here is all we ask of you, gentlemen—to save us women from any more tramps over the States, such as we have made now fifteen times. In nine of those campaigns I myself made a canvass from county to county. In my own State of New York at the time of the constitutional convention in 1894, I visited every county of the sixty—I was not then eighty years of age, but seventy-four. . . .

There is an enemy of the homes of this nation and that enemy is drunkenness. Everyone connected with the gambling house, the brothel and the saloon works and votes solidly against the enfranchisement of women, and, I say, if you believe in chastity, if you believe in honesty and temperance, then

do what the enemy wants you not to do, which is to take the necessary steps to put the ballot in the hands of women. . . .

I pray you to think of this question as you would if the one-half of the people who are disfranchised were men, if we women had absolute power to control every condition in this country and you were obliged to obey the laws and submit to whatever arrangements we made. I want you to report on this question exactly as if the masculine half of the people were the ones who were deprived of this right to a vote in governmental affairs. You would not be long in bringing in a favorable report if you were the ones who were disfranchised and denied a voice in your government. If it were not women—if it were the farmers of this country, the manufacturers or any class of men who were robbed of their inalienable rights, then we would see that class rising in rebellion and the Government shaken to its very foundation; but being women, being only the mothers, daughters, wives and sisters of men who constitute the aristocracy, we have to submit.

These hearings were usually serious affairs but this one was relieved by an element of genuine humor in the appearance for the first time of the Anti-suffragists. These ladies had frequently descended upon various Legislatures when the suffrage advocates were to address committees, and now half-a-dozen of them, instead of arranging for their own hearing, deliberately proposed to take part of the time which had been granted to the advocates of suffrage. They did not know that admission was by ticket and when those who presented themselves at the Marble Room of the Senate could not get in, the wicked suffragists laughed in glee and gloated over their predicament. But when Miss Anthony arrived and learned the situation she directed the door keeper to admit them, introduced them to the chairman, gave them the best seats and later agreed that they should read their little papers. Afterwards they denied, in the *New York Sun*, that she extended any of these courtesies but Miss Anthony herself confirmed the above statement, and the present writer has a lively recollection of being hustled by Miss Anthony out of her own good front seat and seeing one of the "antis" installed therein.<sup>1</sup>

Miss Emily Bissell said in her argument (?): "I have never yet been so situated that I could see where a vote could help *me*."

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who had charge of the arrangements for this Senate hearing, indorses absolutely this statement regarding Miss Anthony and the anti-suffragists. The quotations from their speeches were copied from the report of the hearing made by the stenographer of the Senate Committee.



If I felt that it would I might become a suffragist perhaps." A broad and altruistic view to take of a great economic question! Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge convulsed her hearers by begging the committee not to be influenced by the "purely sentimental reasons of the petitioners"—a queer misfit of a description when applied to woman suffrage speeches—and said: "The mere fact that this amendment is asked as a compliment to the leading advocate on the attainment of her eightieth birthday is evidence of the emotional frame of mind which influences the advocates of this measure, and which is scarcely favorable to the calm consideration that should be given to fundamental political principles." Miss Anthony's birthday had not been referred to in any way but Mrs. Dodge had written her speech before she came, and, as she probably did not know that the suffragists had been asking committees thirty years for this amendment, she doubtless thought it had just occurred to them that it would make a nice birthday present for Miss Anthony to take home with her.

After the delegates returned to the hotel and were discussing the events of the morning Miss Anthony observed, "Those statesmen eyed us very closely but I'll wager that it was impossible after we got mixed together to tell an anti from a suffragist by her clothes. There might have been a difference, though, in the expression of the faces and the shape of the heads," she added without a smile.

President McKinley received the members of the convention in the East Room of the White House, Miss Anthony at his right hand introducing them. After he had greeted the last guest, he invited her to accompany him upstairs to meet Mrs. McKinley, who was not well enough to receive all of the ladies. Giving her his arm he led her up the old, historic staircase, "as tenderly as if he had been my own son," she said afterward. When she was leaving after a pleasant call, Mrs. McKinley expressed a wish to send some message to the convention, and she and the President together filled Miss Anthony's arms with white lilies, which graced the platform during the remainder of the meetings.

The *Washington Post*, which for so many years had welcomed

Miss Anthony and her little army to the Capitol, said of her retirement from office :

Miss Susan B. Anthony has resigned. The woman who for the greater part of her life has been the star that guided the National Woman Suffrage Association through all of its vicissitudes until it stands today a living monument to her wonderful mental and physical ability, has turned over the leadership to younger minds and hands, not because this great woman feels that she is no longer capable of exercising it, but because she has a still larger work to accomplish before her life's labors are at an end. In a speech which was characteristic of one who has done so much toward the uplifting of her sex, Miss Anthony tendered her resignation during the preliminary meeting of the executive committee, held last night at the headquarters in the parlors of the Riggs House.

Although Miss Anthony had positively stated that she would resign in 1900, there were many of those present who were visibly shocked when she announced that she was about to relinquish her position as president of the association. In the instant hush which followed this statement a sorrow settled over the countenances of the fifty women seated about the room who love and venerate Miss Anthony so much, and probably some of them would have broken down had it not been that they knew well her antipathy to public emotion. In a happy vein, which soon drove the clouds of disappointment from the faces of those present, she explained why she no longer desired to continue as an officer of the association after having done so since its beginning.

"I have fully determined," she began, "to retire from the active presidency of the association. I was elected secretary of a woman suffrage society in 1852, and from that day to this have always held an office. I am not retiring now because I feel unable, mentally or physically, to do the necessary work, but because I wish to see the organization in the hands of those who are to have its management in the future. I want to see you all at work, while I am alive, so I can scold if you do not do it well. Give the matter of selecting your officers serious thought. Consider who will do the best work for the political enfranchisement of women and let no personal feelings enter into the question."

When Henry B. Blackwell, chairman of the committee on resolutions, read the one expressing regret at her resignation and paying a tribute of appreciation and regard, many of the delegates were on the point of giving way to their grief, but Miss Anthony quickly arose and in clear, even tones, with a touch of quaint humor, said :

I wish you could realize with what joy and relief I retire from the presidency. I want to say this to you while I am yet alive—and I am good for another decade—as long as my name stands at the head I am Yankee enough to feel that I must watch every potato which goes into the dinner pot and

supervise every detail of the work. For the four years since I fixed my date to retire I have constantly been saying to myself, "Let go, let go." I am now going to let go of the machinery but not of the spiritual part. I expect to do more work for woman suffrage in the next decade than ever before. I have not been for nearly fifty years in this movement without gaining a certain "notoriety" at least, and this enables me to get a hearing before the annual conventions of many great national bodies and to urge on them the passage of resolutions asking Congress to submit to the State Legislatures a Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex. This is a part of the work to which I mean to devote myself henceforward. Then you all know about the big fund which I am going to raise so that you young women may have an assured income for the work and not have to spend the most of your time begging money, as I have had to do.

Although Miss Anthony disclaimed any intention of naming her successor it was well understood that the delegates would desire to vote for the woman whom she thought most capable of carrying on the work of the association. This she felt could be done equally well by the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president-at-large, or Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the organization committee, but the former, feeling that her best work could be done in the lecture field, had declined to be a candidate, and so the delegates willingly and gladly turned to Mrs. Catt, though eleven of them still persisted in casting their ballots for Miss Anthony. The *Post* said: "There was a touching scene when the vote for Mrs. Chapman Catt was announced. First there was an outburst of applause, and then as though all at once every one realized that she was witnessing the passing of Susan B. Anthony, their beloved president, the deepest silence prevailed for several seconds. Lifelong members of the association, who had toiled and struggled by her side, could not restrain their emotions and wept in spite of their efforts at self-control." The *Washington Star* thus described the occasion:

Miss Anthony was made a committee of one to present Mrs. Catt to the convention, and the women went wild, as, erect and alert, she walked to the front of the platform, holding the hand of her young coworker of whom she is extremely fond and expects great things. Miss Anthony's eyes were tear-dimmed, and her tones were uneven, as she presented to the convention its choice of a leader in words freighted with love and tender solicitude, rich with reminiscences of the past, and full of hope for the future of the new

president and her work. "Suffrage is no longer a theory but an actual condition," she said, "and new conditions bring new duties. These new duties, these changed conditions, demand stronger hands, younger heads and fresher hearts. In Mrs. Catt you have my ideal leader. I present to you my successor."

By this time half the women were using their handkerchiefs on their eyes and the other half were waving them in the air.

The object of all this praise stood with downcast eyes and evidently was deeply moved. At length she said in response:

Good friends, I should hardly be human if I did not feel gratitude and appreciation for the confidence you have shown me; but I feel the honor of the position much less than its responsibility. I never was an aspirant for it; I consented only six weeks ago to stand; I was not willing to be the next president after Miss Anthony; I have known that there was a general loyalty to her which could not be given to any younger worker. Since Miss Anthony announced her intention to retire, there have been editorials in many leading papers expressing approval of her—but not of the cause. She has been much larger than our association. The papers have spoken of the new president as Miss Anthony's successor. Miss Anthony never will have a successor.

A president chosen from the younger generation is on a level with the association, and it might suffer in consequence of Miss Anthony's retirement if we did not still have her to counsel and advise us. I pledge you whatever ability God has given me, but I cannot do this work alone. The cause has got beyond where one woman can do the whole. I shall not be its leader as Miss Anthony has been; I shall be only an officer of this association. I will do all I can, but I cannot do it without the co-operation of each of you. The responsibility much overbalances the honor and I hope you will all help me bear the burden.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery relieved the tension by a motion to make Miss Anthony honorary president, which was adopted with applause. She responded in her usual off-hand, informal way, "You have moved me up higher. I always did stand by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and my name was always after hers, and I am glad to have it there again."

Not once during the convention did Miss Anthony lose her remarkable poise. On the last evening the Church of Our Father was crowded to its full capacity, people filled the aisles, sat on the edge of the platform and thronged the vestibule and sidewalk trying to gain admission. At the close of Mrs. Chapman Catt's scholarly address Miss Anthony turned to the audience and asked with a note of triumph in her voice, "Do you think the three



CLARA BARTON.

FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS AND ITS PRESIDENT TWENTY-THREE YEARS.  
FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL FIRST AID ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

hundred delegates made a mistake in choosing that woman for president?" She then presented Miss Clara Barton, president of the Red Cross Association, as one who had stood by her side on the platform of the first national suffrage convention ever held. When the applause subsided Miss Anthony observed, "Politically her opinion is worth no more than an idiot's."

At the close of the evening's program Miss Anthony came forward, and, the audience realizing that she was about to say good-by, there was a profound stillness, with every eye and ear strained to the utmost. A woman who loved the theatrical and posed for effect would have taken advantage of this opportunity to create a dramatic scene and make her exit in the midst of tears and lamentations, but nothing could be further from Miss Anthony's nature. Her voice rang out as strong and true as if making an old-time speech on the rights of women, and with the splendid courage which was the keynote of her life she gave not a sign of what those who were nearest and dearest to her knew was lying heavy on her heart. The farewell address of Washington was not listened to with more reverence, more tenderness, more regret than these parting words of the mother of her countrywomen. "Once I was the most hated and reviled of women," she said, and here her voice broke for the only time, "now, it seems as if everybody loves me!" This was the sole reference to the long, hard struggle of the past, and almost the only allusion to herself. What she did was to seize the opportunity of this immense and appreciative audience and tell them all about that great fund she was raising and say that the way to show their appreciation of her work was to subscribe to this fund and help it along; half-a-million dollars was the inside limit, only the interest to be used, and she was going to be President of the Board of Trustees herself for the next ten years.

Then the second characteristic act, when everybody was thinking only of her, was to summon to the front of the platform her "body guard," as she called the members of the National Suffrage Board who had stood by her through the stress and storm of the years, in order to express her deep obligation to them. The daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the daughter of Lucy Stone,

her own two devoted nieces, were also lovingly introduced. The pioneers who were associated in her early work received a loyal tribute and she regretted that she could not take the time to name them all. Everybody was remembered but herself, everyone given her full share of credit in measure heaped and running over. Here was the secret of Miss Anthony's wonderful hold upon women.

The great crowd sang the doxology but even then seemed unwilling to leave. Hundreds crowded upon the platform to take Miss Anthony's hand and others lingered in the aisle and around the door gazing at the scene as if to impress it forever on their memory. Many of the old workers felt as if the curtain had been rung down never to be lifted again, but others were able to believe that it was only for a change of scene. Although the mental and physical vigor of Miss Anthony seemed unimpaired, those who knew her best sustained her in her feeling that she should be relieved of the burdens of office, which were growing heavier all the time, and be free to devote her remaining years to important lines of work which could be done only by herself. Nevertheless they fully realized the import of her yielding the leadership of this great movement, which she had practically held for nearly fifty years, and, while they tried to imitate her own cheerfulness and philosophy, they could not banish the keen regret, the heavy sorrow, the heartache that never entirely ceased.

The tributes paid to Miss Anthony in the press of the country would fill a volume of considerable size, and those written by women were especially touching. One of three columns by Miss Janet Jennings, for many years the Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, began: "There is no sign of the doubts, discouragements and disappointments out of which Miss Anthony lifted the cause of equal rights. With no trace of bitterness, no remembrance of the 'slings and arrows' of the past, she turns her face to the future, bright, hopeful and serenely confident, as if life were all before her and the attainment of the end already fulfilled. This is Susan B. Anthony at eighty—the grand woman, the great leader. . . . Her optimism is sublime, her persistence supreme. Through the darkest night she sees the dawn, and

her purpose never wavers, her footstep never falters before obstacles piled mountain high."

Another gifted journalist, Mrs. Isabel Worrell Ball, said in the *Washington Star*: "To grow old gracefully is an art and few achieve it, but today one American woman, having reached four-score years, still stands pre-eminent among her sisters as the embodiment of all that is high in mental development and fine in moral fiber." After describing the persecutions of early days she continued:

Under this load of contumely many as well-meaning but weaker women went to the wall, but not so Miss Anthony. The fires of travail burned out of her soul the little dross that nature implanted there and the pure gold which nothing tarnishes was left.

Fifty years just round out the period of her real public life. Last night as she stood before a vast audience in the Church of Our Father, the lights gleaming on her silvery hair, her strong, true face so framed by it that it appeared almost like a halo; as she awaited the silence that it seemed never would come from the shouting multitude; as she saw the waving handkerchiefs, heard the cheers and felt the enthusiasm that her very presence inspired—there must have come back to her the memory of those awful days when she stood before the howling mobs and when her gently-bred senses were stunned by the imprecations of the jeering populace, for she raised her thin, white hand, with delicate lace falling around it, and in the strong, clear voice which age has not touched and time only softened, said: "There is, after all, compensation. Good friends, I have been reviled most of my life; I have been scoffed and jeered at; I have heard myself called dreadful names and have been the target for every kind of discourtesy—but tonight I am ready to believe that there are people who love and respect me. I am indeed grateful."

Over and over again the audience cheered the white-haired woman who stood there like a statue, and on her high brow, but little lined with the weight of years, one could almost see the word "vindicated."

In her department in the *New York Sun* the present writer thus referred to one conspicuous feature connected with Miss Anthony's retirement from a leadership which had to be resigned before she had carried her hosts to the long-sought victory:

It often requires the martyrdom of a great leader to shock the community into a recognition of the justice of the cause for which he has been sacrificed. The pages of history record many examples in proof of this, and the most conspicuous since the death of John Brown is seen in the passing of Susan B. Anthony. It is true that she still lives, but she now relinquishes to younger



women the cause in which she has suffered martyrdom for a half-a-century, and, while she possesses still a full measure of mental and physical vigor, the world understands that after fourscore years the most of one's work lies behind him. And so the people all over the country, with quickened consciences, are aroused to the fact that by their indifference or opposition another sacrifice has been added to the long list of those who have wrought for liberty. Editors who have been silent all these years have spoken of late in the pages of the great daily newspapers in favor of the object for which she has labored. Prominent men have declared their allegiance, and an army of women, many times larger than ever before, has poured into the suffrage convention to pledge their services to carry on the work to completion. Never in any decade of its history has this movement for the enfranchisement of women received such a forward impulse as during the year which has elapsed since it became known that its pioneer, its founder, its Commander-in-Chief was to resign the active leadership.

## CHAPTER LVI.

### THE EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.

1900.



ALTHOUGH it was arranged that a number of gifts were to be presented to Miss Anthony at her birthday celebration, it seemed advisable that there should be a little ceremony at another time for a part of them, and so, during a lull in the business of the convention on the last day, the president-elect, Mrs. Chapman Catt, coming to the front of the platform, said: "A surprise was promised as part of this afternoon's program and a pleasant duty now falls to me. It is to present Miss Anthony with the spirit of a gift, for the gift itself is not here. Suffrage people from all over the world go to see Miss Anthony at her home in Rochester, N. Y., and consequently the carpets of the parlor and sitting-room are getting a little worn. When she goes home she will find two beautiful Smyrna rugs fitting the floors of those two rooms—the gift of her suffrage friends. I am also commissioned to present her with an album. Some of our naughty officers have been making fun of it and saying that albums are now out of date; but this one contains the photographs of all the presidents of the State Suffrage Associations, and the chairmen of standing committees. No collection of 'antis' could be found that would present in their faces as much intelligence and strength of character."

Miss Anthony, looking very much surprised, expressed her thanks and observed, "These girls have disproved the old saying that a secret cannot be kept by a woman, for I have not heard a word of a rug or a picture." She had urgently requested that birthday testimonials might take the form of contributions to the permanent fund which she expected to raise for suffrage work, and a considerable amount was sent for this purpose. Many of

her friends, however, expressly stipulated that their gifts were for her own personal use. From memoranda available these seem to have amounted to a little over \$1,200 in money, the greater part in sums less than \$20, many of them less than \$5, and even these representing sacrifice on the part of the senders. Through its president, Mrs. Margaret N. Caine, there came from the Utah Silk Commission, composed of women, a handsome black brocaded dress pattern, wholly the work of women. A silver vase was presented by "the free women of Idaho," and also an album of two hundred pages of pen drawings, water colors and pressed flowers, with a sentiment on each page, the contributions of as many individuals, collected by Mrs. Mell C. Woods. From many States were presents of solid silver, fine hand-decorated china, sofa cushions, books, pictures, jewelry, lace, chatelaine bags, handkerchiefs, flowers and endless other tokens of love and appreciation. To each Miss Anthony responded with a terse sentence or two, half-tender, half-humorous; the audience entered fully into the spirit of it all, and the convention for a while was like a big family enjoying the birthday of one of its members.<sup>1</sup>

The day following the convention was the eightieth anniversary of Miss Anthony's birth, and suffragists had come from all parts of the country to assist in celebrating it. Mrs. Chapman Catt presided and the following program was carried out except that Mrs. Birney and Dr. Smith were unavoidably absent.

CELEBRATION OF THE EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

OF

SUSAN B. ANTHONY,

AT THE

LAFAYETTE OPERA HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 15, 1900.

*Song* ..... John W. Hutchinson

<sup>1</sup>As there is no complete list of donors it seems best not to attempt a mention of names. They were principally those whose generosity has been often referred to in preceding pages. During this birthday week Miss Anthony received over 1,100 letters and telegrams, which required a telescope valise to carry them to her home where each was acknowledged by her.

- Greetings from  
 National Congress of Mothers,  
 Mrs. Theodore Weld Birney, President  
 National Council of Women,  
 Fannie Humphreys Gaffney, President  
 International Council of Women,  
 May Wright Sewall, President
- Greetings from the Professions:  
 Ministry .....Rev. Ida C. Hultin  
 Law .....Diana Hirschler  
 Medicine .....Dr. Julia Holmes Smith  
*Violin Solo—Hungarian Rhapsodie (Hansen)*.....Joseph H. Douglass
- Greetings from  
 Business Women.....Lillian M. Hollister  
 Colored Women.....Coralie Franklin Cook  
 District Equal Suffrage Association.....Ellen Powell Thompson
- Greetings from the Enfranchised States:  
 Wyoming .....Helen M. Warren  
 Colorado .....Virginia Morrison Shafroth  
 Utah .....Emily S. Richards  
 Idaho .....Mell C. Woods  
 "Love's Rosary" (poem).....Lydia Avery Coonley-Ward  
 Greeting from Elizabeth Cady Stanton.....Harriot Stanton Blatch  
 Greeting from the National American Suffrage Association  
 tion .....Rev. Anna Howard Shaw  
 Response .....Susan B. Anthony

TO SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

The gibe and ridicule and social frown,  
 That through long years her faithful life assailed,  
 Are dead and vanished; as a queen now hailed,  
 Upon her reverend brow rests Honor's crown.  
 A faith that faced all adverse fortune down,  
 A courage that in trial never failed,  
 A scorn of self that grievous weight entailed,  
 Have blossomed into laurels of renown.  
 As, after days of bitter storm and blast,  
 The chilling wind becomes a breeze of balm,  
 Billows subside, and sea-tossed vessels cast  
 Their anchors in the restful harbor calm,  
 So this brave life has gained its haven blest,  
 Bathed in the sunset glories of the west.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Birthday Celebration Committee: Carrie Chapman Catt, Chairman, New York; Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Pennsylvania; Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio;

Emily M. Gross, Illinois; Frances P. Burrows, Michigan; Helen M. Warren, Wyoming; Lucy E. Anthony, Pennsylvania; Harriot Stanton Blatch, England; May Wright Sewall, Indiana; Mary B. Clay, Kentucky; Rachel Foster Avery, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

Never was there a more representative body of women than the one which gathered in Lafayette Opera House that day. It was representative because all classes, colors and conditions were present. Admission was by ticket and every seat was filled, even to the loft. Probably several hundred men were there, but it was preëminently a woman's meeting—wives of high officials, prominent society leaders, colored women, wage-earners, young and old, married and single. The enthusiasm was unbounded, the audience springing to their feet again and again, waving handkerchiefs, laughing and crying by turn. The queen of the occasion sat in a large arm-chair, over which was thrown an elegant cloak of purple velvet, lined with white satin and trimmed with lace and ermine, making a beautiful background. Her gown was richly decorated with lace, and the full vest of chiffon was no whiter and softer than the silver hair which crowned her shapely head. She looked very pale and tired, for the strain of the last ten days had been severe, but there was not a happier woman in the world. She saw the cause which she loved infinitely better than life placed on a high and sure foundation; the principles which she had advocated through the long years accepted with universal respect and increasing favor; the women whom she had set free—ministers, lawyers, physicians, teachers and those in the business world—sembled from all parts of the country to express their gratitude to their benefactor.

The *Woman's Tribune* thus began its report:

There never has been before, and, in the nature of things, there never can be again, a personal celebration having the significant relation to the woman

<sup>1</sup> In a letter written soon after this occasion Miss Anthony said: "The birthday celebration was ideal. Mrs. Avery, who arranged the program, had everything carried out in perfect order and exactly on time. That young woman has been my right hand for twenty years in all such matters, and she has planned the programs and seen them carried out for nearly every convention we have had during that time. This winter she arranged not only the one for the birthday but also those of the two Congressional hearings and the twelve public sessions of the convention—programs in all for fifteen separate occasions."

suffrage movement which marked that of Miss Anthony's eightieth birthday. When Mrs. Stanton's eightieth anniversary was celebrated five years ago she had already retired from the active leadership of the organization; the program was in charge of the National Council of Women and was largely in the nature of a jubilee for the whole woman movement, although rallying around Mrs. Stanton as a center. Lucretia Mott's eightieth birthday came before it had gained the impetus necessary for such a celebration. Lucy Stone passed on in 1893 before reaching this ripe age, and now there is no one left in the lead who represents the earliest stage of the work but Miss Anthony.

It was the fairest and sunniest day of all the good convention weather. On the stage were the Birthday Committee, a large number of persons who had been thirty years or more in the work, relatives of Miss Anthony and the national officers. Miss Anthony's entrance while the Ladies' Mandolin Club were playing was greeted with long-continued applause. The presiding officer, after stating that the gains of the last half-century in all lines relating to women were largely due to the guest of the occasion and her fellow-workers, said: "When Miss Anthony began her labors there were practically no organizations of women; now they are numbered by thousands. The crown of the whole is the union of all associations, the National Council of Women. Its president will now address us."

Mrs. Gaffney said in her tribute:

. . . The Christian world reckoned by centuries is just coming of age. Therefore women are beginning to put away childish things and to realize the greatness of womanhood. They have had to let ideals wait. They submitted to conditions because they were afraid that if they did not man would take to the woods and become again a wild barbarian. They were flattered by the fact that men liked them as they were, and they failed to realize that their power to civilize was God-given. They needed a leader to rally them, to give them the courage of their convictions, and such a leader Miss Anthony has been. She spoke to the world in tones which rang out so clear and true that they will echo down the centuries. Some who had been protected and petted were slow to rally; others who had broader views accepted sooner the doctrine of rights—not privileges—of rights for all women. Miss Anthony taught us the sisterhood of women, and that the privileges of one class could not offset the wrongs of another. . . .

Mrs. Sewall, president of the International Council of Women, composed of the Councils of thirteen nations, and the largest organization of women in the world, said in part:

It is proper that the International Council should remember today "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and to pay tribute to the organization which it may not regard as other than its direct progenitor. There are certain incidents, simple in themselves, in which probably the actors are always at the time quite unconscious of their perennial significance, and yet

which become landmarks in the evolution of the human spirit. Such are Thermopylæ and Marathon and Bunker Hill. Such was that first convention at Seneca Falls. . . . The light from that meeting, springing from a vital source, has vitalized every point it has touched. Other torches lit by that have become beacon lights, and every one has stood for the illumination of women. . . .

In the name and in the blended tongues of the women of the different nationalities who belong to the International Council, I salute and congratulate you. . . . I beg the proud honor of placing your name, Miss Anthony, among the list of patrons of the Council as a birthday gift, where it shall one day be pronounced in every language. . . .

The Rev. Ida C. Hultin brought the gratitude of the ministers, saying:

. . . Women have failed to see that the work of every woman has touched that of every other. The woman who works with the hand helps her who works with the brain. Today we know there could be no choice of work until there was freedom of choice to work. O, beloved leader, we of the ministry, as they of all ministries of service, bring our greetings and benediction. I hear the voices which shall tell of the new gospel and among them are the glad tones of women and the intonations of this one who spake in tears, who dared to speak before other tongues were loosed. Years will never silence that voice. Woman in her highest moods will catch the cadence of its melody and in the future there shall be that which will work the enlightenment of the world because you have lived and ever shall live. . . .

Miss Hirschler thus closed the tribute of her profession: "In future generations when courts of law shall have become courts of justice, women lawyers will think of Susan B. Anthony as one who paved the way and made this possible."

Mrs. Hollister said in part: "Miss Anthony has opened the portals of activities, has dignified labor, has made it possible for women to manage their own affairs—four millions today earning independent incomes. Women have given their lives for philanthropies and reforms, but the one we honor today gave hers for woman. Olive Schreiner tells of an artist who painted a wonderful picture and none could learn what pigments he used. When he died a wound was found over his heart; he had painted his masterpiece with his own blood. Such women as Miss Anthony are painting their masterpieces with their life's blood."

Mrs. Cook with a dignity and simplicity which won the audience, said:

. . . It is fitting on this occasion, when the hearts of women the world over are turned to this day and hour, that the colored women of the United States should join in the expressions of love and praise offered to Miss Anthony upon her eightieth birthday. . . . She is to us not only the high priestess of woman's cause but the courageous defender of rights wherever assailed.

We hold in high esteem her strong and noble womanhood, for in her untiring zeal, her uncompromising stand for justice to women, her unflinching friendship for all good work, she herself is a stronger and better argument in favor of woman's rights than the most gifted orator could put into words. When she first championed woman's cause, humiliation followed her footsteps and injustice barred the door of her progress among even the most favored classes of society; while among the less enlightened and the enslaved classes the wrongs which woman suffered were too terrible to mention. Carlyle has said, "Beware when the great God lets loose a thinker upon this earth." When Susan B. Anthony was born, a thinker was "let loose." Her voice and pen have lighted a torch whose sacred fire, like that of some old Roman temples, dies not, but whose penetrating rays shall brighten the path of women down the long line of ages yet to come. Our children and our children's children will be taught to honor her memory, for they shall be told that she has been always in the vanguard of the immortal few who have stood for the great principles of human rights. Grandeur than any other achievement that has crowned the work of woman in this woman's century has been that which has led her away from the narrow valley of custom and prejudice up to the lofty heights where she can accept the divine teaching that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

Not until the suffrage movement had awakened woman to her responsibility and power, did she come to appreciate the true significance of Christ's pity for Magdalene as well as of his love for Mary; not till then was the work of Pundita Ramabai in far away India as sacred as that of Frances Willard at home in America; not till she had suffered under the burden of her own wrongs and abuses did she realize the all-important truth that no woman and no class of women can be degraded and all womankind not suffer thereby.

And so, Miss Anthony, in behalf of the hundreds of colored women who wait and hope with you for the day when the ballot shall be in the hands of every intelligent woman; and also in behalf of the thousands who sit in darkness and whose condition we shall expect those ballots to better, whether they be in the hands of white women or black, I offer you my warmest gratitude and congratulations.

Mrs. Thompson presented \$200 with the following tribute:

. . . In behalf of the suffragists of the District of Columbia, both men and women, I am happy to say, I am deputized to present to you a gift which expresses their regard and love for you as well as their appreciation of the almost superhuman efforts you have made for the past fifty years to secure justice and civil and political equality for women.

The gift is in the form of what is often called "the sinews of war"—money.



Not coarse, dead cash, such as passes from hand to hand in everyday transactions, but money every penny of which is alive with sincere thanks and earnest, loving wishes for happiness and continued success in all your endeavors. . . .

We do not hail you, love you, as one who has made woman's life easier, strewn it with more rose leaves of idleness, shielded it from more stress and storm, but as one who has taken the grander, truer view, that by equally sharing stress and storm, by equal effort and work, by equality in rights, privileges, powers and opportunities with man—her other self—woman will evolve and will reach her loftiest, loveliest development. Not as an apostle of ease, shrinking fear and parasitism do we regard you, but as the apostle, the incarnation of work, of high courage, of deathless endeavor.

We wish our gift were myriad-fold greater, but it could never express more appreciation of what you stand for and what you are—a *Liberator of Woman*.

Mrs. Helen M. Warren, wife of the Senator from Wyoming, speaking in a fine, resonant voice which would do credit to any legislative hall, read the poem written by Miss Phœbe Cary for the celebration of Miss Anthony's fiftieth anniversary, presented her with a brooch, a little American flag made of gold and jewels, and said: "I feel honored on this, your eightieth birthday, to represent the State of Wyoming which has espoused your cause for more than thirty years. I have in my hand a flag, which bears on its field forty-one *common* stars and four diamonds, representing the four progressive or suffrage States—Wyoming, the banner State, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. The back of the flag bears this inscription: 'Miss Anthony: From the ladies of Wyoming, who love and revere you. Many happy returns of the day. 1820—1900.' We hope you may live to see all the common stars turn into diamonds. With kindly greetings from Wyoming I present you this expression of her esteem."

Mrs. Shafroth, wife of the Representative from Colorado, presented a gift designed and made by the women of her State, saying: "It is with great pleasure that I bring you the greeting from the sun-kissed land of the West, where the flag which we all love, and of which we all sing, really waves over the land of the free and the home of the brave. Our men are brave and generous and our women are free. You and your noble co-workers stormed the heights of ridicule and prejudice to win this freedom for

woman. In behalf of our Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage Association, I beg you to accept this 'loving cup' of Colorado silver."

Mrs. Emily S. Richards brought the affectionate greetings of the women of Utah, and Mrs. Chapman Catt referred to the loving testimonials which had been sent by the Idaho women. Then after an exquisite violin solo by Mr. Douglass, she said: "The liberties of the citizens of the future will be still more an outgrowth of this movement than those of the present," and to the delighted surprise of the audience the following scene occurred, as described by the *Post*: "The most beautiful and touching part of the program was when eighty little children, boys and girls, passed in single file across the stage, each bearing a rose. Slowly they marched, keeping time to music, and, as they reached the spot where Miss Anthony sat, each child deposited a blossom in her lap, a rose for every year. It was a surprise so complete, so wonderfully beautiful, that for a few minutes she could do nothing more than grasp the hand of each child. Then she began kissing the little people and the applause which greeted this act was deafening. The roses were distributed among the pioneers at the close of the exercises by her request.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Coonley-Ward of Chicago, read an original poem, entitled *Love's Rosary*, which closed as follows:

Behold our Queen! Surely with heart elate  
At homage given to her love and power,  
World-famed associate of the wise and great,  
She is herself the woman of the hour.

How kindly have the years all dealt with her!  
She proves that Bible promises are true;  
She waited on the Lord without demur,  
And he failed not her courage to renew.

Oft on the wings of eagles she uprose;  
On mercy's errands have her glad feet run;  
And yet no sign of weariness she shows;  
She does not faint but works from sun to sun.

<sup>1</sup> This interesting little act was managed by Miss Cora de la Matyr Thomas, of the District. The scene was reproduced in a large painting by Miss Sarah J. Eddy, of Providence, R. I.

Deep in her eyes burn fires of purpose strong;  
 Her hand upholds the sceptre of God's truth;  
 Her lips send forth brave words against the wrong;  
 Glows in her heart the joy of deathless youth.

Kindly and gentle, learned, too, and wise;  
 Lover of home and all the ties of kin;  
 Gay comrade of the laughing lips and eyes;  
 Give us new words to sing your praises in.

Yet let us rather now forget to praise,  
 Remembering only this true friend to greet,  
 As drawing near by straight and devious ways,  
 We lay our heart—love's guerdon—at her feet.

Blow, O ye winds across the oceans, blow!  
 Go to the hills and prairies of the West!  
 Hasten to the tropics, search the fields of snow,  
 Let the world's gift to her become your quest.

Shine, sun, through prism of the waterfall,  
 And build us here a rainbow arch to span  
 The years, and hold the citadel  
 Of her abiding work for God and man!

What is the gift, O winds, that ye have brought?  
 O, sun, what legends shines your arch above?  
 Ah, they are one, and all things else are naught.  
 Take them, beloved—they are love, love, love!

Mrs. Blatch spoke eloquently for her mother, saying in part:

I bring to you, Susan B. Anthony, the greetings of your friend and co-worker, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, greetings full of gracious memories. When the cause for which you have worked shall be victorious, then, as is the way of the world, will it be forgotten that it ever meant effort or struggle for pioneers; but the friendship of you two women will remain a precious memory in the world's history, unforgotten and unforgettable. Your lives have proved not only that women can work strenuously together without jealousy, but that they can be friends in times of sunshine and peace, of storm and stress. No mere fair-weather friends have you been to each other.

Does not Emerson say that friendship is the slowest fruit in the garden of God? The fruit of friendship between you two has grown through half-a-hundred years, each year making it more beautiful, more mellow, more sweet. But you have not been weak echoes of each other; nay, often for the good of each you were thorns in the side, yet disagreement only quickened loyalty. Supplementing each other, companionship drew out the best in each,

and you have both been urged to untiring efforts through the sympathy, the help of each other. You have attained the highest achievement in demonstrating a lofty, an ideal friendship. This friendship of you two women is a benediction for our century.

The last and tenderest words were spoken by Miss Shaw, whose tribute given with voice and manner that thrilled every one who heard, can only be most inadequately reported :

A little over a hundred years ago there came men who told what freedom was and what freemen might become. Later women with the same love of it in their hearts said, "There is no sex in freedom; whatever it makes possible for men it will make possible for women." A few of these daring souls went forth to blaze the path. Gradually the sunlight of freedom shone in their faces and they encouraged others to follow. They went slowly for the way was hard. They must make the path and it was a weary task. Sometimes darkness settled over them and they had to grope their way. Mott, Stanton, Stone, Anthony—not one retraced her footsteps. The two who are left still stand on the summit, great, glorious figures. We ask, "Is the way difficult?" They answer, "Yes, but the sun shines on us and in the valley they know nothing of its glory. Their cry we hear and we are calling back to those who are still in the valley to press on." . . .

Leader, comrade, friend, no name can express what you are to us. You might have led us as commander and we might have followed and obeyed, but there still might have been wanting the divine force of unchanging love. We look up to the sunlight where you stand and say, "We are coming." When we shall be fourscore we shall still be calling to you, "We are coming," for you will still be beckoning us on as you climb yet loftier heights. Souls like yours can never rest in all the eternities of God.

Then a hush fell on the people and they waited for Miss Anthony. When at last she arose in all the majesty of her eighty years, something like a sob came from the throats of the great multitude. No one ever had seen her so moved as on this occasion when her memory must have carried her back to the days of bare halls, hostile audiences, ridicule, abuse, loneliness and ostracism. "Would she be able to speak?" many in the audience asked themselves, but the nearest friends waited calmly and without anxiety. They had never known her to fail. The result was thus described :

For a moment after gaining her feet Miss Anthony stood battling with her emotions, but her indomitable courage conquered, and she smiled at the audience as it rose to greet her. The moment she began talking the shadow passed from her face and she stood erect, with head uplifted, full of her old-time vigor. "How can you expect me to say a word?" she said. "And yet I must

speak. I have received letters and telegrams from all over the world, but the one that has touched me most is a simple note which came from an old home of slavery, from a woman off whose hands and feet the shackles fell nearly forty years ago. That letter, my friends, contained eighty cents—one penny for every year. It was all this aged person had. . . .

I am grateful for the many expressions which I have listened to this afternoon. I have heard the grandson of the great Frederick Douglass speak to me through his violin. . . . Among the addresses from my younger co-workers, none has touched me so deeply as that from the one of darker hue. . . . Nothing speaks so strongly of freedom as the fact that the descendants of those who went through that great agony—which, thank Heaven, has passed away—have now full opportunities and can help celebrate my fifty years' work for liberty. I am glad of the gains the half-century has brought to the women of Anglo-Saxon birth. I am glad above all else that the time is coming when all women alike shall have the fullest rights of citizenship. I thank you all. If I have had one regret this afternoon, it is that some whom I have longed to have with me can not be here, especially Mrs. Stanton. I want to impress the fact that my work could have accomplished nothing if I had not been surrounded with earnest and capable co-workers. . . .

I have shed no tears on arriving at a birthday ten years beyond the age set for humanity. I have shed none over resigning the presidency of the association. I do it cheerfully. And even so, when my time comes, I shall go on further and accept my new place and vocation just as cheerfully as I have touched this landmark. I have passed as the leader of the association of which I have been a member for so long but I am not through working, for I shall work to the end of my time; and when I am called home, if there exist an immortal spirit, mine will still be with you, watching and inspiring you.

Thus the rich, strong voice sent forth a song of triumphant joy over this splendid flower and fruit of her fifty years' effort. The toil, the disappointments, the suffering, all were as nothing compared with the glorious results. And when she had finished, behold in place of thorns and stones, there were roses all about her feet!

In the evening the Corcoran Art Gallery, one of the world's beautiful buildings, was thrown open for the birthday reception. A colored orchestra, under the leadership of Mr. Douglass, rendered a musical program. President Kauffman, of the Board of Trustees, presented the visitors and the Birthday Committee assisted in receiving. Although Miss Anthony had attended a business meeting in the morning and been the central figure in the celebration of the afternoon lasting until six o'clock, she was so happy and vivacious during the entire evening as to challenge



MISS ANTHONY IN THE GARNET VELVET DRESS.

TAKEN IN THE LATE NINETIES IN THE STUDIO OF BESSIE POTTER, FOR MODELING STATUETTE.

admiration. In this artistic and appropriate setting, robed in her stately gown of garnet velvet with its decoration of antique lace, the honored guest herself was the most beautiful picture of all the collection in this famous gallery.

One of the many accounts sent to all parts of the country said :

For two hours, without a moment's intermission, Miss Anthony clasped hands with those who were presented to her and listened to congratulatory expressions. A number of organizations of women and also the entire membership of the Washington College of Law for Women, attended the reception in a body. The guests all passed on to the second floor, where hung the fine portrait of Miss Anthony which was presented to the Corcoran Art Gallery last night by Mrs. John B. Henderson, wife of the former Senator from Missouri. . . .

During the two hours everyone who greeted Miss Anthony appeared to have known her at some time and at some place long ago, and wanted to stop and converse with her. In speaking of the event after it was over, she said: "Wasn't it wonderful? It seemed as if every person in that vast throng had met me before, or that I had during my long life been a visitor at the home of some of their relatives. It was grand, it was beautiful. It is good to be loved by so many people. It is worth all the toil and the heartaches."

From a little band apparently leading a forlorn hope, almost universally ridiculed and condemned, Miss Anthony had increased her forces to a mighty host marching forward to an assured victory. From a condition of social ostracism she had brought them to a position where they commanded respect and admiration for their courageous advocacy of a just cause. The small, curious, unsympathetic audiences of early days had been transformed into this large gathering, which represented the highest official life of the nation's capital and the intellectual aristocracy of all the States in the Union. It was a wonderful change to have been effected in the lifetime of one woman, and all posterity will rejoice that the leader of this greatest of progressive movements received the full measure of recognition from the people of her own time and generation.

## CHAPTER LVII.

INTERESTING LETTERS FROM MISS ANTHONY.

1900.



HERE was scarcely a paper in the United States that did not have something to say in regard to the famous eightieth birthday and among the comments then, just as many times before and afterwards, were some which, while admitting that Miss Anthony had made a considerable success of life, bewailed the fact that she had failed to achieve woman's highest destiny—marriage. One editorial which closed its panegyric by saying, "But after all there is an element of tragedy in the fact that Miss Anthony has missed wifehood and motherhood, the crowning honor and glory of a woman's life," was answered by the *Cleveland Leader* with the following, which gave her no end of amusement:

It is undeniable that Miss Anthony has missed wifehood and motherhood, and in summing up a woman's life it is only fair that we should count the things she has missed along with the things she has gained. Miss Anthony has gained the love and reverence of millions of people now living and of millions yet to be, but then she has never known the unspeakable bliss of nursing a family of children through the measles, whooping cough and mumps. She has lived a useful and perfectly unselfish life, but she doesn't know a thing in the world about the supreme happiness that lies in being housekeeper, cook, chambermaid, nurse, seamstress, hostess and half-a-dozen other things every day in the year till nervous prostration puts an end to the complicated business.

She has stood on a thousand platforms and listened to the applause of vast audiences, but she doesn't know the glory and honor there is in picking up a bucket of hot water and climbing a step ladder to wash the doors and windows. All the joy and rapture of housecleaning in the beautiful month of May are as a sealed book to her. She has made the life of womankind broader, deeper and higher than women ever dreamed it could be, but she has no



conception of the breadth, depth and height of satisfaction to be found in nursing a baby through "three-months-colic."

She has made the world over but she is ignorant of the abandon of joy a woman feels when she makes over an old dress for the third time and then sees John start off on his summer fishing trip. She has been free and independent always and the women who are happier for her work will see that she never lacks for any good thing, but alas, she has never known the ecstasy of asking John for ten cents to pay street-car fare and she has never experienced the bliss of hearing him growl about the price of her Easter bonnet and groan over the monthly grocery bill. Here the "element of tragedy" looms up very large indeed.

It is said that on Miss Anthony's last birthday anniversary she received 3,000 letters congratulatory of the things she has gained in her eighty years of life. But there are wives and mothers who would cheerfully and heartily write her 300,000 more letters congratulatory of the things she has missed.

The birthday celebration was followed by several days of committee meetings and then most of the official board went home, but Miss Anthony remained "to pelt the members of Congress," as she expressed it. The journal on February 22 said: "I wrote eight letters to Senators this morning, enclosing petitions, and forgot to go to lunch." On the 23rd, accompanied by Mrs. Chapman Catt, she went by invitation to the Congress of the D. A. R. and was for the third time presented to that body. She made a few strong remarks, and, as she afterwards observed, "had quite a recognition!" In Mrs. Catt's brief speech she said to the delegates, "The difference between your organization and ours is that you are celebrating history and we are making it." They then went to the Capitol and lunched with Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming, to talk over the prospects of various bills relating to suffrage. On Sunday Mrs. John B. Henderson gave a dinner party with a number of distinguished guests present.

Miss Anthony's chief reason for remaining in Washington was to take out incorporation papers for the Standing Fund which she proposed to raise at the earliest possible moment, the interest to be used in work for woman suffrage. Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Julia Langdon Barber joined with her as incorporators and she had the promise of assistance from Mr. George W. Catt and other capable business men. Her mark was set at any sum from \$100,000 to \$500,000 and she believed that with

her power for money getting she would be able to secure a large amount. She realized that the work of the association and the financial demands would continue to increase for many years to come and she was determined that the leaders of the movement in the future should not dissipate their time and energy in the effort to secure the necessary means. She herself had had a lifetime of this struggle and she felt that others could discharge her official duties more easily than they could raise the money, so this was one of the reasons which led her to resign the presidency. Then, also, she thought that with the prestige which her long service had gained for her she would be welcomed at conventions of many kinds and permitted to present her cause where other women of less renown might be refused, and she saw here a promising field when release from office should give her the time. She was most anxious to prepare the next volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*, whose first three were finished in 1884. There were, besides, various minor undertakings to which she wanted to devote a part of her time, and so, at eighty years of age, she had mapped out a program of work which might well have appalled a woman of half that number of years.

Upon arriving home the first herculean task which confronted her was the acknowledging of those 1,100 birthday letters and telegrams and the scores of gifts. Relatives and friends implored her to make out a cordial, appreciative form of letter and have it engraved or even typewritten, and only to write individual ones where it seemed absolutely essential. This she refused positively to do, saying that a personal letter—"a respectful word," she phrased it—was the very smallest return to make for such birthday remembrances as she had received. Then they begged that she would use a rubber stamp for her signature, but she was sternly obdurate and they were forced to leave her to her fate. Immediately after breakfast each morning she sat down at her desk with the heaped-up basket of letters at her left hand and a stenographer at her right, and dictated steadily till noon; then the stenographer left to transcribe her notes. In the afternoon the second came and received constant dictation till evening. By that time the first lot were returned and as soon as supper

was over, Miss Anthony began reading and signing them. When one seemed cold and formal or in any way inadequate she threw it in the waste basket and wrote another by hand.

This routine was kept up without intermission for at least two months. As it was not possible to tell the secretaries which letters should be duplicated copies were kept of all of them. If nothing else remained this remarkable collection would be an index to Miss Anthony's prominent characteristics. They acknowledged gratefully the remembrance, whether large or small, wished the senders had been at the meetings, enclosed the birthday souvenirs that were used, referred to some time when she had met them or had lectured in their city, sent love to their mothers, sisters, children, even grandchildren, and asked that they would try to visit her. In nearly every letter was a word of praise for some of her fellow-workers—Mrs. Stanton, Miss Shaw, Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Upton—and always a tribute to somebody's good qualities. Then, almost without exception, she "got down to business," urged them to build up their suffrage clubs, to form new ones, to hold frequent meetings, to take the suffrage papers, to show their love for her by working for the cause. Wherever there was the slightest use she pressed them to take Life Memberships or to subscribe to the Standing Fund. "Do you ask me what good it will do you to become a life member?" she wrote. "First, it will give you the right to feel that you have given the weight of your name, your influence and your money to help the work of enfranchising women; second, the right to attend all the executive sessions and receive all the publications; third, the right to feel that you are permanently identified with the National Association." To some of her own relatives who had sent her a generous check she wrote: "That was beautiful in you, and now I want you to send me a few thousand dollars for the Standing Fund. Send them while you are yet alive and then after you are done using your money leave it a few thousand more in your last will and testament."

Really it is not surprising that Miss Anthony was unwilling to use a stereotyped form of letter!

Of course there were many protests because she resigned the

presidency and such she answered: "It is no longer necessary that I stand at the helm. The younger women of today have proved themselves equal to every demand. The time must have come very soon, if it had not now, and whenever it did come there would be a little roughing of the waters. I felt that this had better happen while I was yet alive to pour oil on them."

The stage of the Lafayette Opera House had its limits, yet many there were who felt they had a right to sit thereon at the birthday celebration, and those who were not asked to do so told Miss Anthony about it in strong language afterwards. She was terribly distressed and to one who was so angry she left the city before the festivities, she wrote: "I cannot think without a heartache of that last sight and word with you in the elevator as I was going to the opera house and you said you were going to the train. Why in the world did you not tell me you had no ticket for the stage? I went to your room several times during the week and never found you in. I cannot forgive myself for not having learned for sure that you had one, but alas, no amount of regret can remedy the blunder. I feel certain that if we had those days to live over I would attend to my duty and had I failed you would have known it was a mistake and so would have gone to the exercises anyhow. That this should have happened to one of my life-long friends will ever be a source of sorrow to me, but I know you too well to believe that your love and faith in me or mine in you can ever change."

To her old friends, General and Mrs. Rufus Saxon, the letter said: "The thought just crosses my mind that you were not on the platform. Can it be possible that you were not invited to be there? If you were not I am sure the fault was mine. When the list of pioneers was submitted to me I fear that in the hurry and pressure I did not notice your names were omitted. I beg of you to let the blame fall on me and not on my young lieutenants if you were not invited to honor me and our cause by sitting on the stage that afternoon." In a letter to Miss Caroline Sherman: "I hope you had tickets, but alas, I have learned that some of my oldest and dearest friends were not thought of in time either by the committee or by me, and, worse still, they did not write or

come to me to refresh my memory of them. I never go to Washington without thinking of you and dear Ellen Sheldon and Adelaide Johnson. I shall never forget any of you while memory lasts—how you used to come to me in the olden times, the moment the papers announced my arrival, to see what you could do to assist me, and stay after your office hours till ten or eleven o'clock at night, week after week, helping about the conventions—and all without a penny of compensation. Surely the least I could have done was to give orders that each should be invited to my birthday celebration! As I sat there listening to the women who spoke I thought over all of the helpers of bygone days and no names came to me then, or come today, as I look over the long, long past, whose owners I cherish more than yours."

To one woman who grieved because she had no chance to "have a talk" with Miss Anthony the evening of the reception in the Corcoran Art Gallery she wrote: "No, there was no time for you or anyone else to speak what was in her heart, so you were not alone in your disappointment; and I am sure that most of all that company did I regret that I could not say something helpful to every one whose hand I took." One who complained that in a tribute to the workers Miss Anthony did not mention her aunt, she reminded that her aunt had died before the present generation came on the stage of action and said: "Try to feel that all who work for humanity must do it for humanity's sake, and they and we and all the friends must be content if the world never praises nor thanks therefor."

And oh, the poets—how most of their effusions did worry her, for she could not appreciate them no matter how hard she tried! One wrote a severe letter because her tribute had not been read at the celebration and Miss Anthony replied: "It is always a safer plan for one who writes of a grievance against another to let both the writer and the letter sleep over night before sending it. I suppose there were fifty poems sent by my dear friends and children of my dear friends, such as you are, but it was utterly impossible for me even to look at them in Washington. Only one, that of Mrs. Coonley-Ward, was read and that by herself. The other forty-nine were not read till I came home, and now

I am putting them all in a package to be examined by my biographer when she writes the last chapter of my life!"

In speaking of the death of Mrs. Lucinda H. Stone she said: "The papers very appropriately call her 'the mother of clubs.' She did a great work and has had her reward on the way as she went along, though the old-fashioned mode of expressing it would be that she has now gone to her reward." To those who were trying to secure the submission of an amendment, she wrote: "But if defeat comes to you this time don't be discouraged; just work on with might and main until you do get a Legislature intelligent enough to submit the question." In a letter to one who had been put out of office under Democratic régime and now hoped to get in again, she said: "It is very hard for a woman to get her foot into as good a position as you had in that post office. Cannot you turn your hand to some other business? So many thousands of men, all of them with votes and all promising to do something for the party, are hanging around Washington all the time that I don't see how women can dream of getting offices. There are too many hungry Republicans wanting them."

The young women she urged to enter actively into the movement. "One of the things that rejoice me most in these days," she wrote, "is to see so many young women and girls coming forward to be educated into the work needed for our good cause, who will be ready to carry it forward when those now in charge must begin to lay it down. One thing you can do, whatever limitations you may have to your power of working, you can show your colors, let your friends know you are a suffragist, and yourself live such a strong, true, womanly life as shall make even the ignorant and prejudiced respect the cause of which you are a representative." And again: "The most pleasant part of my birthday celebration to me was the feeling that I had in a measure helped to make conditions better for women. The one way for the young people to show their appreciation of the labor of the pioneers is to give their names, their energies and their money to organized effort for securing the great essential not only to the best development of women but also to the highest good of the nation—the right to vote." To the girls of the Classical

School Residence, Indianapolis; "One of the keenest pleasures I have comes from the knowledge that the girls and young women in our schools and colleges are being educated not only in the arts and sciences but also in the grand principles of freedom and equality for all citizens. If the celebration of my birthday had any significance for you it was in the fact that my life had been devoted to the work of gaining the constitutional recognition of equality of rights for the women of the United States."

To one young woman who sent her \$50, but who, Miss Anthony knew, was not in a financial condition to justify this, she wrote: "You will remember I told you I should put that money in bank to be drawn out and given back to you whenever you should need it to pay your board, buy you comfortable clothes or take you to your home and friends. So, my dear, whenever the time of want comes, remember you are to call on me for that \$50." In making up the program for a meeting at Chautauqua, N. Y., she wrote to one of the committee: "Now we want another bright, young woman who will be new on our platform. Whom would you suggest? Of course I know there are scores who would like to try their wings there, but we must secure those only whose wings have been tried and who have proved capable of soaring in a way satisfactory to us." To one of the laborers in the cause who complained that women today did not appreciate what had been done for them in the past she said: "It is very true that most of the women who are enjoying the fruits of the seeds sown by those of fifty years ago do not realize their indebtedness to the seed-sowers, but that fact should not deter any of the present generation from working their best and hardest, just as did the pioneers. So keep right on trying to educate the people in the fundamental principles of our politics and our religion."

Club women in all parts of the country sent congratulations and Miss Anthony did not let any of them escape without an admonition. To the corresponding secretary of the New York State Federation she wrote: "It was a great delight to me to hear that the representative women of my State really believe that my life-work has been 'to raise the plane of true womanhood to one of

liberty and high ideals,' and that they are 'proud that I am a citizen of the Empire State.' Please extend to the officers and members my thanks and my hope that the Federation, 30,000 strong, may ere long throw the weight of its great influence on the side of political equality for women. But until that good time comes I shall continue to be exceedingly grateful that it demands equality for them in the industrial, the educational and every other department of life. I am thankful because I know that soon or late every woman who thinks, talks and works to better the conditions of society must come to see that under a representative form of government her sex cannot accomplish the end she desires so long as it is disfranchised."

To one clubwoman Miss Anthony wrote: "The way in which all women can best honor me personally, as you desire to do, is to educate themselves into the understanding of what is termed politics. The women of four States are now voting on every question to be decided at the ballot-box precisely as men are, and soon those of your State of Ohio will be called on to do the same. There is none too much time for those of every State to make themselves acquainted with the great principles of our Government and its practical methods." And to another :

It was very good of you literary women to cast a glance at one whose life has been devoted almost wholly to securing political equality for all women. The time was in the olden days when the woman who aspired to literary culture was derisively dubbed a "blue-stocking", but now it has become honorable, yea, fashionable, for women to be proficient in literature, art, science—everything but politics. The day is not far distant when woman's acquirements in political knowledge will be regarded as just as honorable. My one source of gratification in the present club-engrossment of our women is that they cannot work far in any direction without finding themselves crippled in their efforts by the lack of political force. It is good to have woman's moral influence on the right side of every question, but it would be better if to this she could add political power, for then she would be able not only to crystallize moral sentiments into laws but to enforce these laws after they were enacted.

After Miss Anthony had thanked the Women's Branch of the Society for Ethical Culture in New York she said: "I remember that during the amendment campaign of 1894 Mrs. Stanton and myself spoke before your society. Then not all of your members



felt sure that they wanted women to exercise their citizen's right to vote. I trust by this time every one of you has come to feel the necessity of placing the ballot in the hands of women, if not because of the abstract right of every citizen to hold it, then because the possession of it would enable those employed in the labor market of the world to be paid equally with men for equal work. The very foundation of ethics is justice, therefore the highest ethical culture for women must lie in the direction of securing justice for their own sex."

To the women of temperance organizations Miss Anthony wrote: "Every man who wants liquor selling to continue has a vote to deposit in favor of it. When women get a vote they can deposit it against the traffic, but all their talking and singing and praying will do very little damage without the ballot. Therefore I hope you will set yourselves to work to get the necessary weapons wherewith to battle." The Daughters of the American Revolution got this message: "If there are any women in the world who ought to believe in the practical application of the principles of Adams and Hancock and Jefferson, they should be found among the members of an association like yours. May I suggest that your chapters should study not only the history of the Revolution of 1776 but also the great underlying causes which brought about that war? And then that they should work for the application to the women of our country of the principles at the foundation of our Government? We should all remember that while we are studying the history of the past we are making the history which the future will study in its turn."

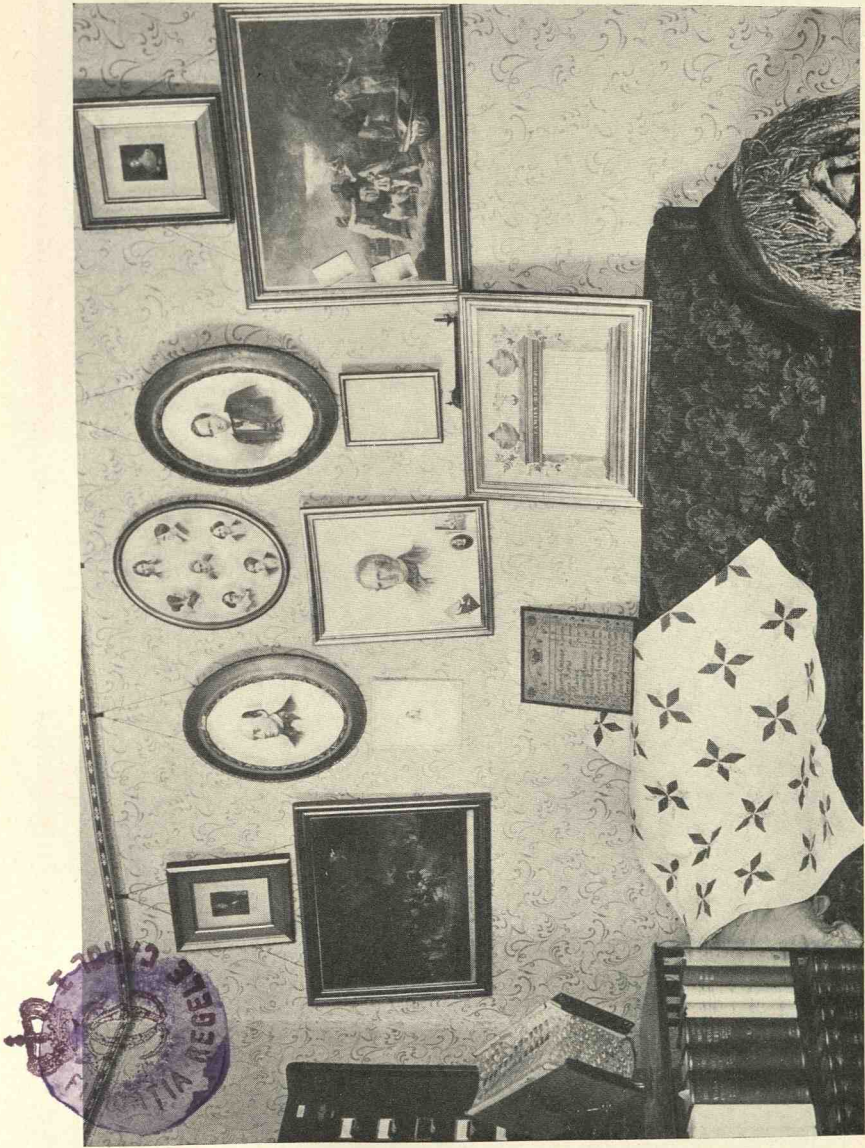
One letter in this series which seems to merit preservation even more than the others read in part as follows:

It does seem very strange to me that you should be "more interested in peace and arbitration between nations" than in the enfranchisement of the women of this so-called republic. It is so evident that if the women of our nation had been counted among the constituencies of every State Legislature and of the Congress of the United States, the butchery of the Spanish-American War would never have been perpetrated. There is no possible hope of justice among the nations of the world while there is such gross injustice inside of the highest and best Government of them all. Peace and arbitration are the outgrowth of justice, and while one-half of the people of the United States

are robbed of their inherent right of personal representation in this freest country on the face of the globe, it is idle for us to expect that the men who thus rob women will not rob each other as individuals, corporations and Government. The fact that the vast majority of our most earnest and highly educated women are perfectly willing to occupy themselves by cutting off here and there a bud or a twig of the Upas tree, instead of uniting in one gigantic force and striking a great and effective blow at the tap-root, is the reason why crime of every kind stalks abroad unblushingly within our country, and the reason also why we as a nation are unable to enforce the principles of peace and arbitration.

One can well understand why Miss Anthony would write to a prominent member of her own association who was about to organize a club ostensibly for the sole purpose of studying laws relating to women but really to lead its members to recognize the need for the franchise: "I hope you will be successful in the undertaking. I feel most deeply that it is the duty of suffragists to join popular clubs of all sorts and secure inside of them the discussion and if possible the adoption of the demand for the ballot. The members of these various societies will not go to suffrage meetings to be converted, but suffragists can go to them in their own associations and there work for their conversion; so I rejoice to see them in every organization of women for every purpose under the sun."

The greetings Miss Anthony always particularly enjoyed were those of business women, as a vital part of the early struggle for the rights of women was for the right to enter the professions and all occupations, and this now had been gained forever. To one woman she wrote: "I am happy to know you are the editor of a daily paper. It rejoices me every time I find a competent woman in a responsible position." And to a lawyer: "I am indeed glad you feel that you are reaping the rewards of the good work done half-a-century ago. No woman then could have possibly been admitted to the bar, and yet I think many of us feel that we are far from having accomplished all that we hoped for then. All that any of us can do, however, is to seize upon every opportunity and make the most of it, not only for our own personal development but for the good of the rest of the world. I am very glad that you have financial prospects which will enable you in the



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CORNER OF MISS ANTHONY'S STUDY.

PICTURES REFERRED TO ON PAGE 935. FAMILY RECORD, SAMPLER AND QUILT MADE BY HER AT THE AGE OF ELEVEN. PAGE 22.

future to do more in a moneyed direction. It is a great pleasure to work for a good cause, but a greater when to that we can add the help of our money." Again: "None of the greetings received on my birthday was more welcome than that from the Government clerks. The best compliment you could pay me would be to organize yourselves into a political equality club and give at least one evening a month to the study of the science of government. You would soon learn woman's need of the ballot in order to lift the sex to the plane of industrial equality where no disfranchised class can ever stand. Degradation in the labor market always has been, is today and ever will be the result of disfranchisement."

The home-keepers always were remembered and appreciated by Miss Anthony. To one she wrote: "I was very glad to get a note from 'one of the life-long privates in the war for equal rights.' It is the like of you who stand firm and true for justice to women, that enable us at the front to stand strong and steady." And to another: "It was very foolish of you not to come to me and give me the privilege of taking you by the hand. It certainly is a comfort to me that so many of the best women throughout the entire country have been 'following me with love and faith all these years.' There is nothing that so sustains us few who stand at the front of the battle as the knowledge that thousands of the home women sympathize with us and long for the success of the cause." To a New York State acquaintance of fifty years, unknown to the world at large, she wrote:

Yes, I always believed in you and knew that you believed in me. I shall never forget your kindness to me all through those years of struggle and effort to carry on *The Revolution*. Your house was a haven of rest, and I shall ever think of you as one of the good angels who made it possible for me to go on. None of us—Mrs. Stanton, Lucy Stone, Mrs. Rose, myself or any other—could ever have done our public work but for the loving sympathy of women in the homes, like yourself. You were our background, our support; you held up our hands, you cheered us along the pathway.

I told some of our friends the other day that, as it had been a few of us who stood at the front that had had to take all the pelting when it was with moral brickbats and ugly epithets, while the women who stayed quietly in their homes got no such treatment, so now when the pelting for those of us who are left is of roses and good words, the women who stood behind us

all through the hard times are getting no mention. It cannot be helped and there is a sort of justice in it, you see; but nevertheless, without the support of those quiet ones our work could not have been done.

Thirty women joined in the testimonial from California and to every one Miss Anthony sent a separate letter. She wrote to each individual woman connected with the gift from Utah, and one letter will serve as an example: "It was so nice of you to send me something useful. My pleasure in the rich brocaded silk is quadrupled because it was made by women politically equal with men. The fact that the mulberry trees grew in Utah, that the silk worms made their cocoons there, that women reeled and spun and colored and wove the silk in a free State, greatly enhances its value. My dressmaker in the near future will make it into the most beautiful gown that your octogenarian friend ever possessed." And then came the inevitable: "I hope very soon your Legislature will wipe off from the civil code every vestige of the old common law which robs the wife of her right to her person, her wages, her property, her children. If I lived in any of the free States I would never vote for any man for office unless he were pledged to revise this code till it was just to women. . . . I am very glad if you have a good man to fill the place of Brigham H. Roberts. It was a shame for the Democratic party to nominate and elect a man to Congress who had used all his power to defeat woman suffrage in the constitutional convention. If he had been entirely free from polygamous associations, such a hater of equality for woman should not have been allowed to represent Utah. I hope the two men the Republicans have nominated are absolutely free from all theories and practices that tend to degrade women."

Miss Anthony had no patience with women who had obtained political power and did not use it to abolish all injustice toward their own sex. To one in Denver she wrote: "I am glad you are trying to establish a good business but am exceedingly surprised at what you say, that, while women vote, they cannot hold a seat on any of the stock boards in their own name—that a man must represent a woman and apparently own the seat. With women voting and women sitting as members of both Houses of the

Legislature, it needs only a motion to make that law null and void. No woman should growl about the laws of the State when all that is necessary to secure justice to women in the statutes is to bring the matter before the Legislature. There is nothing that the women of Colorado really want today that they cannot get if they go about it in a business fashion, and I look to you women there to see that every invidious discrimination shall be eliminated from your code."

Another letter said: "Is it not marvelous how our friends the enemy do keep finding somebody who has passed over one little corner of Colorado and so is competent to give his wise experience that woman suffrage is a failure? I wish you Denver women would write out every good happening and everything said by any prominent person in favor of woman suffrage and keep something of the sort floating around in the papers all the time. Of course the public men who are opposed in Colorado, as a rule, don't dare to say it is a failure, as this would lessen even their minority vote at the next election; for, as nearly as I can find out, those who have said this are the ones who have themselves failed to get the majority of the women's votes."

Then to a Southern woman who had told her of starting a newspaper she wrote: "I am looking to Mississippi and all of the Gulf States for women who are ready and willing not only to study the history of the past but to make history in the direction of securing political equality. I wonder if you are interested in the question of gaining the full suffrage? I hope you are, for the women of this nation can never make of themselves a great force for the uplifting of the world so long as they are contented to remain without the right of representation in the government of city, State and nation; hence it seems to me the first duty of every intelligent woman to devote her best energies to getting the power of the ballot into the hands of all women. It is humiliating indeed to be compelled constantly to see unprincipled men voting for candidates who are opposed to every good measure in which the majority of women are interested."

To Mrs. Ellen C. Sargent of San Francisco, she wrote: "There has not been a day since Mrs. Swift told me of your dear

Elizabeth's death that I have not thought of you and your great sorrow. I know you do not mourn for her but for yourself so lonely without her cheering presence. Well, if we live after crossing what is called the river of death, which I think you feel sure of, you must now be certain that the spirits of father and daughter are in close communion—and yet no closer than is your own to theirs or theirs to yours." And to another who had lost an only daughter: "Your life is now indeed very lonely, but in thought and spirit you are constantly with your loved ones, and, if our hopes in immortality are to be realized, they are with you in thought and sympathy. You must, my dear friend, lift yourself out of this great bereavement, and there is no way given under heaven by which you can do this except by buckling on your armor and working harder than ever before to raise women and, through them, men and the race, to their highest level and best estate."

The number of these letters stretches out interminably, and yet extended quotations seem justified by the thought that they are in many instances far more than a friendly missive to an individual—they are Miss Anthony's messages of hope, encouragement and admonition to all women of the present and future generations.

To her old comrade, Dr. Sarah R. Dolley, of Rochester, with whom she had many friendly controversies, she said:

I am glad to know that Bishop McQuaid uses his influence to make the Catholic schools as good as possible, but I deprecate more and more all sorts of private and sectarian schools. A republican government should be based on free and equal education among the people. While we have class and sectarian schools the parties supporting them will not give their fullest aid toward building up the public school system. If all of the rich and all of the church people should send their children to the public schools they would feel bound to concentrate their money and energies on improving these schools until they met the highest ideals. To be a success a republic must have a homogeneous people, and to do this it must have homogeneous schools. You may grow more and more in favor of sectarian schools, as you say, but I grow more and more opposed to them."

To Mrs. Hannah J. Solomon, president, and to the members of the Jewish Women's Council, Miss Anthony wrote: "There is

no association in our National Council which I love and appreciate more than yours. . . . What we all need, and shall get through the Council, is to know each other more fully. . . . I have heard of the struggle you liberals had at Cleveland. There is the same contest going on in nearly every one of the women's organizations, no matter what its special purpose. Liberty and slavery always will have a tussle, and in the long run freedom must come uppermost—but it is often very long in coming!"

To a rebellious member of an orthodox church: "You are quite right in your attitude against women's keeping silence in the churches. If all who feel with you that they should be clothed with equal power in the church, as well as in the State, would make their protest and refuse to get up fairs, dinners and 'socials' to raise money to support men ministers who oppose equal rights for women, the church would very soon become a great power on the right side instead of being a dead weight against it. There is but one reason why the church does not stand as a unit for the enfranchisement of women and that is because the vast majority of its members, who are women, do not demand this. So, my dear, your work evidently must be among the women of your own church. They have no right to allow themselves to be without a voice as to the articles of their creed, the minister who shall preach to them or any matters concerning church government."

One woman wrote that she had talked with Miss Anthony nearly fifty years before but that she had never been able to "get off the fence" on the side of woman suffrage; she said they had discussed phrenology at that time and Miss Anthony had told her that "her head was too flat." A part of the answer to this letter read:

I am very sorry for you if in this almost half-century you have not found a reason for getting off the fence. The reasons that you give for balancing yourself at that height are the most important ones why women should vote. You say, "The fault of women is that they know too little of mankind and glory in it, and the men glory in keeping them simply ignorant creatures for their own personal benefit." The reason women do not know men better is because after they get their growth the sexes are kept so much apart in their



work. Women will never understand men, or men understand women, until they are associated in all the weightier matters of life.

I cannot say whether a copy of your book was received or not, for I have piles of books that I have not yet opened, but if, when I do come across it, I find you have proved that women should not have the right to vote I will inform you. I can assure you beforehand, however, that I know just as well now as I shall after reading it that neither you nor any other woman can prove that a condition of dependence, pecuniary or political, can bring about the best development of any individual or any class. Therefore if you should hear no farther from me you may conclude that I considered your effort a failure, and thought that you needed to set that "flat head" of yours to thinking on the side of philosophy and facts.

To Dr. Rachel S. Tenney, Kansas City:

Dear fellow-worker of '67, how your name carries me back to the amendment campaign of thirty-three years ago! But for the disloyalty of the Free State leaders the women of Kansas would have been enfranchised then, and instead of now being beggars at the feet of ignorant voters they would be the peers of the best men, and they would have been working for the whole of this last generation to make Kansas the banner State for honesty, temperance and morality. It does seem such a cruel waste of the energies of one-half the people that instead of being allowed to help make conditions better they have been compelled to devote their time and brains to the task of persuading men to give them the power to work with! It was very brave of you in those early days to take the presidency of a suffrage club. A great drawback all along has been, and is today, that women of influence, even though believing in our cause, refuse to accept any place of responsibility in its organized work."

There are letters of acknowledgment to Miss Anthony's old co-worker, the Rev. Wm. F. Channing; to Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren and other friends in Europe; to Mrs. Bertha Honore Palmer; to Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz; to Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, saying, "I loved you when a little girl and I love you none the less now;" to "Grace Greenwood," "It was good for the audience to look you in the face and hear your voice that evening. Would that there had been time enough for you to have had more!" There was a letter to President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University, and one to Mrs. Jane L. Stanford which said:

I wrote you a line and could hardly keep from rushing over to the hotel the moment I saw the notice in the paper that you were there. I was very

anxious to meet you and talk over matters relating to women, not only in the world of education but of work also. . . .

I trust your university is prospering even beyond your highest expectation. I have seen items lately that you have put out of your hands the control of nearly your entire estate. I hope that this is not true, for your power over the university and over various incorporated associations in which you are stockholder depends very largely on your holding the helm tightly in your own right hand. Nearly all women and very many men make the mistake of ceding or deeding away control of their property during their lifetime. You will remember how happy it made me when you told me about exhibiting the contents of the box of bonds and securities to the university trustees, then putting them back, locking the box and saying, "No one but myself will clip these coupons as long as I have the ability to do it."

You will pardon me for this unasked advice; but, as you know, I feel this strong interest in your management of your millions because the world will credit the whole sex with your success or charge it with your failure. Thus far it seems to me that no man could have conducted his business with better judgment than you have yours ever since your dear husband left you all of his great responsibilities, so remembering all your good words and works, I am very lovingly and trustingly yours.

To Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Los Angeles: "Among all the delightful letters that have come to me none is more acceptable than this sweet one of yours. I see by the papers that you, too, were passing over your fourth-score into the fifth. I had forgotten we were so nearly of an age. Well, my dear, it is a great and heroic work you have done through all these more than fifty years since the day you started out in Ohio. I can never forget that beautiful home of yours on Euclid Avenue, where so many of our pioneer friends used to meet—Frances Dana Gage, Mrs. Rose, Antoinette Brown, Lucy Stone, Abby Kelly—a modest host, to be sure, but as grand women as any who have come to the front in these later days. Isn't it strange that the young editors and orators cannot get rid of the idea that our pioneer women were coarse, masculine, badly-dressed and ill-mannered? I wish we had some kind of flying machine or, better still, some telegraphic conveyance, to carry me to your lovely cottage this spring morning where we could chat over all the old friends of those days and the new ones of these."

There is a delicious tone in this letter to that persistent foe of woman suffrage, Edward Rosewater, editor of the *Omaha Bee*: "It was indeed kind of you to send your congratulations to me on

my eightieth birthday, and then in addition to pray that my life might be prolonged, when you feel from the bottom of your heart that if the end to which I have devoted that life were attained the result would be not good but very bad for the world. I never could quite understand how anyone could love and respect *me* while thinking that what I was working for was absolutely wrong. Nevertheless, Mr. Rosewater, if you cannot believe in the application to women of the underlying principles of our government, I shall have to be grateful that you do believe in me."

Miss Anthony was intensely in earnest but occasionally a lighter vein crept into her letters, as when she wrote to one elderly lady: "Your mention of knitting while waiting for your train carries me back to the old days when I always had my knitting work in my travelling bag and improved every moment, but now neither at home nor abroad do I feel it absolutely necessary to keep my hands busy every instant." But to another who sent her a gold thimble she wrote: "It is very pretty but a thimble, however fine, is of but little use to one who holds a pen every waking minute when at home." And when a gold pen came she said in her answering note: "I am ever and ever so thankful, but I have never learned to write with anything but a steel pen in a big cork handle that I can get a good grasp on, and by this letter you will see that I may soon forget to use that, so rapidly are stenographer and typewriter putting the pen into disuse."

One can see the smile on Miss Anthony's face as she wrote to a friend as old as herself: "I hope you had a good time in Washington. I especially noticed that you and brother John Hutchinson were flirting together the evening we were all in the Corcoran Gallery. I kept my eye on you although I was obliged to stay in my place in the big chair on that elevated platform."

As a rule, however, Miss Anthony looked at life seriously, and even in the writing of these birthday letters she seized upon every opportunity they offered to further that cause which never was absent from her thoughts and which literally absorbed her whole being. Always the one point on which her desires and hopes centered was Congress—the submission of a resolution by that body

for an amendment to the National Constitution. And so in writing to Mrs. William E. Chandler she said:

In going through my birthday letters and cards, I find yours. . . . I want to ask you to inquire of your good husband if he does not think the time has come when the Senate of the United States should take a vote to show themselves and the world where they stand on the question of woman suffrage. For thirty years a large number of educated and respectable women have been importuning Congress to give to the State Legislatures a deciding voice as to whether the women of the nation shall be longer denied the exercise of "the citizen's right to vote." Remind your Senator, will you not, that because of the refusal of Congress to lift the arbitrament of this question from populace to representatives, women who love their homes as dearly as any women in the world have been compelled to leave them to canvass their States with petitions, hold meetings, circulate literature and raise money during the whole last half of this nineteenth century. . . .

I know, my dear Mrs. Chandler, you feel with me that it is a great outrage to compel women thus to work and beg for the privilege of getting their rightful inheritance, while those in power thrust the ballot into the hands of foreign men almost the moment they step foot on our shores, and are now agonizing over the terrible wrong of governing Aguinaldo and the semi-barbaric men of the new island possessions without their consent! Why is it that the right to vote is held so sacred for ignorant men of all colors and nationalities, and of no value to intelligent, native-born women? I beg you to tell me what we can do to make our representatives in Congress see that woman's right to self government is just as sacred as is man's.

When Miss Anthony began the stupendous task of acknowledging all these birthday remembrances she wrote of it to friends: "As General Grant said before Vicksburg, 'It is a big job, but I'll do it if it takes all summer.'" It consumed the whole of the spring but when she had finished she wrote again: "It did prove a huge undertaking but it was an agreeable one, nevertheless, to read and answer all those letters and acknowledge the beautiful presents. There was an immense amount of pleasure in it because it brought me into touch with so many dear friends who are doing their best to help the cause I love above all else. There is an old saying that one never knows how many friends he has until he is dead, but I think my eightieth birthday must have discovered all I have on the entire face of the globe."

## CHAPTER LVIII.

THE OPENING OF ROCHESTER UNIVERSITY TO WOMEN.

1900.



WHILE writing the birthday letters Miss Anthony did not neglect the work of the National Association. In a letter to the present writer dated March 26 she said: "During the last fourteen days I have got off one hundred letters to Members of Congress in regard to our petitions. Then on Sundays, when of course I can't ask the stenographers to work, I have signed over fifty Life Membership certificates. I have secured these with the cash put into the treasury, and I have twenty-five more promised. I hope before this last year of the nineteenth century closes I shall be able to report at least a hundred new memberships. Tomorrow I shall begin writing personal letters to every one who has put in her \$50.<sup>1</sup> I will be mighty glad when you get here so that we can talk over and work over the letters and resolutions which must be sent to all the political conventions this summer. O, but there is a lot waiting to be done!"

The largest task which awaited was the writing of the fourth volume of the History of Woman Suffrage. Readers of the events of the early years are familiar with the story of how the first three volumes were prepared by Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage.<sup>2</sup> From the time the last one was published in 1885, Miss Anthony never had wavered in her intention to have another if she should live until the time for

<sup>1</sup> Miss Anthony was able to obtain the one hundred Life Memberships. It is believed that over half of the more than three hundred life members of the association were secured by her. She herself paid the fee of \$50 for a large number of those who she felt ought to be placed on this roll of honor.

<sup>2</sup> Volume II, page 612 and others.

it, which she fully expected to do. She did not know who would write it or where she would get the money for it but she was absolutely certain that the book would be written and published. The others closed the record with 1883, and she began from that date to save material for Volume IV. As the century was drawing near its close, and she knew that by the law of nature this must be true also of her own life, she grew more and more anxious that the work should begin. She realized its magnitude, for the others required the labor of a large part of ten years, and she felt quite certain that this volume would depend as much on her initiative and determination as the other three had done. In her letters at this time she wrote: "I am bound to see this History truthfully and properly written to the end of the century and the close of my official management of the National Association. When it comes to the making and writing of history after the year 1900 I shall leave all to the women of the present generation."

Through all the preparation of the Biography Miss Anthony's mind was on the History—nothing must be destroyed that might be needed for it; matters strictly personal to herself must be separated from those of a wider scope; repetition must be avoided as far as possible—it was a subject of constant thought. The writer trusts she will be pardoned for obtruding her own personality here—it seems necessary to illustrate a strong phase of Miss Anthony's character. As the Biography neared completion and her references to the History grew more frequent I was overwhelmed with the consciousness that within the innermost recesses of her being was the intention that I should undertake this stupendous task. The very idea of it paralyzed my faculties; I was almost sick with apprehension, and yet she never had uttered one word on which to base my fears. Often I would say to her: "I am placing carefully on these shelves the material which will be needed by someone in writing the History;" or, "I am filing the papers that whoever writes the History will want to refer to;" and she would answer in a matter-of-fact way, "Well, just make a memorandum of it." But all the time I grew more unhappy for not only did I feel absolutely sure that Miss An-

thony would find a way to have me do this work, but my conscience was reinforcing her position with arguments which I could meet only with the most fallacious sophistry. Nevertheless I defied conscience and duty, devotion to the "cause," love for Miss Anthony, every good attribute that I ought to possess. When I went to bed at night I said, "I will not!" When I got up in the morning I repeated, "I will not!!" And all through the day I sat in my attic workroom and croaked to myself, "Nevermore."

Finally I decided to put an end to my misery and so one day I burst forth: "Now, Miss Anthony, of course you are not thinking of having me undertake that History. To be shut away from the world and to pore over these faded letters and old documents and dig for dates and verify statements and write for facts to people who never answer and struggle to tell the truth and not offend anybody—surely a year-and-a-half of such a strain is all that ought to be asked of one woman!" When I stopped for breath she said calmly, "You realize the importance of having the History written, don't you?" "O, yes." "Then since you can't or won't write it, you will surely suggest the proper person to do it." I named an excellent writer. "She could not leave her family to come here and do this work." I mentioned another. "She has a profession which she could not give up for a year or two." I offered still another name. "A brilliant writer but in no sense a historian." "The country is full of competent women," I cried. "Very well; you know the writers better than I do. There is no hurry about this; think up a suitable person and I'll arrange it with her."

The matter never was referred to again. The Biography came out for the Holidays of 1898. I spent the winter in Washington as usual and did not see Miss Anthony. In the spring all of us went to England, for the International Council, but, although I was with her much of the time, she never mentioned the History. I did not return till December and the latter part of this month was sent by McClure's to Rochester, as mentioned in a preceding chapter. The last night of my stay, just as I was going to bed, Miss Anthony came into my room and without any preliminaries

said: "When will you be ready to come here and begin work on the History?" I dropped into a chair, simply collapsed. After I had made all my feeble objections, which she brushed away as so much chaff, I at last finished by saying, "If you will only let me off from this work I'll come back here and get everything ready and plan it all and put things in such shape that anybody can do it." Rising and throwing back her head, just as she used to when about to make a big speech, she said, "Think this over till morning, and if you decide that you will not undertake it I'll burn up the material and that will be the end." Then her voice broke and her eyes filled with tears. "I'll do it, Miss Anthony, I'll do it," I cried, and putting my arms around her neck I kissed her to seal the promise.

The next morning we agreed that after the convention and the birthday festivities in Washington were over, I would return and Miss Anthony would put all else aside, so that we could give every hour of time to the History. I was only to stay until the MS. was ready for the publishers and was to be released from proof-reading, index-making and other wearisome details which are a part of bookmaking.

I came to begin this work April 21, 1900, but alas, I could not leave until December 24, 1902, when the History was finished to the last particular. There has not been a day since then that I have not been thankful to Miss Anthony for compelling me to do my duty. And so in all parts of the country are women who can make a similar assertion. Not only did she labor without ceasing herself but she constantly stimulated others to work, sometimes by word, always by example. Thousands of women have said or written to her, "I was tired, discouraged, wanted to quit—but I thought of you, of what you had borne and how you had toiled for us, and I couldn't stop, I will always keep on." For all time the memory of Miss Anthony will be an inspiration for women to strive, to persevere, to hope, to conquer.

Before work on the History was commenced in earnest some time was spent putting into shape a Memorial to be presented by the National Suffrage Association to each of the presidential nominating conventions during the summer, and different forms of



letters to be sent from the headquarters in New York to all of the delegates of the different parties, 4,000 altogether.<sup>1</sup>

Miss Anthony always opposed women's forming organizations to work for parties and during this summer she expressed her reasons in a published article as follows:

There is no point which ought to be so strongly emphasized, no fact which so needs to be impressed upon those women who are now organizing to work for the different political parties, as that of their utter powerlessness to help or to hinder. Senator James H. Lane, of Kansas, always used to say to those who came begging him to assist their pet measures, "Well, what do you propose to do for me in return?" This was a brutally blunt way of putting into words what every politician says in effect when he ignores the prayers and petitions of women. It is the philosophical and inevitable consequence of our democratic-republican form of government, in which position and power are conferred by the electors. Those who desire promotion must establish themselves in the favor of those who can grant it, and there is nothing to be gained by catering to any other class.

This may be placing government on a low plane. It is altruism with a limit; a desire to help others in the proportion that others help us. It is the Golden Rule read backwards—have others do unto you in the precise ratio that you do unto them. Such is the present status—not the fault of the individual, but the result of the system. The electorate governs. It gives and it takes away. All outside of this body are without power to do either.

This is the position of women. Their interest in political issues, their ability to comprehend them, their desire to influence them, cannot be questioned. All of these become more evident with each national campaign. By the 6th of next November there will be scarcely a woman in the United States so devoid of patriotism as not to wish to cast her vote for one or the other of the presidential candidates. It is because women long to assist the party which represents their ideas on public questions, that they form their political organizations, open their headquarters, fly their banners, wear their badges, send out their literature, make speeches and march in processions. The party leaders welcome all the grist which comes to their mill; they do not reject any fuel which makes steam; they accept every element which increases the enthusiasm and they honestly desire the sympathy and co-operation of women.

In politics, however, neither the labors nor the opinions of women have any appreciable influence unless enforced by the ballot. There are object lessons without number to prove this assertion. The old Abolitionists were perfectly willing to have women share their obloquy and ostracism, but when they became a strong political party they refused to divide their power with women. The Prohibition party was feeble and ineffectual until reinforced by

<sup>1</sup> For full text of Memorial and letters see *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume IV, Chapter XXIII. This chapter contains a complete résumé of the work done for woman suffrage in political conventions and the treatment of this question by those of the various parties.

the eloquence, enthusiasm and organized efforts of the Women's Christian Temperance Union; but immediately after casting its largest vote, in the hope of increasing its strength, the woman suffrage plank was dropped from the platform. The Populist party, largely made up in the beginning of Farmers' Alliances and Granges, which always have advocated equality of rights for women, stood at first on this principle, but the moment a fusion with the Democrats gave promise of victory the women were thrown overboard.

For a number of years women have had a National Republican Association, with auxiliaries in many States, working with might and main for the success of that party. Yet, notwithstanding all this, they never have been able to secure the slightest recognition of their political rights in the national platform of this party, and the first act of the present executive committee, has been to abolish the Woman's Bureau for the campaign of 1900.

In consideration of these indisputable facts would it not show more wisdom, common sense and self-respect in women to organize and work to make themselves a part of the electorate before they labor in behalf of any political party? In allying themselves with the gold-basis element, for instance, they antagonize every man who believes in free coinage. In joining the forces of "16 to 1" they array in opposition all the men who advocate a gold standard. In taking sides for or against expansion of territory they arouse the animosity of all who hold the opposite view. In espousing the cause of Prohibition they repel not only the liquor dealers and the intemperate but also the believers in license and moderate drinking. No one party or one class of men will ever enfranchise women; but it will have to be done by a combination of the friends in all parties and all classes.

An entry in the diary April 29 said: "Took Mrs. May Wright Sewall to the Lehigh Valley Station this morning and decided to ride to the Junction with her. Returned in time for church. Mr. Gannett preached on "Material reasons for rejoicing in being a Unitarian"—said he was thankful for having been born one. So am I thankful for having been born a Friend—a Quaker. To be born into a free religious world is a blessing indeed."

On Tuesday Miss Anthony spoke for the Jewish Club at their Home for Young Boys, and then to the Cooking Class for Girls of the Public Schools, and expressed the greatest enjoyment in both. She never lost her interest in young people but always entered into the spirit of their work and ambitions and showed a keen understanding of and a sympathy with youthful trials and disappointments, which are not always remembered by those who have left them far behind. She had the maternal instinct to a much higher degree than many a woman who has literally known motherhood. Indeed it may be said that in her feelings Miss

Anthony stood in the relation of a mother to all young people—especially to all girls—with whom she was for any length of time associated, and they very soon learned to reciprocate her affection and regard her with love and reverence.

Miss Anthony went to Syracuse on May 16 to assist at the funeral services of Mr. C. D. B. Mills, who had been her faithful and valued friend since the days before the Civil War when they faced the angry mobs while pleading the cause of the slave.

The 25th of May saw Miss Anthony on the way to Boston in response to an urgent invitation to attend the New England annual suffrage convention in Park Street Church and the evening Festival in Faneuil Hall. Her lieutenants, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Chapman Catt, and her much admired friend, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, were added to the Boston speakers, and, as she expressed it, "It was a regular old-time, wide-awake suffrage meeting." On this occasion a young woman in her address declared with pride that now so many young and educated college women were coming into the movement for suffrage, its success was assured, because their methods were so different from the crude and less cultured efforts of the first champions. This assertion roused Miss Anthony's loyal spirit and in her own speech she recalled the names of the splendid galaxy who first spoke and worked for the freedom of women. As she repeated one name after another—Florence Nightingale, Harriet Martineau, Margaret Fuller, Lydia Maria Child, Abby Kelly, the Grimké sisters, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Ernestine L. Rose, Madame Anneke, Maria Mitchell, Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Matilda Joslyn Gage and a score of other noted orators, scholars and philanthropists—such a galaxy as had never been seen in any other reform throughout the ages—peal after peal of applause echoed throughout the old hall, which in all its history had never witnessed a more soul-stirring scene.

Miss Anthony was entertained by Henry B. and Alice Stone Blackwell in the home of Lucy Stone in Dorchester. She attended the banquet given by the New England Woman's Club at Hotel Vendome in honor of Julia Ward Howe; a dinner at the

home of William Lloyd and Ellen Wright Garrison, in Brookline, where William and Helen Bright Clark, of England, were guests; all of them had afternoon tea on Sunday at West Medford with Mrs. Anna Davis Hallowell, grand-daughter of Lucretia Mott, and every hour of her visit was filled with pleasure. After it was over she gladly fulfilled the long-cherished wish of Miss Shaw that she should visit her summer home, the Haven, at Wianno. In this delightful cottage she spent a happy week, sitting on the veranda and listening to the murmur of the pine trees; walking on the shore of the ocean with Miss Shaw and her own beloved niece, Lucy Anthony, or driving with them along the picturesque roads of Cape Cod. They begged her to prolong the visit but she declined, saying, "The thought of that History hangs over me like a pall and I shall have no rest or peace of mind till it is finished."

Miss Anthony had been home but a few days when at three o'clock on the morning of June 7 she received a telegram stating that her brother Merritt had died suddenly the evening before. It was a great shock for he was but sixty-six years old and apparently in perfect health. The weather was exceedingly hot, and, fearing the effect of a long journey, her brother D. R. telegraphed her several times not to come, as everything would be properly attended to. Nothing could detain her, however, and she started on the two days' trip to Kansas by the first train. It was too late for her to reach her brother's home in Ft. Scott before the family left for Leavenworth where the interment was to be made, so she went direct to the latter place. The funeral party arrived at beautiful Mt. Muncie cemetery at sunset on Sunday evening, and as the last simple rites were ended the moon shone upon the newly-made grave, a peaceful and solemn scene.

Capt. Jacob Merritt Anthony, youngest of the six children, was born in Battenville, N. Y., and went to Osawatomie in 1856, when he was just twenty-two years old. He was with John Brown through the "border ruffian" days and was one of the first to enlist for the Civil War, where he served bravely from 1861 to its close in 1865. He was a member of Wm. H. Lytle Post, G. A. R. In the funeral sermon his old pastor, the Rev. C. W.

Porter, of Ft. Scott, eloquently described his love of liberty and devotion to country, and said: "For twenty-five years I have known him as the friend of reform, the faithful law-abiding citizen, ready to labor and to give of his means for any cause that promised help to his fellow man."

It seemed impossible for Miss Anthony to meet this sorrow with her usual fortitude and philosophy. There had been no illness to prepare her for the shock, she had fully expected her brother to survive her, and her devotion to her family was so intense she could hardly endure the severing of the bonds which united the only remaining four of them. She wept for days almost without ceasing. The journal said, "I have shed more tears than in years and years before. I thought I was done with them." She went to Ft. Scott—"For the first time no brother Merritt to meet me!"—and then to the house—"Merritt's home and his visible presence gone out from it forever!" Then back again to Leavenworth she journeyed to look upon his grave once more. "I have had a restful drive," she wrote; "I have eaten breakfast and dinner and supper as of old, but my thought is ever upon mother's darling boy never more to be seen by us. I have been out to see the mound that covers his dear form—all so peaceful after his long unrest—but oh, the longing to look upon his face again, to hear his voice once more—and yet there we must leave him—it is all over!"

Many entries in the little diary ended with the agonized questions—asked since the beginning of human life—"Has he joined dear father and mother, and do they all wait the coming of those left behind?" "Whither has his immortal part gone? Is it far away, or still here with our immortal part and we not capable of knowing its presence?" There cannot be the slightest doubt of Miss Anthony's passionate desire for an immortal life, of the intensity with which she clung to the hope that it might be realized. In her journal at the time of this deep grief she pinned the following quotation from the great Unitarian scholar, James Martineau, which she said expressed perfectly her own thought:

I do not know that there is anything in nature, (unless indeed it be the reputed blotting out of suns in the stellar heavens), which can be compared

in wastefulness with the extinction of great minds. Their gathered resources, their matured skill, their luminous insight, their unfailing tact, are not like instincts that can be handed down; they are absolutely personal and inalienable, grand conditions of future power unavailable for the race but perfect for an ulterior growth of the individual. If that growth is not to be, the most brilliant genius bursts and vanishes as a firework in the night. A mind of balanced and finished faculties is a production at once of infinite delicacy and of most enduring constitution; lodged in a fast-perishing organism, it is like a perfect set of astronomical instruments misplaced in an observatory shaken by earthquakes or caving in with decay. The lenses are true, the mirrors without a speck, the movements smooth, the micrometers exact; what shall the Master do but save the precious system refined with so much care, and build for it a new house that shall be founded upon a rock.

Miss Anthony had been home but three days when she went to Auburn, N. Y., to fulfil a promise made to Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne and Miss Emily Howland to speak at a farmers' picnic held on the shore of Lake Owasco near by. A heavy storm came up and because of her exhausted condition she took a severe cold and for nearly a week she remained in Mrs. Osborne's hospitable home skilfully cared for by physicians and nurses.

Work on the History was suspended for the hot months but Miss Anthony kept her secretaries busy making the scrap books which would be needed when it was resumed. Only those who have resurrected from the depths of their storage the dusty and yellowed clippings of bygone years and tried to systemize and put them into usable shape can know what a nerve-wrecking process it is. Miss Anthony would rather have travelled around the globe and delivered two speeches a day, so it is not surprising that she made and kept a vow never to preserve another clipping after the History was finished. In addition to all that she arranged for the nearly twenty years which the History was to cover, she prepared two large books entirely of extracts about Mrs. Stanton, which were completed afterwards with her hundreds of obituary notices. During the summer Mary Anthony said several times to friends: "Susan has always worked harder than anybody I ever knew, but she is breaking her own record."

The visitor in the Anthony home who brought more brightness, cheer and happiness than any other was Anna Howard Shaw. If the others had been inclined to jealousy they would

have said that a little warmer welcome always greeted her arrival, a little more regret attended her departure. After Mrs. Stanton retired from active work and Miss Anthony's association with her naturally grew less, she learned to turn to Miss Shaw for assistance which was never refused and never stinted. No woman ever gave to another woman more loyal, unselfish and complete devotion than Miss Shaw rendered to Miss Anthony from the time they first learned to know each other in 1888, and she received in return the deepest love and appreciation of that strong nature. As Miss Anthony gradually withdrew from continuous public duties and the constant journeying to and fro, she enjoyed more and more keenly the visits of the younger woman who came fresh from the conflict and brimful of ideas, news and anecdotes. All work was suspended that not one moment of these brief stays should be lost, and, remembering the hardships of her own lecture days, Miss Anthony used to make every possible provision for the comfort of the weary itinerant. The favorite dishes were cooked, the bath was made ready, the bed was prepared with her own hands; a laundress was furnished and a stenographer was assigned to relieve the burden of correspondence. On her part Miss Shaw considered no sacrifice too large to have these little visits. She would rise before day-break to take a train that would give her even a few hours at Rochester, or she would travel two entire nights to spend Sunday in this haven of rest. Each month when making out her schedule she would try to plan for a stop-over here, and Miss Anthony would mark that date in her calendar as a red-letter day.

Miss Anthony was very fond of all the Business Committee of the National American Association—her "Cabinet," as she liked to call them—and she had long been desirous of entertaining them in her own home. This summer she felt that their visit must not be further postponed, although the careful Sister Mary suggested that she might not be equal to the strain. She scouted the insinuation, and on August 29 she had the great joy of welcoming under her own roof the entire National Board—Mrs. Chapman Catt, Miss Shaw, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Miss Blackwell, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Miss Laura Clay, Mrs. Catharine

Waugh McCulloch, and the two private secretaries, Lucy E. Anthony and Elizabeth J. Hauser. Those were three happy days for Miss Anthony. The business meetings were in session from early morning until late at night, but when, in the midst of their weighty discussions, the members discovered they were hungry, thanks to ever watchful Sister Mary, they always found the table spread and every want provided for. None of that little company ever will forget the hospitality of this simple, refined Quaker home. They left for Miss Mary, as a memento of their visit, seven silver spoons engraved with her initials and theirs.

Mrs. Lydia Coonley Ward, who had come from her summer residence in Wyoming, N. Y., to dine with them one day, insisted that they should adjourn their sessions to her house. She sent them railroad transportation and they finished the week in her spacious and comfortable home. A public meeting in the village was arranged by her for the last evening, which was addressed by several members of the committee. The *Wyoming Reporter* said: "And last came Miss Anthony—our dear Miss Anthony—the noblest Roman of them all. As she entered into the question that she had made the persistent work of her life, while it developed her courage and sweetness, she was the very personification of her subject. She stood before the audience like a vision of the spirit of prophecy, so imbued with her unselfish longing that the angel of the covenant who has held up her hands and kept her from fainting revealed her as the inspired representative of her great idea. Dear Miss Anthony! Well may we love and reverence her, for she has given to us all that was hers and crowned the giving with herself."

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For many years Miss Anthony had greatly desired that girls should be admitted to the University of Rochester and had often tried to arouse public interest in the subject. In 1891, while Mrs. Stanton was visiting her, a meeting was held in her home to discuss the question, with the president of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Edward Mott Moore, and a number of the faculty present,



but it was declared impracticable with the funds on hand.<sup>1</sup> Many times afterwards the matter was agitated by herself, by Mary Anthony, by the Political Equality Club and other organizations. Finally in the summer of 1898, the Board of Trustees, feeling the injustice of requiring the girls of the city who desired a college education to leave home for the purpose, announced that if the sum of \$100,000 was secured within a year women would be admitted to the university on the same terms as men. Miss Anthony was greatly rejoiced at even this concession, but with her long experience in asking for money she knew the task would not be an easy one. A committee for raising the necessary fund eventually was appointed at a meeting of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, the Ethical Club and other organizations of women, with Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery as chairman and Miss Anthony, of course, a member.<sup>2</sup> She often expressed her relief that she was not required to have the full management of this great undertaking, but none the less she threw herself into the work with might and main, attended the committee meetings for several years and personally solicited subscriptions from her friends in the city and elsewhere. She felt that while in every instance she probably would divert money from the suffrage cause, the cause of co-education justified it.

As the period for raising the money drew near the end it became apparent that the amount could not be obtained, but the women had striven so earnestly and the general sentiment was so evidently in favor of opening the university to girls, that the trustees at their annual meeting in 1899, reduced the required fund to \$50,000 and extended the time another year. The women redoubled their efforts but large contributions which they had expected did not materialize and it was found that a vast proportion of the Alumni were strongly opposed to the scheme of co-education. Miss Anthony was so overwhelmed with the demands upon her in 1900 that she had not kept close watch on the progress of the fund, feeling sure that it was in capable hands. She re-

<sup>1</sup> Volume II, page 713.

<sup>2</sup> Other members: Mrs. George C. Hollister, Mrs. Lewis Bigelow, Mrs. William Eastwood, Mrs. William C. Gannett, Miss Olive Davis.

turned from Wyoming Tuesday, September 4, so much fatigued by the strain of the week and the excessive heat that she was forced to recognize the necessity of sparing herself exertion for awhile. On Friday evening she was called to the telephone by Mrs. Fannie R. Bigelow, secretary of the Fund Committee, and informed that the time for raising the money would expire the next day; that she was the only other member of the committee in the city; that they lacked \$8,000; that every expedient for securing this balance had been exhausted and that there was reason to believe the time would not be further extended. Miss Anthony was almost distracted. It was too late for any action that day but she arranged for Mrs. Bigelow to call early the next morning and then went to bed to pass a sleepless night, turning over and over in her mind every possibility for getting that \$8,000 and never admitting for an instant that it would not be obtained.

The next morning Sister Mary was the first victim of the carefully planned onslaught. She intended to bequeath \$2,000 to the university if it should become co-educational. "Give it now," insisted Miss Anthony. "Don't wait or the girls may never be admitted;"—and thus the first two of the eight thousand were secured. Taking a carriage with Mrs. Bigelow she then went to the home of Mrs. Sarah L. Willis, to whom for nearly fifty years she had never appealed in vain when financial difficulties threatened, and here she received the second two thousand. The struggle then began in earnest. To stores, to offices, to factories they drove, Miss Anthony making her plea with all the eloquence and pathos she could command. It was said afterwards that Joan of Arc must have had just such an expression on her face when she led the hosts to battle. But it was all in vain; some had already subscribed, others were opposed to opening the university to girls, and at noon not another dollar had been promised. Miss Anthony went home for dinner and the day was so oppressively hot her sister begged her to rest for a while but she would not listen. By half-past one she was in the carriage again. After an interview with one of the city's richest women, who cited her many expenses as an excuse for not contributing, Miss Anthony

dropped down on the cushions as they drove away and exclaimed, "Thank heaven I am not so poor as she is!"

Finally when all resources seemed exhausted Miss Anthony turned to the Rev. W. C. Gannett, who with his wife had done a large amount of work toward securing this fund, and he quickly agreed to make himself and Mrs. Gannett responsible for \$2,000. The afternoon was passing away; the Board of Trustees was in session and likely at any moment to adjourn, and in desperation Miss Anthony went to see Mr. Samuel Wilder, who always had responded to her calls but had already made his subscription. She explained the emergency, said if there were only more time she herself could raise the rest of the money and asked if she might guarantee in his name the last \$2,000. He willingly consented. Almost overcome by physical weariness and mental joy she hastened with Mrs. Bigelow to the Granite Building where they met Mrs. Montgomery by appointment and were soon in the presence of the trustees. It was quite evident that their appearance was a surprise. "Gentlemen, Miss Anthony has a report to make," said Mrs. Montgomery; and then, her voice shaking with excitement, Miss Anthony laid before them the pledges for the remaining \$8,000. After consulting together for awhile they informed her that those for \$6,000 were accepted but the guarantee for the last \$2,000 was not sufficient, as the guarantor was in precarious health and his estate could not be held for the money. For a moment Miss Anthony was stunned, then rising and walking over to the table she said: "Well, gentlemen, I may as well confess—I am the guarantor, but I asked Mr. Wilder to lend me his name so that this question of co-education might not be hurt by any connection with woman suffrage. I now pledge my life insurance for the \$2,000."

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A brief and almost illegible entry was made in the diary the next evening: "Went to church today but had a sleepy time—such a sleepy time. It seemed as if something was the matter with my tongue—I had a feeling of strangeness—could not think



Henry C. Phillips.

MARY T. LEWIS GANNETT.

what I wanted to say.—A queer sensation all the afternoon.—Mary asked me several times if anything was the matter.—I shall be better or worse tomorrow!”

The next morning she would not talk and was evidently using all her will-power to enable her to meet an engagement with the secretary of the Board of Trustees in the afternoon to learn whether all the pledges had stood legal examination. There was a wavering line in her diary evidently written as soon as she returned home: “They let the girls in. He said there was no alternative.”

The press of the city had spread the joyful tidings and Monday evening the Anthony home was filled with people who came to express their great delight and their appreciation of Miss Anthony's heroic achievement. Among them were the score of girls who were ready to enter the university at once. She sat in her usual arm-chair and tried to smile as they crowded about her, but she made no effort to speak and her face was very white. Suddenly she slipped away; the devoted sister, who had been watching her with deepest anxiety, hastened to her room and found her lying unconscious on the bed. There was a lesion of a small blood-vessel in the brain, a touch of apoplexy light as the pressure of a baby's finger—but the axe had been laid at the root of the tree.

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It has been said that the opening of Rochester University to women is not due to Miss Anthony; that the trustees would have extended the time another year, during which the money would surely have been obtained. There certainly is no desire to minimize the long and efficient work of the other members of the committee, who by two years of labor raised over \$40,000 of the required fund. Since, however, the effort for its completion resulted in lessening to a great extent Miss Anthony's power to give to the cause she loved best that service to which she had dedicated the closing years of her life, there is much reason for wanting to know whether the sacrifice was necessary.

The next day after Miss Anthony appeared before the Board of Trustees, September 11, 1900, the Rochester *Democrat and*

*Chronicle* contained an article with double-column headlines which said: "Opens Its Doors to Young Women. Rochester University Henceforth a Coeducational Institution. Last \$8,000 Needed for the \$50,000 Endowment Fund Raised by Susan B. Anthony Yesterday. What Seemed a Hopeless Task Accomplished by Her Energy and Courage." After the introductory paragraph the article continued:

For several days the question whether women would be admitted to the university has been in the balance. Those who hoped for the consummation of the project had about lost heart. All summer long the fund necessary had remained *in statu quo*. There were only a few hours left in which the hopes of the young women could be realized. Women connected with the Co-educational Fund Committee had walked the streets during the long, hot months and made appeals for contributions. They were woefully unsuccessful. . . . So the summer wore away.

Yesterday it became a matter of hours when the crisis must be met. Then something happened—Susan B. Anthony threw herself into the breach. Single handed she met the situation and raised \$8,000 in money and pledges, the sum necessary to complete the \$50,000. It was a remarkable achievement. . . . The plan for co-education was dimly near a failure, and, had it not been for the indomitable will and courage of Miss Anthony, it is probable that another year would have elapsed before women entered the university, if, indeed the whole project did not fall through. . . .

Mrs. Montgomery was delighted with the turn affairs took yesterday afternoon. "I think," she said, "this is a wonderful tribute to the personal power of Miss Anthony. What she has done is marvelous. A large number of us women have been trying to do this thing all summer and failed. Then Miss Anthony accomplished it."

The other newspapers of Rochester spoke in the same vein. Soon after the opening of the college year the following letter was sent signed by twenty-five names:

DEAR MISS ANTHONY: The girls who have entered the University of Rochester are deeply grateful to all who have helped in the work of raising the fund and made it possible for them to share in the benefits of the institution. But we feel that we owe a special debt of gratitude to you, since it was your generous aid at the last that made the effort successful.

We realize that the best possible way to show our gratitude is to make the utmost use of our opportunities, and we hope that in this respect we shall not disappoint our friends.

Wishing you a speedy recovery from your illness, and all happiness and success in your work, we are gratefully yours,

The Women Students of the University of Rochester.

For the next six years Miss Anthony received similar letters from the different classes; she was elected the first honorary member of the College Women's Club and was invited to all the girls' celebrations; mementos of her were placed in their room at the university and her picture hung by the side of Mary Lyons'; they called frequently at her home and in every possible way acknowledged their great indebtedness to her.

Before beginning this volume, in which this matter would have to be recorded as a historical fact, the writer made careful investigation to determine whether the time for raising the fund would have been extended over a third year. The minutes of the trustees' meeting were examined and the question was thoroughly discussed with Mr. Charles M. Williams, who had been secretary of the Board of Trustees for twenty years. The results summed up were as follows: A very strong pressure against admitting women to the university had been exerted by the Alumni in various parts of the country; the wealthy citizens of Rochester had shown a most discouraging apathy; this September meeting had no authority to extend the time but that would have to be done, if at all, at the May meeting in 1901. Even if it were extended and the fund eventually raised, the admission of the women would be deferred two years. The conviction was clear that if Miss Anthony had not put forth the herculean effort at the critical moment there was a strong probability that the doors of the university would have remained closed to women for an indefinite length of time.

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Miss Anthony was under the constant care of her physician for over a month. During the first week her power of speech was practically gone and it was doubtful whether she would recover it. Gradually it returned so that no defect was noticeable but she never again had full confidence in her ability to speak in public. The very first time that she was able to go out in a carriage she asked to be taken through the university campus, and that night an entry in the diary said: "I thought with joy, 'These are no longer forbidden grounds to the girls of our city. It is good to

feel that the old doors swing on their hinges to admit them. Will the vows made to them be kept? Will they have an equal chance? All promises well but the fulfilment is yet to be seen.' ”

By the middle of October, Miss Anthony had recovered sufficiently to go to the inaugural of Dr. Rush Rhees as president of the university, and the record in the journal for that day said: “Not a direct mention of the girls in one of the speeches; the papers say the policy is to treat them as if they had always been there. Well, even if they had they would have deserved some mention—but no matter—they are in and there is no getting them out!” Not a murmur at the fearful cost she had paid for their privilege—only joy that it had been gained for them, only hope that it never would be taken away!

To the inexpressible delight of everybody Miss Anthony's fine mental faculties were entirely unimpaired by her illness, but she never fully regained her remarkable physical vigor or her wonderful buoyancy of spirit. As the days went by it became evident that her usual recuperative power was not equal to the present demand upon it. Finally in November, without saying a word to anyone, she went to her old friend of more than fifty years, Dr. Edward Mott Moore, the eminent specialist, and had a long, confidential talk. He told her that absolutely nothing could be done to restore her to perfect health; that a second stroke of apoplexy might come at any time and it might be delayed for a number of years; that henceforth she must take the best care of herself and especially must avoid getting cold and meeting crowds of people.

When on December 1 Miss Anthony packed her trunk and started for New York to attend the National Suffrage Bazar in Madison Square Garden, those who were nearest to her understood that her decision was made to “die in the harness;” that she did not care to secure a long lease of life by giving up active work and all that made existence worth while. She went to the bazar every day and evening for a week; the place was very cold and for hours at a time she was surrounded by a throng of people, shaking hands daily with hundreds and having a cheerful word for all. When it was over she returned home apparently none the



worse for the experience, and with the calm courage of a Stoic took up her daily round of work.

On Christmas night these heart-breaking words were written in the diary: "This day finds me ashamed that I have done so little to make people happy. How can I begin to bless them after the fashion of others?"

## CHAPTER LIX.

### MISS ANTHONY'S VARIED WORK IN CONVENTIONS.

1901.



NO word of complaint ever was uttered by Miss Anthony that the cherished hopes and plans for the closing years of her life had been practically crushed. She bore the bitter disappointment with the fortitude which had characterized her entire life, utilized all the strength that remained to her, and, whenever this failed, waited not patiently but heroically till enough returned to enable her to take up the work again. For the first time in her life she had to remain indoors when the weather was inclement and leave her tasks unfinished because of physical weakness. Any public celebration of her eighty-first birthday on February 15 was forbidden, and, thinking that she might feel lonely, her friends Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, of Philadelphia, Mrs. Emily Gross, of Chicago, and Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indianapolis, came to Rochester to spend the day with her. Mrs. Mary F. Hallowell, Mrs. Sarah L. Willis and Mrs. Mary T. Lewis Gannett joined them at dinner and a number of people called in the evening. Letters, telegrams and gifts were received from all parts of the country; the university girls gave her a growing palm; flowers, fruit and other delicacies were sent by friends in the city, and Mrs. Gross presented her with two Government bonds worth \$600 each; so the day was really a very happy one. When the great celebration of a year ago was referred to she said, "Oh, I think today has been much pleasanter."

On February 23, Miss Anthony was able to attend the first reception ever given at Rochester University by women students. It was held in the large, handsome room which had been set apart for their exclusive use, and invitations had been extended to

various women's organizations. The morning paper said: "Susan B. Anthony was the guest of honor, and the young ladies seated her among the cushions on the divan where she held impromptu court during the hours of receiving." It was indeed a proud moment for her when she saw the girls moving freely and happily through the halls of this old institution of which they were now a part.

During the spring a good deal of attention was attracted by Mrs. Nation's operations with a hatchet among the saloons of Kansas, and in the course of an interview on the subject Miss Anthony said: "The hatchet is the weapon of barbarism, the ballot is the weapon of civilization. In a Government where one-half the people are denied the ballot, that half have no legitimate means by which to enforce their will, and the hatchet or other revolutionary weapon is their only resource."

The second week in May the State Municipal Ownership League met in Rochester, and as Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker was paying Miss Anthony a visit they decided to make an effort to have the convention indorse woman suffrage. Miss Anthony did not feel equal to an address but she wrote a strong letter and went to the meeting with Mrs. Hooker who presented it with an eloquent speech showing how women had an equal interest with men in municipal ownership and how men needed women's votes to help this and all progressive measures. They were curtly informed by the president that the matter had been discussed in business session and it was decided that woman suffrage should not be brought before the meeting. "If not before a body met to consider a great economic question which directly affects every woman in the country, then where should woman suffrage be considered?" asked Miss Anthony, and as there was no answer the two ladies went home.

Miss Anthony was one of the speakers at a mass meeting held in the Jewish Temple the evening of May 18 to celebrate the assembling of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. On the 25th she joined the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw at Buffalo and started for Minneapolis, where the National American Suffrage Association was to hold its annual meeting. They stopped over Sunday

in Chicago, met other members of the national board, and on Monday a reception was given for them by the Woman's Club.

The officers reached Minneapolis Tuesday and made their headquarters at the West Hotel. The committee of arrangements, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, chairman, had done its part so well that the convention proved to be one of the most successful in the long list of these meetings. It opened May 30, the first in many years that had not been presided over by Miss Anthony, but the delegates felt profoundly thankful even for her presence. She was the first to speak, giving them the greetings of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and then her own. In the course of her remarks she said :

If the divine law visits the sins of the parents upon the children, equally so does it transmit to them the virtues of the parents. Therefore if it is through woman's ignorant subjection to man's appetites and passions that the life current of the race is corrupted, then must it be through her intelligent emancipation that it shall be purified and her children rise up and call her blessed. . . . I am a full and firm believer in the revelation that it is through woman the race is to be redeemed. For this reason I ask for her immediate and unconditional emancipation from all political, industrial, social and religious subjection. It is said, "Men are what their mothers made them," but I say that to hold mothers responsible for the character of their sons, while denying to them any control over the surroundings of the sons' lives, is worse than mockery, it is cruelty. Responsibilities grow out of rights and powers. Therefore before mothers can rightfully be held responsible for the vices and crimes, for the general demoralization of society, they must possess all possible rights and powers to control the conditions and circumstances of their own and their children's lives.

The subject of the address sent by Mrs. Stanton was *The Duty of the Church to Women at This Hour*. While there were parts of its radical statements with which Miss Anthony agreed, she by no means indorsed it as a whole. Loyalty to Mrs. Stanton was so strong, however, and the memory of her great service to the cause of woman was so faithful, that, in the face of much opposition, she had the address in full presented to the convention.

Two reports were made by Miss Anthony, as chairman of Committees on Congressional Work and on Convention Resolutions, which illustrated a part of the immense labor she had performed during the past year and which it had been her intention to continue every year. After describing the strong efforts

to secure recognition from the Presidential nominating conventions she said: "During the year I have also sent petitions and letters to more than one hundred national conventions of different sorts—industrial, educational, charitable, philanthropic, religious and political.<sup>1</sup> Below are the forms of petition:

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Fifty-sixth Congress of the United States:*

The undersigned on behalf of (naming the association) in annual convention assembled at . . . . ., 1900, and representing . . . . . members, respectfully ask for the prompt passage by your Honorable Body of a *Sixteenth Amendment* to the Federal Constitution, to be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification, prohibiting the disfranchisement of United States citizens on account of sex.

....., President.  
....., Secretary.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Fifty-sixth Congress of the United States:*

Whereas, The trend of civilization is plainly in the direction of equal rights for women, and

Whereas, Woman suffrage is no longer an experiment, but has been clearly demonstrated to be beneficial to society; therefore

*Resolved*, That we, on behalf of (as above), do respectfully petition your Honorable Body not to insert the word "male" in the suffrage clause of whatever form of government you shall recommend to Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico or any other newly-acquired possessions. We ask this in the name of justice and equality for all citizens of a republic founded on the consent of the governed.<sup>2</sup>

"A number of large associations adopted these petitions and returned them to me duly engrossed on their official paper, signed by the president and secretary with their seal affixed; and I forwarded all to the Senators and Representatives whom I thought most likely to present them to Congress in a way to make an impression.

"The General Federation of Labor at Detroit was the first to respond. I was invited to address its annual convention, and, after I had spoken, the four hundred delegates passed a resolution

<sup>1</sup> Miss Anthony sent a special letter to each of these bodies worded to appeal particularly to the interests it represented.

<sup>2</sup> For the contemptuous answer of Congress to this petition see *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume IV, page 346.

of thanks to me, adopted the above petition for the Sixteenth Amendment by a rising vote, and ordered their officers to sign it in the name of their one million constituents.

“The National Building Trades Council at Milwaukee had an able discussion in its annual meeting, based on my letter, and adopted both petitions. This body has half-a-million members.

“The Bricklayers’ and Masons’ International Union of America was held in Rochester, and invited me to address the delegates. They received me with enthusiasm, passed strong woman suffrage resolutions and signed both petitions. Afterwards a stenographic report of my speech, covering two full pages of their official organ, *The Bricklayer and Mason*, was published with an excellent portrait of myself, thus sending my argument and me to each one of their more than sixty thousand members, all of whom subscribe to this paper as part of their dues to the union.

“The National Grange, which has endorsed woman suffrage for many years, adopted the resolutions and petitions.

“At the Federation of Commercial Schools of the United States and Canada, which met in Chicago, my letter was read, the question was thoroughly discussed and the suffrage petitions were adopted almost unanimously.

“The Columbia Catholic Summer School, held at Detroit, gave a hearing to our national president, Mrs. Chapman Catt, at which she is said to have made many converts. A strong suffrage speech was made by the Rev. Father W. J. Dalton, and other prominent members expressed themselves in favor.

“The contents of my letters to religious and educational bodies can readily be imagined, and one which was sent to the United States Brewers’ Association in convention at Atlantic City, N. J., may be cited as an example of the subject-matter of those to other organizations:

GENTLEMEN: As chairman of the committee appointed by our National Suffrage Association to address letters to the large conventions held this year, allow me to bring before you the great need of the recognition of women in all of the rights, privileges and immunities of United States Citizenship.

Though your association has for its principal object the management of the great brewing interests of this country, yet I have noted that you have adopted resolutions declaring against woman suffrage. I therefore appeal to you,

since the question seems to come within the scope of your deliberations, to reverse your action this closing year of the century and declare yourself in favor of the practical application of the fundamental principles of our Government to all the people—women as well as men. Whatever your nationality, whatever your religious creed, whatever your political party, you are either born or naturalized citizens of the United States, and because of that are voters of the State in which you reside. Will you not, gentlemen, accord to the women of this nation, having the same citizenship as yourselves, precisely the same privileges and powers which you possess because of that one fact of citizenship?

The only true principle—the only safe policy—of a democratic-republican government is that every class of people shall be protected in the exercise of the right of individual representation. I pray you, therefore, to pass a resolution in favor of woman suffrage and order your officers, on behalf of the association, to sign a petition to Congress for this purpose, and thereby put the weight of your influence on the side of making this Government a genuine republic.

Should you desire to have one of our best woman suffrage speakers address your convention, if you will let me know as soon as possible, I will take pleasure in arranging for one to do so.

“This was read to the convention, and the secretary, Gallus Thomann, thus reported its action to me:

Mr. Obermann (ex-president of the association and one of the trustees) voicing the sentiments of the delegates, spoke as follows: “Miss Susan B. Anthony is entitled to the respect of every man and woman in this country, whether agreeing with her theories or not. I think it but fair and courteous to her that the secretary be instructed to answer that letter, and to inform Miss Anthony that this is a body of business men; that we meet for business purposes and not for politics. Furthermore, that she is mistaken and misinformed so far as her statement is concerned that we have passed resolutions opposing woman suffrage. *We have never taken such action at any of our conventions or on any other occasion.* I submit this as a motion.”

The motion was unanimously adopted, and that part of Mr. Obermann's remarks which related to the respect due Miss Anthony was loudly and enthusiastically applauded. To the sentiment thus expressed, permit me, dear Miss Anthony, to add personally the assurance of my highest esteem.<sup>1</sup>

“Among the results of the work with State conventions it may be mentioned that the Georgia Federation of Labor, the Minne-

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Mr. Obermann may have believed his statement to be correct, but the national association, (notably at Milwaukee), and various State associations had passed resolutions against woman suffrage. Action taken in California will be found on page 886 of this Biography. In the Oregon campaign of 1906 the State Brewers' Association sent out official circulars urging all dealers to work and vote against the woman suffrage amendment. Numerous other instances might be given.

sota Federation of Labor, the State Teachers' Association of Washington and the New York State Grange signed the petitions and passed the resolutions.

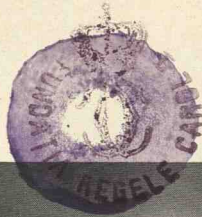
"As another branch of the work, copies of these two petitions were sent to each of the forty-five States and three Territories, with letters asking the suffrage presidents, where associations existed, (and prominent individuals in the few States where they did not), to make two copies of each petition on their own official paper, sign them on behalf of the suffragists of the State, and return them to me to be sent to the members of Congress from their respective districts. This was done almost without exception and these petitions were presented by various members, one copy in the Senate and one in the House. Of all the State petitions, the most interesting was that of Wyoming, which, in default of a suffrage association, (none being needed), was signed by every State officer from the Governor down, by several United States officials, and by many of the most influential men and women. With it came a letter from the wife of ex-U. S. Senator Joseph M. Carey, who collected these names, saying the number was limited only by the brief space of time allowed.

"In all, more than two hundred petitions for woman suffrage from various associations were thus sent to Congress in 1900, representing millions of individuals. Many cordial responses were received from members, and promises of assistance should the question come before Congress, but there is no record of the slightest attempt by any member to bring it before that body.

"In doing this work I wrote fully a thousand letters to associations and individuals, in all of which I placed some of our best printed literature. There was a thorough stirring up of public sentiment which must have definite results in time, for it should not be forgotten that in addressing conventions we appeal to the chosen leaders of thought and work from many cities and States, and so set in motion an ever-widening circle of agitation in countless localities."

Miss Anthony not only gave practically all of her time and effort to the work of the National Association, but every year she





C. M. Hayes & Co.

MISS ANTHONY MAKING AN UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENT.

contributed at least \$100 in cash, taken usually from money which friends had given her for personal use, and she never received a dollar of salary during her thirty-seven years' official connection with this body. It always distressed her, however, to see others working without compensation and it had long been her wish that the association might afford to pay at least small salaries to the other national officers who worked so hard and continuously year after year. The one who had served longest, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, was now to sever her connection with the board. For twenty-one years she had rendered most devoted and efficient service as corresponding secretary and had besides contributed large sums of money. Throughout this period, Miss Anthony often said of her, "She is not only one of the most lovable but also one of the most capable and level-headed young women we have in our ranks today, and all her words and actions are based on justice, right and truth." She respected Mrs. Avery's wish to retire from the office in order to devote her time for awhile to her young daughters, and she desired that the association should give her some substantial mark of appreciation. During the weeks preceding the convention she had quietly circulated some letters to this effect and at one of its morning sessions, after a resolution of thanks to Mrs. Avery had been adopted, she came forward and said: "I have in my hand a thousand dollars for Rachel Foster Avery. It has been contributed without her knowledge by about four hundred different persons—most of you are in the list. I asked for this testimonial because I felt that you would all rejoice to show your appreciation of her long and faithful service and her great liberality to our cause. I should never have been able so easily to carry on the work as president for these many years if it had not been for her able co-operation." The gift was accepted by Mrs. Avery in a few graceful words and amid much applause. Miss Kate M. Gordon was elected secretary.

The Executive Committee passed a strong resolution against the adoption of the European system of State-regulated vice in the new possessions of the United States—Hawaii and the Philippines—as was now threatened. Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw were appointed to carry this protest to the convention of the

American Medical Association then in session in Minneapolis, which was reported to favor State regulation, and they did so, accompanied by a number of the delegates. When Miss Anthony was presented the entire convention rose and received her with much cordiality. She said in part: "It is with great fear and trepidation that I come before you this morning to speak on a question that is very near to the hearts of all true women. I presume some of you are in favor, and I hope many of you are opposed, to the system of regulating vice that evidently has been adopted in Manila. You may say that so long as the soldiers cannot be prevented from vice it should be made safe for them. I say in reply that the mothers of this country would rather their sons did not come home at all from service than to have them come in dishonor; better death than ruin. . . . To treat thus even degraded women lowers respect for all women. . . . I will not say more—it is not my habit to speak on anything except my right to say yea or nay on all public questions."

Miss Shaw followed with a dignified argument showing the effect of licensing this evil in other countries, and asking, "Is this the way to carry Christianity and civilization into our new possessions, to implant in them a discredited system from the Old World?" Sergeant-Major Louis Livingston Seaman, of New York, broke in with an irrelevant declaration that since the Post Canteen had been abolished contagious diseases had doubled, called the women "misguided enthusiasts," and threw the convention into an uproar. Miss Anthony was much agitated and begged to be allowed to reply to him, but the president stopped all discussion by calling for the order of business, and no action whatever was taken on the question. There was no doubt that a part of these physicians were in favor of licensing the social evil, and the delegates returned to their own convention more than ever impressed with the uselessness of hoping to effect any great moral reforms until women possessed political power.

The *Journal* said of the final session: "The meeting last evening at the First Baptist Church was a fitting close for an inspiring and valuable convention. The church was packed, many standing the whole evening. While the entire program was much appre-

ciated, there was a special interest in the speeches of the venerable leader, Miss Anthony, who recently laid aside the responsibility of the work, and the brilliant young woman who shouldered it, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. When Miss Anthony came forward to say farewell the audience rose and stood to express its admiration and respect."

A week was spent by Miss Anthony in the pleasant home of her cousin, Mrs. Hannah D. Boyle, on Lake Geneva, and here she enjoyed greatly the trips on the lake and the long drives over the beautiful, rolling country. Finally she started eastward with her sister Mary, and June 30, after five weeks' absence, they arrived at their own dear home, which they always declared was the most comfortable spot they ever found in hot weather.

Miss Anthony remained quietly at home the rest of the summer, occasionally visiting or entertaining her oldest and dearest friends in Rochester and keeping in touch with the outside world through her voluminous correspondence. The Universalist Convention met in the city and the *Democrat and Chronicle* of July 12 said:

Susan B. Anthony's name was not on the program, but, true to a promise made the night before, that the convention should hear the great advocate of equal rights, she occupied a seat on the rostrum. She made one of her strong pleas for suffrage which was witty and trenchant, very much like the Miss Anthony of old, and, though her voice lacked somewhat of its usual strength, her arguments were as logical as ever. She was greeted by the Chautauqua salute, the large audience rising as she approached the speaker's desk. "I have been thinking as I sat here," she said, "of three other great conventions which are being held tonight—the Christian Endeavor Society at Cincinnati, the Epworth League at Los Angeles, and the National Teachers' at Detroit. Who are the people composing these associations? They are—the vast proportion of them—disfranchised citizens and as such they have small influence over public conditions. If all these women held in their hands the ballot, what an immense force for good they would be and what tremendous reforms they could accomplish! But the demands of women are not heard because there is no political influence behind them.

"I want you women to realize what a power you might be if you were enfranchised. Women constitute three-fourths of the church membership and for that reason ministers have small influence in politics. The Catholic priesthood commands considerable respect from politicians because of the large number of men in its congregations, but the Protestant ministers are not respected by them any more than are the women who compose their congrega-

tions. The same is true of the schools—three-fourths of the teachers women—and thus churches, schools and homes all are practically disfranchised.”

Miss Anthony then earnestly criticized the fact that no women speakers were on the evening programs of this convention and none invited to the platform, saying, “I resent this from the bottom of my heart, and I demand of you to practice what you preach—universalism!” In closing she called for a vote of those for and against woman suffrage and the former were largely in the majority, there being a few weak “noes” from the men. At this she said, “They tell us women can have the suffrage whenever they ask for it, but I notice that the voices which proclaimed against it all were men’s.”

During the summer the McClure Syndicate brought out a series of five articles signed by Miss Anthony entitled, *The Ideal Husband*, *What I would Have Done with a Bad Husband*, *How to Train a Husband*, *Marriages that Fail*, *Man’s Wrongs*. The topics were assigned and at first she declared that she would not waste a minute considering them. When finally prepared, however, they were published with big headlines by newspapers in all the large cities and attracted much attention and wide comment, some of the latter of the most amusing character. Many of the editorials declared that Miss Anthony’s ideas on these subjects had no weight because she never had been married. They failed to see that this position if carried to its logical conclusion would bar the great editors from expressing their valuable opinions on any question of which they had not a knowledge through personal experience.

A Conference of the National Suffrage Association was held in Buffalo September 9 and 10, during the Pan-American Exposition, followed by a three-days’ session of the National Council of Women. Miss Anthony was in constant attendance on both and spoke several times, but the assassination and death of President McKinley just at this time so saddened all hearts that neither speakers nor audiences could feel the usual interest in the meetings. Miss Anthony was a devoted admirer of the President and for days every entry in her journal had some reference to the great calamity. On the day of the funeral she went to the Brick Presbyterian Church in Rochester to hear its minister, the Rev. Dr. W. R. Taylor, preach on *Anarchistic Manifestations of the Present Day*, and the journal that night said: “It was a splendid

address but he did not mention the lynching of negroes, the cruelest and worst manifestation of all. I waited and told him so. It seemed a pity to make a criticism but the mistake was too great not to call his attention to it!"

Miss Anthony had long promised Miss Sarah J. Eddy a visit to her summer home at Bristol Ferry, R. I., to sit for her portrait but the years had been too full of work. Now the time seemed opportune, the hot weather was over and three months at home had given her a taste for a little journey. She started on the last day of September and stopped for a few days at the old Anthony homestead to visit the relatives in and around North Adams, Mass.; then went to Boston and on down to Bristol Ferry where she met a cordial welcome. Miss Eddy was very dear to her as the granddaughter of her old friend of the Anti-Slavery Society, Francis Jackson, and daughter of Mrs. Eliza Jackson Eddy, who in years gone by had left her a legacy of \$24,000, and she loved the daughter also for her own fine and generous character. In this restful home with its beautiful environment, Miss Anthony remained three-and-a-half weeks, a very long visit for her to make. Part of each morning was given to a sitting for the bust portrait and the large picture showing Miss Anthony at her eightieth birthday celebration with the children laying roses in her lap. In a letter to her sister she said:

This is a cool, clear Sunday morning, calm and still after a gale last night. I wish you could see the magnificent view, ocean and islands, hills and autumn foliage. It doesn't seem right for me to be enjoying it without you, and Miss Eddy wants you to come. We have two guests in the house now—Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, just from the New York State W. C. T. U. Convention, and Mrs. Mary F. Lovell from that of the Anti-Vivisection Society. I was out driving yesterday with Mr. and Mrs. Bolton, the next door neighbors, and they wanted me to go home to dinner with them, saying a slice of good roast beef would do me good—Miss Eddy is a strict vegetarian, you know—but I preferred to dine here. Such a good dinner as it was—first, dried pea-soup made with milk, and then, lo, and behold, slices of fine roast beef sent in by the Boltons "for Miss Eddy's cannibal friends;"—baked white and sweet potatoes, fresh string beans and sweet corn that was really sweet, with baked apples and cream for a delicious dessert.

Every afternoon I have the most refreshing sleep and when I wake the slanting rays of the sun are shining on Narragansett Bay and from all the five windows of my big room is the most glorious view imaginable. We have

delightful drives over the old stone bridge that connects us with the mainland, to Tiverton and along the shores of Sconset River, which is really an arm of the ocean, and here we can see the whole length of the island with Newport in its beauty on the coast. It is ten miles away and we went by train one day, took the famous ocean drive and passed the palaces of the nabobs. I went in the carriage one afternoon to call on Julia Ward Howe, whose summer home is six miles from here; she was charming and I had an interesting time.

In another letter Miss Anthony wrote :

Two most agreeable days were spent with Anna Garlin Spencer in Providence. She lives in the old Eddy mansion and such big, handsome rooms I scarcely ever saw in a private house. I went with her one afternoon to the Woman's Club and heard Dr. Faunce, president of Brown University, speak on *The Modern Uses of the Bible*. He was most liberal in his views, said he did not doubt but Christ himself was influenced by the customs and opinions of his times. I enjoyed it very much but when he closed, to my dismay, the president of the club said they had one present—and then she gave me a great eulogy and asked me to speak to them. I was so taken by surprise that I flatly refused, but Mrs. Spencer whispered, "You must at least stand up and make your bow." This I did but it was of no use—they would have me go to the platform. Finally I pulled off my bonnet and walked up and said a few words, but I was dreadfully upset, as I had felt that here was one place where I could go and not be dragged out. I didn't do myself justice because I was thinking of myself all the time. I agonized over my failure the rest of the day and most of the night, but felt a little better when I saw the report in the morning paper—whoever wrote it was very kind. I must give up going anywhere henceforth or else expect to make a goose of myself—but then I was always uncertain of my performance, and when I had a whole evening before me it was sometimes awful to stagger through it.

The dean of Pembroke Hall, Miss Anna Crosby Emery, invited me to come Thursday morning and talk to the girls of that college, which is affiliated with the university. The professors go over there and repeat all their lectures to the girls and then the latter go to the university for the laboratory work, etc. As I knew beforehand that I was to speak I got through a little better than the day before. I told them the story of opening Rochester University to girls and said I had heard that this year the lectures on ethics were going to be delivered to the boys and girls separately, but why matters of ethics were not the same for both I couldn't see. "But," I said, "I suppose the girls at Pembroke Hall must make the best of the opportunities they have and keep on hoping that by-and-by old Brown will open wide its doors and give them equal chances with the boys." They clapped heartily at this, but some one told me afterwards that the dean looked rather serious.

I went through the university, State House and public library; to the Historical Museum to see the fine bust of Paulina Wright Davis and to the Academy of Science to look at the full-length portrait of Frederick Douglass, painted by

Miss Eddy. We had gone to Providence by electric car but we returned by boat and had a most enjoyable sail up the bay to Bristol Ferry.

Miss Anthony started homeward October 24 and stopped at Oswego, N. Y., to attend the State Suffrage Convention.

Many writers came to Rochester these days to get interviews with Miss Anthony and make sketches of her and her surroundings for their papers and magazines. Among them was Richard Lloyd Jones, who prepared for *The Pilgrim* an appreciative and finely-illustrated article in which he said:

Miss Anthony has been characterized as a woman of one idea, a single theme—an advocate of a hobby. A reformer's life is full of misrepresentations and it is the careless public that has been narrow in its perspective view of things—not the brave, good woman who has borne with cheerful hope and courage the onslaught of bitter words and hatred. She has only known the wholesome, righteous discontent that speaks for progress, peace and justice. Through her work for temperance and emancipation she was led directly to enfranchisement and in that she saw the solution of many existing wrongs. In the evolution of her great life-purpose it was the logical end. And so the many-sided woman—the woman with broad views—concentrated her herculean energy and power into that single channel which, to her best judgment, would lead to the greatest good. . . . Her life, her soul, her conscience and her brain have been given in priceless service to the world, but her heart has never left the home.

The writer of a long, interesting article in the Montreal (Can.) *Daily Herald*, (only her initials signed to it), spoke thus of going into the attic work rooms where the Biography was written: "It was peaceful and still up there. The sun flickered through the trees into the windows and lay upon the old volumes neatly piled. They recorded fifty years of fighting against injustice; fifty years of working for equal rights; fifty years of constancy of purpose. Miss Anthony showed us a copy of her biography. 'After I am gone,' she said, 'Mrs. Harper will only have to add one little chapter and the story will be finished.'"



## CHAPTER LX.

INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE—MEDALLION FOR BRYN MAWR.

1902.



THE entry in the diary for January 1, 1902, mentioned those composing the household at that time and said, "All at work,"—Miss Anthony's ideal state for everybody. Her niece, Lucy E. Anthony, who had been the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw's private secretary for thirteen years, was spending a month here while Miss Shaw made a trip to the West Indies, and her visits always were a season of much pleasure and comfort. The first break in the even tenor of the winter was made on February 8, when Miss Anthony went to Washington. She started in the midst of a terrific storm, reaching her destination at ten in the evening instead of seven. In a letter to her sister she said: "I had to wait in the Rochester station two hours and the men there begged me to go back home and remain until the road was cleared, but I just kept staying on and finally the train rolled in loaded with snow. We crept along with the snow plow in front of us for hours, but at last, for some reason, had to get out at Williamsport and wait for another train." The eighty-two-year-old lady did not mind these things, however, for she was going to her loved city, her dear comrades and the annual meeting which was the most enjoyable event of every year. The convention was held in the old First Presbyterian Church on Four-and-a-half Street, whose pastor for many years was the Rev. Byron Sunderland, the inveterate foe of woman suffrage, but he had been succeeded by the Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, its strong advocate. Especial value was attached to this meeting because of the at-

tendance of many foreign delegates. The *Washington Post* said: "More than a thousand visitors were present yesterday afternoon at the first session of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the National Suffrage Association and the first International Woman Suffrage Conference. Perhaps no other meeting of its kind has ever occasioned as much interest on the part of Washington women generally. The large audience room was packed to the doors. . . . It has been arranged to hold overflow meetings in the church parlors." The greetings to the foreign guests were given by Mrs. May Wright Sewall, president International Council of Women; Miss Clara Barton, president International Red Cross Association; Miss Anthony, honorary president, and Miss Shaw, vice-president-at-large of the National American Suffrage Association; the response was made by the gifted Madame Sofja Levovna Friedland, of Russia, and this was followed by the fine address of the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

Miss Anthony presided over the Evening with Pioneers, and as she came forward she was presented with a large bouquet of red roses by the Loyal Legion of Women of Washington. Over forty of the early workers in the cause were seated on the platform. The Battle Hymn of the Republic, written by a veteran, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, was sung by another, John Hutchinson. Greetings from a pioneer in Great Britain, Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, were presented by Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller, of London. Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby read Mrs. Stanton's scholarly address on Educated Suffrage, written in her eighty-seventh year. Miss Anthony did not agree with the changed position of her old friend, that there should be an educational qualification for the franchise, but she took care that it should have the place of honor on the program and it had many strong supporters in the audience. This proved to be Mrs. Stanton's last message to the association of which she was president almost continuously for nearly a quarter-of-a-century, and whose platform she had graced by her noble presence and dignified by her eloquent oratory.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that the National

Suffrage Conventions will go down in history as the most notable held by women during the present age, excepting, of course, those of an international nature. The lofty character of their demands, the courage, ability and earnestness of their speakers, the unswerving fidelity to one central idea, give them a dominating position which they will hold for all time. The present writer said of them in a press article:

These conventions are pervaded by a remarkable spirit of democracy and fraternity. Those who come to scoff remain—not to pray but to have a good time. The reporters are all converted during the first two or three meetings and become members of the family. The delegates never wait for an introduction to each other; all have come together on the same mission and that is a sufficient guarantee. Nobody can remember afterwards what her neighbor wore and this proves that all were well dressed. The meetings are so systematic and business-like that one never feels she has wasted a minute. If points of serious difference arise they are taken up and settled by the Business Committee, out of sight of the public, but in all matters directly connected with the association every delegate has a voice and vote.

These are trained and disciplined women. There is nothing hysterical, nothing fanatical about them. They are animated by the most serious and determined purpose, and, in order to effect this, all sectarian bias, all political preference, all fads and hobbies in any direction are rigidly barred. Woman suffrage—that is the sole object. The offices all represent hard work and no salary, therefore no unseemly scramble takes place to secure them, and the association has the most profound confidence in its National Board. Every dollar subscribed has a definite channel designated for its expenditure, and so there is no big treasury fund to quarrel over. There is always a sufficient number of experienced members to hold the younger and more impulsive recruits in check. Being one of the oldest women's organizations in existence it has accumulated a large store of wisdom and judgment. Even where people disapprove its purposes they cannot fail to respect its dignified, honest and orderly methods.

It had been for some time the strong desire of Mrs. Chapman Catt to organize an International Woman Suffrage Association and in this she was warmly seconded by Miss Anthony, as it was the taking up again of the attempt made by Mrs. Stanton and herself while in Europe in 1883, which culminated five years later in the founding of the International Council of Women. The time now seemed opportune for a movement toward an organization purely for suffrage and in response to the efforts of the past year ten countries were represented at the present con-

vention. Several business conferences were held, Miss Anthony in the chair, and a number of most interesting reports were presented, which afterwards were published in a pamphlet. An International Suffrage Committee was formed to take steps toward organization and report at the time of the International Council meeting in Berlin in 1904, and Miss Anthony was made chairman of this committee, with Mrs. Chapman Catt as secretary.

The next day after this action was Miss Anthony's eighty-second birthday and among the many letters, telegrams and testimonials was the following read by Mrs. Miller :

TO SUSAN B. ANTHONY: We, the undersigned, Foreign Delegates to the first International Woman Suffrage Congress, gladly take the opportunity of your eighty-second birthday to express to you our love and reverence, our gratitude for your life-long work for woman, and we are rejoicing that you have lived to see such great steps onward made by the world at large in the direction in which you led at first under much prejudice.

Praying that you may enjoy years of health, cheered by ever fresh advance, we remain your loving friends, Florence Fenwick Miller, England; Sofja Levovna Friedland, Russia; Carolina Holman Huidobro, Chili; Gudrun Drewson, Norway; Vida Goldstein, Australia; Emmy Evald, Sweden; Antonie Stolle, Germany.

Miss Anthony was so deeply affected she could scarcely respond and as she sank into her seat Miss Shaw came quickly to her relief and in touching words thanked the foreign delegates for the appreciation shown to the great leader of the suffrage movement. Then turning to Miss Anthony she said: "You have been more than a leader to us of your own country, more than a teacher, more than a counselor—you have been our beloved friend."

Many of the audience were in tears and to relieve the situation Mrs. Catt stepped forward and said she felt very sure Miss Anthony would consider that the highest appreciation of her services could be shown by a generous contribution to the work of the association. The delegates fully realized this and in a few minutes they answered with subscriptions of over \$5,000. Miss Anthony's friends would not let the matter rest here, however, and in addition to many personal gifts they presented her

with over \$500 in money. In the afternoon a large reception was given by Mrs. John B. Henderson, and the next day a dinner to which all of the officers and foreign delegates were invited.

During these days Miss Anthony said in a letter to the present writer: "I wish you could be here and see the honors I receive, it would make you happy and be something for you to remember. It is very pleasant to be so kindly spoken to, but—all are telling of my *past* service, all knowing that my work-days are no more. Yes, it is pleasant—but sad to feel it is true. If only I can go the rest of the time allotted and not undo the things I have done—not make my friends wish I had died long before—that is all I ask!"

A little incident which occurred at this convention illustrated Miss Anthony's entire lack of self-consciousness. As Mrs. Catt was escorting her up the aisle one day after the session had opened, the audience burst into applause and Miss Anthony whispered, "I wonder what they are clapping about!"

After the labors of the convention were ended Miss Anthony went for a ten days' visit at Belmont, the beautiful Washington home of Mrs. Julia Langdon Barber. During this time she attended the National Council of Women, the Mothers' Congress and the Congress of the D. A. R. Of her visit to the last the *Washington Star* said:

About this time it was discovered that Miss Anthony was in a box at the side of the stage. As though one person the congress of splendidly-gowned women rose and cheered the famous suffrage leader. The president-general in spontaneous enthusiasm snatched from her table a wisp of lace and linen and waved it toward Miss Anthony, which was a signal for others and instantly the congress looked like a snow storm. "In behalf of the Continental Congress of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution," said Mrs. Fairbanks, "it gives me great pleasure this evening to greet Miss Anthony, the honored guest at any gathering and the great emancipator of women."

Miss Anthony, looking stately and patrician, rose and bowed smilingly to the president-general and then to the congress. "I wonder," said one enthusiastic delegate, as she wiped away her fast coming tears, "if that blessed woman who has made congresses like ours possible ever recalls how long, how drearily long, she has waited for this recognition. Isn't it glorious?"

A little later after many calls for Miss Anthony, the president-general appointed Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood and Mrs. Miranda Tulloch to escort her to the platform, where she was again greeted by an ovation that must have touched her, for it continued two or three minutes until she had been intro-

duced to the officers and had turned to greet the congress, which filled almost every seat in the theater. Miss Anthony saw an improvement in more than the methods of doing business in this congress. Two years ago, though descendant of a line of illustrious revolutionary heroes, her appearance upon the same platform was questioned, and the *Star* reported then the cool treatment accorded by many there who "did not want to get mixed up with the suffrage movement." Saturday night she was welcomed when she entered and when she left the stage as a queen might be cheered by her loving subjects. If Miss Anthony never again visits the national capital, as she has several times in the last week hinted, her declining days will certainly be brightened by the respect and admiration accorded her. "All things come to him who waits," and she has waited nearly fifty years to see scoffing and jeers turned into tributes and cheers.

The difference in the reception to Miss Anthony now and two years ago was not due to a change in the sentiments of the congress but to a change in presidents. When Mrs. Charles W. Fairbanks turned to the box as Miss Anthony entered and waving her handkerchief exclaimed, "Behold the emancipator of woman!" the delegates felt that they were at liberty to show enthusiastic appreciation and they manifested their real feelings. Two years before they waited for a permission which they did not get.

On the last day of February Miss Anthony went to Philadelphia with her niece, Mrs. Helen Louise James. "I was anything but well," the journal said, "and was glad indeed to get the 'home feeling' in Louise's pretty house." She did not go there any too soon, for the next day she was unable to leave her bed and she continued seriously ill with pneumonia for three weeks. She had a trained nurse, the most devoted care from her niece and all the comforts of a well-ordered household and yet she often longed for the little bed-room at home, her own trusted physician and the gentle ministrations of Sister Mary.

But at last it was all over and when she could sit up and hold a pen, then indeed she was happy and her sister received a letter every day. In the first of them she said: "How I did enjoy Mrs. Harper's letter telling of all the hard work done and yet to be done!" And in another: "I am so sorry I was not at home when Mrs. Swift was there. I do hope you put the rose blankets on the bed and the nicest spread and gave her everything of the



very best." There was no end of directions in regard to sending suffrage literature to all the points of the compass and seeing that every letter which came was answered. Her sister had been confined to the house for some time with a broken wrist and Miss Anthony felt very anxious about it. To her secretary and companion, Miss Anna E. Dann, the mainstay of the house, she wrote often: "Don't fail to do everything possible for Sister Mary; comb her hair and help her dress and look after her constantly. Do all you can to help Mrs. Harper in her work but let it be Sister Mary first and always." Again and again she spoke of the devoted care received from her niece, saying: "Louise has been as faithful as a lover for the past three months, in health and in sickness; she has watched my every need and supplied my every want. How much I see in her of her mother—Sister Hannah! Mr. James has been equally kind; approved of all her attentions and done all he could himself. Now he is going to take us both to Atlantic City for two weeks."

They went to this healthful seaside resort March 22, staying at Haddon Hall. On April 1 Miss Anthony wrote to her sister: "Tomorrow is your seventy-fifth birthday—how old we grow! I thought our mother was very old when she reached seventy-five, and when she lived on to eighty-two I wondered if I should ever be so old as that, and here I am! I hope you and I will stay on earth just as long as we keep our mental faculties and our physical strength; when they are gone may we soon pass over the river of death into—we know not what, but we have faith to believe that then all will be well. We can only enjoy life while we have the vigor of health; when that is gone let us hope we will go calmly and quickly, but while we stay let us work to the fullness of our ability."

The next evening Miss Anthony wrote from Philadelphia: "I was tormented all last night by the fear of fire; the wind was blowing a gale and I couldn't see how we could save ourselves if once a big blaze started in those closely-built rows of wooden houses. The next morning while we were dressing I told Louise I was going to get out. She insisted that we should finish up

the two weeks but I packed my trunk before going down stairs, and after breakfast she packed hers and we left at ten o'clock."

That very day a fire broke out in Atlantic City, scores of houses were burned and for a while the whole place seemed to be doomed. Miss Anthony's friends and relatives, who supposed she was still there, were greatly alarmed and felt very thankful to learn that she had left before the fire occurred. In some way a sensational story was started and went the rounds of the papers that she had had a premonition of the danger, a vision of a vast conflagration and a warning to flee from the place. Her friends were much annoyed and begged her to contradict these foolish statements, but in a letter to the present writer she said that she thought it better not to break her rule of not replying to misrepresentations in the press; that to do so in the present instance would make too serious a matter of it—it had merely caused a ripple and would soon be forgotten. She stated definitely that her "premonition" was nothing more than the feeling any one would have to lie awake at night and hear the wind rushing through the streets lined with houses that would prove to be mere tinder boxes in case of fire. She had been in Atlantic City ten days and felt that she had received all the benefit required and would enjoy Philadelphia better. The fire did not come within a long distance of where she was staying and had she remained she would have suffered no injury unless perhaps a nervous shock.

During Miss Anthony's convalescence she received news of the death of two old and valued friends in Rochester—Dr. Edward Mott Moore, at the age of eighty-eight, and Mr. Samuel Wilder. The journal said: "I wanted so much to see both of them before I left home but the weather was so bad I could not go to call on them. My two best friends among men passed away while I have been ill here and could not speak a last word to them!"

Perhaps the greatest disappointment caused by Miss Anthony's illness was felt in Rochester where preparations were well under way to give her a large banquet on her return from Washington, which was to be in honor of her birthday, though necessarily



belated. The art class of Mechanics' Institute was making the menus and programs and over two hundred men and women had engaged seats at the tables. It was not until the advices from Philadelphia showed that her return must be indefinitely postponed that the function, of which so much had been expected, was finally abandoned.

All was not sorrow and disappointment, however, for in the midst of her illness had come news so gratifying that the family rightly judged it would do much toward restoring her to health. From the time Miss Anthony had pledged her life insurance for final payment of the fund necessary to admit women to Rochester University, the committee had been unceasing in their efforts to raise the sum necessary to release her from her obligation, and they were now able to announce that the full amount had been obtained and that henceforth she would be freed from all anxiety.

After Miss Anthony had practically recovered she spent part of her time with Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery and was entertained by her old friends, Mrs. Enoch Lewis, Mrs. Emma J. Bartol, Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg and many others. Mrs. James had a "tea" for her and a large reception was given by the Political Science Section of the New Century Club. Twice she enjoyed the luxury of going to the theater, a recreation she was very fond of but seldom found time for. She saw Crane in David Harum, which she pronounced "splendid," and Jefferson in Rip Van Winkle, of which the journal said: "We all agreed that it made laziness and drunkenness very fascinating, and that the effect of the play on young men all these years must have been anything but moral." An incident of her stay was a drive one day with Mrs. Lewis, who had been a schoolmate of her sister Guelma and herself sixty-five years before in the boarding school of Deborah Moulson at Hamilton, a village outside of Philadelphia. They went to the spot where the school used to stand, now in the very heart of the city and occupied by the Hamilton House and Blockley Hospital, and enjoyed mutual reminiscences of those days so long ago.

At this time Justice Baldwin, of the Connecticut Supreme Court, said in a decision that "no woman must feel she knows

more than her husband," and that "girls would make better wives, mothers and housekeepers if they finished school at from fourteen to sixteen years of age." Of course this sent the reporters post haste to Miss Anthony and she is quoted as saying: "Suppose by some misfortune a woman were to marry an idiot; must she still adhere to the views of this man from Connecticut and consider herself the mental inferior of her husband? That doctrine might have sufficed for the women of a century or so ago but it will not do in this day of progress. I am convinced that a little learning has been a dangerous pitfall for Judge Baldwin. I believe the mother needs more to be educated than the father, in order to lead the children through their education." Miss Anthony then gave instances of her own observation where educated women had performed invaluable service for husband, children and home, and said: "A wife's intellectual superiority over her husband need not and probably will not cause any unhappiness. If happiness in wedded life depended upon the mental superiority of the husband in this progressive age I fear the divorce courts would be overworked."

Miss Anthony lingered in Philadelphia in order to keep an engagement to attend the presentation to Bryn Mawr College of a medallion of herself. The ceremonies were to have taken place soon after the convention but her illness prevented, and now the following invitation had been sent out by the president, Miss M. Carey Thomas: "A bronze medallion of Miss Susan B. Anthony, sculptured by Miss Leila Usher, of Boston, will be presented to Bryn Mawr College by Dr. Howard A. Kelly of the Johns Hopkins University Medical School, on Monday evening, April 21st, at eight o'clock, in the chapel in Taylor Hall. After the presentation Miss Anthony will address the students. . . ."

The occasion was made the subject of wide comment by the press and this description was sent to the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*:

A few evenings since, in the chapel of Bryn Mawr College, the old and the new met in striking contrast. In the presence of the entire student body, who, in cap and gown met as at an academic function, Dr. Howard A. Kelly of Baltimore, a celebrated surgeon, presented to the college a portrait medal-

lion of Miss Susan B. Anthony, the work of Miss Leila Usher, who did the well-known portrait medallion of Prof. Francis W. Child for Harvard University. The representation of Miss Anthony is of admirable simplicity and beauty. But even above the importance of the acquisition of so valuable a possession was the presence of Miss Anthony herself. The white-haired woman of eighty-two came to see the work of women students whose very presence in an institution of learning she herself had done so much to make possible, and they came to see her and to express their gratitude.

President Thomas opened the ceremonies by introducing Dr. Kelly, who gave a brief account of Miss Anthony's life and work, and explained why it had seemed to him fitting to present Bryn Mawr this portraiture of Miss Anthony. His address was interrupted again and again by applause as he mentioned one after the other the triumphs Miss Anthony had won. After his address he unveiled the medallion, which had been draped in the American flag. Continued applause greeted its appearance. President Thomas in a brief speech received the gift on behalf of the trustees and then presented to the audience Miss Anthony herself. For a space of half an hour Miss Anthony talked to the students in her own simple, direct way, telling them of the difficulties she had met with, which could never meet the members of her audience. . . . More reminiscences followed, and then Miss Anthony told of her pleasure in seeing Bryn Mawr and paid a tribute to President Thomas that called forth enthusiasm among the students. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Miss Anthony was the guest of Miss Thomas over night and a number of prominent men and women were entertained at dinner. This visit marked the beginning of her friendship with Miss Mary E. Garrett and Miss Thomas which grew stronger with every passing year.

As Miss Anthony was not yet well enough to take up active work she went for a ten days' visit to her cousins, Mr. and Mrs. Lucien Squier, of South Orange, and Mr. and Mrs. George Vail, of East Orange, N. J. The former gave a large reception for her and the latter an afternoon "tea". She spoke to the Woman's Club, the Political Equality Club, the pupils of the High School, made a number of calls and gradually began to feel that she was getting back her hold on life and its varied activities. On May 7 she wrote to her sister: "Tomorrow I go to Mrs. Stanton's and then home. Just to think I shall have been gone over three months of this blessed year and not have done a thing but loaf!"

A week was spent with Mrs. Stanton, the first time Miss An-

<sup>1</sup> The medallion was greatly admired and Miss Garrett afterwards had a replica made which it is her intention eventually to present to the University of Rochester.



MEDALLION IN BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

(See page 1253.)

BUST IN METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK.

(See page 1413.)

thony had slept under her roof since 1891, when the large home at Tenafly, N. J., was given up and the remaining members of the family moved into an apartment in New York. The absence of some one left a vacant room and Mrs. Stanton was very desirous that Miss Anthony should occupy it. She was entertained by a number of friends in the city—Mrs. William M. Ivans, Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour, Mrs. Edward Lauterbach, her cousin, Mrs. Lapham, her nephews, Arthur A. Mosher and Dr. Henry J. Baker, and others, but the most of her time was given to her beloved old friend, who, she could see, was drawing near the end of her long and valuable life. Her heart was growing weak but her wonderful brain was still strong and alert. She had not, like Miss Anthony, continued without swerving in the straight path leading toward the goal of suffrage, and an entry made in the diary during this visit contained these pathetic words: "It seems good to be here, though Mrs. Stanton does not feel quite as she used to. We have grown a little apart since not so closely associated as of old. She thinks the Church is now the enemy to fight and feels worried that I stay back with the children—as she says—instead of going ahead with her."

Miss Anthony went home May 14, enjoying through every moment of the trip the beautiful scenery from New York to Rochester, now in all the greenness and blossom of spring. She was familiar with its every aspect, having made this journey scores of times, and she loved every foot of the glorious Empire State. The journal said: "I was tired enough when I got to bed at nine-thirty—could not sleep for weariness—but at last all was well." She had promised her sister not to fail to be present the next evening at the Political Equality Club, which always held its first and last meetings of the season at the Anthony home, Miss Mary having been its president for ten years. The press and the people of Rochester had a cordial welcome for her and she was enthusiastically received by the sixty women students of the university when she attended their annual reception.

There was much work to be done and it was Miss Anthony's earnest hope that she could remain at home without interruption, but on June 8 came an imperative summons to attend a meeting

of the National Suffrage Board at Mrs. Chapman Catt's in Bensonhurst-by-the-Sea. She had written that she would not be present but as it seemed necessary she took the night train for New York. Here the other members of the committee joined her and they reached the lovely home in time for luncheon. The meeting continued three days and the journal spoke in high compliment of the well-ordered household and the perfect movement of the domestic machinery.

Miss Anthony stopped a day in New York to see Mrs. Stanton again, and there was this entry in the diary: "Nora Blatch was there, dressed in a white pomona trimmed with blue ribbons and it did look beautiful with her pink and white complexion!" Miss Anthony was much affected by Mrs. Stanton's condition and as she bade her good-by said with tears in her eyes, "Shall I see you again?" "O, yes," was the cheerful and philosophical answer; "if not here, then in the hereafter, if there is one, and if there isn't we shall never know it." This proved to be indeed their last meeting.

That summer, for the first time in its existence, the Anthony household employed a colored maid, and one irreverent member of it had many an hour's amusement over the application and the failure of long-cherished theories in regard to the oppressed race. The story of Miss Ophelia and Topsy was repeated with such additions as might have been expected had the New England spinster continued her guardianship of that interesting young person until she reached womanhood; and after the experiment ended it was thenceforth tabooed as a subject of conversation.

Miss Anthony's task for the summer was the final reading of the MS. and the printer's proof of Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage. As she did not feel with this the great sense of personal responsibility that was attached to her Biography she found it a work of genuine pleasure. It was a source of grief to her that such rigid condensation had been necessary and if as much room had been given to everybody as she desired, two big volumes instead of one would have been necessary. "O, dear, I'm sure Mrs. — will feel that we ought

to have used more of her speech," she would say; or, "I know that every woman at that convention will think she ought to have been mentioned and I can never look the most of them in the face again." When the chapters were carefully examined which told the story of her cherished National Suffrage Association, her beloved child, she exclaimed, "Whatever must be sacrificed not a word of these chapters shall be omitted!" But more than a third of them eventually went into oblivion.

The first half of the 1,144 pages, complete to the very punctuation marks, was sent to the publishers August 2, the last half August 30, and from that time until the Christmas holidays the proofreading, revising and index-making went steadily on. Miss Anthony seemed stimulated and sustained by this work. Each morning she would come up to the pleasant attic rooms fresh and buoyant, would hold one copy, the present writer a second, while one of the secretaries would read from a third, and not the smallest item would escape her watchful eye. Sometimes she would question a date or a statement and then proceedings had to stop till the authority was forthcoming. After dinner she would most unwillingly go to her room for the needed nap, but in a short time her head with its smoothly-combed silver hair would appear at the top of the stairs and she would present herself neatly dressed for the afternoon and eager to resume the reading.

Work was suspended for the one day which her brother D. R. spent with her, but most of her visitors were entertained by being invited to take a seat in the attic and listen to the performance. As most of them were ardent suffragists they felt highly honored to attend these "authors' readings" and get the "advance sheets" even before the book reviewers. One of these friends was Mrs. Jane Amy McKinney, who had welcomed Miss Anthony in her home at Decorah, Iowa, thirty years before, when not many homes were open to her. Among other guests, but not all invited to the "top gallery", were Booker T. Washington, Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, of Howard University, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, and her old pastor, the Rev. N. M. Mann, who had given her much assistance on the other volumes. Two visitors whom she was especially pleased to entertain were the

Baroness Olga von Beschwitz, of Dresden, secretary of the German Council of Women, and Miss Vida Goldstein, of Melbourne, Australia, editor of the *Woman's Sphere*. Each of these ladies had journeyed to Rochester for the purpose of seeing Miss Anthony in her own home.

Much disquiet was caused this summer by the action of President W. R. Harper, of Chicago University, in putting into separate classes the men and women of the Freshman and Sophomore years. Miss Anthony received an urgent letter from a woman lawyer of Chicago, representing the alumnae, which said: "We are in the midst of a crisis in woman's education and we are calling out the old war-horses who fought the battle for us in the early days. . . . How dishonorable to found an institution upon the distinct understanding that it was to be co-educational and then attempt to deceive people by a scheme of 'coordinate' education! We must take a stand and fight or soon another step will be taken." Miss Anthony was deeply stirred by this matter and in an interview she said:

Yes, we women have to fight continually for our rights and after we get them we have to watch constantly for fear they will be taken away just as we begin to feel safe and comfortable. When they can't keep the girls out of college they resort to "segregation" and it is plain enough why it is done—the girls stand so much higher than the boys that it reflects anything but credit on the latter. Something has to be done or let the men go on record as unable to keep up with the intellectual pace the women set for them. We don't want the sexes separated in the class room. Half the stimulus is in competition and if the boys and girls have separate recitations and examinations, how are we going to tell which rank higher? They must compete with each other—that is where the test and the fun come in.

Oh, if I could but live another century and see the fruition of all the work for women! There is so much yet to be done—I think of so many things I should like to do and say—but I must leave them for a younger generation. We old fighters have prepared the way and it is easier than it was fifty years ago when I got into the harness. Young blood, fresh with enthusiasm and with all the enlightenment of the new century, must now carry on the contest. . . . People who do not look deeply into the subject often declare that the present status of women is simply the result of the evolution of the human race, the natural outcome of civilization and general progress, but as a matter of fact, woman herself has been one of the biggest factors in the progress of humanity. The struggle which she has made and is still making for her rightful place in the world has done much to educate and enlighten the race as a whole. She has had to fight for every step gained, for every concession



made, and it looks now as if she would have to fight even more strenuously to maintain her hold on what she has obtained.

The reporter asked Miss Anthony at this point if she believed the women of the whole United States ever would have the full suffrage and she answered: "Assuredly. I firmly believed at one time that I should live to see that day. I have never for one moment lost faith. It will come but I shall not see it—probably you will—it is inevitable. We can no more deny forever the right of self-government to one-half our people than we could keep the negro forever in bondage. It will not be wrought by the same disrupting forces that freed the slave, but come it will, and I believe within a generation."

An entry in the journal soon afterwards said: "Went to church this morning and heard a young fellow give a talk on Socialism—very crude. He said all reforms were indications of need of change but all began at the wrong end. I asked him at the close where he thought would be the right end for me to begin, as I had been working nearly fifty years now on one line." His answer unfortunately is not recorded.

Another entry said: "Went to hear Prof. Edward Howard Griggs on Education from the Study of the Beautiful. It was a marvelous specimen of rhetoric and elocution but it did nothing to stir the soul to greater effort for the uplift of humanity." Miss Anthony never cared for lecture, sermon, book or poem that did not have a strong moral purpose.

There was a little break in the routine of the summer when Miss Anthony, accompanied by Miss Mary, Miss Shaw and Miss Lucy, went for a few days at Lily Dale, the Spiritualist camp-meeting ground. For years one week each season had been set apart here for special consideration of the interests of women and Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw were usually among the speakers. They were sure always of large audiences and they enjoyed the sojourn in this pleasant place. This time they were the guests of the president of the assembly, Mrs. Abby Louise Pettengill—"a splendid woman," the diary said. At the breakfast table the last morning of their stay, she presented Miss Anthony with a check for \$100 and each of the others with one for

\$50. To quote again from the diary: "Mary couldn't believe it possible the money was for her and tried to make Mrs. Pettengill take it back, but she said, 'No, keep it and use it for whatever you most want.'" Strange to relate Miss Mary contributed it to a society that was trying to get the suffrage for women!

A very unusual and interesting event occurred in the Anthony home on the evening of October 9—a wedding, the first in thirty-three years! It was the marriage of Mr. Gilbert T. Mason to Miss Anna E. Dann, Miss Anthony's dearly-loved young secretary and companion. The daughter of a minister, she had come from Canada when scarcely eighteen and for five years had been like one of the family, able and ready not only to fulfil the duties of a secretary but also to answer all the complex demands of a household. The newspapers went into the usual hysterics over the affair, some of them declaring that Miss Anthony had bitterly opposed the marriage and tried to prevent it, others announcing in big headlines that she was to act as bridesmaid. As a matter of fact she had known for several years that it would ultimately take place, and, while she had much regret at losing the devoted service which had become so necessary to her, she fully realized that she would need it but a few years longer and she was glad to feel that the young girl would be safe and happy in a home of her own. She joined with the present writer in presenting her with an up-to-date sewing-machine, "to prove," as she laughingly said, "that strong-minded women were not wholly without the domestic instincts," and to this she added \$50 and the expenses of the wedding. During the service Miss Anthony stood close beside the bride looking like a sweet old grandmother stepped down from a picture. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, who said in part:

You have come through the mysterious pathway which God in his infinite wisdom has made for human souls drawn by the divine attraction of love. The greatest miracle ever wrought is the way two beings, born in different parts of the world, travel through life and find each other, and learn through this deep recognition of heart and soul that it is impossible longer to walk the pathway alone. You have met in the presence of these friends to exchange your vows of devotion. It is so serious, so solemn, for two persons thus to plight their troth that those only should do so who are moved

by the deepest and holiest convictions. Believing that such are the motives which have prompted you, that you desire to take life's journey together, each helping the other to the highest and noblest development, each belonging to the other and each equally free—in this spirit I ask you to exchange your pledges.

Each then made the same vow—to love, honor and cherish—and placed a ring on the hand of the other. An impressive prayer closed the ceremony.<sup>1</sup> The bride turned first to Miss Anthony who kissed her tenderly and then kissed the young husband. At the wedding supper their health was drunk from Miss Anthony's loving cup filled with cold water, and when it was passed to her she said, "I can give no better sentiment than that so beautifully expressed by Lucretia Mott—'May your independence be equal, your dependence mutual, your obligations reciprocal.'" This was an "equal rights" wedding; the bride did not promise to "obey", she was not "given away", the minister did not declare them joined together "until death do you part", but the marriage proved to be a happy one and Miss Anthony was often a welcome guest in the new home.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Shaw has officiated at twenty-five weddings and not one has been followed by a divorce. She says it is because those having the breadth of mind and the recognition of equality which lead them to desire a woman minister to unite them, carry these into married life and base it upon mutual respect and exact justice, the most stable foundation for marriage.

## CHAPTER LXI.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

1902.



LATE on Sunday afternoon, October 26, as Miss Anthony sat busily writing in her study, a telegram was handed her from Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch which said, "Mother passed away at three o'clock." She received the news with entire calmness for it was not unexpected, but an expression of great sadness settled upon her face and she sat in melancholy quiet in the little room, where Mrs. Stanton's portrait looked down from the wall, until the twilight deepened into darkness and her sister slipped softly in and begged her to come down stairs.

That evening a reporter came and as Miss Anthony sat in her arm chair gazing into the glowing coals of an autumn fire she recalled many incidents of the long acquaintance of Mrs. Stanton and herself, their public work together having begun in 1852, just half-a-century ago. "For fifty years there has been an unbroken friendship between us," said Miss Anthony. "We did not agree on every point, but on the central point of woman suffrage we always agreed, and that was the pivotal question. We never listened to stories of each other, never believed any tales of disloyalty of one to the other. Mrs. Stanton was a most courageous woman, a leader of thought and action. I have always called her the statesman of our movement. Whenever I wanted an able document written, an appeal to Congress or Legislatures, I went to her. It spoiled me for writing myself as I could lean on her for these things."

"What period of your lives did you enjoy the most?" was

asked, and Miss Anthony replied quickly: "The days when the struggle was the hardest and the fight the thickest; when the whole world was against us and we had to stand the closer to each other; when I would go to her home and help with the children and the housekeeping through the day and then we would sit up far into the night preparing our ammunition and getting ready to move on the enemy. The years since the rewards began to come have brought no enjoyment like that."

Miss Anthony recalled many episodes of their long public career and spoke also of Mrs. Stanton's unsurpassed domestic qualities—"one of the finest housekeepers I ever knew," she expressed it. In response to another question she said: "Mrs. Stanton used to talk about 'the other side' but she had no faith that we would have another life. She always said this world was so delightful she wanted to stay here just as long as possible. She believed in an immutable law for everything, and not in a special providence for herself or anyone else. . . . Yes, I think she wished to be cremated; in time this will be the universal method of disposing of the dead." And then Miss Anthony continued: "I cannot express myself at all as I feel, I am too crushed to speak. If I had died first she would have found beautiful phrases to describe our friendship, but I cannot put it into words. She always said she wanted to outlive me so that she could give her tribute to the world."

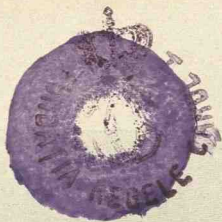
But later Miss Anthony did find words to say in her own clear and impressive style; "Even at the age of eighty-seven Mrs. Stanton was still a wonderful woman. As a speaker and a writer she was unsurpassed. Readers of history will find that nearly all of what may be termed State documents in the movement for the rights of women—legal and constitutional appeals and arguments before Legislatures and Congress—were prepared by her. She combined in herself a marvelous trinity—reformer, philosopher, statesman. Had she been of the orthodox sex she would have been United States Senator or Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but, belonging to the alleged inferior half of the human family, she died without having her opinions weighed in either the political or judicial scales of the Government."

On Monday morning Miss Anthony went to New York. In a letter to the present writer, penned soon after arriving she said: "Oh, this awful hush! It seems impossible that voice is stilled which I have loved to hear for fifty years. Always I have felt that I must have Mrs. Stanton's opinion of things before I knew where I stood myself. I am all at sea—but the laws of nature are still going on with no shadow of turning. What a world it is, it goes on and on just the same no matter who lives or who dies! The papers, I believe, have good editorials—I have read them but I do not know, I can think of nothing. The reporters have been to see me—but, oh, the lack of knowledge! I wish the History was finished so we could give it to every one who asks a question. How shall we ever make the world intelligent on our movement?"

The funeral was private with only a few of the most intimate friends present. Miss Anthony sat in Mrs. Stanton's arm chair near the coffin, looking with aching heart into the face which with the crown of beautiful, snowy hair was so grand in the majesty of death. A few touching words were spoken by the friend of a lifetime, the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and an address of rare eloquence was made by the Rev. Moncure D. Conway which began: "A lighthouse on the human coast is fallen! To vast multitudes the name of Elizabeth Cady Stanton does not mean so much a person as a standard inscribed with great principles. Roses will grow out of her ashes; individual characters will give a resurrection to her soul and genius, but the immortality she has achieved is that of her long and magnificent services to every cause of justice and reason."

Miss Anthony went with the family to Woodlawn Cemetery, where another old friend, the Rev. Phebe A. Hanaford, pronounced the committal to the earth, which thus ended: "O, Thou Infinite and Eternal Power, whom so many of Thy children love to call Our Father and Our Mother, into Thy hands we commit the spirit of our beloved one, assured that all is right where Thy rule extends."

After spending the night in the city with the children of her old comrade Miss Anthony left at noon the next day for home, where she arrived about nine o'clock in the evening. She had not



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ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

AT THE AGE OF EIGHTY.

sent any notice of her coming, so no one met her at the station, but she took a carriage and came to the house. As the little family of three members heard it drive up they hastened out to receive her, expecting to find her greatly prostrated physically and mentally, but her step was quick, her voice strong and she seemed to have more vitality and energy than for a long time. It was evident then and afterwards that Mrs. Stanton's death had strengthened the realization that her own life was nearing the end, and had nerved her to renewed effort toward finishing the work which she felt remained for her to do.

Miss Anthony was requested by the *North American Review* and *Collier's Weekly* to prepare articles on the work of Mrs. Stanton and herself and the changes wrought. The former, entitled *Woman's Half-Century of Evolution*, filled eleven pages in the issue of December, 1902. It began by saying:

The title I claim for Mrs. Stanton is that of leader of women. They do not enjoy one privilege today beyond those possessed by their foremothers which was not demanded by her before the present generation was born. Her published speeches will verify this statement. In the light of the present it seems natural that she should have made those first demands for women; but at the time it was done the act was far more revolutionary than was the Declaration of Independence by the colonial leaders. There had been other rebellions against the rule of kings and nobles; men from time immemorial had been accustomed to protest against injustice; but for women to take such action was without a precedent and the most daring innovation in all history. Men of old could emphasize their demands by the sword, and in the present century they have been able to do so by the ballot. While they might, indeed, put their lives in peril, they were always supported by a certain amount of sympathy from the public. Women could neither fight nor vote; they were not sustained even by those of their own sex; and while they incurred no physical risk, they imperilled their reputation and subjected themselves to mental and spiritual crucifixion. Therefore I hold that the calling of that first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848 by Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott and two or three other brave Quaker women, was one of the most courageous acts on record.

The proceedings of the convention were described and the progress of its demands traced through the years to the present day, concluding as follows:

The effect upon women themselves of these enlarged opportunities in every direction has been a development which is almost a regeneration. The capa-



bility they have shown in the realm of higher education, their achievements in the business world, their capacity for organization, their executive power, have been a revelation. To set women back into the limited sphere of fifty years ago would be to arrest the progress of the whole race. Their evolution has been accompanied by a corresponding development in the moral nature of man, his ideas of temperance and chastity, his sense of justice, his relations to society. In no department of the world's activities are the higher qualities so painfully lacking as in politics, and this is the only one from which women are wholly excluded. Is it not perfectly logical to assume that their influence would be as beneficial here as it has been everywhere else? Does not logic also justify the opinion that, as they have been admitted into every other channel, the political gateways must inevitably be opened?

There cannot be a doubt in the reasoning and unbiased mind that woman suffrage ultimately will prevail in every State in the Union. It will be the legitimate outcome of the spirit of our institutions, which are the direct expression of individual opinion. A deep feeling of regret will always prevail that the Liberator of Woman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, could not live to see the complete triumph of her cause, as did those other great emancipators, Lincoln, Garrison and Phillips; but she died in the full knowledge that the day of its victory is clearly marked on the calendar of the near future.

The second article—Achievement of Woman—appeared in *Collier's*, January 10, 1903. In several columns it depicted the past and present status of women in Home, Society, Church, Education, Occupations, Laws and State. It was a complete résumé and ended with this declaration: "To sum up the situation in a few words: The common remark that 'all has been gained for women except the suffrage' is by no means true. In not one of the seven departments above named do women possess perfect equality of rights, but in each so much has been granted as to make it logically sure that the rest will eventually follow. In every direction are life, activity and progress. The future contains more than hope—it shines in the clear light of certainty."

The present writer thus closed a sketch in *Pearson's Magazine*, December, 1902, entitled Two Greatest Women Reformers: "It would be well if the name of every woman who fought those earliest battles against the old creeds and codes, the tradition, prejudice, ignorance and conservatism of the ages, could be enshrined in tender memory, as none in all the future will require such courage, fortitude and self-sacrifice. The most of them, however, must be swept into oblivion by the engulfing waves of time, but two are carved on indestructible tablets in a hall of fame

that is itself immortal—two names which will be spoken by women reverently, as men say 'Lincoln,' 'Washington'—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony."

A second article in the *New York Independent*, November 6, 1902—The Passing of Elizabeth Cady Stanton—had this concluding paragraph: "Mrs. Stanton was born into the sternest and gloomiest theories and practices of the Calvinistic doctrines. . . . At the beginning of her work for the regeneration of women, she met with more violent opposition from the clergy than from all other sources combined. . . . She realized that the agencies of State and society together were not so powerful in keeping women in subjection as the authority of the Bible, and she was, therefore, perfectly consistent and conscientious in her determined and unceasing warfare on the Church. There was, however, a steadfast refusal to recognize the immense change which has taken place within recent years in the attitude of the clergy toward the question of woman's enfranchisement, many of whom are now its warmest supporters, and most of whom, perhaps, approve of the entire equality of women in all other rights. Equally also did she fail to realize that the Scriptural authority for holding women in an inferior position is already so clearly on the decline as to need no dynamite to hasten its end. All of Mrs. Stanton's early declarations, which were so bitterly condemned, seen now in true perspective, are fully justified; and so her latest utterances on the religious phase of this question should be left to the verdict of posterity, that will be farther along on the highway of progress."

The writer ventures to quote briefly from two more of her own tributes to Mrs. Stanton, the first published in the *Review of Reviews*, December, 1902:

How much of Mrs. Stanton's world-wide fame is due to Miss Anthony cannot possibly be computed. Never two persons more thoroughly complemented each other. Each was strong where the other was lacking, and the two made a perfectly rounded and most effective whole. It would not be amiss to say that Mrs. Stanton furnished the base of supplies to which Miss Anthony went for the ammunition to rout the enemy. Or that she represented the loom and the warp, Miss Anthony the shuttle and the woof, and by the two was woven the enduring fabric of woman's present position. Mrs.

Stanton had no intellectual superior among women, few among men, but she reared seven children to maturity and was a devoted mother, an unsurpassed housekeeper. It would have been inevitable, during the twenty-five or thirty years of her life, while these children were growing up around her, that she should have laid aside in a large degree both writing and speechmaking, had it not been for the relentless mentor who averted this calamity. . . . The happiest moments of Miss Anthony's life were when, at the close of a great speech, she saw her beloved friend greeted with cheers and waving handkerchiefs and felt that the cause of woman had been moved forward a step. . . .

The powerful influence of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony on the revolution which has taken place in the status of women during the past fifty years is sometimes denied, and the assertion made that this has been merely a part of the natural evolution of the race. The battle of Lexington did not secure the independence of the colonies, but here was fired the shot that echoed round the world. That First Woman's Rights Convention, and those which followed in the early '50's, did not obtain emancipation for woman, but they attracted the attention of the whole country to the injustice under which she struggled and set people to thinking. If these two leaders had waged their preliminary fight in any other State, it probably would not have made so widespread an impression; but a half-century ago, as now, New York set the pace for other parts of the Union. Although it made the innovation in 1848 of empowering a married woman to hold property, it was not until 1860, and after Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton had been circulating petitions and besieging the Legislature for ten years, that the sweeping laws were enacted which enabled the wife to carry on business in her own name, possess her earnings, bring action and defend suits, make a contract and a will and be joint guardian of her children.

The other of the articles appeared in the department "Cause of Woman" in the *New York Sun* of November 2, 1902. After a résumé of her public work it said: "Mrs. Stanton never grew old in mind. The writer of these lines remembers distinctly the dignified answer received when daring to suggest to her, about a year ago, that perhaps she would take a different view of a certain subject if she were more closely in touch with outside life. 'With the metropolitan newspapers laid fresh upon my table every morning; with the magazines, the great sermons and speeches and the new books of the day constantly at hand, I am never out of touch with any part of the world.' Think of this answer from a woman of eighty-six!"

Then giving instances of her lively interest in this department the sketch continued:

The past two years during the preparation of the fourth volume of the

History of Woman Suffrage have brought weekly letters from Mrs. Stanton, who, with Miss Anthony wrote the first three volumes nearly twenty years ago. Almost invariably they began: "As I was wide awake last night for hours when I should have been asleep, I spent the time in thinking of you and your work." Then would follow pages of clear, logical suggestions as to subject-matter and arrangement, showing all the old-time force and acumen. She was kept informed of every step in its progress, and its editors were in constant apprehension lest she should pass away before the book was finished. When finally the large task was ended and all was in type, Miss Anthony wrote her offering to send the proof sheets, but she answered that it would be unnecessary, as she was getting all her work out of the way and everything in order so that she might take uninterrupted pleasure in having the whole book read to her as soon as it came from the publishers. It waited only the Index, but now it will never be read by the one of all others whom it was destined to honor.

The disappointment is overwhelming, and it is only mitigated by the thought that within its pages are preserved for posterity an unsurpassed collection of Mrs. Stanton's own magnificent speeches. Through these eloquent addresses will speak to future generations one of the world's greatest reformers, and as they read they will marvel that a Government calling itself a republic should have denied to such a woman a voice in its councils; that a people boasting of their political liberty should have refused it to one with the soul of Samuel Adams, the spirit of Patrick Henry, the genius of George Washington. We look back with amazement and contempt on those who refused to women the right of free speech, of education, of employment, of ownership in property; but every man and every woman who would deny to them the right of individual representation in the Government belongs in that early category. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was in advance of her generation in the middle of the last century; she was in advance of the age at the beginning of the new century; but she brought the world so nearly to her own ideas of justice that she was able to pass on in the supreme consciousness that the day is near at hand for their complete fulfilment.

As the History was not bound when Mrs. Stanton passed away there was opportunity to add an account of her death, but after much consideration Miss Anthony said, "No, we will not sadden the pages with it. Let her go down to posterity in all the four great volumes in the full vigor of her matchless intellect which will live forever."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was another grievous disappointment in the death of Miss Helen Blackburn, of London, editor of the *Englishwoman's Review*. She had prepared for the History without financial compensation the very able chapter on Great Britain and her Colonies, and had shown the deepest interest in the book, writing often to know of its progress and send some bit of information for it. The volume was almost ready to send to her, when the news came of her sudden passing away. It seemed as if every month during its preparation marked the death of some one whom the authors had expected to feel much pleasure because her name and work had found a place in its pages.

At the last interview between the old friends, in June, it had been arranged that Miss Anthony should go to New York to spend Mrs. Stanton's eighty-seventh birthday with her—November 12. Now to commemorate the day she went to Auburn, N. Y., to spend it with Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne, whose aunt, Lucretia Mott, and mother, Martha C. Wright, Mrs. Mott's sister, had joined with Mrs. Stanton in calling and conducting the First Woman's Rights Convention. Mrs. Wright's home was one of Miss Anthony's most precious places of refuge in the early days of inhospitality and ostracism, and here Mrs. Stanton also was many times an honored guest. When the mother was no more, her devotion to these two women and to their cause passed to the daughter. Miss Anthony had sweet recollections of this village, which itself might have inspired Goldsmith's line, and with her during the week in Mrs. Osborne's beautiful home were Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, daughter of Gerrit Smith; Ellen Wright (Mrs. Wm. Lloyd) Garrison, Emily Howland and Anna Shaw—a group of cherished friends uniting with her in tender memory of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

## CHAPTER LXII.

TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT—PLACING THE SUFFRAGE HISTORY.

1902—1903.



THE closing months of 1902 passed quietly and uneventfully. Miss Anthony noted in her diary the death of Mrs. Cornelia C. Hussey, of East Orange, N. J., who left a bequest of \$10,000 to the National Suffrage Association. She pasted in the little book the notice from the *New York Sun* which ended; "Mrs. Hussey frequently said there were many women who could speak and write for the cause of woman suffrage but the Lord had given her only one talent, that for making money. She said she did not mean to let that talent rest unused and she amassed a large fortune in real estate investments, from which she was a liberal contributor to the suffrage cause." Under this Miss Anthony wrote: "She has indeed been a generous giver to it and to me personally for nearly twenty years. The dear woman came home on the same steamer with me nineteen years ago and we walked the deck and talked for hours on the woman question. She then declared that every penny of her surplus profits she should give towards suffrage and she has kept her word all these years."

Miss Anthony went to more club meetings, church suppers, receptions and little dinner parties than ever before in the same number of months, for it was the first time in her life that ever she had any leisure, and she would have had none now if she had been able to work. While she found some enjoyment in these social affairs she often grew very restless and, although no word of complaint ever escaped her lips, it was evident that she felt rebellious against physical limitations which for the first time in her long career were making impossible the things she most desired to do.

She always found pleasure in the Sunday morning sermon and on one of these days she wrote in her journal: "Mr. Gannett gave a most instructive talk on The Changing Views of the Bible and said his grandmother read it through twenty-two times. Well, my grandmother read it through every year!" One can almost hear the note of pride—other people also had religious grandmothers!

One day a postal card was received from a political committee directed simply "S. B. Anthony" and saying, "The records show that you have not yet registered. Please do so at once." Members of the family begged Miss Anthony to "come back at the committee" but she refused flatly, said it would be of no use and she wouldn't be bothered with it. The present writer felt the chance was too good to be lost so she wrote on the postal: "In 1872 I received a request like this and I did register and vote, for which I was arrested, convicted and fined \$100. Excuse me if I decline to repeat the experience;" signed Miss Anthony's name, put it in an envelope and sent it to the committee. The next morning when Miss Anthony opened her paper she was amazed to see in big headlines, Susan B. Anthony Scores One, followed by the contents of the card. It was widely copied with varying comments and she had as much amusement out of it as anybody.

In November a letter came from Mrs. McKinley, (written by her nurse and companion), expressing the pleasure she had received from having read aloud to her Miss Anthony's Biography and asking if Miss Anthony would accept a pair of slippers which she had knit especially for her. The letter was accompanied by the slippers made of soft, grey wool and tied with pale blue ribbons. Miss Anthony sent in answer the following letter:

DEAR MRS. MCKINLEY: I have often thought of you in your loneliness, but your dainty slippers cause me to do more than think. I now write you, which I have essayed to do many times since the going out from your home, but not your heart, of that dearly-beloved husband. How well I remember him the last time I saw him—the day he so graciously received our suffrage delegates in attendance at the convention of 1900—when after all had shaken hands with him, he said, "Miss Anthony, may I take you to see Mrs. McKinley, who does not feel able to meet all the ladies?" I gladly accepted his proffered arm and he escorted me up stairs as tenderly as if I had been his

mother. In your bright, sunny room I chatted with you and you bade him give me the flowers that stood on the table, and then he took me back to the parlor. I carried the beautiful lilies to the convention that evening and held them up before the vast audience and said, "Mrs. McKinley shakes hands with you all spiritually and sends you these lovely flowers." Then I told them of my interview with you. Mr. McKinley was a genial, lovable man—the like of him we shall never see again.

Now my life-long friend and co-worker, Mrs. Stanton, has passed to the beyond. She was full of years, her work was finished. None may grieve over her going, for her spirit lives, her words for the education, elevation and enfranchisement of women still sound in our ears. Ralph Waldo Emerson said,

"No accent of the Holy Ghost,  
This heedless world hath ever lost."

So, like John Brown's, like William McKinley's, Mrs. Stanton's soul goes marching on, and it is for us who are left to take up the refrain and do as they did—make the world better for our having lived.

I am glad you are enjoying the reading of my *Life and Work*. Mrs. Harper has made a very interesting story of what seemed to me all the way but following along the path of simplest duty. When you have done with that you should have the "Reminiscences of Mrs. Stanton"—they are delightful. Volume IV of the *History of Woman Suffrage* will soon be finished. You will rejoice over the progress woman has made in the last twenty years. I shall take pleasure in sending it to you. Have you the other three huge volumes? If not I will send them at the same time.

Thanking you again for the lovely slippers—I am yours in love and sympathy.

A little note soon came back saying: "Mrs. McKinley was very pleased to receive your kind, sympathetic letter. She hopes you will *wear* your slippers, for she will make you another pair when those are worn out. Mrs. McKinley will be delighted to receive the *History of Woman Suffrage* and the nurses will gladly read it to her."

Mrs. Stanton died October 26. On the 22d she had dictated a letter to President Roosevelt asking with all her old-time eloquence that he would recommend in his coming message an amendment to the National Constitution for the enfranchisement of women. On the 25th, just twenty-four hours before her death, she dictated a note to Mrs. Roosevelt, to be enclosed in the letter, begging her to urge her husband to this action and to use her influence to rouse women to a sense of their duty on this question. Miss Anthony had been intending to write the President on this subject, and November 28, she sent the following letter:



DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It was most beautiful and appropriate that the last act of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton should have been to appeal to the President of the United States for a recognition of that right which she had labored over half-a-century to obtain for women. It had been in my mind for some time to repeat a similar plea which I made to you a year ago, and since the death of my loved co-worker I have thought daily that I would add my sanction to her last words. They are fully endorsed also by the National Suffrage Association, and the only reason you have not received an official letter on the subject is because of the desire not to embarrass you at this critical time in your administration.

I realize that at this hour your Message is finished, and I await with extreme anxiety to learn if Mrs. Stanton's request has had the effect of securing even the smallest recognition of woman in that important document. I have the most profound admiration for the courage with which you have met the grave problems of the day, and the independence of party restrictions which you have shown. I would not ask you, even for the sake of the great cause which has absorbed my whole being for fifty years, to jeopardize your reelection; but every progressive step which you have thus far taken has but established you more firmly in the respect and affection of the people. Can you and will you not dare to take one more?

Hawaii has been annexed with barriers against the enfranchisement of women such as never before have been imposed upon a Territory of the United States. In spite of the most unimpeachable testimony before the Congress as to the superiority of the Philippine women over the men of those islands, our Government is beginning already to grant a representation to their men which it denies to their women.

It is probable that early in the session the Congress will pass an enabling Act for three Territories to enter Statehood. I cannot believe that any considerable number of people would be alienated from you if you would recommend that their Constitutions shall recognize the claims of women to the right of suffrage, instead of compelling them to beg it of the individual voters after the States are organized.

A word from you, President Roosevelt, on any phase of the Woman Suffrage question would be of inestimable benefit and would give it a prestige and a sanction which would carry it immeasurably forward. This much you can do now, and two years hence it will be within your power to send it to assured victory.

I may not be here then, as I should be nearly eighty-five years old, and so I take this opportunity to urge, by all that is just and sacred, that before you leave your high office you will recommend to Congress the submission of an Amendment to enfranchise women. It would be as noble an act as the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, and would render you immortal. I need not suggest to you the immense advantage it would be if women could carry their cause to the Legislatures instead of to the electorate. I assure you that, with the incentive of this recommendation, the women of the country would roll up a petition which would give you and it and the Congress the support of a million names.

It is not necessary for me to set forth to you, Mr. President, the value

which the suffrage would possess for women or the benefit which the Government would derive from their votes. Its material interests require no assistance; its moral interests languish and suffer. Men have done their part grandly in the former; women have been prevented from doing theirs in the latter. How eagerly they are looking to you—the only President who has ever offered them the slightest ground for hope—cannot be put into words. Thousands of men also are waiting for you to give the sign. Dear Mr. Roosevelt, let us not watch and wait in vain.

The only answer from the White House was a mere formal acknowledgment by a secretary, and neither this strong, dignified appeal nor Mrs. Stanton's dying message ever received the slightest consideration from President Roosevelt.

In December the long work on the History of Woman Suffrage reached its close; the last page of index-proof was read and dispatched to the publishers; the debris of paste and paper, clippings and old letters, scrap books, Congressional Records, mutilated speeches and documents galore was sent to limbo, and the attic work rooms were put in such perfect order they did not look natural. On Christmas Eve the one whose expected few months' stay had lengthened into more than two-and-a-half years bade good by to the two dear, old ladies and left them to a peace and comfort they could never know when she was "in their midst."

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It has been said that one of the great projects Miss Anthony had in mind when she resigned the presidency of the National Association was the raising of a large fund the interest of which should be used for suffrage work. She had intended to begin this vast undertaking as soon as she had disposed of the accumulated business awaiting her return from Washington, but the blow that followed her heroic effort for the opening of Rochester University to women left a physical prostration which even her strong will power could not overcome, and at last she was compelled to recognize the fact that her long-cherished scheme would have to be given up. About \$3,000 toward this fund already had been sent to her and she was in doubt as to what should be done with the money. Miss Shaw and others begged her to ask the subscribers to permit her to use it toward publishing the History and

after much urging she did so. The principal donors were Mrs. Pauline Agassiz Shaw, of Boston, \$1,000; Dr. Cordelia A. Green, of Castile, N. Y., \$500; Mrs. Emma J. Bartol, of Philadelphia, \$200; and they cheerfully assented, as did all the other contributors. They took the view that the money was intended to promote the cause of woman suffrage and that this could be done in no more effective way than by publishing and distributing this record of the movement. Miss Anthony had received about \$1,200 in money on her eightieth birthday, given for her own personal use, but she had set it aside to apply on the History. Where the rest of the necessary sum was to come from she did not know, but, as has often been said, she never delayed action for this reason. The \$500 presented on her eighty-first birthday was added to the \$4,200 but the whole amount did not cover all the expenses connected with the publication of the 3,000 copies of Volume IV, their wide distribution and the rest of her broad project.

There had remained of the first three volumes 1,000 sets of unbound sheets on which she had been paying storage for twenty years and she decided to have these bound and made ready to sell or give away. Those who were near to her implored her not to incur this great expense but they could not shake her determination. To carry out the plan she had to draw on her slender bank account, and when the books were all ready she literally had not one dollar left on deposit. She had no publishers to advertise them, as she naturally had preferred to keep them within her own control, and so in order to give them publicity she adopted the plan of sending circulars. A type-writer was employed who did nothing else; lists of libraries, universities, etc., were obtained; stamps were purchased \$50 worth at a time; records were kept of all the letters sent, answers received and packages expressed. This required the keeping of several ledgers which was done by Miss Anthony herself. When no answer came after a certain length of time another letter and circular were mailed. Many copies were sent to the magazines and newspapers. Every library which had the other three volumes—and there were about 1,200 of them—was asked to state whether those were bound in muslin or leather so that the fourth could be sent to

match them. This included much foreign correspondence, as the first three had been placed in all the large libraries of other countries.

This work was commenced in the autumn of 1902 and continued through the winter of 1903. There was much delay by the publishers and Miss Anthony became very impatient. Finally when the end of it seemed to be near, a fire broke out and destroyed all the bindings. This calamity was more easily borne because of the deep thankfulness that the unbound sheets and the plates had not gone also. It was March 6 when the first installment of big boxes filled with books made their appearance, but after that they came rapidly. Miss Mary was driven to despair. After several tons had been carried to the attic she was informed that if any more went up there the house was likely to collapse. Then the cellar was packed till there was only space enough to put coal into the furnace and an accidental spark would cause a tremendous conflagration. The wood-shed was filled until there was just room to get in and out the kitchen door, and at last it was necessary to turn the daily arrival of huge boxes in the direction of a storage warehouse. All hands were now set to work doing up packages to fill the orders—Miss Mary, the secretary, the type-writers, the maid. Reams of wrapping paper were brought in, cord by the dozen balls, corner protectors by the pound, and the expressman was a daily visitor. It is hardly possible to realize the labor and time this meant for a private household, and there was more or less of it constantly for the next four years.

Nobody, however, could grudge time, labor or expense in view of Miss Anthony's great joy and satisfaction in the completion of this historical work. Her struggles in the preparation of the first three volumes, extending through ten years, have been many times related. For twenty years thereafter she had constantly in mind the fourth volume; the care of collecting and preserving the data that would be required; the feeling of responsibility which came from the almost certain knowledge that upon her would depend the production of this book; and the assertion hardly will be questioned that except for her keen

sense of its importance, her unflagging persistence and her genius for overcoming obstacles it never would have been written. Following is a portion of the Preface to Volume IV :

It is to Miss Anthony, that the world is indebted for this as well as the other volumes. It was she who conceived the idea; through her came the money for its publication; for several years her own home has been given up to the mass of material, the type-writers, the coming and going of countless packages, the indescribable annoyances and burdens connected with a matter of this kind. In addition she has borne from her private means a considerable portion of the expenses, and has endured the physical weariness and mental anxiety at a time when she has earned the right to complete rest and freedom from care. There is not a chapter which has not had the inestimable benefit of her acute criticism and matured judgment.

The demand is widespread that the information which this book contains should be put into accessible shape. Miss Anthony herself and the suffrage headquarters in New York are flooded with inquiries for statistics as to the gains which have been made, the laws for women, the present status of the question and arguments that can be used in the debates which are now of frequent occurrence in Legislatures, universities, schools and clubs in all parts of the country. Practically everything that can be desired on these points will be found herein. The first twenty-two chapters contain the whole argument in favor of the granting the franchise to women, as every phase of the question is touched and every objection considered by the ablest of speakers. It has been a special object to present here in compact form the reasons on which is based the claim for woman suffrage. In Chapter XXIV and those following are included the laws pertaining to women, their educational and industrial opportunities, the amount of suffrage they possess, the offices they may fill, legislative action on matters concerning them, and the part which the suffrage associations have had in bringing about present conditions. There are also chapters on the progress made in foreign countries and on the organized work of women in other lines besides that of the franchise. All the care possible has been taken to make each chapter accurate and complete.

Beginning with 1884, where Volume III closes, the present volume ends with the century. This is not a book which must necessarily wait upon posterity for its readers, but it is filled with live, up-to-date information. Its editors take the greatest pleasure in presenting it to the young, active, progressive men and women of the present day, who, without doubt, will bring to a successful end the long and difficult contest to secure that equality of rights which belongs alike to all the citizens of this largest of republics and greatest of nations.

Miss Anthony said many times that when this volume was finished and placed in the libraries of the world with the other

three she would feel that her life-work was practically ended. She was entirely satisfied with the book; it received many columns of able reviews from the newspapers and magazines and not one disparaging criticism; she lived to know that it occupied its rightful position by the side of the others on the shelves of all libraries of consequence; and these facts gave much peace and happiness to her closing years. She contrasted many times the reception accorded this and the other volumes, which were far more interesting and valuable in subject matter, and she regarded it as an indication of the advance in public sentiment on the question of woman suffrage. As an apt illustration: The others were presented by her to Harvard University less than twenty years before and were declined by the authorities and returned to her. An unsolicited order accompanied by a check was sent for this volume by that institution. Orders were received from Yale, Michigan and other large universities and from many libraries long before the book was finished, sent merely from seeing stray paragraphs saying it was in preparation. Libraries and persons that were able to pay for it Miss Anthony permitted to do so, but to those that could not afford it but would make good use of it she gladly gave it without price. She received altogether about enough to replace the few thousands taken from her own private funds, but she never had a dollar of profit. This she did not expect but felt a hundred-fold repaid in having the history of the movement for the emancipation of woman permanently recorded. The plates, copyright and remaining volumes were left as a legacy to the National American Suffrage Association.

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Many beautiful acknowledgments of Volume IV were received by Miss Anthony, among them a letter of thanks from the Countess of Aberdeen, ending, "With kindest regards from Lord Aberdeen and myself;" one from Lady Henry Somerset signed, "Yours in the ties which must always bind us very closely;" one from Lady Battersea beginning, "I am much touched and gratified by your kind thought of me;" saying, "I treasure the remembrance of the delightful talk we had at the house of my

mother," (Lady Rothschild), and ending, "I should like to look forward to the possibility of meeting you at the International Council in Berlin next year;" one from Mrs. Creighton, wife of the Lord Bishop of London, concluding, "I am sure it would be a pleasure to many if you could go to the Berlin Congress."

There were appreciative letters from William T. Stead, editor *Review of Reviews*; from Miss Emily Janes, organizing secretary of the National Union of Women Workers, the largest society of women in Great Britain; from Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller, member of the London School Board; from Miss Flora Stevenson, LL.D. of the University of Edinburgh and President of the Public School Board; from men and women eminent in many and varied activities. Her beloved friend, Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, sister, wife and mother of distinguished members of Parliament, said in the course of a long letter: "When I read the Introduction I was more than ever impressed with what it has cost to try to persuade men to give the franchise to women—that simple act of justice—and how much the world has been held back by keeping woman out of her right place in it. . . . How lovingly you have labored! There is no one whose work, whose intuitions, whose foresight have been equal to yours, and there is no one who has practiced such self-denial for the good of women." Miss H. M. White, principal of Alexandria College, Dublin, wrote: "We women who are enjoying the benefit which you and other pioneers so hardly won for us can never sufficiently recognize our debt to you, and I am always trying to impress this fact on my scholars."

The Baroness Gripenberg, of Finland, said in her letter: "It has been a revelation and a source of constant inspiration for me to read this volume and to think that you at your high age have had the power, mental and physical, to send out such a work into the world. Often I wonder if you have an idea of how much you and Mrs. Stanton have influenced my life. You may know—you can see it—how much you have influenced the women of your own country; but I want that you should know how vividly we Finnish women feel our gratitude to you, how we follow what you speak and write. Is it not wonderful how great ideas unite



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THE LADY BATTERSEA.



different peoples? Thousands of women here in Finland cannot read English, but still they know you, have read your speeches and enjoyed your articles."

From Berlin the honored Fräulein Helene Lange wrote: "I am very happy to say that the precious volumes are safe in my hands, and the first use I shall make of them is to write an article for my magazine *Die Frau*, on your life and work." The Baroness von Beschwitz sent from Dresden warmest thanks for herself and the gifted Frau Marie Stritt, president of the German Council of Women. In the letter of Anita Augspurg, the only woman Doctor of Jurisprudence in Germany, she said: "This book is a profound source of valuable instruction in all details of the suffrage question. I am glad to have it also on account of the author, dear Miss Anthony, whom I adore with all my heart." Frau Minna Cauer, editor of *Frauenbewegung* and a pioneer of the suffrage movement in Germany, wrote: "Your book gave me immense pleasure—nay, more—it showed me your grand work and gave me a still higher idea of the struggle of your whole life. We women of Germany look upon you as the one who has always had the flag in her hand, and who never let the flag drop down even when the hand grew tired and weak. I shall study this book, I shall write of it in my own and other papers, I shall recommend it to libraries."

The leader of the work for woman suffrage in France, Madame Hubertine Auclert, wrote: "I will read this precious volume, I will speak of it in the journals of Paris, I will translate it, and it shall be as well known in France as if it were written in our own tongue." Theodore Stanton said in a letter from Paris: "You and Mrs. Harper deserve much credit for having sent out this book in such perfect form. It makes a fine ending to the series." He then proposed that the two authors should come over with his sister, Mrs. Blatch, and in his home in Paris all should prepare a biography of Mrs. Stanton. "You should have a good rest, dear Susan," he said, "the others would work and we could have a charming winter."

These letters will convey an idea of the reception of the book abroad. It is manifestly impossible to give any adequate ex-

amples of the letters from the United States. Many of the librarians sent with the receipt for the volume cordial messages of appreciation of Miss Anthony and the work of her long years. Individual letters were received from many eminent men and from the presidents of most organizations of women. Two or three instances will illustrate the scope. The Hon. Andrew D. White, former president of Cornell University: "I have written to the librarian of the library which bears my name at Cornell asking him to subscribe for this volume. It gives me great pleasure to do this for I recognize the immense value of your services to the country, and also the great present and future interest in this book that records the achievements of yourself and others engaged in the noble work which you have given your life to promote." From Wm. Lloyd Garrison: "You have preserved material of great value to future historians of the movement, and your work is a monument of labor and industry." From Mrs. Josephine Silone-Yates, president National Association of Colored Women and professor in Lincoln Institute, Missouri: "I consider this book, sent me by the most remarkable woman of the age—by one who has made it easier for all women, irrespective of race or color, to succeed—as the most valuable gift I ever received. I shall bequeath it to my daughter that she may not fail to know of the long and brave contest for equality of rights for women."

Of these volumes Miss Anthony herself wrote: "These records will tell future generations of the heroic struggle made by the few for the masses of the unthinking, unphilosophical women of the past and the present." This is indeed true, and but for these books the story would have been forever lost, and but for Miss Anthony they would never have been written.

The distribution of the History was not Miss Anthony's only work during this winter of 1903. It had long been a question with her what to do with all her books and historical documents after she had finished with them, but her old friend, Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, librarian emeritus of the Library of Congress, solved the doubt by asking her to place them there. A careful

selection was made of several hundred and then it was suggested to her that the value of these would be infinitely increased if she would put her autograph in each. With her this always meant to write a sentence or two, and on the last of January she said in a letter to the present writer: "That was a pretty task you set for me to do! Every blessed minute that I could spare during this whole month I have used in writing in those books." Each contained her name and one or more lines on the fly-leaf and if this shall be found missing in the future it may be known that the temptation was too strong for the autograph collector. Four large wooden boxes of these books were sent to Washington on February 6. Among them were complete files of Garrison's famous Abolitionist paper, *The Liberator*, begun about 1832 and continued till the slaves were emancipated; of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, which numbered Wendell Phillips, Lydia Maria Child and Parker Pillsbury among its editors; and of Miss Anthony's own loved paper, *The Revolution*, edited by Mrs. Stanton, Mr. Pillsbury and herself. There were files of *The Woman's Journal* and *The Woman's Tribune*, and sets of the *Ballot-Box and Citizen*, the *Lily*, the *Una* and other women's papers long since forgotten. In the collection were the works of Mary Wollstonecraft and Lady Morgan, of the 18th century; old books written by Pillsbury and Stephen Foster and the Grimké sisters; Bibles, hymn books, medical works and school books over a century old; ancient speeches, poems and fables, and documents of various sorts long out of print. Many autograph copies from the authors were sent. In Mr. Spofford's opinion the most valuable part of the contribution was Miss Anthony's scrap books covering a period of over fifty years.

It was at first the intention to place these books in an alcove by themselves but they were found to cover so wide a range of subjects that it was necessary to distribute them. They were catalogued, however, as the "Susan B. Anthony Collection" and a handsome book plate was designed for them. This was the first collection presented to the Library of Congress by a woman.

The reporters always hastened to Miss Anthony for her opin-

ion on all sociological questions that were attracting public attention and of course she was interviewed on President Eliot's statement that the average of Harvard graduates' children is less than two. "That is quite enough," she is quoted as saying. "Harvard graduates do not always make the best fathers. Why should we be agitated over the too small families of the rich when there are so many children of the poor that are not cared for? The rich should make it their duty to raise up these children to a higher standard. . . . It is not so much the university education that postpones marriage as the habits of men. Students often marry in the midst of their college course. Men of the world hate to give up their tobacco, liquor, sports, clubs, their luxurious habits, their freedom from responsibility. They prefer to flock together and so women are compelled to do the same. President Eliot talks as though the young women were sitting around anxiously and aimlessly waiting for the graduates to come and get them. He would find, if he should make the proper investigation, that a class of women is being developed who are demanding a higher standard of morals in men than did those of past generations, and if they cannot get husbands who reach this standard they are making very satisfactory careers for themselves outside of marriage. . . . If every family reared but two children there would be no shortage of population. However that is a problem that will have to work itself out. It can not be regulated by law or public sentiment."

A campaign for a woman suffrage amendment to the proposed constitution for New Hampshire was in progress and those who had it in charge were very desirous that Miss Anthony should aid if only to the extent of sitting on the platform at the meetings and giving the moral effect of her presence. She declined to do this, saying that they might as well begin now as a little later to conduct their campaigns without her personal assistance. Her health at this time was far more precarious than those outside of her family suspected and there were frequent references in the diary to the condition of her heart: "It sometimes acts as if I had been running at the top of my speed, and then it almost

stops." "I cannot lie on my left side with any comfort." "I hear its beating, awake or asleep." Of all this she made no outward sign but as far as her strength would allow kept steadily at the tasks she had set for herself.

This winter was one of the few times that Miss Anthony spent her birthday in Rochester and she was glad of an opportunity to celebrate it in her own house. A simple announcement in the newspapers stated that she would be "at home" from three to five and from eight to ten; that the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw would be with her, and that she hoped all remembrances would take the form of contributions to the New Hampshire campaign. The 15th of February came on Sunday and Miss Shaw's birthday was on the 14th, but the two anniversaries were observed on Monday. Dainty souvenirs had been prepared, little cards with a picture of Miss Anthony on one, Miss Shaw on another and sentiments from both on a third, tied together with yellow ribbon.<sup>1</sup> As usual in that city near the lake there was a big snow storm but over two hundred men and women came to bring their greetings. There were scores of letters and telegrams, among the latter one from Eugene V. Debs which said: "My heartiest congratulations upon the triumphs of your noble life struggle. You are honored by a nation and will be remembered with love and gratitude by all mankind." The rooms were beautifully decorated with the plants and flowers sent by friends and the suffrage flags draped on the walls. Miss Anthony wore the handsome old garnet velvet, which she always donned when she wished to show especial honor to audience or guests, and was very happy in receiving her own townspeople, treating those from all stations in life with the same genuine cordiality.

The Rochester *Post-Express*, in a dignified editorial of over a column, showed the revolution which had taken place in the status of women since Miss Anthony began her labors and commented: "It can be said in all truth that the indirect result of the suffrage movement has been of priceless value to the women of

<sup>1</sup> In the diary that night was written, "It seems so strange to link with mine any other name than Mrs. Stanton's." But since the time had come when there must be another she preferred Anna Shaw's to all others.

the United States. . . . It is because of Miss Anthony's work in removing the prejudice and thus enabling women to do whatever they please that we extend to her our heartiest congratulations."

The *Democrat and Chronicle* said editorially:

Miss Susan B. Anthony is today receiving the congratulations of her friends, near and far, on the vigor of body and peace of mind she enjoys on this, her eighty-third birthday. Rochester unanimously joins in these congratulations.

The life of our distinguished townswoman has been heroic in its ideals, endeavors and accomplishments. The emancipation of womanhood from legal and social disabilities which formerly hampered the lives of her sex has been the one supreme purpose of Miss Anthony's life. She aimed far and high. Her program was comprehensive, and never by any concession to her opponents has she compromised her position or lowered her aim. . . . There are some persons who appear well in their achievements and writings but are a disappointment upon personal acquaintance. Miss Anthony is not one of these. There is ozone in the atmosphere of her personal influence. Her directness, common sense, vigor of thought and utterance, and honesty of spirit captivate and inspire all who will give her a hearing. She has always had unshaken faith in her objectives, but has ever been ready to listen to and heed advice concerning methods if her judgment could be satisfied.

But far be it from our purpose to speak of her as of the past. Though rich in years and in the records of an earnest and fruitful life, she is still of the present with all its intensity and activity, and thousands of friends are today, with their congratulations, sending sincere and cordial wishes that she may long remain to stimulate the life and thought of this generation as she did the thought and life of its immediate predecessors.

At the very hour of this birthday celebration a mass meeting of negroes was held in Cooper Union, New York, to protest against the disfranchisement of their race in the Southern States, and the following letter from Miss Anthony was read amidst much enthusiasm: "To refuse to qualified women and colored men the right of suffrage and still count them in the basis of representation is to add insult to injury and is as unjust as it is unreasonable. The trouble, however, is farther back and deeper than the disfranchisement of the negro. When men deliberately refused to include women in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the National Constitution they left the way open for all forms of injustice to other and weaker men and peoples. Men who fail to be just to their mothers cannot be expected to

be just to each other. The whole evil comes from the failure to apply equal justice to all mankind, men and women alike. Therefore I am glad to join with those who are like sufferers with my sex in a protest against counting in the basis of representation in the Congress of the United States, or in the Legislatures of the States, those of any class or sex who are disfranchised."

## CHAPTER LXIII.

ADVICE TO TEACHERS—MISS ANTHONY'S DOMESTIC LIFE.

1903.



THE National Suffrage Convention of 1903 was held in New Orleans, La., March 19-25. Miss Anthony, her sister Mary and her friend and physician, Dr. Marcena Sherman-Ricker, left Rochester for that city on the 13th. They stopped two days in Washington, as a winter never seemed complete to Miss Anthony without a visit to that scene of so many vital events in her life. The historic St. Charles Hotel was headquarters for the delegates and the meetings were held in the large Athenæum, which had not sufficient capacity for the audience at any evening session. The reports in the daily papers were long and enthusiastic, and, under the management of Miss Kate M. Gordon and her capable committees, the convention was complete and successful in every detail. The delegates were entertained with typical Southern hospitality and routine proceedings were pleasantly diversified with receptions, trolley rides and boat excursions. They were welcomed by the Hon. Edgar Farrar and Mr. Thomas Richardson, secretary of the Progressive Union, and Miss Anthony made the first response. The *Picayune* said:

Seated upon the platform was Miss Susan B. Anthony, the woman who for two-score years stood the brunt of ridicule, sarcasm and cartooning, and never once was deterred from the course that she fully believed to be the just and true one. Of the great leaders in this movement she alone remains. . . . Spanning a distance of forty years stood at her side the younger woman who has taken up the battle, and grouped around were earnest young girls and middle-aged women fired with her enthusiasm and looking up to her with a reverence that was very beautiful and a most gracious tribute from youth to old age. When Miss Jean Gordon advanced to present her



with a great cluster of Maréchal Niel roses and took her so sweetly by the hand and in the name of the young women of today and of the Era Club thanked her for the battles she had fought, the scene was most touching, representing as it did the two extremes of the suffrage workers, those of half-a-century ago and those of today.

The paper paid a glowing tribute to Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, "the pioneer suffragist of Louisiana and life-long friend of Miss Anthony," who was also remembered with flowers, and said: "For a moment Miss Anthony and Mrs. Merrick stood together, and the audience, rising to its feet in a great rush of enthusiasam, waved handkerchiefs and fans in greeting." Miss Anthony gave enjoyable reminiscences of her previous visits to New Orleans of which she had only the most agreeable recollections.

At the next evening session Miss Anthony presided, and then and throughout the convention every possible honor was shown to her by the audiences of the representative people of this old and exclusive Southern city. To quote from the *Picayune's* account of the memorial meeting: "Miss Anthony was greeted with long and continued applause. She was beautifully gowned in rich black silk with a soft white vest of lace and chiffon, and looked the stately and elegant lady that she is. . . . In closing her remarks she gave them Mrs. Stanton's message: 'The pioneers have brought you within sight of the promised land. There is no merit, however, in simply occupying ground that others have conquered. Go ahead; press forward! Those who watch already behold the dawn of a new day.'"

Miss Anthony remained in New Orleans a few days to attend the executive meeting of the National Council of Women. On the way home she carried out a long-felt desire to visit Tuskegee Institute, the school of Booker Washington, and on Sunday afternoon, in the handsome new chapel, she addressed the 1,200 young colored men and women, to their great delight. She was much pleased with the school and finding that they were trying to start a broom factory she at once agreed to raise \$100 toward it. This she afterwards did, paying a good part of it herself, and one of the first whisk brooms made by the girls was sent to her.

The two sisters reached home April 2, the seventy-sixth birthday of Miss Mary. The morning paper next day contained a two-column interview giving a lively account of the convention and showing, as the reporter said, that "when Miss Anthony felt the worst physically the best thing that could happen to her was to leave home and come into active touch with the work that has filled her whole life." "When are you going away again?" the reporter asked. "She is ready to go as soon as she is invited," answered Miss Mary. "Well," retorted Miss Anthony, "Mary thought she would come home ahead of me on this trip as usual but for once I held on to her and made her stay as long as I did."

It had all the time been the intention when Biography and History were finished, and the all-pervading litter and the three stenographers and the writer were out of the way, to regenerate the house from top to bottom. That happy period had now arrived and painters, paperhangers and decorators were set to work outside and inside. A few days of it were sufficient for Miss Anthony and then she gathered up her belongings and went to the pleasant home of her former secretary, Mrs. Anna Dann Mason, where she remained three weeks, going back occasionally to see how things were progressing and give some advice. When all was swept and garnished she returned to the house whose cleanness and sweetness delighted her fastidious soul, but Miss Mary, who had stuck to her post through it all, was now in a state of exhaustion. On July 1 they attended the silver wedding of Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Sanford, and two days later Miss Mary went with the Sanfords for three or four weeks in Maine.

One of the many guests was Miss Margaret A. Haley, of Chicago, president of the National Federation of Teachers, whose remarkable work for the schools of that city had attracted the widest attention. She came to Rochester to lecture and Miss Anthony invited a number of prominent educators to dine with her. She was very anxious that Miss Anthony should attend the meeting of the National Educational Association in Boston, where the women teachers expected to have a struggle for their rights.

Although Miss Anthony did not feel equal to going she took a keen interest in the convention and in a letter afterwards said:

I note that there is not a woman on the general program and I do not like your saying that the women themselves are at fault because they have not asked for it. They have been taught from time immemorial that if they would please men they must be modest, must not push forward, and now when they are modest and retiring and do not ask for a place on the platform it is counted against them. You in Chicago certainly demand your rights and you ought to make the "powers that be" feel that woman is not to be ignored any longer. Even at your separate conference of woman teachers you have men to talk to you. Why in the world didn't you get competent women teachers? There must be some women in all this broad land who are as capable as Dr. Winship and Mr. McAndrew and it is your business to "boost" them into notice. Men will get there anyway. You see I call you to account for not standing up for women as I think you ought.

Miss Haley endeavored to set herself right and still offered every possible inducement for Miss Anthony to go to the convention but on June 27 she wrote:

Your commands are very pressing and if I numbered only sixty-three instead of eighty-three I should be inclined to obey; but, as it is, I think the better part of discretion for me is to say no, though in spirit I shall be with you through the entire meeting. I shall live over fifty years ago this very summer when the New York State Teachers' Association met in this city of Rochester. Then no woman's voice had been heard in convention, though three-fourths of the members were women. I can see today the little handful of men who sat on the platform and in the seats nearest to it, and the thousand women in the body of the hall. I shall never forget what consternation seized those men when I said, "Mr. President"—but I will not go through that story.

The right to speak in public is now admitted and the right to engage in all the different trades and professions; but that it is not easy for women to gain a position and salary equal to those of men is still true. The battle now is the same as fifty years ago—to get equal pay for equal work and equal eligibility to the highest salaried positions. Even in States where the law requires that there shall be no discrimination against women, men are appointed to the highest places as a rule. It is woman's necessity to earn a living that causes her to take less wages than a man receives. This is an appeal to the parsimony of the employer, for it is a law of economics to get as much work done as possible and as good as possible for the least amount of pay. Women must take what they are offered or nothing. I do not see any hope of a change in this matter until women are enfranchised and until they combine and control their work and wages as do men. If you tell the teachers of the East of what you have done in Chicago without the ballot

and show them how much more you might have done with it, it seems to me that you will make the best argument that can be made for the enfranchisement of women.

But even if the right to vote brought to woman no better work, no better pay, no better conditions in any way, she should have it for her own self-respect and to compel man's respect for her. He will never feel that she is his equal, in the school room or anywhere else, while she is denied the right of having her opinion counted upon every question that comes to the arbitrament of the ballot box. So, my dear president and my dear fellow teachers, after fifty years' study of the best way to equalize the work and wages of women, I see none save that of making them the political peers of men; giving them the vote with which they will have the power to shape and control their own conditions in the home, the school, the work-shop and the State. They must have a voice in the election of every officer who makes or administers the laws. There is no other power given in this republican form of government whereby the different classes of citizens shall be equalized. Perfect equality of rights—civil and political—is and must continue to be the demand of all self-respecting women.

A last letter was written on July 6, after the teachers were assembling for the convention:

Your long letter and then your telegraph message came duly, but I could not say yea to them. I know you feel that I ought to be in Boston with you in this crucial hour, and if I could go "on the wings of the wind" and be set down there for a little while and then hie me back to my home, I might consider it, but the thought of the crowds of women that will be there overwhelms me. So you must give my love to all of them and tell them, each and all, that they must stand up for the rights of women, not only for themselves and for their own advancement, but for the rights of woman as woman. You teachers today will make the precedent for those of tomorrow, just as the teachers of the past made a precedent for you to be ignored on the program today. Had those of each year been true to woman's best interests you would have a great deal easier time in asserting yourselves now. I hope you will maintain the right of women to be on the Program Committee next year, and that you will insist upon their equal recognition with men in all positions of honor and emolument. Women should have equal pay for equal work and they should be considered equally eligible to the offices of principal and superintendent, professor and president. So you must insist that qualifications, not sex, shall govern appointments and salaries.<sup>1</sup>

Miss Anthony, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman and others, went to Lily Dale, August 4, for a

<sup>1</sup> It is a matter of regret that because of limited space the spirited fight made at this convention by Miss Haley and her supporters, and its partial success, cannot be recorded.

week of women's meetings. The "City of Light" was ablaze with yellow bunting and decorations; a carriage was waiting for Miss Anthony which it was the intention to have drawn by men but a heavy rain caused horses to be substituted. She presided at part of the sessions, some of which were attended by 3,000 people. As usual she was the guest of the president, Mrs. Abby Louise Pettengill, and she wrote in her diary: "Everything has been delightful, though it never can be quite as it was in dear Marian Skidmore's lifetime."

When Miss Anthony returned home she found a little missive from Mrs. Gannett dated at the old Grandfather Anthony homestead in the Berkshire Hills: "It is almost nine o'clock and Will and I are cosily settled in this dear, old-timey place with all its tender memories. We just love it and are so glad you put us up to coming here for the night. How beautiful it is—no wonder you cherish the place. We went by train to Williamstown, saw the town and college and then came here on our bicycles. Tomorrow we shall see your birthplace. We feel as if we were your guests—only we wish we could have you here. Dear love from us both." And Mr. Gannett added a postscript: "Greylock has a great white scar down its side from top to bottom which you probably never saw—made by a cloud burst two summers ago. Yes, we're glad we came here. I've chosen the 'family room' to sleep in, even though Mrs. Daniels says the bed is harder than the one in her own guest room."

Among the few existing copies of Miss Anthony's letters for the year is this answer to the maker of a bicycle calendar who asked for a sentiment: "Women generally live too much indoors and the bicycle helps to outdoor exercise and amusement and is therefore a godsend to them. A girl never looks so independent, so much as if she felt as good as a boy, as on her wheel. I think the bicycle has done more to emancipate women from the thrall-dom of fashion than any other one thing, and I hope it will not go out of use. But, after all, women must have a right to a voice in the government under which they live, they must be able to say who shall make the laws and who enforce them, before they

can be free and equal with men. I look, therefore, for woman's entire emancipation to her full enfranchisement." Then came this delectable finish to the letter: "I think the above will answer, but, whatever you leave out, do not omit my demand for the ballot. Anything else you may drop!"

In August Miss Anthony wrote to Dr. George E. Vincent, head of the Chautauqua Institution:

I have noted your grand symposiums on the liquor traffic and mob law; they have been productive of great good. This fact suggests to me that you would do well next year to have a symposium on the woman suffrage question. The opponents could surely find one woman or man who could do their side justice, and we could find a great many women, and men, too, to present the affirmative. Our question has now assumed such importance as to be considered in all the magazines and newspapers of the country, and it seems to me that a whole week for its discussion would be none too much.

The opinion of one-half the people on every public question is now ignored. If women's opinions were counted equally with men's there is no doubt that the liquor question could be settled in a more satisfactory manner and that the guilty parties in mob violence would be dealt with in a way to put an end to the outrage. All the social and religious matters of the day would become questions of importance to men because of women's opinions having to be reckoned with; whereas today, with only men at the ballot box, they receive but slight attention. They are talked of in moral reform and religious gatherings, but they do not enter into the political arena, and hence are not considered of any great moment. There can be nothing done to promote the highest and best interests of society equal to improving the character of the voting constituency.

I hope you will take this request into serious consideration and will announce in your program for next year a week's symposium on the Woman Question and have Miss Shaw, Mrs. Annis F. Eastman, Miss Ida C. Hultin or some other woman minister preach the Sunday sermon that week. Thus you would place the Chautauqua Assembly on the side of fairness to women and in favor of counting every responsible opinion in gathering up public sentiment to be crystallized into law.

Dr. Vincent did not permit a woman minister to preach a Sunday sermon at Chautauqua—this never has been allowed there—but he did cheerfully consent to a symposium similar to the one suggested by Miss Anthony and offered to place arrangements for it in her hands and those of the board of the National Suffrage Association. It soon developed, however, that Miss Anthony herself and nearly all of the women she would want

on the program would be in Europe during the summer of 1904 attending the International Council of Women.<sup>1</sup>

The women of Colorado were arranging for a jubilee during the autumn of 1903 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of their enfranchisement and they used every possible inducement to persuade Miss Anthony to give it "the culminating glory of her presence." She longed to go but the uncertain state of her health made it imperative for her to refuse.

The Business Committee of the National American Suffrage Association were invited to hold their fall meeting at Mt. Airy, a suburb of Philadelphia, in the home of Miss Shaw, vice-president-at-large. Miss Anthony and most of the board stopped in New York on the way and were the guests of the Equal Suffrage League, November 5, at a large meeting in the parlors of the Hotel Majestic, held in memory of Mrs. Stanton. Miss Anthony was very happy in Miss Shaw's pleasant home, tenderly cared for by her niece, Lucy Anthony, and surrounded by these trusted women into whose hands she had given her precious work.

The suffragists of Philadelphia gladly seized upon this opportune time to tender a banquet to Miss Anthony in the New Century Club rooms. About two-hundred-and-fifty were at the table, including representatives of the various women's clubs and a number of men. The address of welcome was made by the mayor; Mr. Rudolph Blankenburg was among the speakers, and Miss Jane Campbell, president of the Philadelphia Suffrage Club of six hundred members, read one of the humorous poems for which she was noted. The *Public Ledger* thus began its report:

Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, President of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, presided, with Miss Anthony on her right. The venerable woman suffrage champion was easily the most distinguished and impressive looking person present. Although she will be eighty-four years old next February, her bright eyes beamed in turn with humor or benignity as she spoke or listened to those speaking. Apparently no one more thoroughly enjoyed the evening. Neither in appearance nor voice did she give signs of

<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 1905 most of the best speakers attended the National Suffrage Convention in Portland, Oregon, and remained on the Pacific Coast during July and August. In 1906 they went to the meeting of the International Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen, and the desired symposium at Chautauqua has not yet taken place.

her advanced years, although she referred to herself as the "grandmother" of most of those now actively engaged in the struggle for woman suffrage.

Portraits of Miss Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were hung against the rear wall of the stage, where a woman played a golden harp, half concealed behind palms.

Miss Anthony gave reminiscences of her first visit to Philadelphia, in 1854, when she attended an anti-slavery meeting in Sansom Street Hall and was the guest of James and Lucretia Mott in their home on Arch Street. There was a strong note of optimism and cheer in her closing sentences admonishing the women not to be discouraged and assuring them of final victory.

The attic work rooms in the Anthony home had been reopened during these autumn months and business resumed at the old stand. When the last volume of the History was published it was decided that after waiting a reasonable length of time for its statements to be questioned, all the letters and documents used in its preparation which were not to be permanently preserved, should be destroyed. As there had been no suits for libel and no challenges of any kind after it had had the widest circulation for six months, it seemed safe to begin the work of destruction, and the present writer, having a little time to spare, went to Rochester early in September. The mass of material used in the Biography was also still packed away in boxes taking up room needed for other things. Miss Anthony concluded she would give her personal attention to this matter, so each morning she would seat herself on one side of the table, the writer on the other, and a big box of old letters would be dumped out between them. Then the writer would pick up a package and say, "These are from So-and-So and should be thrown away." "Well, I think they'd better be saved," Miss Anthony would answer and lay them aside. "This is a lot from Mrs. A.; she is dead and they are now of no consequence whatever." "O, her children might want them and I believe we'll put them away." It soon became evident that the most of the documents were going back into the boxes again to be surely destroyed sometime in the future, and finally the writer said: "Now there is no use in my wasting time here for you are not going to allow this trash to be burned." "I can't



overcome the habit of a lifetime," replied Miss Anthony, "which has been to save every scrap of writing, and the only way for me is to wash my hands of the whole business," which she proceeded to do literally and figuratively.

Miss Mary rejoiced in the holocaust, it couldn't be made quickly enough. The time and labor these accumulations had cost her extended back into the dark ages and she could joyfully have imitated Nero while they were burning. This, however, proved to be a serious matter. It was begun in the furnace but soon it became evident that it could be done here only by someone's putting in the letters continuously, as every day they filled several large waste-baskets and the big clothes-hamper. They couldn't be sold to the ragman for obvious reasons. The city ordinances did not allow fires in back yards and Miss Mary never broke a law. At last she was simply forced to commit a misdemeanor—many of them—and every morning for weeks she slipped down stairs at daybreak, built a bonfire behind the woodhouse and stood over it with a big shovel to prevent its starting a conflagration. The neighbors wondered where all the flying particles of burnt paper came from and the strain on Miss Mary's Puritan conscience was almost more than she could endure. All valuable autograph letters and all of historical importance were saved; the family letters were laid aside for Miss Anthony's disposal; all of her own were preserved; Mrs. Stanton's—hundreds of them—were sent to her children; Lucy Stone's to Miss Blackwell, and many others to the families of the writers. The task consumed every working hour for almost a month.

When all this was done it was decided to begin another "big job," as Miss Anthony tersely and appropriately termed the undertakings which went on under that roof. It had always been felt that the Biography was incomplete with only an index of proper names and that its value would be greatly enhanced by a thorough index of subjects. Now was the time to make it, before a second edition was published, and the writer agreed to do the work if Miss Anthony could stand the annoyance. So Miss Mary resumed her occupation of pastemaking and with the sacrificing spirit of a martyr consented once more to have her kitchen made

an annex to the attic work rooms. With the help of two and sometimes three assistants two full months were required simply to get the copy for this index ready for the publishers, the proof-reading being done elsewhere, but Miss Anthony was most pleased to have the book made complete. On December 4, 1903, the writer finished her work in this home which she had first entered February 6, 1897, and, although such a thing was little anticipated then, it so happened that she never visited it again during the lifetime of Miss Anthony.

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No woman in the United States had had so much written about her as Susan B. Anthony and yet the world at large knew only of her public work and nothing of her domestic life. *Pearson's Magazine*, wishing to present this side, sent an artist to Rochester to make interior views of the residence and requested the present writer to prepare an article. This appeared in the March number of 1903, entitled "Miss Anthony at Home," and is here reproduced in part with the thought that it may possess an interest for present and future readers.

"The time has almost but not entirely gone by when a woman who demands the franchise is by this very act arraigned, tried and convicted for being entirely destitute of the traditional womanly virtues. The four principal originators and leaders of the movement for woman suffrage, half-a-century ago, were Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony. The first three married, kept house and brought up families of children, and thus were able to refute by practical example the almost universal charge that a desire for the ballot destroyed every domestic instinct. Miss Anthony, however, remained single and thus made herself the conspicuous target for the arrows of criticism and reproach. The fact that she refused more than one advantageous offer of marriage because of her intense devotion to her father, mother and home offered no defense against the accusation, but only added one more act of disobedience to the

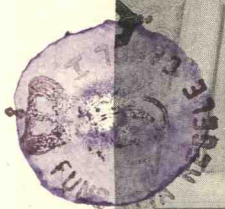
Holy Scriptures, which make 'cleaving' to parents a secondary matter.

"The writer of this sketch speaks from the viewpoint of one who has spent the greater part of the last six years under Miss Anthony's own roof—first in writing her Biography and afterwards in preparing Volume IV of *The History of Woman Suffrage*. The former work included the reading of hundreds of Miss Anthony's letters to her relatives, and the diaries which she has kept for over half-a-century, and at the end of it all the assertion can be conscientiously made that no woman ever possessed in a greater degree the love of family and the instinct for home. Now, after more than fifty years of going up and down the earth, 'eating other people's bread and salt and climbing other people's stairs,' she still clings with the deepest intensity of her strong nature to the fireside around which once were gathered all those she held most dear, but where at this beginning of the new century she and one only sister sit alone. All the beautiful homes in which of late years she has been a welcome guest, all the distinguished people who have paid her honor, have not diminished in the slightest degree her devotion to her own modest home and the staunch but unassuming friends of the early days of misrepresentation and ostracism.

"The two sisters have lived for almost forty years in Rochester, N. Y., in a home hallowed by the death of many members of the family, and among its sacred associations they expect to spend their remaining days. Good-naturedly sarcastic friends often urge them to hang out a sign—*The Wayside Inn*—for it is indeed a hostelry in the number of its guests. There is always an extra plate on the table, and a friend in the house at meal time always is pressed to stay. There is no fuss or worry but she enjoys the simple and wholesome fare as one of the family. If Miss Anthony's hospitality ended here it would present no problems to the Mary who should have been named Martha, but it is no uncommon thing for three or four guests to arrive a few minutes before supper in response to a pressing invitation from Miss Anthony which she forgot to mention at home, and the larder

always has to be kept in a state of preparation for these 'surprise parties.' The three 'spare beds' often prove none too many for those who stay from one night to seven or more. Rochester is on a highway between the East and the West, and it is a veritable Mecca for women, who look upon a visit at its shrine as the event of a lifetime, and arrange their journeys, often at great inconvenience, to spend a night under the roof of Susan B. Anthony. Sometimes, though not often, the gentle sister remonstrates, but Miss Anthony always answers, 'The greatest happiness I have is in receiving my friends in my own home. Think of the people who have entertained me during all these years. I regard the many presents of money and household articles which have been given me for my personal needs as put in trust for me to use in this way.'

"In looking over an old diary I find this entry made during the first days I ever spent in this pleasant home, when arrangements for celebrating her birthday were in preparation: 'What a housekeeper is Susan B. Anthony, domestic in every fiber of her body! What would the world say if it could see her, as I have done the past week, going from garret to cellar, hunting up cobwebs and dust that nobody else had seen, making out bills of fare with the cook, counting the dishes and table linen, taking the best sheets and towels out of the lavender-scented drawers, devising every means for the comfort of her guests—a perfect manager. The order and neatness here gratify my soul.' And again: 'We have been preparing a magazine article today and while I held the pen and we discussed the points, she sat by the fire and hemmed towels. "Oh, I wish I had nothing else to do the rest of my life," she said, "but to sit quietly down in my own home and darn stockings and hem towels, and gather my friends about me and have one read while the rest of us listened and then all discuss it."' There are no girls of modern times who can take such infinitesimal stitches, learned in the days when women hemmed by hand all their own ruffles and furbelows and stitched the tucks and frills which adorned the shirt-bosoms of the men of the family. Miss Anthony never has suggested ways for repairing the damages of society with one-half the skill she em-



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CORNER OF THE BACK PARLOR.

MISS ANTHONY'S CHAIR AT RIGHT. SEE PAGE 934.

ployed in teaching her nieces her wonderful method of darning rents in garments and household linen.

"The very choicest guest is allowed to sleep under the 'rose blankets' and the mother's bed-spread, and there is something exquisite in the touch which she gives to that fine product of her mother's weaving a hundred years ago. The favored guests also may drink tea from the mother's cups, imported from England before fine china was manufactured in this country, and may use the thin, silver spoons which were a part of the paternal grandmother's marriage dowry in the century before the last.

"Miss Anthony's daily life is very simple and almost ascetic. She rises at seven, and, no matter what the temperature, steps at once into the bath tub. All her life she has used cold water, but since she was eighty she has been persuaded to allow the chill to be taken off. When she comes down to breakfast with her silver hair brushed softly over her ears and coiled smoothly in the back, and a big white apron tied around her waist, she looks like a lovely grandmother, and it wrenches the imagination to think of her standing on a platform and daring a mob, or rising in a court room and defying a United States Judge. She is womanly in every instinct, in the dainty toilet articles she likes on her dressing-table, the delicate bits of jewelry and lace which adorn her gowns, the love for the quiet, refined and artistic in everything. Her diet is strictly of the feminine order—tea and coffee, bread and butter, vegetables, a morsel of dessert and quantities of fruit—but unfeminine in its absence of pastry and confectionery. Her home is Quaker-like in its simplicity, very hygienic and very comfortable, with thick rugs and rocking-chairs, old-fashioned couches and beds that invite to more slumber than one is likely to get unless she retires early.

"In this peaceful abode, however, the spirit of work reigns supreme. It has no room for idleness. Everywhere are books, magazines, newspapers and writing materials. Several times a day the postman comes heavily-laden, and several large consignments of mail are sent out daily. Since Miss Anthony's retirement from the presidency of the National Suffrage Association

in 1900 her duties have been less exacting, but her whole thought has been centered for the past two years in the last volume of the History. Her one and only fear has been that she would not live to see it completed. 'It records the end of my work,' she said; but on the contrary it will be 'her work' that will go on until all for which she hoped and wrought has been accomplished. Every woman who is struggling today to secure absolute freedom for her sex, and all who will strive in the future, will act under her direct inspiration. Her written words will be an invocation, her memory a benediction, and it will be because she lived and toiled that other women will have courage and strength to carry her cause to its inevitable triumph.

"Those who never have seen Miss Anthony at home are in total ignorance of one side of her character, the soft and mellow side, the tender, considerate and affectionate side. Even here the Quaker inheritance prevents any declaration in words, but every act speaks. There is a constant watchfulness for the comfort of others and a sacrifice of self for somebody else. The young guest will find a hot-water bag in the foot of her bed on a cold night while the octogenarian will do without it. She always has an excuse for the one who speaks a hasty word or does a selfish thing, but it is very hard for her to excuse a silly person. Miss Mary will tolerate a fool before she will a knave, but Miss Anthony has more patience with the knave. Her forbearance with women, however, is beyond anything which can be put into words. Whatever their vices, frailties, follies or shortcomings, she is ever ready with an apology, and it is always that the world has no right to expect anything better from those it has treated as children, as playthings, as slaves; that women must be absolutely free and independent, and that there must be several generations of freedom and independence, before they can be justly held to a strict accountability.

"A little incident will illustrate her ever-present loyalty to her sex. She was summoned from the dinner table one day to receive a telegram announcing the arrival of a nephew's first baby—a daughter. When she came back she said: 'I sent my love and

congratulations, and I wanted to add, "A girl is as good as a boy," but thought I wouldn't pay for so many words.'

"Miss Anthony's generosity is of an impulsive character and sometimes leads to domestic complications. One afternoon the house was pervaded with the delicious odor of baking gingerbread, which the family looked forward to enjoying with their tea, but when supper time came no gingerbread was to be found. Skilful questioning elicited the information that a poor woman had come in quest of food and when she exclaimed, 'Oh, how good that cake smells!' Miss Anthony popped it into her basket. At another time the ample remains of Sunday's roast were set aside to furnish the washday dinner on Monday, but during the morning three things happened almost simultaneously: The roast disappeared from the pantry shelf, a tramp went out the back gate and Miss Anthony shut the kitchen door with a guilty look—which was understood when the family were obliged to partake of a meatless dinner. . . .

"There never was a human being who loved her kith and kin with deeper and more steadfast affection. The reader must study Miss Anthony's Biography to appreciate fully this strong trait in her character. It begins with the passionate longing for those at home poured out on the pages of the boarding-school girl's diary, and finds expression again and again in the letters from the young school teacher, from the amateur lecturer, through the exacting days of the Civil War and the work of the Loyal League, and on and on, during all the life of the great reformer, with its long journeys, its heavy burdens, its sorrows and joys, its disappointments and triumphs. There was always the yearning for home, the clinging to those around its hearthstone. She was never too busy, never too tired, never too much engrossed in public duties, to write the almost daily letters to her family. The death of each member wrenched her heart-strings to the point of breaking, and although such anniversaries are now indeed many she never forgets one. She is a thorough believer in cremation for the dead, but there is reason to think she will not request this method in her own case because of her overpowering desire to be laid in the last, long sleep by the side of her beloved in the beautiful cemetery



overlooking the Genesee River. Had Miss Anthony married, she would have been a devoted wife, an efficient mother, but the world would have missed its strongest reformer and womankind their greatest benefactor. It will be of far more value to posterity that she gave to all the qualities which in marriage would have been absorbed by the few.

“Many women have said that they never can look at Miss Anthony’s picture without being moved to tears at what she has suffered for them and their children. Certainly no one can gaze into her face, its every line telling a story of patience, fortitude, courage and persistence, without a feeling of deepest gratitude and admiration, mingled with one of resentment at the persecutions she suffered in the early days and the misrepresentations of all the passing years. To those who know her she is the embodiment of the domestic virtues and the womanly graces; the lover and the defender of the fireside; one who has given a long life of splendid endeavor to put the home on a juster and happier basis, to make women stronger and nobler, to bring the practices of this great republic into harmony with its principles, to create conditions which will insure better citizens and purer government—a woman whose every act and aim has been toward a higher civilization.”

## CHAPTER LXIV.

LAST WASHINGTON CONVENTION—STARTING FOR BERLIN.

1904.



AMONG the many beautiful letters received by Miss Anthony for Christmas and the New Year and for her birthday of 1904, two seem especially worthy of being preserved. One was from Mrs. Ellen Clark Sargent, of San Francisco, who sent a gift, acknowledged the receipt from Miss Anthony of Mrs. Stanton's essay on *The Pleasures of Old Age* and said: "I agree with all Mrs. Stanton writes about the pleasures of age. It brings no regrets to me. I have learned to accept people as they are, with all the limitations and frailties that belong to the human family. I love them none the less for some faults but perhaps better, as a sort of divine pity accompanies the thought that what they do that is wrong may be accounted for by inheritance or environment which they could not control; and we cannot know how sorry they may be for their errors nor how much they may desire to overcome their defects. As for old age, I can say that to be free from the carking cares which seem to belong to one's earlier years is in itself happiness. Old age is the spirit freed from most of the earthly follies. With all the disadvantages that I myself experience I consider it, with few exceptions, the happiest time of my life. If we live to be old we must have parted with some of those who are nearest and dearest, but even that condition has its comfort in sweet memories and sweeter hopes."

The other letter was from Mrs. Jacob Bright, of England, in answer to the receipt of Miss Anthony's *Biography* in which she had put a copy of Mrs. Stanton's address on *The Solitude of Self*: "I am very glad to have the book. What a tremendous work you have done, what a life of self-sacrifice you have led! But can

it really be called self-sacrifice when one is working for that which is nearest her heart—the good of humanity? It is not the real self that is sacrificed, only the lower personality which gets very tired sometimes with the heavy demands made upon it. . . . I have read with the greatest interest Mrs. Cady Stanton's address, but, dear Miss Anthony, does it not seem to you that to realize the grandeur of that solitude and be able to sustain it, requires a much larger mental and spiritual development than the mass of men and women are capable of? And would the one able to maintain it feel any interest whatever in the ephemeral political and social institutions among which he might happen to live? The truth is that almost no one would be able to bear it, for there is a universal cry for union, love, helpfulness, sacrifice. The assertion of self against the world, necessary as it has been for the development of humanity in the past, has overtopped its meridian and will have to give place to a wider altruism."

The winter of 1904 was so cold and stormy that Miss Anthony recorded in her diary, "Eleven Sundays since I have been able to go to church;" and, "I have attended only four of the ten lectures given under the auspices of the Political Equality Club." She was therefore glad indeed to turn her face toward Washington, where the National Suffrage Convention was to be held February 11-17. She went down on the 6th and stopped with the other national officers at the Shoreham, where she was the guest of the proprietor and his wife. The *Woman's Journal* in its account of the meetings said: "Here is Miss Anthony, as full of interest as a young woman, and in so great demand by friends and reporters that the telephone wires leading up to her room are kept hot with requests for her to come down to the parlor and speak to somebody. When Mr. and Mrs. Devine, the genial proprietor of the Shoreham and his wife, invited her to visit their rooms at the top of the hotel and see the wide and beautiful view, regret was expressed that it would be necessary for her to walk up one short flight of steps. A friend remarked that she would not mind this, as she was in the habit of running up and down stairs as lightly as a girl. "No," said Miss Anthony, "I do not do that any longer because I don't think it wise, but I never *walked* up stairs till after I was eighty!"

For several years Miss Anthony's active participation in these conventions had been growing less, but she still took a full part in the meetings of the Business Committee; sat on the platform at all the public sessions; made her brief speeches, which were of more force than other people's long addresses, and was, as ever, the center from which the interest and influence radiated. The *Post* said, "The opening session was an ovation to Miss Anthony." She presided on the evening devoted to Colorado, and the pride with which she introduced the speakers from that State was delightful to see—former Governor Alva Adams, Superintendent of Public Instruction Helen Loring Grenfell, and other women prominent in the politics of the State, including the chairmen of the Democratic and the Republican Women's State Central Committees. Miss Anthony went one evening to the Army and Navy Reception at the White House, a ticket being sent with her invitation which took her carriage to the private entrance and enabled her to avoid the crowd. She was constantly surrounded by distinguished people and Miss Alice Roosevelt left a party of friends saying, "I must speak to Miss Anthony, she is my father's special guest." The next day she told the convention in her inimitable way that when she was presented to Mr. Roosevelt she said, "Now, Mr. President, we don't intend to trouble you during the campaign, but after you are elected, then look out for us!"

On Sunday, the 14th, Mrs. John B. Henderson gave a twelve o'clock breakfast in honor of Miss Anthony, and in the evening a quiet social reunion for the delegates and friends was held in the banquet room of the Shoreham. On the 15th, her eighty-fourth birthday, all were received at the White House at two o'clock; later they went to a reception in the interesting home of Miss Clara Barton, at Glen Echo, and greatly enjoyed seeing the decorations, jewels and trophies presented by the sovereigns and nations of the world, such as have been bestowed on no other American woman. The last evening, when Miss Anthony was presented to the convention, she brought Miss Barton with her to the front of the stage and the audience rose in enthusiastic recognition of the two great women. The founder of the National Woman Suffrage Association introduced the founder of

the National Red Cross Society in words of affection and esteem, and Miss Barton responded in the same strain, giving her adherence then as always to Miss Anthony and the cause of woman.

At this convention Mrs. Chapman Catt declined to stand again as candidate for the presidency, which she had held four years. The association was most reluctant to have her leave the position she had so ably filled, but the impaired state of her health was so evident that the necessity for it was recognized. There was, of course, but one other woman thought of to take the place—the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw—and she felt this to be impossible for the same reason which compelled her to decline it when Miss Anthony retired from the office. She would not have yielded to the almost unanimous desire of the delegates but could not resist the earnest and long-continued entreaties of Miss Anthony, and so she accepted the great responsibility.

Miss Anthony presided at the hearing before the Senate Committee and in her closing remarks she spoke with a voice that faltered a little, in spite of her effort at self-control, of having made her appeals before the committees of every Congress since 1869; she told how at the close of the Civil War the women were bidden to stand aside and wait till the negro man had his rights, and then, after a pause, she said: "We have waited; we stood aside for the negro; we waited for the millions of immigrants; now we must wait till the Hawaiians, the Filipinos and the Porto Ricans are enfranchised; then no doubt the Cubans will have their turn. For all these ignorant, alien peoples educated, American-born women have been compelled to stand aside and wait! How long will this injustice, this outrage, continue?"

The association accepted an invitation to hold its next convention in Portland, Ore., and it happened that the one of 1906 went to Baltimore, so this was the last convention, and it was also the last committee hearing that Miss Anthony ever attended in Washington. An interview which she gave at this time for the *New York Sun* closed as follows: "I have never lost my faith, not for a moment in fifty years. In every great cause there must be infinite patience, supreme philosophy. These we have had and what is the situation today? Every demand made fifty years

ago—with a single exception—has been granted in full or in part; the battle is so far won as to be practically conceded. . . . The world never has witnessed a greater revolution than in the status of woman during this past half-century.”

Miss Anthony did not linger in the capital as usual but returned home on February 19, as she needed to utilize her strength in the preparations for the large undertaking which was before her—a trip to Berlin to attend the International Council and Congress of Women! When all started homeward after the meeting of the Council in London, in 1899, Miss Anthony, then in her eightieth year, said, “Now, girls, remember that you will have to manage the next Quinquennial without me,” and here she was in her eighty-fifth year preparing to make the 4,000-mile journey and again take a hand in the “managing.” Those who were apprehensive as to this action felt that even if attended with serious results it would not be so hard for her as to remain at home alone through the summer with all her nearest and dearest coworkers on the other side of the ocean at the sixteenth anniversary of the splendid organization which she had had so large a part in founding. Her longing to go, her desire to meet again her friends from all parts of the world, were so intense that not one who loved her had the courage to voice an objection. It was considered very important, however, that Miss Mary should accompany her and this that lady most strenuously objected to. She had “done” Europe in 1899, she was seventy-seven years old herself, and she wanted to remain in the quiet and peace of her own home. But when it was pointed out that in case Miss Anthony should be ill nobody could understand her as she did, and that the near friends would have such urgent duties in connection with the meetings that it would be difficult for them to give the time that might be required, she uncomplainingly sacrificed her own desires, just as she had done all her life, and prepared for the journey.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>It may be said at this point that nobody at the Congress got more unalloyed enjoyment out of it than Miss Mary; that Miss Anthony was not ill a day all summer and was glad every hour that she made the trip; and that her presence was a pleasure to thousands of women and an inestimable benefit to the Council.

The officers and committees of the German Council of Women who had charge of the arrangements for the international meeting were most anxious that it should have the prestige of Miss Anthony's presence. In October, 1903, she had received from Frau Marie Stritt, president, and the Baroness von Beschwitz, secretary, of the National Council of Germany, the following official letter:

The Executive of the Bund deutscher Frauenvereine have charged us to present their respectful greetings to you and invite you to take part in the proceedings of the International Congress of Women to be held at Berlin in June, 1904. Your presence would largely contribute to the success of this important gathering and be a source of satisfaction and enthusiasm for the women meeting here from all parts of the world.

We fully recognize that our invitation involves a great sacrifice for you but we also know that in a measure you would be repaid by the unbounded gratitude of the whole Congress, and by your own feeling of rendering such an invaluable service to the cause of women. We should be happy to try to make everything as easy and pleasant as possible for you and we should consider the moment of your first address to the Congress a historical event in the Woman's Movement in Germany.

We still have to thank you for the kind greetings sent to the recent meeting of the Executive of the International Council of Women in Dresden. Since then your wishes concerning the harmony, dignity and loyalty of the proceedings have been kept in mind and fulfilled, and all misunderstandings have been cleared.

We beg to add to this official letter the expression of our personal respect and admiration, and are, dear Miss Anthony, with highest regards and heartfelt greetings, very sincerely yours.

Later the Baroness said in a personal letter: "It makes me quite sad to think that you may be prevented from coming to Berlin. Every woman who will be here for this occasion would be happy to avail herself of the opportunity of seeing you and being able to thank you for what you have done for womankind. That I have already had this privilege is one of my most precious memories. It would be a great joy to meet you again and your dear sister also. Frau Stritt unites with me in love to you." From Fräulein Helene Lange, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Higher Culture, came the cordial words: "I hope with all my heart that you will be able to come over to the Congress. I do not think that will tempt you, but surely you would

be the most beloved and revered woman of the whole gathering. We all know what you have done for women and I trust you will not disappoint those who wish to see you in person, among whom I myself am most desirous." Similar letters were received from many countries of Europe and from Australia and New Zealand, and these, added to her own strong wish not only to be present at the great meeting but to do whatever lay in her power to contribute to its success, decided her to go to Berlin.

A number of farewell entertainments were given in Rochester for the prospective voyagers. One pleasant incident was the assembling in their home of the Eleventh Ward W. C. T. U., of which Miss Mary was a member, with their husbands and children, about seventy-five in all, to say good-by. During the evening twenty-four pupils from School No. 2, where Miss Mary was so long principal, came in and sang a clever little song composed by Miss Florence Howard, with this stirring chorus:

Hurrah! hurrah! for noble Susan B.  
Hurrah! hurrah! for dear Miss Anthony.  
Among our country's heroes, with the honored she shall be,  
When we have gained woman suffrage.

This was followed by an interesting program, after which the president of the union, Mrs. W. L. Howard, told of the warm regard felt for the two sisters by their neighbors of many years and the desire to express that feeling through this meeting; and Miss Anthony made a tender response for herself and Miss Mary which showed how much they appreciated this neighborly demonstration.

All of the Rochester papers gave them editorial good-bys and best wishes. When they left home the morning of May 17 a large number of friends were at the station with books, flowers, fruit and other offerings to make the voyage pleasant, and while Miss Anthony maintained her composure Miss Mary could not restrain her tears. They remained in New York with their cousin, Mrs. Lapham, till the morning of May 19, when they took the North German Lloyd steamer Friedrich der Grosse. An immense crowd was gathered to watch the departure of the big



ship, and as Miss Anthony walked up the gangplank there were cheering and clapping of hands from those on deck and on the pier, while the delegations from the suffrage clubs of New York and Brooklyn waved flags and banners. Miss Anthony found many bouquets and baskets of flowers awaiting her, among them a large bunch of American Beauty roses from the Equal Suffrage Club of Washington, D. C. To those who understood it was a most touching scene—this grand old woman in her eighty-fifth year starting bravely and cheerfully for a journey to the other side of the world to attend a great international convention which was in itself the direct result of her own labors. It was a proud moment for the group of women who stood by her side and knew of the storm and stress through which she had come to this hour of recognition, respect and love.

A telegram which awaited on board—"Susan B. Anthony and Comrades: Welcome under German flag. Letters for you at Plymouth. Otilie Hoffman, for the German Council."—made the delegates feel as if already they were the guests of the women of Germany; and this was the beginning of the delicate consideration, the thoughtful attention, that continued unceasingly as long as a foreign visitor to the Council remained in Berlin. The present writer takes the liberty of quoting freely from her own letters to the press of the United States, as they concern the greatest meeting of women ever held, and, written in the midst of its inspiring influences, have more vitality than anything which could be said after the lapse of years.

Every morning we were awakened by the cheerful voice of Miss Anthony, who was always ready for breakfast at the bugle call and then made the round of the staterooms to laugh at the late risers. When the weather was so cold that the others were shivering in the cabin, she was on deck taking in new life through the bracing salt air, carefully wrapped up by the devoted Mary, who, being only in her seventy-eighth year, came along to take care of her distinguished sister Susan. On Sunday we held divine service with a sermon by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and every evening after dinner we had a "round table" conclave, which the other passengers regarded with some envy, as there were bright stories and a discussion of many vital questions in which the public mind is now interested.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In the party were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, Miss Belle Kearney, Mrs. Lydia Kingsmill Commander, Mrs. Lucretia L.

One evening each speaker was asked for an outline of the address she should make at the Council, in order that we might judge of the probable effect on a German audience. The first announced that she should put in the strongest possible plea for total abstinence and for scientific temperance instruction in all the schools which should show the children the great injury to the stomach and brain and the demoralizing effects generally which were caused by alcoholic drinks. The second stated that she should argue for a recognition of the absolute equality of women in the Church, her admission to the pulpit and to all religious councils and her participation in all Church government. Another said she should demand the suffrage for every citizen, men and women alike, with the abolition of all class distinctions so far as a voice in State affairs is concerned. Still another was going to expound the new scientific theory that in the jelly-fish age there was no masculine element but only the feminine, that the male was an afterthought, of not much consequence, but somehow he had secured the upperhand, and it was time we got back to first principles. Then one declared that she should demonstrate that the entrance of women into the industrial field was wholly incompatible with domestic life, and that, as they had entered this field permanently, the home would have to be in a measure sacrificed and the number of children to the family greatly reduced or else the State must take care of them. About this time the whistling of the winds and the roaring of the waves seemed to take on an especially mournful sound, and we began to wonder if we could not get a ship at Bremerhaven, which would take us straight back home.

When we arrived at Bremerhaven on a warm, sunny morning, great was our surprise and pleasure to see stretched across the railroad station of the North German Lloyd a white banner with the letters I. C. W.—International Council of Women—and to be greeted by a hospitable delegation from Bremen. A telegram had met us at Plymouth, England, the day before, asking if we would stop over and accept a “tea” in our honor, and we had answered “yes” from Cherbourg, but we did not expect them to make a journey of an hour-and-a-half by rail to meet us at seven o’clock in the morning. “Traveling dress would be en règle”, the dispatch had said, but we went up to Hillman’s Hotel and opened our trunks and arrayed ourselves in a manner that would be a credit to our native land.

A procession of carriages, each containing a German lady who spoke English perfectly, carried us for several hours about this beautiful place, one of the three “free cities” of Germany, founded by Charlemagne in the eighth century. The moat which protected it when a fortified town still flows around it, and the drive seemed through one continuous park, the broad streets lined with palatial homes, each having exquisite gardens and glass-enclosed verandas at front and back, with a luxuriance of flowers and vines

Blankenburg, Mrs. Amelia and Miss Sadie American, Mrs. Alice Wheeler Peirce, Miss Nettie Lovisa White, Mrs. S. T. Bird and Mrs. Estelle Husted Froeb. Miss Shaw, Miss Lucy E. Anthony and others had gone on an earlier boat, and Mrs. Sewall came on a later one.

that suggested the tropics instead of a seaport town as far north as Labrador. . . .

The "tea" was given in a handsome clubhouse on the border of a lake in the park, and the American women were received by Fräulein Ottilie Hoffman, president of the Bremen Council of Women, and a number of Frau Burgermeisters, Frau Baronesses, Frau Senators, Frau Professors and Frau Doctors, among them Frau Consul Diedrichs, the wife in Germany always taking the husband's title. U. S. Consul H. W. Diedrichs gave an address of welcome, expressing his belief in the fullest liberty and equality for women, and paying an eloquent tribute to Miss Anthony. There were speeches, refreshments and music—the ode "America" being printed on the program in English and German and sung by all. The delegates said this day alone was worth the trip across the ocean, and it was with happiest anticipations that all started the next morning for Berlin.

## CHAPTER LXV.

### THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN IN BERLIN.

1904.



WHEN the delegates from the United States to the International Council of Women landed at Bremerhaven May 30 a telegram was handed to Miss Anthony—"Welcome on German soil for you and all your friends in the name of the National Council of Women of Germany"—signed by Frau Marie Stritt, its president. On their arrival at Berlin the day following the cordial reception at Bremen she and other Council officials were at the station with warmest greetings, and soon all were delightfully settled in Das Palast Hotel, their headquarters. Here every possible courtesy was extended to them and Miss Anthony's room was decorated with flowers during her entire stay. Extracts from the present writer's syndicate correspondence must be depended on to give an idea of this occasion, but any written words are inadequate to do justice to this wonderful convocation extending through two weeks—June 6-20. It attracted the attention of the entire civilized world as its proceedings were sent out day after day by the forty or fifty newspaper correspondents who were present at every session.

"À Berlin! À Berlin!" was the warlike cry of Napoleon a generation ago, as with fire and sword he marched his vast army toward the Prussian capital. And "À Berlin! À Berlin!" has been the rallying cry of an army of women, as from the four corners of the earth they journeyed to the seat of the German Empire.

Discomfited, routed and humiliated, the French Emperor turned back with his journey forever unfinished, but the women have come, have seen, have conquered, and under the white banner of peace those of Germany and France clasp friendly hands; Australia and New Zealand bring greetings to Austria and Bulgaria; the Italian peninsula salutes the Scandinavian; South

America presents her compliments to Great Britain, and the United States beams approvingly on all in her best "We-preserve-the-integrity-of-the-nations" style.

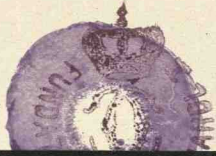
This International Council and Congress has demonstrated in a high degree the wonderful organizing ability of German women, as the arrangements were entirely in their hands. It was a wholly new experience for them, but they put into it the same system and thoroughness with which for generations they have managed their households, and the German hausfrau is noted among the women of all nations.

The Philharmonie, where the meetings were held, is one of the largest halls in the world, and has under one roof four great audience rooms, besides many others for various purposes. It was turned over to the Berlin committee of eleven women just three days before the Congress was to open, and at once they put a hundred people at work. Temporary partitions were made wherever needed, and thus long corridors and bare apartments were transformed into art galleries, drawing rooms, cafés, tea rooms, writing rooms, rest rooms, etc. Paint was used where it seemed necessary, draperies, tapestries and pictures were hung, rugs were laid, the platforms were banked with flowers, the court was transformed into a garden and the long entrance porticos into bowers of evergreens.

A large room was equipped with every facility for reporters, including telephone and telegraph. The Government itself established a branch post office in the lobby. Not a detail was omitted which would add to comfort or convenience, and all this splendid arrangement was the work of women, and so perfectly planned that it could be carried to completion in three days.

The programme itself was a marvel, a pasteboard covered volume of 140 pages, well indexed. . . . Two hundred young women from the High Schools acted as ushers and doorkeepers, all speaking English. Their courtesy and efficiency were in keeping with the whole marvelous system. Especially beautiful was their devotion to Miss Anthony. Whenever she entered or left the hall half-a-dozen would go to her with every kindly assistance and end by kissing her hand. At first this embarrassed her but she soon retaliated by kissing them on the cheek.

The hospitality of the Berlin women to the Council delegates and speakers can hardly be expressed in words. It has been overflowing, boundless, unceasing. . . . This Congress has set a pace in social entertainment which it seems hardly possible can ever be equalled. Five invitations for one afternoon have not been unusual. The opening of the Congress was preceded Sunday evening by a concert such as one can have only in Germany, the orchestra composed of one hundred young women perfectly trained by a woman leader. It was given in Philharmonie Hall and followed by a banquet to 2,000 invited guests. A theatre was rented for another evening by the Berlin Committee, who invited the delegates and speakers to a concert by the best artists in the city. At another time all were taken to a fine play in one of the large theatres. Musicales have been given in private residences with musicians from renowned opera companies. Many of the most beautiful homes have been opened for dinners, luncheons and recep-



Erwin Raupp

FRAU MARIE STRITT.

PRESIDENT NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF GERMANY.

tions. One noticeable afternoon tea was given in the large rooms of the German Woman's Club, the hostesses all doctors of philosophy and most of the guests graduates of the German Universities. This occasion was honored by the presence of many distinguished men who are university professors.

The breakfast given by the Berlin Committee of Entertainment, whose chairman is Frau Hedwig Heyl, daughter of the founder of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, has been one of the most notable events. The club house in one of the lovely parks on the shores of the River Spree was an ideal place, and every arrangement was perfect—music, flowers, toasts, souvenirs, not a detail lacking, even the bonbons bearing an excellent picture of Miss Anthony. An afternoon tea for Americans only was given by Mrs. Mary B. Willard, whose school for girls has been noted for nearly a quarter-of-a-century. The Ambassador, Consul-General Mason, the Rev. Dr. Dickie and other prominent Americans gave an atmosphere to the pleasant rooms that was highly appreciated by those who were several thousand miles away from home.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, the retiring president, has had three functions, an opening "coffee," a handsome luncheon of a hundred covers, and a large reception in honor of the new official board, all in the banquet room of Das Palast Hotel. At each of these Miss Anthony was placed at her right hand, sharing the honors with her and the Countess of Aberdeen, the incoming president. The first week's social festivities closed fittingly with the reception of Ambassador and Mrs. Charlemagne Tower to the American delegates. They reside in a magnificent palace in an aristocratic part of the city. Mrs. Tower delayed her sailing for the United States a week in order to extend this courtesy; Miss Anthony received from her a special letter of invitation and was accorded every distinction.

The entertainments which beyond all others have called forth the most enthusiasm and delight have been the garden parties. There are few cities, if any, where private mansions are surrounded by such grounds as in Berlin. The trees showing the growth of a century or more, the luxuriance of vines and shrubs which hardly can be put into words, fountains and statues, the wealth of roses and other fragrant flowers, the long stretch of green turf, realize one's dream of a modern paradise. But even these are surpassed by the splendid country estates, whose gardens are terraced down to the shores of river or lake. Afternoon parties have been given at half a dozen of these, the guests going out by train and the Government itself dividing courtesies with the hostesses by placing its own boats at their service for little trips on the water.

One of the largest museums in Berlin excluded all sightseers for the afternoon, transformed its main hall into a handsome drawing-room and entertained the visitors with an elaborate "tea." For three afternoons the Lette-Verein kept open house for the foreign guests, and no experience of these wonderful weeks called forth such exclamations of surprise and delight. This Lette-Verein is the largest and most complete school in existence for training girls in the domestic arts and sciences and is now over forty years old. . . .

One innovation connected with this Congress was in a way more sig-

nificant than all else. There is in Berlin a spacious and beautiful American church, built a few years ago at a cost of \$100,000, undenominational but strictly orthodox. Its pastor for the last ten years, the Rev. Dr. James Francis Dickie, a Scotchman, and formerly of the Presbyterian church of Detroit, placed his church at the disposal of the Council for three Sunday afternoons. When he asked advice on this point from Ambassador Tower, the answer was: "Certainly; let the embassy, the consul-generalate and the American church show every possible honor to the women of the United States."

The church was filled to overflowing the first Sunday, and when the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw arose to offer prayer the audience resembled a field of wheat stirred by a breeze as it leaned forward to see a woman preacher. It seemed most fitting that the first woman who ever spoke from a pulpit in Germany should be Susan B. Anthony, for among the earliest demands made by Mrs. Stanton and herself in 1852 was one that women should be permitted to enter the ministry and have part in all church councils. It was a touching spectacle—this great apostle of freedom, in her eighty-fifth year, with a note of triumph in her voice, contrasting the position of women now and half-a-century ago. The inspiring address of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, which followed, brought the audience so near to applause that Miss Shaw came quickly forward to pronounce the benediction and request that they observe reverently the day and place. Dr. Dickie looked proud and pleased as he offered his arm to Miss Anthony, literally to rescue her, as the entire congregation of women pressed forward and fairly took her in their embrace.

The chief social event was the reception by the Empress in the Royal Palace of Berlin. . . . No one can go to the palace in an ordinary hired conveyance, but must have a carriage of the first-class, with liveried coachman and footman, and so, with all due pomp and ceremony, our democratic American representatives went clattering "unter den linden" at eleven o'clock in the morning. They walked through the large court and up the broad marble staircase past many guards in gorgeous livery, or, as Miss Anthony expressed it, "in uniforms covered with streaks of red and gold." During the few moments of waiting in an antechamber they studied the historical paintings, and she said that by far the most interesting to her was the one of "Victoria having her baby christened." Within the great reception hall they were ranged in a semi-circle, with Lady Aberdeen the incoming and Mrs. Sewall the retiring president at the head, and next in line the International Board and Frau Stritt, president of the German Council; then Miss Anthony, Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, of San Francisco, president of the United States Council, and the presidents of those of various countries. The presentations were made by Frau Wentzel-Heckmann, chairman of the Berlin Committee of Arrangements. In a few moments Count Knasebeck, master of ceremonies, came in with two ladies-in-waiting, and soon afterward Hof Marschall Graf von Mirbach entered with the Empress and the chief lady-of-the-court.

Her Majesty was simply but handsomely gowned in mode broadcloth,



slightly trained and heavily embroidered in white silk, the bodice filled in with duchesse lace and adorned with orders and decorations. Her jewels were large pearl earrings, pearl pin and a long gold chain set with many diamonds. Her soft, gray hair was waved and dressed à la pompadour and she wore a little bonnet trimmed in pink roses. Naturally the visitors were considerably flustered, but the above seems to be the consensus of opinion on the important point of toilet. But alas, all they can remember as to the gowns of the ladies-in-waiting is that one was blue and one was gray, while the third seems to range all along the chromatic scale, some of them indeed declaring there was no third lady but that the others "saw double."

The versatility and the broad education and information of royalty were strikingly illustrated on this occasion, for, as Augusta Victoria passed down the line, shaking hands with every guest, not only did she address each one in her native language, but made a few remarks to her showing a knowledge of the particular line of activity she represented. It was indeed marvelous. When the Empress reached the grand old woman of America, she said at once, "Miss Anthony, you are the honored guest of this occasion," and then expressed appreciation of the great work she had done and asked several questions regarding it. Miss Anthony thanked her for her interest, and said she hoped that as Emperor William had raised Germany to a commercial equality with the United States, he would go still further and give German women a higher place than was allowed to American women. The Empress smiled and said, "The gentlemen are very slow to comprehend this movement."

After she passed on, the master of ceremonies, ("the major domo" Miss Anthony called him), came and said: "Her Majesty requests that you will be seated." She sat down, but presently, fearing that it was not respectful to sit in the presence of royalty, she stood again. The Empress was well down the line by this time, but, illustrating her keenness of notice, in a moment her lady-in-waiting left her and came back, saying: "Her Majesty says she will be greatly distressed if you do not sit." When the Empress had reached the end of the line she passed back, bowing graciously to each visitor, but again stopped before Miss Anthony, shook hands with her and said good-by with the wish for a pleasant stay in Berlin.

"Did you kiss the Empress's hand?" we asked. "No," said Miss Anthony, "I just bowed my head, as I would to any distinguished American woman, and told her I was a Quaker and did not understand the etiquette of the court, and she said gently for me to follow my own customs." "She is beautiful," continued Miss Anthony, "and she doesn't look a bit as if she had had seven children—such a lovely, graceful figure—and if I ever saw happiness in a woman's face it was in hers."

And so the ladies came away, proud and happy, and those from the United States gathered in conclave in a big upper chamber of Das Palast Hotel to discuss the burning question as to whether we were most honored in England, when Queen Victoria allowed the whole body of delegates to look at her, but did not speak to any, and yet had tea served in the great St. George's Hall of Windsor Castle by her own servants in the royal livery; or in Germany by Empress Augusta Victoria, who extended a personal

recognition to our official representatives, and yet did no more than she was obliged to do if she gave any notice at all. The opinions were divided, but all were agreed that in both instances our delegates were quite as well received, to say the very least, as ever they had been in the Executive Mansion of their own country.

The second event of especial interest was the garden party, given by the wife of the Imperial Chancellor, Count von Buelow, and the wife of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Count von Posadonsky, as this also was an official recognition of the Council. The Government here owns the homes of the "cabinet," just as that of the United States does the home of the President, and the massive stone buildings extend for many blocks on various streets, the gardens back of them being thrown together by opening gates in the dividing walls. The house now occupied by Chancellor von Buelow, therefore, is the one where the great Bismarck lived and ruled for so many years. It gave one a peculiar sensation to pass instantly from the deafening noises of a busy street in the heart of the city, through tall, iron gates and stone arches into what seemed to be the virgin forest extending beyond sight. Not a sound was heard except the songs of birds and the falling water of fountains. Every reminder of a city was blotted out. Balconies gay with flowers overhung the gardens, and scattered about under the trees were rustic seats and tables with steaming coffee and tea urns, heaping bowls of strawberries, ices, cakes, sandwiches and the other edibles everywhere so bountifully served. The hostesses and their distinguished husbands strolled among the guests, chatting in German, French or English. But there was no interest equal to that of walking from room to room in the palace of Bismarck, apartments so lofty and so spacious that a ball might be held in any one of them, and going into the study of the Chancellor, just as it was in his lifetime, with his full-length portrait above the desk, and feeling the very presence of the man who made the German Empire.

"Do not think for a moment," we are told by those who assume to know, "that these ministers approve of this vast, progressive body of women who have descended upon Berlin, or that they wanted to give this garden party." Then why did they do it? Ah, why? What is the influence which has made it possible for this International Council of Women to come into this most conservative city and hold the largest and most successful Congress in its history of wonderful meetings? Can any one doubt that back of it all is the shrewdest man who ever occupied a throne? Can there be a question that, had there been a wish to do so, an intangible, imperceptible atmosphere might easily have been created which would have blighted the Congress as a frost destroys the flower and the fruit? Cleverest of rulers! Never did the Iron Chancellor himself outgeneral the nations of the earth with finer diplomacy than has William II outwitted the women of the world who came to Berlin expecting to find womanhood oppressed, free speech curtailed and public meetings frowned upon.

The self-satisfied American woman has learned at least one lesson during

the past two weeks, and this is that if she is going to keep on attending International Councils she will have to know more than her mother tongue. Much amusement was created by Miss Anthony's naive remark in one of her speeches that she now appreciated more than ever the need that there should be one language for all the world, and this should be English! At the London meeting it was generally acknowledged that American women carried off the palm, but here the German women are on their native heath, and those from the neighboring countries are not far from it. Their skill in presiding, their fine voices, their self-possession and their outbursts of impassioned oratory have been a revelation to those who have supposed that what is called "the new woman" had not yet found her way into continental Europe. Their speeches also have a distinct vein of humor and sarcasm, which meets with quick response from audiences that are unapproached in enthusiasm and appreciation.

If, however, one dared to say that the women of any country had been honored above those of another, in this city of unsurpassed hospitality, this distinction might justly be claimed for those from the United States, or certainly for a few of the most representative. Far above and beyond all of these must be placed Susan B. Anthony, who was introduced as "Miss Anthony of the world." And so it has proved to be, for never in her own land, even in these later days, when she has been met with cheers instead of hisses and with flowers in place of stones, has she received greater ovations than from these cosmopolitan audiences in the capital of Germany. They have not been confined to the Congress, but have extended to the social festivities, where in almost every instance she has been placed in the seat of honor, and always has been obliged to respond to the call for a speech, and not the voice of any speaker has been more easily heard. The newspapers have commented on the dignity and modesty with which she has accepted it all, and the generous sympathy and recognition she has shown to other speakers and the lines of thought they represented. Indeed herein lies the chief reason of her large and loyal constituency and her steadily increasing prestige and power.

It was a fitting culmination of the most remarkable Congress of women ever held that it should close with an official reception by the *Bürgermeister* and Municipal Council of Berlin, capital of the vast and powerful German Empire. The Rathhaus, or town hall, is one of the many imposing edifices for which this city is noted, its interior rich with painting, sculpture and decorations. The broad marble staircase is so banked with palms and flowers as to have the appearance of a garden on either side. At the top is a lofty and spacious hall with massive columns, and in the centre a large fountain surrounded by garden and aquatic plants. Near this, with the ladies of the Berlin committee, stood the Board of Magistrates, with heavy gold chains and medals about their necks, to extend a cordial welcome to the guests. The latter numbered seven hundred—visitors to the Congress and prominent men and women of Berlin—and after the invitations were issued no pressure could secure one additional, so rigid and systematic are the restrictions which prevail here in everything.

At nine o'clock the magnificent banquet hall—the Fest Saal—was thrown open, showing tables far more richly decorated than would be possible in our Presidential mansion at Washington. The marble pillars, coppered ceiling, carved oak doors, richly panelled walls, beautiful chandeliers, paintings and statuary made a picture not to be forgotten. There were music, flowers and champagne; but the toasts were the significant feature of the evening. It was not a slight and irrelevant circumstance that a Bürgermeister of Berlin, an official of high rank, elected for twelve years, should for the first time in all history welcome a gathering of women in the Town Hall of the city. Nor was this a perfunctory and meaningless function; for, standing in the place of honor, with distinguished women from all parts of the globe on either side of him, and Susan B. Anthony at his right hand, he said, in the course of an extended speech:

“Who can fail to recognize the fact that the woman’s movement of today, pressing forward with the might of an elementary force, rests upon a sound and valuable foundation; that it ushers in a significant and promising epoch in the development of the human race? That this fact is recognized—willingly and joyfully recognized—among the men of this city, let this festivity this evening bear witness to the women. And so, in behalf of the municipal authorities of Berlin, I welcome the members of the International Woman’s Congress with all my heart as co-workers for the welfare of humanity in the sphere of public life. May all the hopes that the women themselves attach to this movement be completely realized, and may their coöperation bear rich and abundant fruit.”

Bürgermeister Kirschner was followed by Dr. Langerhaus, president of the Board of Magistrates, or Aldermen, and for many years a member of the Prussian House of Deputies, who made a most progressive address in which he used these unmistakable words:

“We fully support your efforts for justice and we gladly take our stand in favor of equal rights for women and men. . . . Rest assured that we have followed your proceedings with the greatest interest, and that we will cheerfully support you until you have attained your goal of equal rights for men and women.”

At the close of each of these addresses the whole company sprang to their feet with uplifted glasses and cries of “Hoch! Hoch!” whose fervor never can be understood till one has heard them given by an audience of Germans. And then in this great hall one woman after another, lifted to a chair that she might be seen and heard—Mrs. May Wright Sewall responding for the International Council—and noted German women for their own country—expressed their appreciation of the welcome extended by Germany to the Congress and its ideas, and voiced their determination never to cease their efforts till all that they stood for had been attained; and apparently there was not a dissenting opinion in all the throng of listeners.

What was the feeling of the women of the United States as they looked and listened and reflected through all these hours? It was this: Twice has this International Council been held in our country, and during past years many other large meetings have called there the representative women of the world. Never have they received such official recognition from any city

in which their conventions have been held. If this Congress should meet in New York or Chicago next year, neither Mayor nor Aldermen would notice its existence. There is not a Mayor or President of the Council in one of our large cities who would address a great convention of women and say: "May all your hopes be completely realized, and rest assured that we will cheerfully support you till you have attained your goal of equal rights." No; in America, the land of free speech, not one of them would dare to do it, nor could the most vivid fancy picture a City Council giving a banquet to a Congress of women. Oh, no; for their masters stand in the background armed with a more powerful authority than is vested today in any ruler who sits upon a throne.

And yet, when our women return to the United States, they will be expected to lift up their voices and sing in joyful chorus:

My native country, thee,  
Land of the noble free,  
Thy name I love.

A generation ago the German Empire was born, and it has made greater progress in the last thirty years than in all the centuries which preceded, but this has been principally of a military and commercial character. The time is now propitious for the finer and more spiritual force of womanhood to make itself felt, and some day in the future Germany will inscribe another date on the monuments which record its achievements—June, 1904—the date which marked the founding of a new dynasty for the women of the nation.

The International Congress is now but a memory—a recollection of warm, sunny days with scarcely a cloud in the sky; of mornings filled with earnest work and intellectual stimulus; of afternoons in lovely gardens, with the tea tables under the trees and the groups of interesting men and women gathered about them; of new friendships formed and new thought absorbed; of fresh hope and courage inspired by the knowledge that throughout all countries life is growing brighter for women and they are striving to make conditions better for all mankind.

Such beautiful memories we shall carry home across the sea! And with them will be the remembrance of the splendid city of Berlin, with its miles of magnificent buildings, strong, solid, enduring—emblematic of the German character. No city in America can approach it in beauty, in order, in cleanliness. . . . There is never a suspicion of scandal attached to its municipal government, which is looked upon as absolutely incorruptible.

And yet, and yet—what is this indefinable chill which seems constantly to envelop one and which compels him to speak low and walk circumspectly? It is the ever-present and all permeating military discipline. Every particle of spontaneity is trained out of the children, and as soon as the boys are grown they are put into the army. The rigid obedience to authority there instilled goes with them through life and is apparent in every calling. The result is a deference of each class to the one above it, and, alas, the inability of any member of it to rise above the sphere in which he was born. But

when the German goes to the United States and into its unattractive and badly governed towns and cities, he finds there a freedom of speech, a liberty of action, an opportunity for the individual development of himself and his children, worth far more to him than even the beauty and historic associations of his fatherland, and he seldom wishes to leave the new life and go back to the old. So, we women of America, seeing clearly the superiority of European cities in countless things and realizing fully the imperfections of our own Government, nevertheless believe that it holds far more promise for us and those we love than any other. Thus believing, and hoping that eventually its highest possibilities may be fulfilled, we return home with undiminished loyalty and allegiance.

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The one question of all others which was regarded as most dangerous at the inception of the International Council in 1888 was that of woman suffrage. Although the originators of the idea and those who brought it to its full development were all suffragists, they felt that "to have the horns and hoofs appear" would hinder its success. Therefore, the most prominent refrained from taking the principal offices. There has been no time, however, when every action has not been directed by those who believe in full enfranchisement, for this belief is entertained by practically all who are leaders of progressive movements among women.

It required only time and experience to show the women of every country their helplessness and lack of direct influence without the power of the ballot, and of late years, from the Councils in all parts of the world, has come the demand that the international body should adopt enfranchisement of women as one of its objects, and appoint a Suffrage Committee. The president, therefore, in the last year, sent to every Council this question for an official decision, and it was almost unanimously in the affirmative. As a result, this Quinquennial adopted the following resolution:

"Under all Governments, whether nominally republican or monarchical, whatever political rights and privileges are accorded to men ought, on corresponding conditions, to be accorded to women, . . . and this Council advocates that strenuous efforts be made to enable women to obtain the power of voting in all countries where a representative government exists."

A Standing Committee on Woman Suffrage was formed and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw of the United States was made chairman. This is the largest movement ever made toward woman suffrage, for it means that in twenty countries this vast organization of six or seven million members is pledged to throw its entire weight of influence and effort in behalf of woman's full enfranchisement. It means such a body of workers as the world never has seen banded together for any one object.

In the two weeks' almost continuous sessions of the Council every utterance in favor of suffrage has been received with tumultuous applause. The one evening and one day devoted exclusively to this subject, although coming at the end of a most fatiguing week, brought audiences of thousands—at least nine-tenths of them women—and, not satisfied with the many speeches, they

demanded a general discussion. At the morning meeting the audience sat or stood from nine in the morning until two in the afternoon without interim for luncheon or rest. Such intense interest, such wild enthusiasm, never were seen in the United States outside of a political rally in a heated campaign. Among the speakers were several distinguished Socialists, men and women, who declared that the enfranchisement of women never would come except through the Social Democratic party. This statement was wildly applauded by a considerable part of the audience, but they were overwhelmed by the cries of the opposition.

At last Mrs. Chapman Catt, of the United States, was called for, and, coming from the audience to the platform, she made a most impassioned plea that the women would not ally themselves with any political party, and she warned them that all, Conservatives, Liberals and Socialists alike, would sacrifice women without scruple whenever they could advance their own interests by doing so. She was followed by Miss Anthony, who, with all the fire of twenty years ago, showed how this had been done again and again by the political parties of the United States—Abolitionists, Republicans, Prohibitionists, Populists—and she begged women to put aside all religious and party affiliations and stand together in one united effort for their own political freedom.

While the progressive women have been gathered here from all parts of the earth, advantage has been taken of the opportunity to form an International Woman Suffrage Alliance. It has no connection with the Council except that a number of the same persons were delegates to both organizations. Like the Council this Alliance had its inception in the United States. It was the dream of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony twenty years ago, and it finally took definite shape in a call by Mrs. Chapman Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, for delegates to meet in Washington in 1902. A number of countries responded and an International Committee was formed, with Miss Anthony as president and Mrs. Chapman Catt as secretary. Its members have been actively organizing for the past year and ten countries were represented at this Berlin convention.

At the opening meeting there was a spirited debate as to whether the newspaper reporters, a large number of whom were present, should be permitted to remain during the business sessions for forming the Alliance. After much discussion, in which all the American delegates advocated their staying and most of the others strenuously opposed it, Miss Anthony finally arose and said: "My friends, what are we here for? We have come from many countries, travelled thousands of miles to form an organization for a great international work, and do we want to keep it secret from the public? No; welcome all reporters who want to come, the more, the better. Let all we say and do here be told far and wide. Let the people everywhere know that in Berlin women from all parts of the world have banded themselves together to demand political freedom. I rejoice in the presence of these reporters, and instead of excluding them from our meetings, let us help them to all the information we can and ask them to give it the widest possible publicity." When she had finished the long row of reporters clapped their hands and pounded

their tables until their applause could have been heard in the royal palace, and it is needless to say that they remained through this and all other sessions.

A strong Declaration of Principles was adopted and the United States, Great Britain, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden, Australia, Norway and Denmark joined in an International Alliance, whose object is "to secure the enfranchisement of women of all nations, and to unite the friends of woman suffrage throughout the world in organized cooperation and fraternal helpfulness." Miss Anthony was made honorary president; Mrs. Chapman Catt, president; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, for twenty-one years corresponding secretary of the National Suffrage Association of the United States took the same office in the Alliance. There was a protest from this country against accepting the most important positions, but it was the unanimous request of the delegates. Fräulein Anita Augspurg, the first woman doctor of jurisprudence in Germany, and Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, of England, at the head of the British Suffrage Society, are vice presidents; Fräulein Kathe Schirmacher, Ph. D., author and linguist, of Paris, and Miss Johanna Naber,<sup>1</sup> a prominent suffragist of The Netherlands, assistant secretaries; Miss Rodger Cunliffe, a talented young writer of England, treasurer. With the adoption of woman suffrage as a part of the work of the International Council and the forming of an International Suffrage Alliance, the month of June, 1904, has witnessed the most important action ever taken in what has now become a world movement of women to obtain political rights.

The statement would not be exaggerated that no event ever gave Miss Anthony such profound satisfaction as this one, in which the women of all the nations of the earth pledged themselves to take up and to carry to success the movement inaugurated by herself and a few of her contemporaries half-a-century before in the face of such obstacles as never confronted any other undertaking in all history. She felt that now she could die content, in full faith that the powers which up to the present time had prevented women from obtaining equality of rights must inevitably yield to the great force now preparing to make this struggle permanent until victory should be achieved.

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So much has been said that it is hardly necessary to go further into detail as to the individual attentions and honors received by Miss Anthony at this vast gathering. There was not a day that delegates from some country did not come to her with flow-

<sup>1</sup> Miss Naber was obliged to resign within the year and her place was ably filled by Miss Martina Kramers, of Rotterdam, who was also secretary of the Council.



ers and other testimonials of their love and appreciation, while most of the delegations when leaving sent her an official letter of farewell in the graceful fashion of foreign countries. She had hundreds of cards, letters and souvenirs from women and also from men. The invitations of a private nature were far too many to be enumerated. Pictures and sketches of her appeared in the papers of most of the European capitals and the wide knowledge of herself and her work was a revelation. The many courtesies shown to her and to the other delegates by the journalists in Berlin were most helpful and pleasant. If one dared discriminate, the names of William C. Dreher, of the Associated Press; Dr. Stanley Shaw, of the Laffan Bureau, New York, and Fred W. Wile, representing the Chicago *Daily News*, would especially suggest themselves—the first and last a Southerner and a Westerner of the United States, Dr. Shaw formerly of Trinity College, Dublin.

The beautiful hospitality of the German women could not be adequately depicted. Miss Anthony's grief and indignation, therefore, may be imagined when a scandal-mongering newspaper quoted her as making the severest criticisms of both German men and women. The moment she learned of it she repudiated the article emphatically, declared it to be absolutely false and said in a published statement that of the German men she knew but little; that the universal habit of beer-drinking in the public gardens was novel to her but she had not felt called upon to make any criticism of it. She expressed the sincerest regret that she should have been accused of uttering sentiments so foreign to her real feelings and so ungrateful toward a nation that had given her so royal a welcome. The Congress, she said, was a most striking expression of the great ability of German women, and she was much impressed by their culture and intellectual attainments. She was impressed also by the prosperous air of the country and the well-cared-for homes of the people. The women of the laboring class were hard workers, she could see, but so were those of the same class in other countries. She closed by asking, "How could I have said those unkind things when they

were not in my heart?" The above are her own words as nearly as they can be reproduced after two translations.

Miss Anthony attended all the working sessions of the Council, and her printed program of the business which came before them is covered with pencilled memoranda showing how closely she kept watch of the proceedings and how many matters she herself proposed and discussed. She remained for several of these meetings after the Congress adjourned, but she could not linger for the many social affairs suggested or accept the urgent invitations to go to neighboring countries, as there were visits to personal friends which had first claim on her time and strength. On June 23 she bade good-by to Berlin and thus ended one of the happiest experiences of her long and eventful life.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

VISITING IN EUROPE—DEATH OF COL. D. R. ANTHONY.

1904.



AFTER the close of the International Council of Women, Miss Anthony went with her sister Mary, her niece Lucy, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Chapman Catt for a brief stay in Dresden. They visited the art galleries, went to the opera, had some pleasant drives and greatly enjoyed the afternoon teas given for them by Frau Marie Stritt and the Baroness von Beschwitz, president and secretary of the German Council of Women. Some most interesting days were spent in medieval Nuremberg, in Stuttgart and in Heidelberg. Their pleasure in the old university town was much enhanced by the courtesies of Fräulein Penepakker and Fräulein Etz, at the head of a noted private school for girls, who took them through the university, on charming drives about the old castle and to many interesting places in this picturesque locality. One afternoon these ladies gave a lovely "garden tea," and one evening an entertainment at which a number of university professors and other distinguished people were present. The table was decorated with the Stars and Stripes and the German flag commingled.

At Strasburg the party divided, three of them to take the trip down the Rhine, Miss Anthony and Miss Mary to go to Vevay, Switzerland, to visit Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who was residing there temporarily with her two daughters. Ten happy days were spent here, resting, visiting, talking over the Berlin Council meeting and enjoying the exquisite scenery. At last with loving farewells they departed for Geneva. Three days passed delightfully

in the beautiful home of Madame Chaponnière-Chaix, president of the Swiss Council of Women.<sup>1</sup> It had a magnificent view of lake and mountains and Miss Anthony referred to it in her diary as "a bit of Paradise," and said she "revelled in the fruits and vegetables." Their hostess went with them to Geneva, where they attended a meeting of the Women's Union (Club). Here they met Mlle. Camille Vidart, secretary of the Council, and the two ladies took them about the handsome city, to the college, the old church, the town-hall with its wonderful frescoes and historic associations, and other noted places; and finally saw them safely aboard their train for Paris. Thence they went to Dieppe, across the Channel and by train to London.

It was a long journey by land and sea to be made without a break by two ladies of eighty-four and seventy-seven, but they reached London at seven o'clock the evening of July 12, safe and sound, "yet," the diary said, "tired beyond the telling." A cordial welcome awaited them from Mr. Stanton Coit, leader of the London Ethical Society, and his equally gifted wife, whose guests they were to be while in the city. In this spacious and luxurious home, at 30 Hyde Park Gate, they were surrounded by every comfort and received every possible attention from the most devoted of hosts and hostesses. Miss Shaw and Miss Lucy Anthony came in a few days, Mrs. Catt having joined her husband in London. As they could now be with Miss Anthony all the time, Miss Mary felt that her duties were ended, and in spite of protests, she sailed for home July 16, on the Minnetonka. At the last moment Miss Anthony longed to go with her but she had made engagements in England and Scotland which rendered this impossible.

A garden party was given by the Central or London Branch of the British Society for Women's Suffrage in the beautiful grounds of Miss Holland, and several hundred guests accepted

<sup>1</sup> Miss Anthony tried hard to persuade Mrs. Avery to go with them, even though she had not been invited, saying, "Of course Madame Chaponnière will be glad to have you; come right along;" and it was impossible for her to understand why she refused to accompany her on a visit to the home of one whom at that time she had never even seen. Miss Anthony always felt sure of a welcome for all her friends and relatives at any place where she herself was invited, and never seemed to realize that in the opinion of her hostess there might be a difference in her "eligibility" and theirs.

the invitation to meet Miss Anthony. Brief addresses were made by her, by Mrs. Catt, Miss Shaw, Mrs. Coit, Lady Frances Balfour, president of the society, and Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, president of the national association. Many American as well as English men and women were present and it was a memorable occasion. Mrs. Fenwick Miller gave a luncheon for Miss Anthony at the Lyceum Club, and there were several "teas" in her honor, but most of the persons who had sent her pressing invitations earlier in the season were now out of town, and the many clubs that had been so desirous of entertaining her had adjourned for the summer. The Countess of Aberdeen was among her callers. She herself went to call on Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and other pioneers in woman's work.

The North-of-England Suffrage Society would not forego the opportunity of honoring Miss Anthony, and arranged a garden party in Manchester, the secretary writing her, "I enclose two letters out of the dozens I have received from people who are most anxious to meet you." She left London July 23, accompanied by Miss Shaw and Miss Lucy, and while at Manchester they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Nuttall at their palatial country seat, Raynor Croft, Bowden. The spacious grounds of Mrs. Hylands, Victoria Park, had been offered for the fête, which took place on the 25th. A luncheon was given in the leading hotel for the visitors and the prominent guests and speakers. Hundreds were present at the garden party from Manchester, Liverpool, Cheshire and the country roundabout, members of the aristocracy, professional women and representatives from a number of women's trades unions. The ladies from Derbyshire brought a loving cup of fine English china. Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw were introduced by Miss Mason, daughter of the Hon. Hugh Mason, so long the women's champion in Parliament, and gave short addresses. Responses were made by Alfred Steinthal, M. P., and Mrs. E. C. Wolstonholme-Elmy, one of the ablest of the suffrage pioneers in England.

After the garden party the three ladies, with Mrs. Elmy, went to Bolton for a visit to Mrs. John P. Thomasson, whose husband, the distinguished member of Parliament, had recently died. "The

carriage and coachman were at the station," Miss Anthony wrote in her diary, "and dear Mrs. Thomasson was at the door with a warm welcome, but not her good life-partner to greet me as of yore." After three quiet, peaceful days, visiting and driving about the lovely country, Miss Anthony and her little party went to Edinburgh. Dr. Agnes McLaren met them at the station and they were soon delightfully ensconced in the large, airy rooms of Newington House, the home of Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, now in her ninetieth year. In letters to her sister Miss Anthony said:

After having the nicest cup of tea we went to our rooms and dressed for dinner. Then Mrs. McLaren sent for us and there she lay in her dainty cap and pale blue lounging robe looking not a day older than she did five years ago, and just as sweet and bright as she was then. . . . Yesterday the Suffrage Society had a tea and a public meeting in a hall down town. Miss Shaw spoke eloquently, and I said a few words. After it was over we took a long drive around the old city, and when we returned there was Mrs. McLaren sitting up in her chair in the drawing room, dressed in a soft lavender and white brocade, as pretty as a peach, ready to hear all about the meeting. I neglected to say she had sent a letter of greeting and they had returned a message to her. Tomorrow, Sunday, we dine with the Misses Stevenson, members of the School Board—one of them its president!

Sunday evening: We had a long interesting drive yesterday afternoon, out to Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat and Craigmiller Castle where Queen Mary used to seclude herself for a rest. Many working people were on the hills walking about and basking in the sun. Barefooted children by the hundreds were swarming over the historic spot where Queen Mary and her fellow—I can't think of his name—used to go to find solitude. . . .

Tomorrow we leave. I have been into dear Mrs. McLaren's room for an hour and have bid her good by. I shall never see her again on this earth—but when and where shall we meet?

Friday: We left Edinburgh at nine-thirty Monday morning for Bristol, via Leeds, booked for a through car on a through train, but at Leeds the guard put us out on the platform, bag and baggage, and there we had to stay till four-twenty in the afternoon; so it was ten o'clock at night when we reached the home of my dear old friends, the sisters of Mrs. John Bright. The family consists of Mrs. Margaret Tanner, aged eighty-seven, Miss Anna Priestman, seventy-five, and Miss Mary, seventy-three—three of the loveliest spirits that ever existed. Their man met us and two maids were awaiting us with hot soup, chocolate and other nice things. I was tired as could be, slept like a top and the morning came all too soon. Mary took Miss Shaw and Lucy to see old churches and ruins the first day but I preferred to stay and visit with Margaret and Anna. The second morning we had a long drive over the high bridge and through the fine English country. In the afternoon about fifty members of the

Liberal Federation, mostly women, came and presented me with large bouquets of lilies and sweet peas and made an address. I responded and Miss Shaw talked beautifully for a few minutes; then Mrs. Tanner slowly rose from the sofa where she was lying and spoke like an angel, her face all aglow with love and thankfulness. She was associated for years with Mrs. Josephine Butler in her great reform work.

We left the dear sisters yesterday and I am writing this at Millfield in Somersetshire, where we are visiting a daughter of John Bright, Mrs. Helen P. B. Clark, her husband, William, and their splendid family of two sons and four daughters, all useful citizens. One daughter is married and a member of the school board; one is in business with her father and trustee of the hospital; one a reformer and public speaker, and one studying medicine. Our delightful visit ends today.

The next three days were spent at Esher, on the Thames, the summer home of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright. On Miss Anthony's first trip to England in 1883 she had visited them, and again in 1899. It was Mr. Bright's bill in Parliament which had given Municipal Suffrage to women, and Mrs. Bright had rendered great service to this cause, so Miss Anthony felt closely connected with them not only by the ties of friendship but by mutual interest in a great work. Mrs. Annie Besant put aside all engagements to accept Mrs. Bright's invitation to spend these days at her home with Miss Anthony. This amusing account was given by one who was present:

Miss Anthony was very desirous of enlisting the fine abilities of Mrs. Besant in the cause of woman suffrage and protested against her spending all her time and talents in the study of occult science when there was so much practical work needed at the present moment, and many were their discussions upon this point. One day after having listened a long time to Mrs. Besant expounding her theories, she asked, "When you have been taking your astral jaunts have you ever met Mr. Bradlaugh?" "Oh, yes, many times," calmly answered Mrs. Besant. "Well," said Miss Anthony, "how did he feel when he found that he was mistaken and there really was another life after this?" Mrs. Besant replied that he accepted it philosophically. "But what is he doing now?" asked Miss Anthony, for to be alive and not doing something was unthinkable to her. "Oh," was the reply, "he is still so bound to this world by political interests that he has not gotten far away from earthly occupations." "Well," said Miss Anthony, "I don't know anything better to engage his attention. I am sure I should be interested in every good cause just as I am now, and I think I could do a great deal more good by staying near at hand and helping those who are trying to carry on the reforms of this life than I could by soaring to the stars and consorting with the angels."

A pressing invitation had been received by Miss Anthony from Mrs. Jane Cobden Unwin to visit her husband (Fisher Unwin) and herself at their country home in Midhurst, Sussex, "the land of Cobden," and she had asked also if she might arrange for Miss Shaw to speak in the Congregational Church. They went to her at once on reaching London and remained three days but unfortunately could not stay over Sunday, as they sailed on Saturday.

A few brief extracts from the letters received by Miss Anthony immediately after this round of visits will illustrate the almost invariable effect of her presence. From Mrs. Coit: "The privilege of knowing you intimately is a help for the rest of one's life." From Mrs. Nuttall: "It was most delightful to my husband and myself to have with us such large-hearted and broad-minded people. I trust most earnestly you will live many years and see great fruits of your work." From Mrs. Thomasson: "Wherever you are I know you are doing something for women. Here I felt every moment that I was learning from you. You have done a wonderful work for all women and I want to thank you for it and for your visit to me." From Miss Tessie C. Methuen, Secretary Edinburgh Suffrage Society: "I thank you for your visit in the name of our committee. You have done us all a great deal of good; many say they received a fresh inspiration for the work, and we are thankful to have had you. We are glad you said that women are wanting in self-respect on this question—it is true—and we feel that many through your noble advice and example will find courage and dignity." From Miss Mary Priestman: "Your little visit was an ever-to-be-remembered pleasure to us. England will seem poorer when you have left it." From Mrs. Helen Bright Clark: "I want to tell you how truly grateful I am—and all the family share my feelings—for the great and stimulating pleasure of your visit. My dear aunts feel alike with me that we could almost weep to think of the world of waters that are so soon to separate us." These sentiments will meet a response from all whom Miss Anthony visited in any country; her presence was an inspiration to high thought, an incentive to earnest work; small things shrank out of sight



and only those worth while remained; the memory of her presence was more than a benediction—it seemed rather a perpetual call to arise, put aside ease and indifference and go forth to the duties of life.

The three ladies embarked on the Atlantic Transport Minnetonka August 13. Unfortunately a few days before sailing Miss Anthony received a letter from her sister announcing the serious illness of her brother, Col. D. R. Anthony, of Leavenworth, Kas. Although she had word as she boarded the ship that he was better and able to ride out, she understood his precarious condition, and the anxiety of the long ten days without news deprived her of the pleasure she usually experienced from a sea voyage. She bore it bravely, however, and contributed as far as possible to the enjoyment of others, even yielding to the entreaties that she would give a little talk at the Sunday evening entertainment. A great lord was on board who was coming to the United States to represent King Edward at some function and he was invited to preside while Miss Anthony was given the seat of honor between him and the Captain. In response to his elaborate introduction she arose and after a moment's thought said: "I suppose you wish me to tell you why I want to vote. Well," turning to his lordship and laying her hand on his shoulder, "I want to vote for the same reason that this fellow does, and," putting her hand on the Captain's shoulder, "for the same reason that this fellow does!" His lordship fairly gasped, his eyeglass fell out and his eyes almost did the same; the Captain, who doubtless had never cast a vote in his life, turned several shades redder; the audience was convulsed, but Miss Anthony calmly proceeded with her argument entirely unconscious of the commotion she had caused.

The ship sailed into New York harbor August 22, and Miss Anthony was met by a message saying her brother's condition was favorable, which she answered at once with a telegram of affectionate greeting. The inspector of customs seeing her name on her trunks, hastened to extend the courtesy of the port and passed them without examination.

The next morning at eight-thirty Miss Anthony took the Empire State Express and even its speed seemed insufficient so great

was her desire to reach home. Miss Mary very wisely had refrained from mentioning to any one the time of her coming and so there was no crowd at the station when she arrived at three-thirty, but the reporters were waiting on the steps of her residence! Friends called in the evening and her happiness at getting home never before was so intense. She was buoyed up by excitement and her animation indicated health and strength, but by the next morning the reaction came and for several weeks she was under the care of a physician, prostrated simply by exhaustion.

The newspapers in all parts of the country had words of greeting for Miss Anthony, of admiration for her courage in making the journey, of pleasure that she had safely returned. The *Democrat and Chronicle* of her own city said: "The people of Rochester cordially welcome their distinguished townswoman, Susan B. Anthony, on her return from a journey to Europe extending over a period of nearly four months. Miss Anthony though an octogenarian is still vigorous in spirit and in labors. Her trip abroad was not a mere vacation saunter but a strenuous expedition in behalf of the cause to which she has devoted the energies of her long and useful life. There are women suffragists and anti-women suffragists, but all Rochester people, irrespective of opinion, creed, race or previous or present condition of servitude, are Anthony men and women. We admire and esteem one so single-minded, earnest and unselfish, who, with eighty-four years to her credit, is still too busy and useful to think about growing old."

Miss Anthony's wonderful recuperative powers came to her assistance and towards the last of September she was able to take up again her daily round of work, far less than it used to be but still exacting enough to prevent ennui and discontent. Her correspondence alone consumed a considerable part of every day, though now she seldom wrote any letters by hand. Her brother was very desirous that the sisters should come to Leavenworth and make him a long visit. "It is easier for you two to come West than it would be for a dozen of us to go East, and there are about that many who want a visit with you," he wrote. "There are only two of us in this big house and we have five good sleep-

ing rooms, so you won't be crowded. I think if you come prepared to stay a month or two you will make no mistake and we will all enjoy your visit." Their longing was as strong as his own and so on September 23 they closed the house and started westward. The first stop was in Cleveland, as Miss Anthony had been invited to spend Saturday and Sunday with her friend of many years, Mrs. Louisa Southworth, and this proved to be their last visit, as Mrs. Southworth died the next year.

The meeting of the Business Committee of the National American Suffrage Association was to be held in Warren, Ohio, where the headquarters were now situated in charge of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the national treasurer, and Miss Anthony and her sister went there on Monday. They were the guests of Mrs. Upton, who gave a large reception for them. Advantage was taken of the presence of so many eminent women to hold a public meeting in the opera house, which was crowded to its capacity, and Miss Anthony was received with a cordiality which would have flattered her had she been in the least susceptible to flattery. There were five days of the business meetings which she always so much enjoyed, and then she and Miss Mary went to Chicago to the annual convention of the Illinois Suffrage Association. Miss Anthony attended and addressed the convention and went also to a meeting of the Jewish Women's Council, where she spoke to an immense audience.

The two sisters reached Leavenworth on October 4 and their brother himself met them at the station with a warm welcome. The second day afterwards the three went to Lawrence to the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary, in which Colonel Anthony was to have participated, but he was not able to go to the platform, and this was the last time he left the house during their stay. They dined with the nephew D. R. Jr. and his wife; the niece Maude and her husband, Capt. Lewis Koehler, at Fort Leavenworth, and with various friends. After a ten days' visit they felt that even this small excitement increased the weakness of their brother, and, as Miss Anthony herself was far from well, they decided it would be best to return home. The parting was very hard for all of them, and the entry in the diary for that

day said, "Dear brother Dan seems destined to go, but I hope against hope that he may recover." They arrived Sunday morning and in the journal that night was written: "It seems so good to be at home. I looked over the more than a hundred letters that awaited me and then tried to sleep awhile but I keep up a thinking about brother D. R. all the time. Shall I ever see him alive again?"

Miss Anthony's return enabled her to comply with the urgent requests to attend the New York State Suffrage Convention, which met in Auburn. There was the greatest desire in all the States to have her at their conventions, as her presence always insured large audiences and resulted in many new adherents to the cause. When she reached the home of Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne, accompanied by her sister and Mrs. Mary T. Lewis Gannett, she was rejoiced to find there Miss Shaw, Mrs. Wm. Lloyd Garrison and her daughter Agnes, Miss Emily Howland, Miss Harriet May Mills, Miss Lucy E. Anthony and Mrs. Nicolas Shaw Fraser. In the evening Mrs. Osborne gave a reception for her guests attended by several hundred of the representative people. One day the delegates were invited to visit the historic home and grounds of Wm. H. Seward. The newspaper report of the convention said: "Susan B. Anthony, the grand old woman of the suffrage cause, was called on to describe the recent meeting of the International Council of Women in Berlin, which she did in a broad and comprehensive way, with many humorous points." The prize for the club making the largest percentage of increase in membership—The History of Woman Suffrage—went to Nunda, and the presentation was made by Miss Anthony. Taking up the four volumes, one by one, she gave from memory a complete summary of their contents, told of speaking in Nunda with Frances Dana Gage in 1857, and related some interesting reminiscences of her experiences in Auburn during the very first days of the woman's rights movement half-a-century ago.

The autumn weeks were filled with anxiety as the brother was evidently nearing the end. A ray of brightness came with a little visit from Helen Stanton, of Paris, granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady, and daughter of Theodore Stanton, who brought her to

Rochester in order that she might know and remember Miss Anthony. On November 12 the long-dreaded telegram came—the beloved brother had died just after midnight. Those who cherished Miss Anthony had hoped that she could be spared this blow, that her brother might outlive her, for he was so large a factor in her life. Since the death of her sister Hannah many years before he had been next to her in age; he was much more like her than was any other member of the family and their similarity of characteristics had long been a matter of public comment. She had the most profound admiration for his commanding intellect, his business ability, his courage, aggressiveness and determination, and a strong pride in his achievements and the place he had made for himself in the history of his adopted State. But far deeper than this was her love for him because of his long years of devotion to her; he never lost sight of her interests; her birthdays were always remembered with liberal presents; railroad transportation was sent her times without number; a newspaper report that she was not well brought immediately a telegram of inquiry; he was never too hurried on his eastern trips to stop off for a visit with the sisters. She felt that always and under all circumstances she could depend on him for whatever she needed, and now it seemed as if a great stay and support had been taken away just when she wanted it most.

The two bereft and lonely women left by the earliest train for Leavenworth and arrived a few hours before the services. "The funeral took place from the home on North Esplanade and was attended by prominent men from all parts of the State. The casket was draped in the Stars and Stripes and the room where it lay was filled with floral offerings. Many colored people came to take a last look at the face of him who had ever been their friend. As the funeral cortege passed through the streets the bell on the city hall tolled for one who had thrice been mayor of Leavenworth. When it passed the Soldiers' Home hundreds of veterans of the Civil War lined up along the roadway with bared grey heads, and then marched over into Mt. Muncie cemetery and there listened to the services of the Grand Army of the Republic

as their departed comrade was laid to rest among the ancient oaks of the burial ground."

Col. D. R. Anthony had been mayor, postmaster, member of the Legislature and of various commissions; a member of the advisory board of the Associated Press, a Government director of the Union Pacific R. R. and the editor and owner of the Leavenworth *Times* for over forty years. He was a national character because of his leadership of the Free State party before the Civil War; because of his conspicuous services during that conflict, and because of his large part in Kansas politics for half-a-century. Newspapers throughout the country contained editorials on his death. The Chicago *Inter Ocean* summed up his characteristics by saying: "He was too radical to suit the majority, as a rule, and yet the majority were always yearning to honor him; foes and friends alike respected him; for there was no questioning his personal honesty or his personal bravery." And the Denver *Times* said: "He was loved; he was hated; but the entire State of Kansas will bow the head at the bier of the last of the sort of men who made it free. Scholars and priests, reformers and statesmen, sages and philosophers—for once stand aside while we revere the type of American of whom Anthony is the last!"

The two sisters remained but a week in Leavenworth, and in Miss Anthony's journal she wrote: "Nephew D. R. went to the station with us, he must now take his father's place in all things. To his duties as mayor he must add the management of the paper, the care of the farms, all the business—a pretty heavy load for a young man of thirty-four, but he is equal to it." They reached home Tuesday evening, November 22, and the next morning the ever-thoughtful Mr. and Mrs. Gannett sent an invitation to have Thanksgiving dinner with them, so that day was relieved of much of its sadness.

On his eightieth birthday, August 22, their brother D. R. had written his sisters asking if they had any suggestions to make regarding his will, and those they sent were so characteristic that the temptation to quote them is strong. First they wanted him to leave to his wife a very considerable sum beyond all that he had intended, to replace some of her own money which she had put

into his business years ago; then \$5,000 to the National Suffrage Association; a large amount to benefit in some way the city of Leavenworth; something to his faithful housekeeper; an additional fund to maintain the cemetery lot in Rochester—for themselves nothing. He did not forget them, however, as the will provided for a payment of \$1,200 a year as long as they lived and set aside \$2,000 to be applied on a memorial for Miss Anthony after her death.

The second day of December was the one-hundred-and-eleventh birthday of Miss Anthony's mother and she commemorated it by inviting twelve ladies to dinner, all but Mrs. Gannett over sixty; Mrs. Lewia C. Smith, ninety-three; Mrs. Sarah L. Willis, eighty-seven; Mrs. Mary L. Hallowell, eighty-three; Mrs. Maria Wilder Depuy, seventy-four; Mrs. Sarah C. Blackall, seventy-one; several of the others past seventy—such beautiful old ladies, old only in years, young in spirit and thought, living in the present, progressive in ideas, staunch believers in equality of rights for women—Miss Anthony's dearest, truest friends.

Miss Anthony was a devout believer in the gospel of work; it was her panacea for physical, mental and spiritual ills, her refuge in time of trouble or sorrow, and now, so far as her strength permitted, she occupied every waking moment. In a letter to the Countess of Aberdeen, acknowledging a Christmas remembrance, she told her that she was hoping to go to the National Suffrage Convention in Portland, Ore., and then down to help the women of California; described the avalanche of letters which she and the other members of the National Suffrage Board were heaping upon the committee which was considering Statehood for Oklahoma, and concluded: "Now I am going to drop another bomb, as a bill is before Congress to reduce the representation in the South according to the Fourteenth Amendment, and we will ask that this bill shall base the representation in every State upon the actual number of voters. It is a shame that such things are necessary in a country where every utterance of every Constitution, National and State, distinctly guarantees freedom and equality of rights for all!"

## CHAPTER LXVII.

MISS ANTHONY'S OPINIONS—EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

1905.



ON New Year's Day of 1905 Miss Anthony took dinner with Mrs. Charlotte Wilbur Griffing, who had attended the first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848, when it adjourned its meeting to Rochester. Her sister Mary, who also had been present on that historic occasion, and several old friends were there, and in the late afternoon they called on Col. and Mrs. H. S. Greenleaf, other cherished friends of many years. The day was a pleasant one but it had a sad ending, for it brought the news that the much loved cousin, Mrs. Semantha V. Lapham, was very ill with pneumonia and could not recover. She died a few days later and to add to Miss Anthony's grief a severe blizzard made it impossible for her to go to that home in New York whose fine hospitality she had enjoyed for so many years.

Although confined very closely to the house during the winter months Miss Anthony was busy every moment with her stenographer and with the distribution of the History of Woman Suffrage which she did not allow to lag. She had no stronger desire than to have this record placed within reach of every community and she felt that no one would ever take so vital an interest in it as herself. One entry in the diary said: "Enjoying a bright wood fire from the old cherry tree which stood so many years in the back yard. Mary cut it down last summer while I was in Europe—well, it was time it came down perhaps. No more cherries—but it does make a nice, cheerful fire." Miss Anthony managed always to attend the meetings of the Local Council of Women



which she had helped organize and in which she took an active interest, although it by no means came up to her ideal of what its efficiency and power ought to be. She was continually spurring on the members to public work of every nature, and the Rochester *Post-Express* said editorially of her remarks at the January meeting:

Miss Susan B. Anthony was her own noble self—a chronic condition with her—when she made an earnest and pathetic plea for greater interest on the part of good women in this city in the welfare of unfortunate young women, some of them strangers, who, for one reason or another, are brought before the police court. She thought the Local Council of Women should have a committee whose business it should be to inquire into the merits of special cases. She cited as examples several that she had been personally acquainted with of late. . . . This is a legitimate channel for the exercise of womanly sympathy and activity. It is suggestive of the old-fashioned usefulness commended in the words of the great teacher when he said, "Sick and in prison and ye visited me." That is what Miss Anthony, with all her manifold activities, has done; and if she can find time for helpfulness in individual cases surely it is within the power of any society or club woman to follow her gracious example.

On every hand Miss Anthony saw work for women and she lost no opportunity to rouse their consciences. She recognized the value of the social side to all organized effort, and gladly left her own pressing duties to assist at the reception given by the Council president, Mrs. W. W. Armstrong, to its thirty affiliated societies. Another day she enjoyed a luncheon given by Mrs. William Eastwood to the committee which had worked so valiantly to raise the fund for the admission of women to Rochester University. That afternoon she addressed the Mothers' Club of one of the Public Schools. No matter what the nature of the meeting she never failed to impress upon women that whatever work they undertook they could do more efficiently if they had that power which lay in the ballot—that public conditions in all cities were such as to neutralize largely the best efforts of women within and without the home.

Invitations to address large bodies of men and of women came to Miss Anthony from all parts of the country and nothing would have afforded her so much joy, but to all she felt obliged to send the answer, "I am done with making speeches for any purpose

whatsoever." Then she always added, "But I have some young lieutenants who are fully capable of filling any sort of a bill," and gave names and eulogies of Miss Shaw or Mrs. Catt or other suffrage speakers. This year Miss Anthony directed her stenographer not to make copies of her letters, and thus most of her latest correspondence is forever lost to the public, only a few letters having been preserved. She was always trying to help somebody and one letter was found written to Governor Higgins, of New York, in the interest of Mrs. Florence Kelley, who was being urged for State Factory Inspector and was admirably qualified. In this she said: "You know, of course, the great reputation of Mrs. Kelley's father, the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, who represented Pennsylvania so many years in Congress; she partakes very largely of his qualities; you remember the saying that now and then there is a man's head on a woman's shoulders. I don't see why it should be expressed this way, for a woman is just as likely as a man to have a level head for business if she can get a chance at it, and I want you to give Mrs. Kelley an opportunity to prove this. The salary will attract many male candidates but I beg that you will show a non-partisan spirit by giving the office to a non-voter." Although Governor Higgins was favorable to woman suffrage a man received the appointment.

A society in California wrote urging Miss Anthony to advise the women to work for high license instead of prohibition of the liquor traffic and she answered:

My own city of less than 200,000 inhabitants licenses 700 saloons. Nearly all the children of the city on their way to school have to pass one or more of these saloons. The men going to their daily work have this temptation on every hand to spend the money which should go to the support of the children. So here are at least two classes that are much harmed. We hear a great deal about interfering with the liberty of men, but have they a right to spend on liquor the money that is needed to provide the necessaries of life for their families? And should we license a place which provides the means and the inducement for them to do this? I cannot favor anything but the absolute closing of the saloons, and also their annexes, the gambling houses and the brothels. I do not think that the abolishing of these institutions would immediately eliminate all evils, but I do hold that it would be of vast benefit to the community in every respect.

Women in business frequently said to Miss Anthony that they

had the highest admiration for her but they had a feeling of indifference in regard to the suffrage. To a young newspaper woman who wrote in this strain she replied :

I want to talk to you about being indifferent to woman's enfranchisement—you who occupy a place made possible by the agitation of the question of equal rights for women, and which would seem of all places one that would educate a woman into a knowledge of how she got it. Do you mean to say you are totally indifferent as to whether the Raines Liquor Law, for instance, is enforced or repealed? That you are indifferent to the arrest of the nine women found in a saloon of doubtful reputation, while all the men with them were allowed to go scot free, as reported in this morning's paper? Are you perfectly satisfied with that injustice? Do you not see that so long as women are the disfranchised class they will suffer the whole penalty of that crime against society, while their partners in it are left at large to bring another grist to the mill? Have you no resentment at the thousand discriminations against women because they have no voice in making and administering the laws? When you analyze your feelings surely you will find that you are mistaken about being "indifferent".

President Roosevelt made a great speech before the Republican Club of New York on Lincoln's birthday which he devoted principally to the race question, the key note being that the negro should be treated with regard to his merits and not his color. It was a strong plea for equality of rights, for justice alike to all citizens, and Miss Anthony could not let the occasion pass, so she wrote to the President :

In your Inaugural Address I beg of you to speak of Woman as you do of the Negro—speak of her as a human being, as a citizen of the United States, as a half of the people in whose hands lies the destiny of this Nation. Woman is entitled to that share in the political life of the country which is warranted by her individual ability and integrity and the position she has won for herself, just as the negro is. I could not have such confident faith as you have in the destiny of this mighty people if I had it in but one-half of them. For weal or for woe we are knit together and we shall go up or down together, and I believe that we shall go up and not down, that we shall go forward instead of halting and falling back, because I have an abiding faith in all my countrymen and countrywomen. And for their full development it is necessary that women, just as much as negro men, shall be granted perfect equality of rights.

The eighty-fifth birthday of Miss Anthony was literally celebrated from ocean to ocean. A big scrap book was filled with

notices which were sent by the clipping bureau and pasted in by the careful hands of Miss Mary. The papers of the large cities contained her picture and columns of accounts of these festivities—receptions, dinners, luncheons, teas, with poems, sketches and tributes. Many of the last are well worthy of reproducing here but it would be a difficult matter to select and not do an injustice to many which would necessarily have to be omitted, therefore it seems best to describe only the observance of the day in her own city of Rochester. The reporters had long descriptions of visits to Miss Anthony on the eventful day, of finding her seated in a room filled with flowers and presents, among the latter a large mahogany Morris chair from the Political Equality Club; of letters and telegrams from many foreign countries and from eminent men and women throughout the United States. The College Women's Club sent a basket of tropical fruits, and the local chapter of the D. A. R. a large bouquet of violets with a tiny flag in the center. There were pictures, books, embroidered table scarf and doilies, gloves, handkerchiefs, slippers, shawls, and many gifts of money. In presenting the chair an original poem was read by Miss Cora Britton Ruppert, of which space will permit but a few stanzas.

Rest thee a little, far may seem thy goal,  
But right is strong, O, great and dauntless soul;  
Rest thee a little, have no doubt or fear,  
The war will rage though thou shalt rest thee here.

Rest thee and listen, thou canst plainly hear  
The thanks of thousands unto whom thou'rt dear;  
Whence thou alone didst tread—O, music sweet—  
Comes now the sound of many, many feet.

Rest thee a little, deathless is thy fame;  
Through all of time will women bless thy name;  
Will thank thee for their burdens made more light,  
As now we thank thee who are here tonight.

The *Post-Express* thus began a long editorial: "Today Susan B. Anthony is eighty-five years old, and all Rochester offers cordial congratulations. She is indeed more widely known than any other resident of the city, for her fame has spread to the utter-



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TABLE ON WHICH CALL FOR FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION WAS WRITTEN. PAGE 934.

most parts of the earth, and we all take a particular pride in her remarkable achievements. To American women she is specially dear, for her long life has been devoted to unselfish and unrewarded labors in their behalf."

The *Union and Advertiser* said: "Miss Anthony is the last of that little band who started the equal rights movement with only a handful of women, which has grown until now it encircles the globe. In those early years, she, with her co-workers, was reviled and ridiculed. Today she is loved and honored not only by those who share her convictions regarding the suffrage but by all who recognize her great worth and her devotion to the large purpose of her life. She is a remarkable woman and Rochester is proud of her."

In its editorial the *Democrat and Chronicle* said:

Indeed Miss Anthony may well glory in her standing and record as an octogenarian, for is she not today in heart, in fixity of purpose and in energy of execution still a young woman and a standing rebuke to thousands of her sex who have not seen one-third of her years? Hers has been a life of untiring activity, usefulness and achievement. Through her more than through any other person, the conditions which restricted and crippled women when she began her work have been changed or wholly abolished. Her supreme objective—the general recognition of women's right to the ballot and a direct share in the government—has not been reached; but scores of victories in collateral reforms are now woven into the silver which crowns her honored brow.

All men—and women, of course—speak kindly and admiringly of Miss Anthony today; but there was a time years ago when she and her few associates were chiefly the theme of ridicule, jest and caricature. The public did not understand her character and purpose; but whenever her marvellous personality could be brought to bear directly upon a fair and candid mind there was sure to be left a friend if not a convert. For Miss Anthony is the personification of sincerity and common sense, and she has that largeness of soul and depth of sympathy which usually are found associated with a genius for bringing things to pass.

The evening celebration was held under the auspices of the Political Equality Club, in the large, pleasant home of the Rev. and Mrs. W. C. Gannett in Sibley Place. The *Evening Times* began its account: "Judges, clergymen, presidents and professors of universities, men prominent in every walk of life; women more than making up in loyalty what they lacked perhaps in

fame—all these and more assembled last evening to honor the birthday of Miss Anthony and pay heartfelt tribute to Rochester's great woman."

Miss Anthony received the guests with Mrs. Gannett, Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf, Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, Miss Mary Anthony and Miss Mabel Clark, president of the club. On the programs were pictures of Miss Anthony and her sister, who was the club's president for eleven years; and the addresses were a symposium on What the Women of the New Century Owe to the Woman's Movement of the Last Century and to Susan B. Anthony. Miss Ruth H. Dennis told What Woman's New Education Owes, and described Miss Anthony's part in opening the University of Rochester to women. Mrs. Montgomery spoke on What Woman's New Occupations Owe, beginning: "Our great leader who sits here tonight has been one of the women who has taught other women the joy of labor."

Mrs. Greenleaf, in telling What Woman's New Social Service Owes, said in part:

Asked to tell what Miss Anthony has done for the world socially, I would inquire, What has she not done? She has shown us that in truth all men are brothers, all women sisters, that this bond really binds, and no one can rise so high or sink so low as to sever it. She has shown us unflinchingly our individual responsibility to our fellows. She has shown us that to no sex or color or nationality are the gifts of God limited, but that all are entitled to opportunity to do their best and win their reward.

Miss Anthony has taught us the lesson of true hospitality; that it does not consist in the loaded table and prodigal display, but in the heart-felt welcome to the home, the willingness to share ungrudgingly whatever may chance to be in the larder, without pettiness; that fraternal feeling is more than ceremony. Nowhere in this country is there to be found more genuine hospitality than in the home of the Anthony sisters. Not only is there the welcome of rest and refreshment of the body, but hospitality for thought and opinion. Socially we are more indebted to Susan B. Anthony than to any other woman, for she has shown to the world the possibilities of true American womanhood. Queen and Empress have recognized her worth and wisdom, as well as have the highest and best in her native land, but her cook and seamstress know them also.

The New Dignity that Motherhood Owes was touchingly pictured by Mrs. Gannett, who said in closing: "The movement which Miss Anthony represents has given a new nobility to mar-

riage. In the ideal home the children believe that the mother shares the responsibilities with the father, not only in the home but in the community and in the State. . . . To no one are we more indebted for the service that has helped women add greater beauty of mind and character to the home than to the woman who sits here."

Miss Anthony's love for children was recognized when a tiny maiden, Dorothy Osborne, holding a lovely bouquet, told *What the Coming Woman Will Owe*: "I bring these flowers to speak for the new generation now coming forward, to tell our gratitude for the more beautiful life that you and your fellow-workers have opened to us. Everything is flowering for us. The colleges are opening to us over the land. We shall make our living in a hundred ways where our mothers had one. So our heads and our hands will be strong to do more good for the world than women have ever before been able to do. And we feel that this new power will make our hearts larger and sweeter for all that home means. You have given your life for this flowering of womanhood, and the girls of the new century bring you flowers to say that—and to thank you."

The laurels of the occasion were won by young Master Lewis S. Gannett, who said:

And I, just a boy, want to thank you for us who are on our way to be men. The girls are not going to flower without us. The better "woman" there is in the world, the better "man" will stand by her side. If sisters can be better, if mothers can be dearer, than ours—though we don't see how they can—then boys are bound to be truer men to match them. So you have lived for us also. Though two, we are one, after all, and we shall grow nobler together. Come back to us fifty years hence, and we, working together to make them, will show you juster laws, more equal conditions, gentler homes—and to you and yours they will largely be due. The boys of the new century bring you their flowers and thank you.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Rush Rhees, president of the university, spoke of the emancipation that was coming to working men and to women and

<sup>1</sup> The custom was widely instituted this year, and has been followed since, of presenting large photographs of Miss Anthony to the public schools on her birthday in order that the children may become familiar with her face and interested in the work she represented.



of the time when woman would be still more than now the companion of man. In the course of his remarks Judge Arthur E. Sutherland said: "I believe that in addressing Miss Anthony I have the honor of speaking to Rochester's most distinguished citizen. I wonder how it must feel to be eighty-five years old and to have lived such a life as she has lived! When the black man was fleeing from his master in times of slavery, she lifted up her voice against that institution. We honor her for that. We honor her for lifting up her voice against the cruelties that have been practiced upon her own sex. Always she has been actuated by a deep sense of justice."

Mr. Gannett read a letter from Mayor James G. Cutler saying:

I regret that I must be absent from the city until after the date named. That I sympathize with any plan to honor Miss Anthony, you will believe when I tell you that in my address prepared for a public dinner in New York on Saturday, where I am to speak on Rochester, I have not forgotten her claim to recognition among those who have added to the city's fame. I ask you to convey to her my congratulations on her birthday and an expression of my sincere regret that I cannot join with those who will commemorate the anniversary. However the citizens of Rochester may differ and, of course, do differ upon the question with which Miss Anthony's name is most often associated, there is no difference among them as to her high character, the beautiful devotion of her life to helpful work, and the high respect and esteem in which she is so deservedly held.

After Mr. Gannett had added his own beautiful tribute to both of the sisters, Miss Anthony spoke very briefly but with much feeling, expressing her appreciation of all that had been said and adding, "You may compliment women, pet them, worship them, but if you do not recognize their claim for justice, it is all as nothing." She introduced with affectionate words Miss Nora Stanton Blatch, grand-daughter of her beloved Mrs. Stanton, who had come from Cornell University to spend the birthday with her. And then the guests could hardly be persuaded to go into the dining room because of the love-feast in the drawing room!

The birthday letters continued coming for a week or more and among them was one from Mrs. Russell Sage which said: "Being greatly pleased by the truth and the form of statements in

the enclosed clipping I am sending it to you lest otherwise it may not come to your notice. . . . With undiminished delight in my grand and beautiful friend, I am yours affectionately." The enclosure was the following editorial from the *New York Evening Telegram*, fully half of the lines being underscored by Mrs. Sage:

Susan B. Anthony is still receiving congratulations because of her eighty-fifth birthday. They come from various parts of the world. Kindly words speed over and under the wide, flowing seas, linking her with thousands of hearts to whom she stands not only as a high type of womanhood but also as the symbol of a social, moral and ethical idea.

The time will come when woman suffrage will be a graciously accepted fact and the normal man of that time will wonder why it was necessary to make such a long and pertinacious fight for simple justice to the sex. Then will Susan B. Anthony be in the fullness of her life, though she long be dead. She is a remarkable woman at eighty-five, still glowing with the fire of enthusiasm, still splendidly courageous and animated by that youth which single devotion to a cause puts into the hearts of its advocates. She is a monument to the worth of woman. Men who complain of lack of opportunity, who regard the struggle of life with misgivings and irresolution, may find here a lesson to hearten them. Miss Anthony has devoted her life to one purpose, the uplift of woman and the broadening of her field, believing that as woman is benefitted so is the nation. Which is true indeed, for woman is herself the nation. . . .

Who builds on truth builds for all time. And therein lies the value of what has been wrought by Susan B. Anthony.

The *New York Press* sent Edwin Tracey, a special writer, to Rochester, and published a page of pictures and his excellent interview of several columns. A few extracts will illustrate Miss Anthony's sane and sensible views in the late evening of life.

. . . If a woman belongs to one or two good clubs and attends them as dutifully as her husband attends his club or secret society, she will be a more helpful wife and a better mother. To an unmarried woman the club offers inestimable advantages. It makes her independent of man even for her recreations and amusements.

I think the girl who is able to earn her own living and pay her own way should be as happy as anybody on earth. The sense of independence and security is very sweet. Women should be as free to enter all business occupations as men. College education is gradually bringing this about. I can't say that the college-bred woman is the most contented woman. The broader her mind the more she understands the unequal conditions between men and women, the more she chafes under a government that tolerates it. . . .

One effect of our suffrage movement is that women are learning to do more for women. Hitherto when a rich woman died leaving a large legacy to some institution, it was usually one for men that derived the benefit. Women are now understanding that their own sex has the first claim. Throughout the land they are recognizing their duties as citizens; that, as members of a great nation, they have the same rights as all other members. They object to being considered simply in the light of wife and mother. Suppose, for instance, that President Roosevelt, when he made his great speech in New York the other day, had been welcomed solely as the good husband and father. He would have resented it, wouldn't he? Well, that is the way women feel; they want their birthright of self-sovereignty. Nothing quickens the conscience of a woman and strengthens her judgment like individual responsibility. Nothing adds more dignity to her character. The anti-suffragist talk of sheltering women from the fierce storms of life is a lot of cant. I have no patience with it. These storms beat on woman just as fiercely as they do on man, and she is not trained to defend herself against them. It will not be so a generation hence. The modern girl sees the dawn of a new day. Women at the editor's desk, women teaching in the colleges, women healing the sick, women practicing in the courts, women preaching from the pulpit and lecturing from the platform—call them new women or what you please—they are the women the world welcomes today.

During this month when the newspapers of the entire country were vying with each other in glowing tributes to Miss Anthony, the New York *Herald* devoted a page to an article crudely manufactured to show that she and the other suffrage leaders upheld U. S. Senator Reed Smoot because they believed in polygamy. The animus of the paper was shown when it refused to publish the denials of the women whom it had pretended to quote literally. Miss Anthony when interviewed dismissed the subject with contempt, saying the article was inspired by the anti-suffragists and that the *Woman's Journal*, in calling it "a clumsy lie," expressed her exact opinion.

The month of March was always inclement in Rochester and Miss Anthony this year accepted with pleasure an invitation which had been extended by Mr. and Mrs. Deloss A. Blodgett, of Grand Rapids, Mich., to spend it at their winter home in Daytona, Florida. Miss Shaw, who was just recovering from a severe attack of pneumonia, received a like invitation. Miss Anthony left home on March 1, and broke the journey at Philadelphia, where she was the guest for a few days of Mrs. Emma J. Bartol. While there she was much grieved to learn of the death

of Mrs. Leland Stanford in Honolulu. Their friendship dated back to 1886, when her husband was in the U. S. Senate, and during the intervening years she had shown Miss Anthony many courtesies. Not long before going to Hawaii she had written, "I am so thankful that God permits me to have in you so true and loyal a friend." Miss Anthony reciprocated this feeling and had the sense of a deep personal loss. She was having many such losses in recent years, as every one must have who passes the eightieth milestone of life, but she seldom gave outward signs of grief or spoke of it. When asked to write tributes she always answered, "I can not put my feelings into words."<sup>1</sup>

While in Philadelphia Miss Anthony attended a meeting of the Women's Branch of the Ethical Society, and although she made but a few remarks she greatly impressed a reporter present, who had this description in the *Press* of that city:

The figure of Miss Anthony was simplicity itself, even though she stood there calmly talking about writing letters to the President of the United States reminding him of his duty to the women of the land. There is nothing of the "brawn and muscle" that cartoonists give to the woman's rights woman about Susan B. Anthony. She is one of the sweetest old ladies in the world and no man could look at her without thinking of all he loved best in his own mother. Yesterday she spoke to the little circle of women around her without taking the platform, simply rising from her chair. A tall but not spare figure, she was as erect as her younger sisters and only the white hair told of eighty-five years. From out of spectacles, not eye glasses, looked the keen, kind, blue eyes, and she wore a bonnet, not a hat, this woman of women. Her dress was plain, dark gray with black trimmings, and somehow, to a man's eye at least, just the kind of dress that brings recollections of home and boyhood. And then, to crown all, beneath that homelike bonnet and over that homelike dress, there was thrown to shield her from draught—not a lace cloak, not a piece of rich fur, but a red shawl.

That bonnet, with the kind blue eyes beneath it, those spectacles, that plain dress and quaint red shawl, and, above all, that sweet, gentle voice, spelled "mother" as plainly as the fine word ever was written. Not a hint of manishness but all that man loves and respects. What man could deny any right to a woman like that?

Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw started southward March 3, and stopped to visit the interesting old town of St. Augustine before

<sup>1</sup> Of the persons mentioned in the first two volumes of this Biography, who were living at the time it was written, one hundred and sixty-five, to the writer's knowledge, have since died, and doubtless the actual number is still larger.

going to Daytona. A cordial welcome awaited them from host and hostess, they were soon installed in two large, sunny rooms and in this delightful home they remained nearly four weeks, seeing each day a gain in health and strength. "Mrs. Blodgett is a wonderful hostess," Miss Anthony wrote to her sister; and Mrs. Blodgett said to the present writer: "I never entertained so perfect a guest as Miss Anthony. She literally did not make a particle of trouble, required no waiting on, was punctual at meals, appreciated everything that was done for her, was always calm and sweet. Miss Shaw was just as nice and they both have a standing invitation to our home." Enjoyable drives were taken every day, among the orange groves, down the long beach, over to the famous shell mounds and through the picturesque country. One day they spent at the shore cottage of the family where a picnic dinner was served; one day they drove to Ormond with its gorgeous display of wealth; and one to the City Beautiful at Sea Breeze to call on Helen Wilmans Post. Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw addressed a meeting of the Palmetto Club in the opera house and the journal said: "Miss Shaw did beautifully; I stammered out next to nothing, but all seemed glad to see me, and she won their hearts." Other entries in the journal were: "We are kept pretty busy, Miss Shaw at writing letters and I at doing nothing." "It seems odd to be driving about with only light wraps and going down town with none and bareheaded while they are all snowed under at home." "I wonder why Mary does not get my letters; I give them to the coachman to mail—maybe they are still in his pocket." "I am too lazy for anything, scarcely write a letter and don't even record in my diary book where we have been."

The truth was that during all these days and weeks and months Miss Anthony was struggling against the physical prostration which only her strong will enabled her to overcome. While in Philadelphia the present writer had asked her in anguish of spirit, "Why are you so quiet? Why don't you talk as you used to?" And she had answered, "Because I have scarcely strength to speak." A little later she wrote: "Now don't you worry about me. The hammer may as well fall one time as another—only

I did want to work a little longer." The splendid mind still retained its vigor and among the few letters she wrote during this month was a long one to her nephew D. R. Anthony, of Leavenworth, who was now proprietor of the Leavenworth *Times* and was a candidate for re-election as mayor. She was most anxious that he should maintain for himself and his paper a high standard, regardless of the consequences, and said among other things:

I should think the *women* would vote for you on account of your attitude on street improvements. Now I hope you will take the right position on the liquor question, and, if there must be a license, demand that it shall be \$1,000 or \$1,200 and at least kill off the "blind tigers" and smoke out all the hiding places of the *three vices*. If the liquor law is bound to be circumvented, then force those who violate it to pay roundly for their action. But I should much rather see an honest effort to shut up those sinks of iniquity. I remember asking your father once, when prohibition was being enforced in Leavenworth, if he did not think there were more sugar and coffee and shoes and stockings bought for the families of the city than when liquor was freely sold, and he said, "Yes, of course." . . . Well, do the best you can and don't crawl in the mire to get the vote of the whiskey element. The President appointed —— not because he was fit for the office but because he delivered, or pretended to deliver, the Irish vote of his city. Don't be guilty of advocating a man for official position for political reasons when he is wanting in all that goes to make up a decent citizen. . . .

Bessie, uphold your husband's hands in everything that is honorable and help him make a beginning of clean politics. Nothing makes dirty politics but that kind of men. If they were clean the politics would be. There is no way to cleanse them but for the politicians to wash their hands of corrupt practices, and I want D. R. to lead in this work of purification.

Miss Anthony, accompanied by Miss Shaw, went for a few days' visit to the winter home of her cousin, Miss Melissa Dickinson, at Orange City. The Woman's Club came for a Susan B. Anthony day, about sixty ladies present, representing twenty different States. They drove to Deland, the county seat; "a lovely drive," the diary said, "but, oh, the blasted hopes in those acres of frozen orange trees!" They visited the library and hall presented by the cousin to her town, and one afternoon drove to a Spiritualist camp-meeting at Lake St. Helen, where of course they both had to make speeches.

When they returned to Daytona they addressed the colored high school and that night Miss Anthony wrote in her journal:

"They are bright children but it is sad to feel that the moment any one of them holds up his head, shows signs of being a citizen, he will have a flat stone put upon it. It is a hard fate that lies before the colored people of this nation who are specially gifted—and yet the only way to solve the race question is to educate both races, the blacks to be equal to their opportunities, the whites to be willing to share their privileges."

On the last day of March the travellers left the hospitable home of the Blodgetts, every spare corner of their baggage filled with oranges and grape fruit, of which Miss Anthony was so fond. They spent the night at Columbia, S. C., and the next day went up into the mountains of North Carolina for a visit with Mrs. Coonley Ward who was spending the winter at Tryon. The peach trees were in bloom and Miss Anthony thought nature was more beautiful than in tropical Florida. After a delightful week they went to Washington, for the meeting of the National Council of Women, joining Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, its president, at the Shoreham.

The Council had the most enthusiastic greeting for Miss Anthony, one of its founders and its first vice-president-at-large. She did not take so active a part in its proceedings as in former days and several measures were adopted which she did not approve but did not feel able to combat. When, however, a resolution was presented that the Council would cooperate with Church and State to lessen the evil of divorce, she did protest most vigorously, saying in part:

I do not consider divorce an evil by any means. It is just as much a refuge for women married to brutal men as Canada was to the slaves of brutal masters. I will never vote for a resolution to bar women from that refuge. No one class is more responsible for the evils of marriage than the clergy themselves. The vast majority of marriage ceremonies are performed by them and the cases are rare where they make close inquiry as to the character of the applicants or refuse to unite them. Of late years there has been a flurry of reform on the part of a few to the extent of declining to marry divorced persons, but this is the most superficial and inefficient of remedies. What a crime to refuse to marry a man who has been divorced, and then, without an objection, to unite a pure woman to one who has lived a life of intemperance and immorality! Or to decline to marry a divorced woman, and

then, without a question, bind in wedlock one who is a child in years and often evidently a runaway from home!

Naturally Miss Anthony was severely censured by such of the clergy as came within the scope of her remarks, but she was almost universally sustained by the secular press. The pathetic letters of gratitude which she received from heartbroken women in all parts of the country, and even so far away as the provinces of British Columbia, if they could have been made public, would have given a stinging rebuke to those of their own sex who would shut this door of hope against the victims of an unfortunate marriage.

At the close of the Council Miss Anthony visited Miss Shaw and her niece, Miss Lucy E. Anthony, at their home in Mt. Airy for a few days, and then, accompanied by the latter, went to New York, where she joined her nephew, D. R. Anthony and his wife at the Hotel Empire. After a pleasant four days receiving and visiting friends, she went with her nephew to Albany and thence to Greenwich and to Battenville, the old Anthony home sixty years before. The object of their visit was to attend to the placing of a monument over the graves of the maternal grandparents in accordance with the will of D. R. Anthony, Sr., who had left a bequest for the purpose.

Miss Anthony finally arrived at her own beloved home April 23, after an absence of nearly two months. It was just at this time that ex-President Grover Cleveland, through the appropriate medium of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, of Philadelphia, made a ponderous attack on Women's Clubs, such as would have been made in the medieval ages had these institutions existed at that time. He gave a vicious side-cut at woman suffrage but the clubs were the especial victims of his heavy and involved rhetoric. Reporters from all parts of the country made a bee-line for Miss Anthony and to the one who was first to reach her she said, 'O, yes, she had seen the article, it had been sent to her from every point of the compass. What did she think of it? Ridiculous! Pure fol-de-rol!' She refused to consider it seriously but finally observed that she thought "Grover Cleveland was about the last person to talk of the sanctity of the home and woman's sphere;"



that "he dropped into poetry twice to inform us that 'the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world,' but as boys had a way of climbing out of the cradle in a little while mothers were pretty apt to want to go after them and see what kind of a world they were getting into." She had no time to waste, she said, on anything as antediluvian as this diatribe; she answered everything in it when she first began her public work nearly sixty years ago.

The newspapers made the most of this and there was scarcely one in the country that sustained Mr. Cleveland in his position. Women by the hundreds attacked him in the press and the clubs, and the *Cleveland Leader* had a caricature of him enveloped in a swarm of bees into whose hive he had just poked with a pen. The ex-President was unquestionably stung, for he came back at the women with another article in the same magazine, which he began by saying that he had been greatly misrepresented and devoted wholly to an attack on woman suffrage. The Associated Press was the first to reach Miss Anthony when this came out and it soon had on the wires an interview which began: "He isn't worth bothering about. I have been telegraphed to by several newspapers to answer that article but what is there to answer? If he had said one new thing, given one new idea, there might have been a chance for argument, but no,—just hash, hash, hash of the same old kind!"

This was enough for the newspapers and the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* started the fun by saying: "The mild language employed by Miss Anthony in dealing with Mr. Cleveland's article on the suffrage question shows the great reserve power for which the Anthony family is noted." Among the scores of cartoons was one of Miss Anthony seated at a table and Mr. Cleveland, in the garb of a waiter, fairly staggering under a great dish of hash that he was about to serve her. Another one, atrociously funny, was called, What Shall We do with Our Ex-Presidents? Mr. Cleveland was running at the top of his speed with a book under his arm entitled, What I Know about Woman's Clubs; close on his track was Miss Anthony with an up-lifted umbrella labeled Woman Suffrage which she was about to bring down on his bald head, while near by stood Uncle Sam

holding his sides with laughter. A jingle went the rounds beginning,

“Susan B.

Anthony, she

Took quite a fall out of Grover C.”

For weeks the newspapers kept up a fusillade of humorous and caustic paragraphs at Mr. Cleveland's expense; the one terse comment of Miss Anthony's was worth columns of arguments, and never again was the public afflicted with that gentleman's views on any phase of the woman question.

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

TRIP TO THE FAR WEST—CALL ON PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

1905.



MISS ANTHONY could not understand why her friends should be surprised that she was going to the National Suffrage Convention at Portland, Oregon. "I always attend these annual meetings and why not this one?" she asked. In a letter to a friend near her own age, living on the Pacific Coast, she wrote: "I am sorry you think you cannot go to Portland but each one knows her own limitations. I suppose if I paid much attention to mine I should stay at home altogether, but I feel that it would be just as well if I reached the end on the cars or anywhere else as at home. It would make a little more trouble for others but I cannot give up going about my work through constant fear of that." And after this sensible decision she began having some very nice dresses made for the prospective visit.

Absence from home had made it impossible for Miss Anthony to attend the banquet of the college women early in April, and so before they separated for the summer about forty of them came to spend an evening with her. One day a note from Henry C. Maine, a Rochester friend, notified her that the Society of Artists would call to pay their respects, "armed and equipped with pencils, crayons and sketching pads," and she submitted laughingly. It had long been the custom for conventions and societies of every description meeting in that city to make a call on her a part of their program.

Miss Anthony herself was the instigator of a little surprise party on June 14, when a number of old and intimate friends called on Mrs. Lewia C. Smith in remembrance of her ninety-

fourth birthday, which found her in possession of all her faculties, able to go about as she liked and full of interest in affairs of the day. It had been the intention to make her a gift of a dollar for every year but it passed the limit, and Miss Anthony was chosen to present the twenty gold pieces, which she did, saying in part: "I don't know exactly how to make this presentation as I am not a speech-maker, and furthermore I have some hesitation because you are my senior! Your friends wish to express to you in some way their appreciation of your forty years' work for woman suffrage. I will say that you have been the champion beggar of this city. Whenever a special fund was needed you have systematically made out your lists and levied on your friends. I myself have benefited more than once by your efforts. We intended to give you a dollar for each of your years but your friends are so many that here are a hundred and you must live six more to earn it all. Be sure that you spend it on yourself." "Yes, don't give it to the suffrage cause, as Susan does all her presents," called out Miss Mary, amid much laughter.

Many pleasant letters were received by Miss Anthony strengthening her resolution to go to the far Northwest, among them this one from Mrs. Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers' League: "I trust that I may have the privilege of meeting you in Portland. I cannot remember a time when my father did not respect and admire you more than any other woman and tell me to follow your example and fill my life with political activity. His example, however, proved stronger and economic questions got the upper hand first. It becomes more obvious, however, every year that political work and economic work are identical despite all efforts to keep them separate. During the next five years you will see some good strokes of mine for the suffrage, if my life be spared. Inside the organizations in which I work I am getting together my own cohort to march under your flag. Your lifelong admirer."

Miss Anthony accompanied by Miss Mary, to whom a national suffrage convention was meat and drink for a whole year, left home for Portland June 20. The officers of the National Association joined them at Chicago and the Woman's Club gave a

large reception in their honor. Miss Anthony begged that instead of making an address, as had been planned, she might be allowed to meet every one personally. A long interview with her in the *Examiner* of that city began: "Personified optimism—that is Susan B. Anthony—who sees nothing but hopeful signs wherever she looks, not only for women but for the nation."

Nearly a hundred delegates from various States assembled in Chicago and all started in special cars attached to the train which left the evening of June 23rd, a congenial and lively crowd. The papers had given them a wide advertising and their progress across the country was duly chronicled. At Boone, Iowa, a delegation from the Political Equality Club met them with bouquets and other remembrances and Miss Shaw spoke briefly; another was waiting at Council Bluffs, and at Omaha more than a hundred members of the Woman's Club and the W. C. T. U. were at the station with floral offerings, including American Beauties for Miss Anthony. They were greeted by Miss Mary Andrews, president of the club, and from an improvised platform Miss Anthony, Mrs. Catt, Miss Shaw, Mr. and Miss Blackwell and Miss Clay made short responses. Badges were sent them by the Commercial Club and the reporters here, as all along the line, were out in force. The *World-Herald* said: "They were a gentle, sweet and refined body of women, fit representatives of the women of this great republic." At Cheyenne they were met by U. S. Senator and Mrs. Joseph M. Carey and other eminent citizens, and taken to the Capitol and for a drive about the city. The entire trip was a series of delightful experiences. The porter who accompanied the train said, "I ain't never travelled with such a bunch of women before—they don't fuss with me and they don't scrap with each other."

The beautiful journey along the winding Columbia River, in view of the many snow-capped mountains, was made on June 27; a party of ladies and several reporters went to The Dalles to meet the travellers, and by noon they were comfortably settled in the Portland Hotel, the convention headquarters. None who were there will ever forget Miss Anthony's deep admiration for the snow-crowned mountain peaks. Her room commanded a full

view of Mt. Hood and she never tired of gazing at that shining summit, emblem of purity, stability, eternity. Her mind seemed constantly to follow its grand upward reach into the glory of the infinite.

Notwithstanding the Exposition was in progress and conventions were a matter of daily occurrence, none of the National Suffrage Conventions ever had fuller or fairer reports in the papers. *Journal* and *Oregonian* vied with each other in quantity and quality, being stimulated perhaps by the fact that woman suffrage was to be a political issue the following year. The managers of the Lewis and Clarke Exposition had sent one of their number, the Hon. Jefferson Myers, to the last convention, in Washington, D. C., to invite the association to bring its next annual meeting to Oregon with a view to opening a campaign in the State and had promised this a cordial support. Gov. George E. Chamberlain and Mayor Harry Lane, of Portland, welcomed the convention with an unequivocal endorsement of woman suffrage; and during its sessions Judges, members of the school board, prominent politicians of all parties and leading clergymen of nearly all denominations give unqualified approval and pledges of assistance. All declared that the State was ready for it and there was no doubt that it would receive a majority vote.

The *Oregonian* thus began its first report:

A band of notable women grown in less than forty years from a score to many thousands—the National Woman Suffrage Association—met in its Thirty-seventh Annual Convention yesterday in the First Congregational Church. One of the trio who took up the fight for woman's equality a half-century ago, Susan B. Anthony, was present and her appearance on the platform was the signal for a wild ovation. The large audience rose to its feet and cheered the pioneer who had done so much for the cause of equal suffrage and who is still the life of the great work. At the close of the session men and women rushed forward, eager to clasp her honored hand and pay her homage. There are many famous delegates present, women whose names are known in every civilized nation on the globe, but none shines with the lustre which surrounds that of Susan B. Anthony. . . .

The response of Miss Anthony to the addresses of greeting, the event on the program which the big church full of people waited for, was a pleasant surprise. Reports have circulated around the country that she was feeble and no longer able to take an active part in suffrage affairs, but when she spoke her first words an astonished silence fell upon the house. Her voice is more

vigorous than that of many women half her age and she speaks with fluency and ease.

Miss Anthony was quoted as beginning her address: "I am delighted to see and hear in this church today the women representatives of the many organizations, and it is in a measure compensation for the half-century of toil which it has been my duty and privilege to give to this our common cause. The sessions of this convention will be treated by the press of America exactly as it would treat any national gathering that was representative in character and had an object worthy of serious attention. The time of universal scorn for equal suffrage has passed, and today we have strong and courageous champions among that sex, the members of which fifty years ago regarded our proposals as part of an iconoclasm which threatened the very foundation of the social fabric. . . . Elizabeth Cady Stanton and I made our first fight for recognition of the right of women to speak in public and maintain organizations among themselves. You who are younger cannot realize the intensity of the opposition we encountered. To maintain our position, we were compelled to attack and defy the deep-seated and ingrained prejudices bred into the very natures of men, and to some of them we were actually committing a sin against God and violating His laws. Gradually, however, the opposition has weakened until today we meet far less hostility to equal suffrage than then was manifested toward giving women the right of speaking in public and organizing for mutual advantage."

A reception to enable the people to meet Miss Anthony, the officers and delegates, was given in the handsome Oregon Building on the grounds of the Exposition June 30, which was "Woman's Day." The report said: "It was more largely attended than any event since the opening, and Miss Anthony stood for hours shaking hands with the men and women who crowded around her, receiving such an ovation as was never before accorded to any woman in Oregon." The large Festival Hall was placed at the service of the convention for its afternoon session that day. Another most interesting occasion on the Exposition grounds was the dedication of the beautiful bronze statue of Sacajawea,

the young Indian woman who guided the explorers, Lewis and Clarke, through the wild Northwest. It was the work of a woman sculptor, Miss Alice Cooper, of Denver. Space was reserved for the officers of the National American Suffrage Association on the platform facing the statue, where were seated the president of the Exposition, Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, president of the Sacajawea Association, the mayor, members of the Independent Order of Red Men and many other prominent men and women. The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw pronounced the invocation and the benediction, and Miss Anthony made a brief opening address in which she said: "This is the first statue erected in this country to a woman because of deeds of daring. . . . This recognition of the assistance rendered by a woman in the discovery of this great section of the country is but the beginning of what is due. Next year the men of this proud State, made possible by a woman, will decide whether women shall at last have the rights in it which have been denied them so many years. Let men remember the part that women have played in its settlement and progress and vote to give them these rights which belong to every citizen."

The most noted of the speakers at the convention were invited to fill the pulpits of the churches on Sunday and Miss Anthony spoke in the White Temple, the large Baptist church, whose pastor, the Rev. J. Whitcomb Brougher, so warmly supported the suffrage movement. When she appeared on the rostrum, Sunday though it was, the congregation broke into hearty applause, and inspired by their enthusiasm she made one of her fine old-time addresses. She presided at the first evening session, Miss Shaw insisting upon it, and the *Oregonian* said:

A rare picture Miss Anthony made in the high-backed oaken chair, her snowy hair puffed over her ears in the olden fashion, and the collar of rose point lace, which seems to belong to dignified age, forming a lovely frame for her gentle but determined face. When she rose to call the meeting to order she was literally deluged with floral tributes, and drolly peering over the heaped-up flowers she said: "This is rather different from the receptions I used to get fifty years ago. They threw things at me then—but they were not roses. There were not epithets enough in Webster's Unabridged to express their feelings. Things are changed now and I get flowers instead of



eggs, compliments instead of epithets. I am thankful for this change which has come over the spirit of the American people.

Through Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe, president of the Oregon Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Sarah Evans, chairman of the Press Committee, many enjoyable social functions were arranged; the guests had drives about the City of Roses in carriages, automobiles and tallyhos, and trips all too few to the Exposition, which sparkled like a great, beautiful gem in the most exquisite of settings. A reception was given by the Woman's Club in the Chamber of Commerce. The New York delegation gave a dinner in compliment to Miss Anthony; Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton, of Idaho, gave one of thirty covers for Miss Anthony and Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway. Under the able direction of Dr. Annice Jeffrey Myers, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, the convention was a signal success and she was made auditor of the National Association. Miss Shaw, who was receiving a large share of the love and loyalty which had so long been accorded to Miss Anthony, was re-elected president. Mrs. Chapman Catt, feeling unable to continue as vice-president-at-large, Mrs. Florence Kelley was chosen for this office.

From the time it became known that Miss Anthony would go to Oregon her many friends in California began to petition for a visit from her, which they had never dared hope to have again. She loved the State and its people and joyfully agreed to extend her journey southward, especially pleased to do so because it would enable her to accept another invitation which came from Mrs. Annie K. Bidwell, of Chico, Cal. After the close of the convention and a few more pleasant days in Portland, Miss Anthony, Miss Mary and Mrs. Emily Gross took the train July 11. They broke the journey by staying over the first night at Glendale; the second at Shasta Springs, part way up the mountain side, and the third at Red Bluffs. Here they boarded an early train, arrived at Chico at half-past six, were met by Mrs. Bidwell with her carriage and soon were at breakfast in her elegant home, the Mansion. The Chico Ranch of Gen. John Bidwell, originally comprising 25,000 acres, became known throughout the country

at the time he was the Prohibition candidate for President, and the house and grounds are among the most noted in a State famed for beautiful homes. Mrs. Bidwell retained and managed much of the ranch after his death and was now about to present to the town for a park nearly 2,000 acres, comprising some of its most picturesque scenery. She had long known and loved Miss Anthony and had arranged to make the presentation when she could be assisted by her at the ceremonies. These took place on a lovely summer evening, with all the villagers gathered under the stately elms and pines on the lawn in front of the wide veranda where sat the minister, the official representatives of the town, Mrs. Bidwell and her Eastern visitors. The *Chico Record* thus reported:

After the invocation Miss Susan B. Anthony was called to the front, and, in magnificent voice for one bearing the burden of eighty-five years of strenuous life, made a short speech which held her audience captive. She mentioned the fact that in 1848, six years after General Bidwell had come to California and acquired this beautiful grant, the first convention was held which was the initiative of the movement for the rights of women that has continued with increasing magnitude up to the present time; one of the results of this had been to make it possible for Mrs. Bidwell to become possessor of the immense estate which had been dedicated to public good, as before that time property rights rested only in the masculine sex. Miss Anthony urged all within sound of her voice to give assistance to the movement as offering a means for the betterment of society and the nation, and cited the domestic and public life of General and Mrs. Bidwell as an instance of the value to the community and the world of the just recognition of mutual rights. Her closing was marked by enthusiastic applause.

An eloquent oration was pronounced by Mrs. Bidwell's attorney, J. D. Sproul, and then she herself in touching language conveyed this splendid gift to the people among whom she had lived for almost forty years. In charging them to be faithful to the trust and careful in choosing the officials who would administer it, she said:

I hope the day is near when women will have a legal right through suffrage to co-operate in its management, as also in the management of all which concerns our race. There are gifts greater than parks, gifts such as our Lord gave—the gift of one's life, amidst scorn and persecution, for the betterment of humanity. We have the great privilege and honor of having with

us this evening one who has broken the alabaster box of her life and poured out its rich treasure for us—men, women and children—for all rise or fall with woman. She has opened the door of education to woman; has broken bonds which have cruelly bound her, and now from being the crucified, she has risen to the crown with which the good of all nations have crowned her, Kings and Queens also delighting to honor her, our beloved Susan B. Anthony. "Give her of the fruit of her hands and let her own works praise her in the gates."

Could General Bidwell have been here tonight, he would have rejoiced to honor her, and to tell you how he admired and revered her from his earliest knowledge of her work.

The ladies lingered for almost a week, walking among the groves and hedges of magnolias, oleanders and rhododendrons, driving over the five miles of roads in the grounds around the house and once the whole length of the ranch, eighteen miles, through the orchards of fruits, olives and almonds. Miss Anthony was invited to speak in several of the influential churches of Chico, but declined and went to the church and Sunday-school of a hundred Indians which Mrs. Bidwell maintained, spoke to them and took each by the hand. The reporter from the Sacramento *Bee* came over and got an interview which filled a page, and the Chico papers had columns. At last a reluctant good-by was said and the travellers continued their journey.

While in San Francisco, Miss Anthony was a guest in the home of Mrs. Ellen Clark Sargent on Van Ness Avenue. Mrs. Mary S. Sperry was there awaiting them with eighty-five big pink carnations from the Susan B. Anthony Club. Miss Shaw who had stopped on the way for several lectures, soon joined them, and on July 21, a large reception was given at the Hotel Sequoia by the various suffrage societies, attended by 1,600 representative people. Among other floral offerings eighty-five La France roses were presented to Miss Anthony. The next evening a meeting was held in the Unitarian Church at Oakland and hundreds were turned away for lack of room. Here for two days they were the guests of Mrs. Emma Shafter Howard and had some interesting drives about that city and its beautiful environs, and through the lovely college town of Berkeley, where a luncheon and reception were given for them at Cloyne Court. About seventy callers were received in one day while in Oakland.

They returned to San Francisco for a large dinner party given for them by Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, president of the National Council of Women, in her handsome home filled with rare objects from all parts of the world. Mrs. Sperry, president of the State Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Isabel A. Baldwin, president of the Susan B. Anthony Club, were among the luncheon hostesses.

Miss Anthony and Miss Mary visited the home of their niece, Mrs. Maude Anthony Koehler, at the Presidio, and enjoyed the noted drive through Golden Gate Park, past the Cliff House and over the heights looking out upon one of the fairest views in the world. Miss Anthony managed to find time to give a few sittings for the large portrait afterwards made by the well-known artist, Wm. A. Keith. On the 24th, under the auspices of the Equal Suffrage League, a mass meeting was held in the Alhambra Theatre, where, in an exquisite stage setting of palms, ferns and flowers, a San Francisco audience looked for the last time into the face of Miss Anthony and listened for the last time to that voice which, the *Call* said, "was clear and resonant, as she marshalled the battles of the past before her in review."

After nine days filled to overflowing with every phase of hospitality, the journey was resumed. At San Jose about forty women, representing all the towns in Santa Clara Valley, were at the station with a large basket of peaches, plums and nectarines and great bouquets of roses and carnations. The train was held while Miss Anthony went to the station platform and made a tender and loving acknowledgment. After resting for a day and night at the Hotel Potter in Santa Barbara they reached Los Angeles July 27. They were the guests of Mrs. Charlotte Wills, except Miss Mary who stayed with Mrs. Caroline M. Severance in her lovely cottage embowered in vines and flowers. The next day a reception long-to-be-remembered was held in the large, attractive house of the Woman's Club. The *Times* thus began its inscription:

It was a great array of clubwomen that gathered yesterday afternoon to bid welcome to the distinguished visitors, Miss Susan B. Anthony and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. The clubhouse bloomed with fair women and flowers. Over the platform where sat the guests of honor and the reception

committee was a bower of blossoms. Yucca bells tinkled lightly overhead and among nests of greenery white lilies grew. Through all the rooms was wafted the fragrance of many flowers. There must have been nearly a thousand present during the afternoon, and when they had greeted their hostesses and met the guests of honor and everybody was comfortably settled Miss Anthony was eagerly pressed to speak to them. "Really," she said, "I hadn't expected to say a word but I suppose you will all be disappointed if I don't say something about suffrage, always the subject nearest my heart." . . . After her little talk there were calls for Miss Shaw, who gracefully responded.

They had reached Los Angeles just at the time when the woman librarian, who had given entirely satisfactory service, was about to be replaced by a man for purely political reasons, and they had been earnestly urged to attend a public indignation meeting held the evening of their arrival. This they had done to the great annoyance of the politicians. The hearing was such a farce and travesty on justice that their addresses before the club were largely devoted to this subject which they used to show the helplessness of women without political power, and those present could not have had a more potent object lesson.

On Sunday all went to Venice, the famous seaside resort, where, in the big auditorium built on piles out in the ocean, Miss Shaw gave a most eloquent sermon before a large audience on the Influence on Woman of the Religions of the Past. Tuesday they returned to Venice, which was of the nature of Chautauqua, and the day was given to the County Equal Suffrage League. The Los Angeles *Herald* commenced its long report as follows:

Equal Suffrage Day attracted 3,500 people to Venice. The Rev. B. Fay Mills, president of the Assembly, made a brief address of welcome and then Mrs. Bertha Hirsch Baruch introduced Miss Anthony. When the famous suffrage leader stepped forward, she was received with applause so long and enthusiastic that she was forced to wait several minutes before she could be heard. In tones strong and clear as of old, Miss Anthony began to speak of the first convention in which woman raised her voice for equal rights, and in short, crisp sentences told of the progress that has been made since then. A suffrage symposium followed during which Mrs. Severance and Mrs. Rebecca H. Spring made brief addresses. The latter showed a remarkable memory for one of her age and recited several stirring poems.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Miss

<sup>1</sup> While in Los Angeles Miss Anthony, aged eighty-five; Mrs. Severance, eighty-five, and Mrs. Spring, ninety-five, had a group photograph taken. Mrs. Severance and Mrs. Spring were pioneer suffrage workers in the East contemporary with Miss Anthony.

Shaw opened the "question box" and answered all sorts of pertinent and impertinent questions sent to her on slips of paper, and with caustic wit and brilliant repartee vanquished all the "unconvinced." In the evening she gave her incomparable lecture on *The New Man*. . . .

Before the meeting a luncheon was given for Miss Anthony and the other guests by Mrs. Charles F. Joy, wife of the member of Congress from Missouri. Between the afternoon and evening meetings the Southern California Women's Press Club gave a "high tea" on board the *Cabrillo*, a reproduction of a Spanish vessel used as a restaurant. The president of the club said in her opening remarks that this was an English "tea," served on a Spanish ship by Italian waiters to American women. The one male speaker, after a few desultory remarks, launched forth into a eulogy of the "beautiful faces" before him. When Miss Anthony arose she began by saying that "sensible women would be better pleased if men would praise their intellect instead of their physical charms, would try to find beauty in their minds instead of their faces!"

While in Los Angeles Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw were visited by the secretary of the Laundry Workers' Association, Miss Celia Coyle, who wished to consult them in regard to the movement for a nine-hour day. Both women thought even that was too long; they gave her much sympathy and encouragement and many helpful suggestions; and, as she left, Miss Anthony put an arm around her, patted her on the shoulder and urged her to continue the fight till the point was won. "We are heartily in favor of women's trades unions," were Miss Anthony's last words to her, "but you'll never get full justice till you have the ballot."

Their hostess, Mrs. Wills, gave a large farewell reception at her handsomely-appointed home on one of the highest elevations of this city of hills. An approach by inclined railway is called "the angels' flight," and the winding drives command a glorious view of sea and mountains.

The long journey eastward via the *Santa Fé* commenced the morning of August 2, and for those who have travelled through Arizona and New Mexico in midsummer no description is neces-

sary. The snow caps of the mountains were seen in the far distance and Miss Anthony exclaimed longingly, "Oh, for a drink of the delicious, cold water that is flowing down Mt. Shasta!" The dirty, degraded Indians swarmed about the stations and she said, "Treat them well; the Government has made them our superiors." Finally they entered Kansas and she ejaculated, "Well, even a good growth of weeds is refreshing!" and all day the two sisters feasted their eyes on the broad fields of corn, wheat and alfalfa. They reached Leavenworth Saturday evening and were warmly welcomed into the home now visited for the first time since the death of the much loved brother. It was a hard experience for them and Miss Mary wrote to one who was very near to her: "The house seems so quiet and lonely; no brother with cordial greetings, always willing and glad to do everything possible for us when here for nearly fifty years. His hat hangs on the rack in the front hall and it seems every moment as if he would come in. We visited the cemetery today where he rests beneath the vines and flowers which Sister Annie constantly supplies, but it seems so strange that the strong, energetic, fearless man lies there so helpless and still." And Miss Anthony said in her diary Sunday evening: "We have just come from Mt. Muncie; half of our family sleep there now and half in Mt. Hope, where Sister Mary and I must soon be laid."

The air was cool and pleasant, the house very comfortable, the long drives stimulating, and after a few days, rested and refreshed, they continued on their way. The little record which Miss Mary kept of this summer closed thus: "Arrived home the morning of August 10, and, although we have spent the seven weeks and two days as pleasantly and profitably as on any trip we have ever taken, we rejoiced to be once more in our own home, which our good housekeeper, Carrie Bahl, had put in such fine order that we appreciated it even more than ever before."

Miss Anthony was at home just five days and then went for her annual visit of a week at Lily Dale. Miss Shaw joined her there and lectured nearly every day. As usual nowadays Miss Anthony made only brief remarks, but the audiences were satisfied if she would sit on the platform and let them look into her

face and afterwards take her by the hand. When a crowd was around her women often were seen timidly pressing close enough just to touch her dress. On the way to Lily Dale she left a handsome wrap in the railway car and all efforts failed to find it. An entry in the diary said: "Mrs. Gross gave it to me ten years ago, but I'd just had a new lining put in and it was good as new. I carried that cape twice all over Europe and this summer across the continent and back, and never left it anywhere before, but now it is gone, hook and line." Mrs. Pettengill, president of the Assembly, replaced it with one equally handsome.

A number of Miss Anthony's relatives visited her during the early autumn, as they were passing from East to West or back again, and this was, as always, a pleasure to her. She gave them the old-fashioned "chicken dinners," and drove with them out the Chili Road to the old home farm, and to Mt. Hope cemetery, which was to her just the same as one of the homes where the family had at some time lived. She was terribly shocked and grieved to receive a message on October 8 announcing the death of Mr. George W. Catt, only forty-five years of age and a few days before in perfect health. In addition to her high regard for him as a personal friend, she mourned him as an earnest supporter of the cause of woman suffrage and as an ideal husband who had loyally sustained his wife, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in her years of service as an officer of the National Association. In every possible way she expressed her sympathy for the one so sadly bereaved.

The New York Suffrage Association this year held its convention in Rochester, October 24-26, and as all the members were desirous of visiting the home city of Miss Anthony there was a large attendance, and, in the words of the *Union and Advertiser*, "the enthusiasm was unprecedented in the history of State gatherings." That paper said of the opening session: "The official badge of the convention is in the form of a souvenir, the ribbon of yellow—the suffrage color—having on it a picture of Miss Anthony and her favorite motto, 'Perfect Equality of Rights for Women.' Miss Anthony was distinctly the honored guest and when she rose to speak the applause was hearty and prolonged."



Mr. James G. Cutler, mayor of the city, presented Miss Anthony with a large cluster of American Beauty roses, and in the course of his address of welcome said: "It will not, I am sure, be considered as invidious if I refer to that distinguished woman who is deservedly regarded as one of the first citizens of Rochester, and whose personal influence in stimulating and encouraging the useful activities of her sex in matters of public interest has made her name known wherever there are civilization and culture over all the face of the earth. I esteem it a privilege, in this presence and at this time, to pay my personal tribute of profound respect and admiration to Miss Susan B. Anthony."

Throughout the meetings Miss Anthony took the liveliest interest in all the proceedings. She singled out from the audience five women, including her sister, called them to the platform and exclaimed, "Just think they were at that first Woman's Rights Convention in this very city fifty-seven years ago!" Several persons said they would take a life membership if she would put her name on the certificate. "Yes, I'll write my name on a thousand if that will have any effect," she answered. A large number of women took annual memberships for the little ones of their family and she drily remarked, "The suffragists seem to have a great many children and grandchildren." One little Jewish news-boy came up with a radiant face to bring her a bunch of "pinks" and tell her he thought women had a right to vote. Arrangements for the business and pleasure of the meetings were under the able direction of Mrs. Emma B. Sweet, chairman of the committee. A large reception was given at Powers Hotel, and one of the most enjoyable social features was the afternoon spent at the Anthony home.<sup>1</sup>

The day following the convention Miss Anthony, Miss Shaw and Miss Lucy went to the summer home of Mrs. Lydia Coonley Ward at Wyoming, N. Y., to help celebrate the eighty-seventh

<sup>1</sup> In preparing for this gathering Miss Anthony said to her niece Lucy: "Now those women may not have time to get their supper before the evening meeting and I want substantial refreshments for them. We will have hot rolls, chicken salad, coffee and ice cream." "O," said Lucy, "we can never manage all that for so many." "There won't be many, not more than forty or fifty," answered Miss Anthony. She was finally persuaded to compromise and it proved necessary to make ten gallons of tea to serve the guests.

birthday of her mother, Mrs. Susan Look Avery, one of Miss Anthony's old and cherished friends and a staunch advocate of woman suffrage. On November 1, Miss Anthony and Miss Mary went for two days with Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller and her daughter Anne, in Geneva, N. Y., to have a visit with their guest, Captain John Robinson, of the Atlantic Transport Line, with whom all had crossed the ocean at various times.

Miss Anthony had notified President Roosevelt that after he was re-elected she should call upon him, as has been described, but, although that event had taken place a year ago, she had thus far been too much occupied. At the Portland convention it had been decided that he should be interviewed regarding his present attitude toward woman suffrage and an effort made to ascertain whether there could be hope of a favorable expression or any assistance from him. The fall elections took place November 7, and, feeling that his mind should now be at rest concerning political issues, Miss Anthony took the train for Washington, November 11. Through Private Secretary William Loeb, Jr., an interview was arranged for the morning of the 15th, and at eleven o'clock Miss Anthony, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton and the present writer went to the White House. They were not required to sit in the general waiting room but were invited into the large office of the secretary and after some delay were ushered into the Cabinet room. President Roosevelt was most cordial, expressed pleasure at meeting Miss Anthony, drew the chairs into a group and conversed for half-an-hour while eminent and impatient men waited on the outside. Miss Anthony acted as spokesman, the others saying only a few words when necessary. A memorandum of the following points had been made which she held in her hand: 1. Ask him to mention woman suffrage in his speeches when practicable. To this the President said he almost always mentioned women in his speeches. "Yes," he was answered, "as wives, as mothers, as wage-earners, but never with any reference to their political rights." 2. Put experienced women on boards and commissions relating to such matters as they would be competent to pass upon. He seemed favorable to this idea. 3. Recommend to Congress a special commission to

investigate the practical working of woman suffrage where it exists. This request he asked to have more specifically stated in writing. 4. Call the President's attention to the action of Congress in forbidding the Legislature of Hawaii to extend the suffrage to women, a right which every other Territory possesses. Ask him to see that this outrage is not repeated in the Philippines. At this point he exclaimed with scorn, "What! Give the franchise to those Oriental women!" He was reminded of the declaration of Governor Taft and Archbishop Nozaleda, of the Philippines, before the Senate Committee, that "if the suffrage were given to any of the Filipinos it should be to the women, as they were better fitted for it in every way." He seemed amazed and gave permission that this testimony might be sent him, promising to examine it.

To the fifth point, that he would say a word that would help the approaching campaign for woman suffrage in Oregon, the President said he never interfered in State issues. To the sixth, that he would speak at the suffrage convention in Baltimore, as he did at the recent Mothers' Congress, or would at least write a letter, he answered that any more speaking engagements were impossible, and as regarded the letter his attention should be called to it later. Then, with intense feeling, Miss Anthony said: "Mr. Roosevelt, this is my principal request—it is almost the last request I shall ever make of anybody. Before you leave the presidential chair, recommend Congress to submit to the Legislatures a Constitutional Amendment which will enfranchise women, and thus take your place in history with Lincoln, the great emancipator. I beg of you not to close your term of office without doing this." Then struck by a sudden impulse she laid her hand on his arm and exclaimed earnestly, "And I hope you will not be a candidate for the office again!" Her two companions were aghast, but the President answered with all seriousness, "Miss Anthony, I have not the slightest intention of doing so." He did not, however, commit himself in the smallest degree on her request. As they rose, the writer, determined to get some expression from him, said: "Mr. President, your influence is so great that just one word from you in favor of woman suffrage



ELIZABETH SMITH MILLER, 83.

MARY S. ANTHONY, 78.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 85.

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would give our cause a tremendous impetus." "The public knows my attitude," he replied. "I recommended it when Governor of New York." "True," she persisted, "but that was a long time ago. Our enemies say that was the opinion of your younger years and that since you have been President you never have uttered one word that could be construed as an endorsement." "They have no cause to think I have changed my mind," was his final sentence, as he shook hands again and said a pleasant good-by to Miss Anthony.

The ladies knew that a crowd of reporters were waiting on the outside and agreed among themselves to give no intimation of what had been talked about. They gathered about Miss Anthony but she said with great dignity, "We did not call on the President as women but as American citizens, and as such we were graciously received," and not another word could they get. It was the only time in her life that she resisted the temptation of a reporter. The three returned to the Shoreham and prepared the following letter:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: During the interview which you so kindly accorded us this morning, you requested that we put into writing our idea as to the functions of the Special Commission from Congress which we requested you to use your influence in having appointed.

We would have this Commission thoroughly investigate the practical workings of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho and Utah; also, if possible, in New Zealand and Australia. In all of these places women have the complete franchise on exactly the same terms as men. We would like this investigation to consider its effects on political, legal, civil, educational, industrial, social and domestic conditions; its effects on marriage, divorce, so-called "race-suicide," child labor, pauperism, gambling, intemperance and prostitution. In other words, ascertain what effect has the possession of the ballot by women on the State, the Church, the home and the women themselves.

We venture to express the hope, Mr. President, that should this Commission be appointed it will not be composed of members put thereon simply as a compliment to them, and because a place could not be found for them elsewhere; or of those who are known to be unconvertibly opposed to suffrage for women. We ask that it may be composed of those who will carry into this investigation judicial and impartial minds and will make a report which will be absolutely free from partisan bias. We would wish this to be a personal investigation, made by this Commission in the four above named States on unimpeachable evidence. Such evidence could be secured from New Zealand and Australia through their Premiers, their Members of Par-

liament, their Justices of the Supreme Court, the Presidents of their Universities and others whose testimony would have equal weight.

In this letter were inclosed pages 346-348, from Volume IV, History of Woman Suffrage, giving the official record of the testimony of Governor Taft and Archbishop Nozaleda as referred to, and the action of the Congressional Committee in regard to woman suffrage in Hawaii against the protest of President Dole and Supreme Justice Freer. These were sent with a note to Secretary Loeb saying they had been requested, and he answered that they would be placed in the President's hands.

From that time until the present—two years—there has not been a word or an act of President Roosevelt's as a result of this effort, and with a presidential campaign now at hand it is not likely that he will make any appointments of women, recommendations of measures for woman suffrage or declarations in favor of a class who are wholly without a voice in politics. There is scarcely one other great measure of reform, hardly another question of human rights, for which he has not found opportunity to use his dominating influence during the six years of his presidency, and, while it would not be fair to attribute ulterior motives, the fact must be recognized that behind all of them except woman suffrage lies more or less political power.

Miss Anthony went from Washington to Mt. Airy for a visit to Miss Shaw, and while there they accepted an invitation from President M. Carey Thomas to come to Bryn Mawr College and inspect the magnificent new library and dormitory just completed. They had a delightful time with Miss Thomas and Miss Mary E. Garrett, and the entry in the diary that evening spoke of it and said, "The day was not overly hard." The next morning, as Miss Anthony afterwards described it, "I fainted away and was nothing; it seemed as if all the hold-together muscles just let go." For ten days she was entirely prostrated and under the care of Miss Shaw's physician, Dr. Jennie Medley. Her sister Mary came with her skilful ministrations and Miss Anthony slowly recovered, but she was not able to go downstairs for Thanksgiving dinner. There was no prostration of her will-power, however, as a little incident showed. Her sister-in-law wrote from Kansas that she was coming East and would stop

over at Rochester on a certain date. Feeling that it would be impossible for Miss Anthony to go home, Miss Lucy sent her aunt a letter suggesting that she continue her journey on to New York and make her visit in Rochester as she returned. When Miss Anthony learned of this she instantly sent the nurse to the office with a telegram telling her not to change her plans, and, with a good deal of help, she dressed, got to the train and went home. Apparently no ill effects resulted. She always recovered as quickly as she became ill and never yielded to illness a moment longer than she was literally forced to do.

The flood of correspondence never lessened and letters accumulated by the baskets full—from syndicate and lecture bureaus; Judges of the Supreme Court, old soldiers, actors, singers; women getting out “special editions,” clubs for every conceivable purpose, celebrations of all kinds—begging for just a message, a line, a thought; women informing her that their articles had been rejected or their bills turned down by the Legislature; college girls describing their jokes and pranks; colored people telling of their enterprises; trembling lines from her old co-workers and notes from little children;<sup>1</sup> words of appreciation from the nobility and wealth of Europe and from the humblest women in the United States. Every struggling society wrote of its efforts to be a credit to her teaching, while the great organizations declared their existence was due to her early work. People were always trying to claim relationship. “Are you connected in any way with the Brown family?” one woman wrote. “If so, I think we have the same ancestry.” Her Biography or the History were sent almost daily for her to dedicate on the fly-leaf, her photograph to be signed or cards for autographs. Leaders of all reforms expected her assistance and it seemed as if everybody who wanted help of any kind thought first of her.

And oh, the infinite patience and tirelessness with which she responded to all! Until the last year or two she gave hours of

<sup>1</sup> The following illustrates the missives frequently received from children: Dear Miss Anthony: I am only a little school girl, but when I saw your picture in the paper your dear, kind face made me want to send you my best wishes on your birthday, and I hope you will see many more happy birthdays. My papa says you are one of the greatest women in the world and I know it must be so, for all good women and men seem to think so much of you. With best wishes I am your little friend, Olive B. Dorsett.

every day at home to this task, and the wise counsel, the gentle admonition, the tender sympathy never failed, though the demands on them were endless. In a letter of this year the Rev. Marie Jenney Howe thus expressed it: "Dear Miss Anthony, how they all turn to you when they want favors—and perhaps forget you when it is the other way. Well, the Supreme Being is treated in the same fashion. People seldom think of God when they are happy but quickly turn to prayer in their hour of need. It is the way that children treat their mother, too, and you stand as a sort of Divine Mother to the women children of today." This was partly the case, but there were hundreds of women also who hastened to tell Miss Anthony first of all of their happiness and success. A letter illustrating this fact was received in the closing days of 1905 from Miss Margaret A. Haley, a founder of the Chicago Teachers' Federation of thousands of members and editor of its paper:

I have been thinking of you so much lately and wishing I could tell you how important a part in the great civic movement in Chicago is falling unquestioned to women, a part that could not be taken but for you and your co-workers. It would do your heart good to hear the men acknowledge their inability to do what they as positively declare a woman can and does do. We are going to get woman suffrage because men are beginning to realize that the women must have it to do the work that must be done if our democratic institutions are to last. . . . I hope you are well and enjoying all the happiness you deserve so richly and have earned so fully. May the women of this age give to their children the right to bless them in the same measure that we bless you and the co-laborers of your age for your work to emancipate women!

The little journal under date of December 24 had this entry: "Presents have been coming all the day—no very expensive ones, for which I am glad. People who send the most costly are often least able to do so, and I have often felt obliged to return them." It was indeed true that love for their great leader impelled many women to offer the "box of precious ointment," which her sense of justice would not permit her to accept.

In the home of her loved minister and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Gannett, whose warm hospitality she had so many times enjoyed, Miss Anthony spent the last Christmas of her beautiful life.



## CHAPTER LXIX.

TRIBUTES OF COLLEGE WOMEN—GREAT FUND FOR SUFFRAGE.

1906.



THE few scattered entries in the diary for January, 1906, showed many busy hours with the stenographer—twenty letters for one day being sometimes recorded. No copies of these were made, but one was left on the desk—probably the original which never was sent—to a physician who had written Miss Anthony that on a certain day at a certain hour he had heard “spirit voices” and one of them was hers. He asked of it, “Why, when did you pass over?” and the voice answered, “I have not passed out of earth-life but just now my body is in a trance condition,” and it then proceeded to “compliment his writings on reform questions.” He hoped she would pardon him for relating his strange experience and he enclosed a stamp to learn what was her condition at the time specified. She replied: “Certainly, I will excuse you for telling me of your remarkable dream—for I suppose it was simply a dream. Such visions are very common—I have had them—but I place no stress on them because I know I am half-awake and half-asleep. I was not in a trance either before, on, or after the date you mention. I have had a large experience with mediums but I never have heard or seen a thing to convince me that the spirit of any of my departed was at work with the mind of the medium.” Having answered his question Miss Anthony then proceeded to ask if he would not send some money for the Oregon campaign!

An unsent letter in Miss Anthony’s own handwriting, doubtless one of the last she ever wrote, was also found on her desk, ad-

dressed to a newly-formed suffrage club in Seneca Falls, N. Y. In it she said she would send them the History of Woman Suffrage and her Biography and urged them to ask Mrs. Stanton's daughters to present them with a copy of their mother's Reminiscences. She thus concluded: "However small your society may be, do not, I beg of you, get discouraged, but stick to it and by-and-by your numbers will increase and you will grow stronger. Seneca Falls was for many years the home of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the place where the first Woman's Rights Convention was held. Two years from now will be its sixtieth anniversary and I hope then your club will be large enough to invite the State Suffrage Convention to your little city. Tell your members that if I am on earth's surface in 1908 I shall expect to meet them on the very spot where that convention took place."

As Miss Anthony intended to leave home early in February for an extended stay, her friends in Rochester decided to celebrate her birthday before she went away, and February 2 was the date chosen. A morning paper said in its account:

The commodious home of Mr. William and Miss Kate Gleason, was the scene last night of a brilliant reception in honor of Rochester's well-known citizen, Miss Susan B. Anthony, who on the 15th of the month will have completed her eighty-sixth year. Southern smilax and palms lent their beauty in decorating the rooms, which from eight to ten were thronged with representative people of the community. Previous to the reception the members of the Political Equality Club gathered around Miss Anthony, exhibited to her the names of 122 women who had just been added to the roll, and then presented her a purse containing eighty-six dollars in gold. Following this there was introduced to the venerable suffragist a band of thirty High School girls who had formed a Susan B. Anthony League and pledged themselves to work for the movement to which she had devoted her life. Miss Anthony was deeply touched by this encouraging evidence of youthful interest in the cause most dear to her heart and greeted the young girls warmly. . . .

Delightful music was furnished by an orchestra of women and refreshments were served throughout the evening. . . . Addresses highly eulogistic of the honored guest were given. The Rev. Dr. C. C. Albertson, of the Central Presbyterian Church, said in his tribute: "I not only believe in Miss Anthony but I also believe in her cause." A letter from Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf said: "What an inspiration in the lives of these two sisters—simple, steadfast and true; fearing nothing, shrinking from no ostracism, unkindness or ridicule, if, by enduring much, they could gain some advance for humanity. Thank God for such women!"

During all the day and evening of this birthday party a genuine northern New York blizzard raged, with cutting winds and a heavy downfall of snow. Every possible care was taken of Miss Anthony; she went and returned in a closed carriage and was warmly wrapped, but her power of resistance was not strong and the next day she developed a severe cold. She hoped to overcome it and that evening started with her sister for Baltimore.

During the annual meeting of the National Association in Portland, the preceding year, the by-law of the constitution which said that every alternate convention shall be held in Washington was changed to read "may be held." It was most amusing to hear Miss Anthony insisting that this change should be made, when she had always vigorously opposed holding even alternate conventions in any other city; and Henry B. Blackwell strenuously objecting to the change, when for years he had advocated taking each convention to a different place. It was a striking illustration of the softening of one's prejudices by age. This action made it possible to accept the invitation of the Maryland Suffrage Association to come to Baltimore in 1906. The date was fixed for February 7-13 and the Call for the convention said: "At no time in its history has this organization had so much reason to feel confident of the future. . . . Never have we had so much cause to issue a Thanksgiving Proclamation. Never has it been so easy to love our enemies, for they have combined in their courses to fight for us. The inevitable logic of events is with us."

When Miss Anthony had visited President M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr College, and Miss Mary E. Garrett, the last November, she had talked of the approaching convention, expressed some anxiety as to its reception in so conservative a city and urged them to do what they could to make it creditable to the National Association and to Baltimore. They expressed much interest, asked in what way they could be of most assistance and talked over various plans. Both belonged to old and prominent families in that city, Miss Garrett had the prestige of great wealth also, and Miss Thomas of her position as president of one of the most eminent of Women's Colleges. Miss Anthony was desirous

of having the program in some way illustrate distinctively the new type of womanhood—the College Woman—and eventually Miss Thomas took entire charge of one evening devoted to this purpose, which will ever be memorable in the history of these conventions. A day or two after Miss Anthony's visit she received a letter from Miss Garrett saying: "I have decided—really I did so while we were talking about the convention at luncheon yesterday—that I must open my house in Baltimore for that week in order to have the great pleasure of entertaining you and Miss Shaw under my own roof, and to do whatever I can to help you make the meeting a success."

The large family mansion had been closed for the winter and Miss Garrett was staying with Miss Thomas, but she opened it completely; invited as house guests Miss Anthony, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Miss Jane Addams and other distinguished women, and gave a series of entertainments which conferred upon the convention a social éclat possibly more necessary in that city than in some others.

Miss Anthony had looked forward to this visit with the keenest pleasure, but by the time she reached Baltimore neuralgia and other complications resulting from the cold had manifested themselves, and she soon became alarmingly ill. As the convention did not open for several days there was hope that she might recover sufficiently to attend. Dr. Mary Sherwood, a skilled physician and a friend of Miss Garrett's, was at once summoned, and during all of Miss Anthony's stay gave her most devoted attention, declaring it to be an honor and a privilege to render service to one who had done so much for all womankind. Later Dr. Henry M. Thomas, clinical professor of nervous diseases in the Johns Hopkins Medical School, brother of President Thomas, was called in consultation several times. Both Dr. Sherwood and Dr. Thomas refused to render any bill for their medical attendance. The trained nurse from the Johns Hopkins Hospital willingly consented to assume the garb of a maid in order that her patient might not know she was so ill as to need professional attendance.

Miss Anthony grew a little better but could not go to any of the preliminary meetings of the Business Committee, and she was so

restive over this that Miss Shaw, who had felt it advisable to remain at the hotel with the rest of the National Board, had to go to her each day with a full report of all its transactions and every detail of the work. She inquired after all the delegates and their reports and not a point of interest was forgotten or overlooked by her, although she was suffering intense agony every moment with the neuralgic pains in her head. Neither medical skill nor her own heroic efforts could enable her to attend the opening session of the convention, but Miss Shaw found time in the midst of the pressure of duties to send a little note: "Dear Aunt Susan, it is good to know you are growing better. Do not try to do anything that will tire you today. I miss you as a body must miss its soul when it has gone out, and I long every moment to look at you and see if I am doing as you wish me to do. I am putting just as much of your spirit into everything as I am able and I am so glad to tell you that all is going beautifully. My heart goes out to you in tenderest sympathy and I am yours with dearest love."

This Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention was held in the large Lyric Theatre and its general management was in the capable hands of Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, president of the Maryland Association and Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. The attitude of the press was all that could be desired, the *Sun*, *American*, *News*, *Telegram*, etc., welcoming the convention in cordial and dignified editorials which showed a spirit fair and open to conviction, while the reports were full and accurate and well illustrated with portraits of the prominent women. The wide scope of the program was especially noteworthy, as it included a woman speaker from Australia and one from South America; women's trades unions were officially represented and there were addresses by several women office holders; men prominent in public life spoke on municipal questions of great moment; the convention sermon was given by Mrs. Maud Ballington Booth of the American Volunteers; the ministers pronouncing the invocations came from all religious denominations, while at one evening's session Dr. William H. Welch, Professor of Pathology in Johns Hopkins University, presided, and at the College Women's Evening the president of that institution.

The first evening's session was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. John B. Van Meter, dean of the Woman's College, and the welcome of the State was extended by Governor Edwin Warfield, who said in the course of his remarks: "I have faced many audiences since I have been Governor, but never before have I addressed such an assemblage of notable and distinguished women, having for their sole purpose the promotion of the rights and interests of their sex—women who have made their influence felt in the uplifting of humanity, the advancement of morality and civic pride—women whose fame is world-wide, whose adherence to principle is unwavering and whose fidelity to their work for social advancement has won universal admiration and made a notable impress upon the public mind."

The mayor being ill, the welcome of the city was given by the Hon. William F. Stone, Collector of the Port, who warmly endorsed the Governor's sentiments and added his own glowing eulogies. Secretary-of-the-Navy Charles J. Bonaparte had written that the pressure on his time would prevent his speaking but that he expected to be present at the meetings.

The disappointment at Miss Anthony's absence was intense, as she was to have presided and made the response. The president, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, after a graceful acknowledgment, said, "I am not taking Miss Anthony's place, no one ever can do that, for in all the world there is but one Susan B. Anthony, but it is also true that in all the world there is but one Clara Barton, but one Julia Ward Howe, and these grand women we have with us this evening." Miss Barton, who, in her dress of soft, plum-colored satin with fichu of white lace, her dark hair parted smoothly over her forehead, did not seem over sixty, although she was eighty-four, was enthusiastically received. The scene was especially touching when one remembered that it was near this very city, forty-five years before, Miss Barton commenced her grand work for the soldiers of the Civil War. She said in part: "As I stand here tonight my thoughts go back to the time when Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were pioneers struggling for this righteous cause. I think the greatest progress ever made for any reforms in our country has been along the

lines on which they worked. A few days ago some one said to me that every woman should stand with bared head in the presence of Miss Anthony. 'Aye,' I answered, 'and every man, too, for I believe that man has benefitted by her work as much as woman.'” Mrs. Howe, who made a lovely picture in a gown of mauve satin, with a creamy lace scarf draped about her head and shoulders, began by saying: “I have not come to preach but I will give you a text. ‘What came ye into the wilderness to see— a reed shaken by the wind?’ You have not come here to see reeds shaken by the wind, but, as the people went to see John the Baptist, you have come to see the prophets.”

In her President's address Miss Shaw said in part:

In his Message to Congress President Roosevelt recommends the Department of Commerce and Labor to make a thorough investigation of the conditions of women in industry. This recommendation will meet with the hearty approval of suffragists everywhere. Realizing as we do its importance to women and to the nation, our association has been urging it for years, but hitherto our efforts have been futile to direct the attention of the government to it. The variety of claims and counter-claims which have been made by those interested in women's industrial condition and its effect upon the character and life of the nation have so confused the ordinary mind that there is little rational thinking upon the subject.

To draw sweeping conclusions in regard to a matter upon which there is an “almost complete dearth of data” is never wise. While it is true that marriage and the birth rate have decreased within recent years, yet before the results are charged to the participation of women in industry many questions must be answered. It is no new thing for women to be engaged in industrial pursuits. From primitive times they have been great industrial factors, and modern economic conditions, instead of introducing them to industries, have introduced to the world's markets the multiform industries in which women from the earliest times have been engaged, with ever widening circles of activity as inventive genius has developed and civilization progressed.

If conditions surrounding their employment are such as to make it a “social question of the first importance,” it is unfortunate that President Roosevelt had not recommended that women, the most deeply interested factor in the problem, should constitute at least a part of any commission authorized to investigate them. I trust that a resolution will be passed by this convention petitioning the Government of the United States to place women upon every commission that investigates the conditions which so deeply affect their lives and the lives of their children.

But if the required investigations should be made, even with women upon the committee, what power would the 5,000,000 disfranchised workingwomen

possess to secure beneficent laws or enforce needed reforms? One cannot but wish that, with his desire for "fair play" and his policy of a "square deal," the President had recognized the fact that, since 5,000,000 American women are employed in gainful occupation, every principle of justice known to a republic demands that these 5,000,000 toilers be enfranchised in order that they may be able to obtain and enforce legislation for their own protection.

In her delightfully sarcastic manner Miss Shaw then took up the pronunciamento of ex-President Cleveland and the more recent one of Cardinal Gibbons as to the rights and duties of woman, and declared the inability of woman to obey the mandates until the "oracles" agreed among themselves as to her proper place and work. Her scoring of the "oracle of Baltimore" in the Cardinal's own city was received with unmistakable approval.

At the afternoon session the delegates had been welcomed by the State president and by the presidents of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the State W. C. T. U., the Baltimore Twentieth Century Club and the Council of Jewish Women. Later in the week greetings came from the National W. C. T. U., the Ladies of the Maccabees, the American Purity Alliance and other large organizations.

Because of its unique character and the prominence of the speakers the evening devoted to College Women was the leading event of the week. The program, arranged by Miss M. Carey Thomas was as follows:

PROGRAMME OF THE  
COLLEGE EVENING

FEBRUARY 8, 1906.

*Presiding Officer.*

IRA REMSEN, PH.D., LL.D., *President of Johns Hopkins University.*

*Ushers.*

STUDENTS OF THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE IN ACADEMIC DRESS.

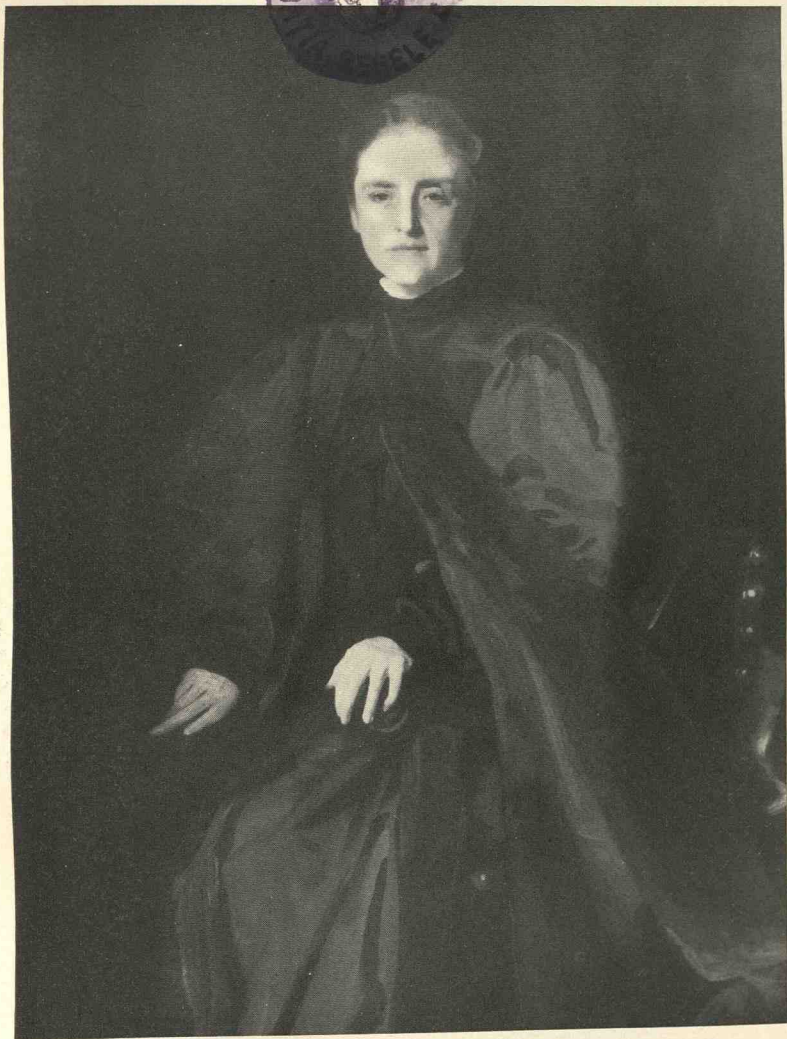
*Addresses.*

MARY E. WOOLLEY, A.M., Litt.D., L.H.D., *President of Mount Holyoke College.*

LUCY M. SALMON, A.M., *Professor of History, Vassar College.*

MARY A. JORDAN, A.M., *Professor of English, Smith College.*





M. CAREY THOMAS, PH. D., LL. D., PRESIDENT OF  
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

FROM A PORTRAIT PAINTED IN 1899 BY JOHN S. SARGENT: GIFT TO THE COLLEGE BY ITS ALUMNAE.

MARY W. CALKINS, A.M., *Professor of Philosophy and Psychology, Wellesley College.*

EVA PERRY MOORE, A.B., *Trustee, Vassar College; President of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (over three thousand college women); First Vice-President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.*

MAUD MAY WOOD PARK, A.B. (*Radcliffe College*), *President of the Boston Branch of the Equal Suffrage League in Woman's Colleges and Founder of the League.*

M. CAREY THOMAS, Ph.D., LL.D., *President of Bryn Mawr College.*

A tribute of gratitude from representatives of Women's Colleges.

What has been accomplished for the higher education of women by Susan B. Anthony and other woman suffragists.

No one ever can know the effort necessary for Miss Anthony to be present on this occasion, but she conquered her pain and weakness by almost superhuman power, and when she appeared on the stage and the great audience realized that she actually was with them their enthusiasm was unbounded. She was so white and frail as to seem almost spiritual but on her sweet face was an expression of ineffable happiness; and it was indeed one of the happiest moments of her life, for it typified the intellectual triumph of her cause.

The theatre was crowded and a large section was filled with college girls in cap and gown, while others acted as ushers. The *American* thus began its account:

With the great pioneer suffrage worker, Susan B. Anthony, on the platform, surrounded by women noted in the college world for their brilliant attainments, as well as those famed for social work and in other professions, and with a large audience, the session of the Woman Suffrage Convention opened last evening. If the veteran suffragist thought of more than the pleasure of the event, it must have been the contrast of this occasion with the times past, when, unhonored and unsung, she fought what must have often seemed a losing fight for principles for which the presence of these women proclaimed victory. . . . It had been announced as "college evening" but it might just as well have been called "Susan B. Anthony evening," for, while the addresses dealt with various phases of the woman question, all evolved into one strong tribute to Miss Anthony.

This was indeed true, but, what was much more to Miss Anthony's taste, all but that of Miss Jordan declared unequivocally for woman suffrage. It is a matter of regret that space will not

permit on these pages a reproduction in full of those notable addresses, which reviewed Miss Anthony's long years of work whose direct result was the wide opportunity and achievement of women today.

In the course of her scholarly address Miss Woolley said:

Deeds which speak for themselves need no elaboration and there could be no better tribute to Miss Anthony than a simple recital of what she has done and been. If there were an opportunity for each one here this evening to add what she knows of the lines of usefulness in which this life has been lived, this would be the most protracted session ever known in the history of this organization. It will not be possible in the limited time given to the representatives of colleges for women to do more than suggest what has been accomplished for the higher education of women by Miss Anthony and other woman suffragists, but it is a pleasure to have this opportunity to add our tribute of appreciation. . . . Simply to enumerate her direct efforts to promote higher education for women would take all the time which is ours. Higher education has been aided also by the establishment of great principles in other movements for the uplifting of humanity. . . .

Miss Anthony has lived to see the work of her hands established in the gaining of educational and social rights for women which might well be called revolutionary, so momentous have been the changes. In temperance work, on school and health boards, in prison reform, in peace conferences, in factory and shop inspection, in civil service reform, in attempts to solve social and industrial problems, women are not only a factor but in many cases the chief workers. It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving to women the opportunity to vote, should be accepted today as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. . . .

Some movements in history have been brought about by a stroke of the pen or a sudden uprising of the people, like a great tidal wave sweeping everything before it; others have come slowly as the result of the cumulative force of years of effort and represent the gradual growth of conviction. The time will come when some of us will look back upon the arguments against the granting of the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as that with which we now read those against their education. Then shall it be said of the woman who, with gentleness and strength, courage and patience, has been unswerving in her allegiance to the aim she had set before her: "Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her own works praise her in the gates."

Miss Salmon described the various stages of development through which she had reached the conviction of the justice of woman suffrage and said:

College women are coming to realize that they have been taught by these pioneers, both through precept and by example, to look at the essential things

of life and to ignore the unessential and for this they are grateful. Thus they are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge; it is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the public life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbor across the way and the arrival of new furniture at the house next door; it is not the woman who through change in industrial processes works in the shop or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter; it is not the woman who is interested in keeping the streets clean, but the woman who sells chances in articles offered at church fairs; it is not the woman who earns money, but the woman who wastes it because she has never learned its value. . . . The college woman is beginning to wonder if it is worth while to reckon the mint, anise and cummin while the weightier matters of the law are forgotten. . . .

For a larger outlook on life we are all indebted to Miss Anthony, to Mrs. Howe and to their colleagues. We are indebted to them in large measure for the educational opportunities of today. We are indebted to them for the theory, and in some places for the reality, of equal pay for men and women when the labor performed is the same. We are indebted to them for making it possible for us to spend our lives in fruitful work rather than in idle tears. We are indebted to these pioneer women for the substitution of a positive creed for inertia and indifference. And from them we also inherit the weighty responsibility of passing on to others in degree, if not in kind, all that we have received from them.

After a consideration of the "woman's college", Miss Jordan said:

The suffragists lent us Maria Mitchell and they felt severely the loss they sustained in her increasing absorption in the class room and in the requirements of modern scientific work. When we had taken Maria Mitchell they turned to us in friendship, Mrs. Livermore, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Miss Anthony, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, Mrs. Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Mrs. Blackwell, Lois Anna Green, Mary Dame—and never failed to stir our minds with their urgent appeals for our thoughtful consideration of the causes they presented and the interest they took for granted. The last was their strong point. They simply implicated us in whatever was good and true. Their enthusiasm was infectious, and we "caught" it—to our own lasting spiritual benefit. . . . I do not believe that I was over-fanciful, when I used to feel that Lucy Stone and you, Miss Anthony, looked at us as if you would say, "Make the best of your freedom, for we have bought it with a great price." . . .

In her able address Miss Calkins said in part:

I wish to indicate this evening the definite form in which I think the gratitude of all college women might be expressed to Miss Anthony and to the

other leaders of the equal suffrage movement for their service to the cause of women's education. In other words, I wish to ask what have these veteran equal suffrage leaders a right to expect from university and college students, and, in particular, from the students and graduates of our women's colleges? . . . Equal suffragists, if I may serve as interpreter, demand just this—that women trained to scientific method should make equal suffrage an object of scientific analysis and logic. Equal suffragists ask of college women that they cease being ignorant or indifferent on the question; that they adopt, if not an attitude of active leadership or of loyal support, at least a position of reasoned opposition or of intelligent hesitation between opposing arguments. To ask less than this really is an insult to a thinking person, man or woman. . . .

The student trained to reach decisions in the light of logic and of history will be disposed to recognize that, in a democratic country governed as this is by the suffrage of its citizens, and given over as this is to the principle and practice of educating women, a distinction based on difference of sex is artificial and illogical—and, thus, suspicious. . . . For myself, I believe that the probabilities favor woman suffrage. Since the men vastly outnumber the women among our foreign immigrants, whereas the girls outnumber the boys in our schools, there seems to me good ground to expect from equal suffrage a lowering in the proportion of the ignorant vote.

College-trained women students who grant this probability scarcely can escape the force of the fundamental argument for equal suffrage. Clearly it will be their duty so to choose their words and so to shape their actions that equal suffrage, when it comes, may find among women, and among men, the highest possible level of intelligence and the greatest number of trained civic leaders.

The present need—so I end as I began—is for fair consideration. Equal suffragists as little want uncritical support as prejudiced opposition. They ask that thinking men and women cast aside that curse of a prosperous and self-satisfied society like our own—an ignorant content with things as they are.

In a fine appreciation Mrs. Moore said :

The women of today may well feel that it is Miss Anthony who has made life possible to them; she has trodden the rough paths and by her unwearied devotion has opened to them the professions and higher applied industries. Through her life's work they enjoy a hundred privileges denied them fifty years ago; from her devotion has grown a new order; her hand has helped to open every line of business to women.

She has spoken at times to thousands of girls on the public duties of women. . . . Her life story, when written, must epitomize the victorious struggle of women for larger intellectual freedom in the last century. . . . The world does move. Those who are aware of the great and beneficent changes made in the laws relating to the rights of property, in the civil and industrial laws pertaining to women and children, may estimate the good accomplished by these pioneers.

Miss Anthony is a hopeful enthusiast; her life is great in that it has made a larger life and higher work possible to other women who share her aspirations without her irresistible force to carve their way. Her courage and strength, the patient devotion of a life consecrated to the education, advancement and elevation of womanhood, her invincible honor, her logic, her power to touch and sway all hearts, are recognized by every student of woman's progress. We perceive in her the advocate of that liberty which knows no limitations, a freedom which means the certain advancement of the race.

Mrs. Park, speaking from the standpoint of the young college woman, said:

When I first saw her, as we see her tonight, and heard her speak, as I hope we shall hear her, and in those meetings when one after another of the speakers referred to the early days and told about the struggles, the trials, the sacrifices, all the long persistent efforts of that woman to get college education and industrial opportunities for the women of today, I came to realize what Miss Anthony's life had been. I came to realize what she and other women might have gained for themselves if they had chosen to spend for personal ends the power that had been given them. For I suppose it is true that all through history individual women have been able, sometimes by cajolery, sometimes by personal charm, sometimes by force of character, to get for themselves privileges far greater than any that the most radical advocates of woman's rights have yet demanded. But in the case of Miss Anthony and the other early suffragists all that force of character was turned not to individual ends, not to getting great things for themselves, but to getting little gains, step by step, for the great mass of other women; not for the service of themselves, but for the service of the sex, and so of the whole human race. . . .

The object of the College Women's League is to bring the question of equal suffrage to college women, to help them realize their debt to the women who have worked so hard for them, and to make them understand that one of the ways to pay that debt is to fight the battle in the quarter of the field in which it is still unwon; in short, to make them feel the obligation of opportunity.

The eloquent address of Miss Thomas was received with enthusiastic approval by the audience. She said in part:

In the year 1903 there were in the United States, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education, 5,749 women studying in women's colleges and 24,863 women studying in co-educational colleges. If the annual rate of increase has continued the same, as it undoubtedly has during the past three years, there are in college at the present time 38,268 women students of true college grade. Although there are in the United States about 1,800,000 less women than men, women already constitute considerably over one-third of the entire student body, and are steadily gaining on men. This

means that in another generation or two one-half of all the people who have been to college in the United States will be women, and just as surely as the seasons of the year succeed one another, or the law of gravitation works, just as surely will this great body of educated women wish to use their trained intelligence in making the towns, cities and States of their native country better places for themselves and their children to live in; just so surely will the men, with whom they have worked side by side in college classes, claim and receive their aid in political as well as in home life. The logic of events does not lie. It is unthinkable that women who have learned to act for themselves in college and have become awakened there to civic duties, should not care for the ballot to enforce their wishes. The same is true of the women in every woman's club, and of every individual woman who tries to obtain laws to save little children from working cruel hours in cotton mills, or to open summer gardens for homeless waifs on the streets of a great city. These women, too, are being irresistibly driven to desire equal suffrage for the sake of the wrongs they try to right. . . .

In all matters of social welfare we must argue not so much from abstract right and justice as from observed facts. It seems very clear that on the whole universal manhood suffrage, unsatisfactory as it is, works the least injustice to the enfranchised multitudes of men, and that the trend of modern civilization is setting itself irresistibly in this direction. Experience also proves that women as well as men need the ballot to protect them in their special interests and in their power to gain a livelihood. Our new reform school board of Philadelphia contains not one woman among its twenty-five members to represent the interests of women. No women teachers receive the same salaries as men teachers for the same work, and no women, however successful, are appointed to the best paid and most influential school positions. . . .

If, then, women need the ballot to protect their labor—and they do need it beyond all question—it seems to me in the highest degree ungenerous for women like those in this audience who are cared for and protected in every way, not to desire equal suffrage for the sake of other less fortunate women. And it is not only ungenerous but short-sighted of such women not to desire it for their own sakes. There is nothing dearer to women than the respect and reverence of their children and of the men they love. Yet every son who has grown up reverencing his mother's opinion must realize when he reaches the age of twenty-one years, with a shock from which he can never wholly recover, that in the most important civic and national affairs her opinion is not considered equal to his own. . . .

I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Educated, public-spirited men will recoil in their turn before the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die. Equal suffrage thus seems to me to be an inevitable and logical consequence of the higher education of women.

And the higher education of women itself is, if possible, a still more inevitable result of the agitation of the early woman suffragists. . . .

We who are guiding this movement today owe the profoundest debt of gratitude to these early pioneers—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe—and above all and beyond all, Susan B. Anthony. Other women reformers, like other men reformers, have given part of their time and energy. She has given to the cause of women every year, every month, every day, every hour, every moment of her whole life, and every dollar she could beg or earn—and she has earned thousands and begged thousands more.

Every heart thrilled as, in conclusion, Miss Thomas turned to the honored guest of the evening and said :

To most women it is given to have returned them in double measure the love of the children they have nurtured. To you, Miss Anthony, belongs by right, as to no other woman in the world's history, the love and gratitude of all women in every country of the civilized globe. We, your daughters in the spirit, rise up today and call you blessed.

In those far-off days when our mothers' mothers sat contented in darkness, you, our champion, sprang forth to battle for us, equipped and shining, inspired by a prophetic vision of the future like that of the apostles and martyrs, and the heat of your battle has lasted more than fifty years. Two generations of men lie between the time when in the early fifties you and Mrs. Cady Stanton sat together in New York State, writing over the cradles of her babies those trumpet calls to freedom that began and carried forward the emancipation of women, and the day, eighteen months ago, when that great audience in Berlin rose to do you honor—thousands of women, from every country in the civilized world, silent, with full eyes and lumps in their throats, because of what they owed you. Of such as you were the lines of the poet Yeats written :

“They shall be remembered forever,  
They shall be alive forever,  
They shall be speaking forever,  
The people shall hear them forever.”

After the applause had ended there was a moment of intense silence, and then, as Miss Anthony came forward, the entire audience arose and greeted her with waving handkerchiefs, while tears rolled down the cheeks of many who felt that she would never be present at another convention. “If any proof were needed of the progress of the cause for which I have worked,” she said, in clear, even tones, distinctly heard by all, “it is here tonight. The presence on the stage of these college women, and in the audience of all those college girls who will some day be the nation's greatest strength, tell their own story to the world. They



give the highest joy and encouragement to me.—I am not going to make a long speech but only say thank you and good night.”

It was all she had the strength to say but she never would publicly confess it. “I am not able to make a speech,” some women would have said, and thus awakened sympathy, but she preferred they should think that her remarks were brief because the hour was late. An incident during the evening lightened a little one heart that was aching. When the audience was making a big demonstration over some particularly fine tribute which a speaker had paid to Miss Anthony, she joined in the applause, and Miss Shaw whispered, “It isn’t your turn to applaud now, they are talking about you.” “O, no, they’re not,” she answered, “it is just about the cause.” Nobody ever lived so completely oblivious to personal compliments. The next day Miss Shaw said in a little note to her, speaking of this evening: “I am so glad you can keep right on helping things along. It is splendid that you have so lived and worked that now, when you are at the rest-time of life, your influence is just as great as when you were out in the field, and that the cause needs you just the same and is profiting all the time by what you have done.”

Miss Anthony was entirely unable to go to the convention the next day, and on the morning of the second day the president expressed the great regret of all at her enforced absence and their gratitude for the excellent care she was receiving at the home of Miss Garrett; but when the afternoon session opened, in she walked! She had learned that the money was to be raised at this time and knew she could help, so she conquered her pain and came. When contributions were called for she was first to respond and holding out a little purse she said: “I want to begin by giving you my purse. Just before I left Rochester they gave me a birthday party and made me a present of eighty-six dollars. I suppose they wanted me to do as I liked with the money and I wish to send it to Oregon;” and with this example the contributions soon reached beyond \$4,000.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the seventeen five-dollar gold pieces were distributed by the national treasurer among various friends who gave ten dollars apiece for them, and thus \$170 were realized for the Oregon fund.

This was on Saturday and Miss Anthony was closely confined to the house until the next Monday evening. At that time Mrs. Howe was to give an address but she had been attacked by tonsillitis, which was epidemic in the city, and could not be present. Miss Anthony was so distressed at the many disappointments which had been caused by her own inability to attend the meetings that she determined to go in Mrs. Howe's place, and again exercising supreme self-control she took her place on the platform and remained throughout the evening. It was not supposed that she would be able to speak, but, stimulated by the occasion and longing no doubt to say what she felt might be her last words, she came forward near the close of the meeting. A report in the *New York Evening Post* said, "The entire house rose and the applause and cheers seemed to continue for ten minutes." It thus continued:

Miss Anthony looked at the splendid audience of men and women, many of them distinguished in their generation, with calm and dignified sadness. "This is a magnificent sight before me," she said slowly, "and these have been wonderful addresses and speeches I have listened to during the past week. Yet I have looked on many such audiences, and in my lifetime I have listened to many such speakers, all testifying to the righteousness, the justice and the worthiness of the cause of woman suffrage. I never saw that great woman, Mary Wollstoncraft, but I have read her eloquent and unanswerable arguments in behalf of the liberty of womankind. I have met and known most of the progressive women who came after her—Lucretia Mott, the Grimké sisters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone—a long galaxy of great women. I have heard them speak, saying in only slightly different phrases exactly what I have heard these newer advocates of the cause say at these meetings. Those older women have gone on, and most of those who worked with me in the early years have gone. I am here for a little time only and then my place will be filled as theirs was filled. The fight must not cease; you must see that it does not stop."

These were indeed Miss Anthony's last words to a woman suffrage convention, and they expressed the dominant thought which had directed her own life—the fight must not stop!

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The social features of this convention deserve special mention as they were on a more extended scale than was customary at the

meetings of this organization, which is a working rather than a "visiting" body. The officers, speakers and delegates were invited by President Remsen to visit Johns Hopkins University where every attention was shown; to a special exhibit at the Art Gallery; to a large reception by the Baltimore Suffrage Society and to a handsome afternoon tea at the rooms of the Arundel Club. These were the usual courtesies extended in all cities, but the series of entertainments given by Miss Garrett, in order that the representative men and women of Baltimore might become acquainted with the distinguished visitors, was especially noteworthy. She gave a dinner and a luncheon every day, formal invitations being sent some time in advance. Those to the first dinner read, "To meet Miss Susan B. Anthony and Governor and Mrs. Warfield;" others, "To meet Miss Anthony and the Speakers of the College Evening"—on each invitation of the week Miss Anthony's name preceding all other guests of honor. At one luncheon thirty of the city's most conservative women were invited to meet the officers of the National Suffrage Association and the prominent speakers of the convention. All of the representatives of the colleges were Miss Garrett's guests and after the College Evening's exercises she gave a reception attended by several hundred residents of the city. The *American* said of it:

The handsome old Garrett mansion, after having been comparatively closed for several seasons, was thrown open last evening by its present owner, Miss Mary E. Garrett, for one of the largest and most brilliant receptions of the season. . . . The entire first floor, including the famous art gallery, was used for the occasion, each apartment being lavishly decorated with cut flowers corresponding with it in color. A profusion of American Beauty roses, with red shaded lights, adorned the dining room, where a bountiful supper was served. During the receiving hours, from ten to twelve, music was rendered by an orchestra. Miss Garrett wore black lace over white satin and chiffon; Miss Anthony was in black satin and point lace, Mrs. Howe in peachblow velvet and Miss Shaw in violet crêpe and duchesse lace. . . .

No one present ever will forget the picture of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Howe sitting side by side on a divan in the large bay window, with a background of ferns and flowers; at their right stood Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas, at their left Miss Shaw and

the line of eminent college women, with a beautiful perspective of conservatory and art gallery. "Miss Anthony, this evening is a fitting climax of your glorious career!" the present writer said to her. "Do you really think so?" she answered with a happy smile and a gentle pressure of the hand.

It meant a great deal for Miss Thomas to take her most valuable time to carry out her part of this week's signal demonstration, a part which only her commanding influence could have accomplished. And it meant equally as much for Miss Garrett to open her large house, fill it with guests, have a dozen elaborate social functions and give to the movement for woman suffrage in Maryland a distinction that it could not otherwise have achieved. Best of all, however, was the great pleasure given to Miss Anthony, for there was nothing in the closing days of her life that offered such encouragement and hope as to see women possessing the power of high intellectual ability, wealth and social position, taking up the cause which she had carried with patient toil through poverty and obscurity to this plane of recognition.

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During this visit of Miss Anthony, President Thomas and Miss Garrett asked her what would be the greatest service they could render to advance the movement for woman suffrage. She answered that the strongest desire of her later years had been to raise a large fund for the work which was constantly crippled for the lack of money, and that her deepest regret now was that the physical disability of the last five years had prevented her from carrying out her plans to secure this fund. Its need was frequently discussed during the week, and before the convention closed Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas promised Miss Anthony that they would try to find a number of women who, like themselves, were unable to take an active part in working for woman suffrage but sincerely believed in it, who would be willing to join together in contributing \$12,000 a year for the next five years to help support the work and to show in this practical way their gratitude to Miss Anthony and her associates and their faith in this cause.

At the close of the convention Miss Garrett invited the Business Committee of the association to dine with her and announced that Miss Thomas and herself would do their best to place at the disposal of the committee this fund of \$60,000 to be paid into the treasury in installments of \$12,000 a year. Later Miss Shaw and Mrs. Upton, the treasurer, took to Bryn Mawr the books of the National American Association and a careful examination was made of the financial needs. This showed that the regular income from dues and subscriptions was barely sufficient to carry on the routine business, which was continually increasing in volume, and that nothing was left for salaries or for particular lines of work, such as State campaigns, special publications, travelling expenses of speakers to address national organizations, labor unions, granges and other assemblies of men and women, which is an important part of suffrage work.

No words can express the joy and relief of Miss Anthony that this last and dearest wish of her heart was to be in a large measure fulfilled. There was never a day afterwards that she did not refer to it with contentment and thankfulness, expressing her satisfaction that some of the national officers who for years had been giving their whole time and strength to the work with no financial compensation, would now be enabled to continue it without wasting their energies in constant anxiety as to the necessary funds and one or two of them as to living expenses. She felt very sure that with the rapid progress in public opinion more could be accomplished in the next five years than had been done in the past twenty-five, and that by the end of this time there would be a sufficient number of people in favor of the movement to furnish all the assistance needed. And so her mind was filled with peace as to the future of her beloved association, her child that she had nurtured and sustained from infancy to full maturity.

Before Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett went abroad for the summer the following committee was formed: Miss Garrett, Baltimore, Chairman; Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw, Boston; Mrs. David P. Kimball, Boston; Mrs. Lydia Coonley Ward, Chicago; Mrs. Henry M. Wilmarth, Chicago; Mrs. Henry Villard, New York; Mrs. Richard Aldrich, New York; Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson,



MARY ELIZABETH GARRETT.

WHOSE GENEROUS GIFTS MADE POSSIBLE THE OPENING OF THE MEDICAL SCHOOL OF JOHNS HOPKINS  
UNIVERSITY IN 1893.  
FROM A PORTRAIT PAINTED IN 1904 BY JOHN S. SARGENT FOR THE UNIVERSITY, BY ORDER OF THE  
TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY AND THE JOHNS HOPKINS MEDICAL SCHOOL.

Philadelphia; President M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Treasurer.

The active work in securing subscriptions, which was done principally by Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas, was commenced at the time of Miss Anthony's birthday the following year, February, 1907, and by May 1, the full amount of \$60,000 had been subscribed, most of the donors declaring it to be a pleasure and a privilege to give to this fund. The subscribers were as follows: Mrs. Russell Sage, New York, \$5,000; Miss Garrett, \$2,500; Mrs. Henry Villard, \$2,500; "A Friend," New York, \$2,500; Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw, \$2,500; Mrs. Lydia Coonley Ward, \$2,500; Mrs. Henry M. Wilmarth, \$2,500; Mrs. David P. Kimball, \$2,500; Mrs. Emma J. Bartol, Philadelphia, \$2,500; Miss Mary A. Burnham, Philadelphia, \$2,500; Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Clothier, Philadelphia, \$2,500; Mr. and Mrs. William P. Hensey, Philadelphia, \$2,500; Miss Emily Howland, Sherwood, N. Y., \$2,500; Mrs. Robert Abbé, New York, \$500; Mrs. Frederick Nathan, New York, \$500; "A Friend", Providence, R. I., \$500; Miss Ella Mench, Philadelphia, \$500; Dr. Anna P. Sharpless, Philadelphia, \$500; Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, Geneva, N. Y., \$1,000; Miss Anne Fitzhugh Miller, Geneva, N. Y., \$500; Mrs. William M. Ivins, New York, \$500; Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, Philadelphia, \$500; "A Friend", \$20,000. Total, \$60,000.

## CHAPTER LXX.

### LAST CELEBRATION OF MISS ANTHONY'S BIRTHDAY.

1906.



THE National Suffrage Association never had failed to have its representatives make their appeals to the committees of each Congress at its first session and therefore it was planned to send a delegation from the Baltimore convention for this purpose. It closed on February 13 and the next day the official board and many delegates went to Washington, where the hearing had been set for the morning of February 15. Arrangements had been under way for some time to celebrate Miss Anthony's birthday that evening in the city where it had so many times been beautifully observed. She had only been able to attend the convention and bear her part in Miss Garrett's entertainments by almost superhuman effort and it did not seem possible for her to go on to Washington. She was, however, so reluctant to disappoint her friends there who had been arranging for the birthday that she determined to make the attempt. Miss Garrett sent with her the trained nurse who had been in constant attendance, with instructions not only to remain with her in Washington but not to leave her until she was safe in her own home in Rochester. On the brief journey of less than an hour Miss Anthony gave no sign of pain and was almost cheerful, but when they reached the Shoreham she said, "Take me to my room quickly, I have been suffering the most excruciating torture ever since we left Baltimore." She received all the care possible but was not able to attend the hearing at the Capitol the next morning, and those who went were so anxious and depressed, and so missed the one who



for nearly two-score years had been the inspiration on these occasions, that they could scarcely make their arguments before the committees.

It had been impossible to secure an opera house and there was no desirable hall in Washington, so the Church of Our Father (Universalist) seemed the most suitable place for the birthday celebration. It had been the scene of many suffrage conventions, and there, six years before, Miss Anthony had resigned the presidency of the National Association. The trustees no longer rented it for public meetings, but at the earnest request of the minister, the Rev. John Van Schaick, they placed it at the service of the committee without price. Floor and galleries were crowded to their capacity when Miss Anthony made her appearance on the platform and the audience rose and remained standing until she was seated. The papers spoke afterwards of her fine voice and said she appeared to be in excellent health, but this was a superficial view. Those who were near to her and knew the circumstances of the past week, understood that only the courage of a Spartan enabled her to be present, and they sat in anguish not knowing what moment that marvelous self-control might be compelled to yield. Upon Miss Shaw this strain was most severe, for in presiding the full responsibility of the evening rested upon her and she had to be her usual smiling, witty, entertaining self in carrying out the program, no matter with what a sinking heart. Miss Anthony, however, did not fail, but met the ordeal with the splendid heroism which had characterized her whole life, and was grandly equal to the occasion until the last word had been spoken and the curtain had fallen upon her last appearance on that platform whose most conspicuous figure she had been for fifty years.

It had been decided that this would be an opportune time to give some of the members of Congress and other officials a chance to express themselves, and letters were sent by Miss Shaw to a number of those who, she had reason to think, were friendly in their attitude toward woman suffrage. As it was the very busiest time of the year in official life and at the height of the social season, for which invitations were accepted weeks in advance, it was not supposed that many would be able to be present, but those who

were addressed were asked to send a message of greeting, and a surprisingly large number responded. While a few from whom courage and loyalty had been expected were disappointing in their answers, most of these were cordial and appreciative, as a few quotations will illustrate.

Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks: "I thank you for the invitation, which I should gladly accept were it not that my engagements forbid."

Secretary of War William H. Taft: "I have a very profound respect for Miss Anthony, her character and the splendid service she has rendered humanity during her long and honored life, and it will give me great pleasure to be present. I have a dinner engagement so that I do not know at what hour, but I shall be glad to come for a short time if possible."

Senator Chauncey M. Depew, New York: "I deeply regret that my engagements will prevent my joining in the meeting to do honor to Miss Susan B. Anthony, whose life-time of unselfish devotion has done her country and the world such valuable and lasting service."

Senator Thomas C. Platt, New York: "Miss Anthony is entitled to the respect and admiration of every citizen of this nation—in fact of every nation—for her magnificent efforts in behalf of the uplifting of humanity and the strengthening of the principles of government on which our nation rests. It would give me immeasurable pleasure to testify by my presence the esteem in which I hold Miss Anthony." Both of the New York Senators had at various times expressed their belief in the justice of woman suffrage.

Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, New Hampshire: "It is a matter of much regret to me that I am unable to accept your kind invitation and by my presence and words give assurance of my appreciation of the heroic and unselfish service that Miss Anthony has performed in behalf of the principles of justice and in advocacy of a genuine Republican form of government. To honor Miss Anthony is to do honor to the cause to which her life-work has been devoted, and I beg to be counted among those who subscribe

to the principles she has so ably contended for and the success of which is but a question of time."

Senator Albert J. Beveridge, Indiana: "Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be present at the meeting in honor of Miss Anthony and to utter some earnest words of admiration for her long and beneficent career and her noble and exalted character. I find, however, that my engagements are so arranged that it is impossible. May I express to you in this more formal, though less satisfactory way, my appreciation as an American citizen of this superb representative of American womanhood, whose life has been devoted with such single-heartedness to the ideals of our Christian civilization."

Senator Thomas M. Patterson, Colorado: "I am satisfied that on account of the large amount of work cut out for the Senate in the immediate future, I will not be able to attend the meeting, but my heart is with the cause it stands for, and particularly in doing honor to the noble character whose eighty-sixth birthday it commemorates. While there seems to be a lull at this time in zeal for the extension of equal suffrage, the movement must go forward and ultimately triumph throughout the country. Ridicule or belittle it as fashionable women and thoughtless men do, the movement has reached permanent success in a number of the States and has added to a wonderful extent to the rights and privileges of women in the matter of property, labor, wages, their children and their social and public influence. The good work in behalf of equal suffrage should not be allowed to lag, and the meeting in honor of Miss Anthony's birthday should give it new zeal and impetus. Believe me cordially and sympathetically yours."

Other Senators from the four States where women vote sent similar letters. Senator W. B. Heyburn, Idaho, wrote: "It affords me great pleasure to be able to accept your kind invitation to attend this meeting and pay tribute to the high character and splendid attainments of one of America's noblest women."

Senator Charles W. Fulton, Oregon: "Miss Anthony is one of our greatest and best characters. By her noble life and works

she has earned and will be accorded a permanent place in the history of the American people."

Representative Sereno E. Payne, New York: "I should be very glad to honor Miss Anthony's wonderful personality and to say a fitting word in recognition of her long life and service of devotion. She has made a notable struggle for a cause which for many years seemed hopeless, but with unfaltering faith and courage she has lived to see her labors crowned with some degree of success. It is true that woman suffrage has not been extended to a large portion of our people but her efforts have brought many strong supporters to her cause. May her last days be her best days and may her life be spared for other anniversaries."

Representative William Alden Smith, Michigan: "I greatly appreciate the high compliment, for the privilege of testifying to the worth and value of Miss Anthony is an honor indeed, and I would gladly accept your invitation if it were not for the fact that I am obliged to leave for Michigan on the 12th. With best wishes to you and congratulations on the great work you are doing, always at your service."

Representative James E. Watson, Indiana: "If I were to be in Washington on that date it would be a great pleasure for me to attend the meeting and add my voice to the general acclaim. The career of Miss Anthony has been a very remarkable one and serves to illustrate the beneficial results flowing from a life of integrity and lofty purpose impelled by pure and noble motives."

Representative Julius Kahn, California: "I cannot let the occasion pass without expressing the hope that Miss Anthony may be spared for many more years to continue her work for the betterment of mankind. While we may not all agree as to the practicability or advisability of woman suffrage, we can all admire the sterling character of one of its noblest advocates. Miss Anthony's work in behalf of womanhood stamps her as a great leader of the present epoch."

Representative Francis W. Cushman, Washington: "I assure you that it would be a pleasure to me to do honor to that noble woman, whom I was taught from my earliest childhood, by my

father and mother, to admire and revere, and whose career I have followed with great interest."

Representative Burton L. French, Idaho: "We all pay tribute to Miss Anthony for the noble woman she is and for her defense of the principle of an equal and just share in the responsibility of government by those governed. The development of the idea of liberty has been slow—slow to be established as a principle of right and still slower to be established as a principle of actual living. As the days pass by we shall witness the expanding of this idea with cumulative energy until the rights of men and of women shall be defined in the same language. That will be a great day in the world's history, and that day will usher in higher ideals in social and in civic life. The magnificent service for mankind that Miss Anthony has rendered appeals to thoughtful men and women the world over, and to them is an inspiration prompting higher thinking, nobler living and more earnest realization of man's responsibility to man."

There were cordial letters from Senator Fred T. Dubois, of Idaho, Representative Warren Keifer, of Iowa, W. A. Reeder, of Kansas, F. W. Mondell, of Wyoming, and other Western Congressmen, accepting the invitation to speak; also from the Hon. William Dudley Foulke, former Civil Service Commissioner, who had been on the program at the Baltimore convention.

While a number of the writers of these letters expressed themselves unmistakably in favor of woman suffrage, there was on the part of many a marked avoidance of an absolute endorsement, and this was very evident to Miss Anthony as she listened to their reading on the birthday evening. Finally as a climax came the much desired letter from the President, addressed to Miss Shaw, as follows:

MY DEAR MADAM: Pray let me join with you in congratulating Miss Anthony upon her eighty-sixth birthday and in extending to her most hearty good wishes for the continuation of her useful and honorable life.

Miss Anthony could endure it no longer. Rising and coming to the front of the stage, while the listeners sat breathless, she exclaimed with all her old-time vigor, "When will the men do some-

thing besides extend congratulations? I would rather have President Roosevelt say one word to Congress in favor of amending the Constitution to give women the suffrage than to praise me endlessly!" The audience caught her spirit and burst into approving applause. She expressed the feeling she had had a thousand times when listening to the platitudes and fulsome compliments of men who had not the moral courage to endorse the cause for which she stood, and into that single sentence she put not only her own indignation and contempt but those of thousands of women who are compelled to hear these inanities and hypocrisies from a large proportion of the men who address meetings of women.

The address of welcome was made by the Hon. Henry B. F. McFarland, president of the District Board of Commissioners, who gave unequivocal endorsement to the principle of woman suffrage. The Rev. Charles G. Ames, of Boston, made a brief but effective address. The Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell spoke for the pioneers, and there were a letter from Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker and a telegram from Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, co-workers of forty years, the latter saying, "I thank God you have been given to the women of America." A letter from Mrs. Russell Sage sent "best wishes for your health and congratulations on the rewards of your long and zealous labors for the good, through womankind, of all humankind;" and one from Mrs. Mary Seymour Howell closed, "I shall ever love you and hold you in my heart. You will be a great light on the world's highway for the coming centuries." Messages came from organizations of many kinds in foreign countries and the United States, including an affectionate greeting from the Shakers of Mt. Lebanon.<sup>1</sup>

On account of her extreme weakness it was not expected that Miss Anthony would speak, but at the close of the evening she seemed to feel that she must say one last word, and rising, with a tender, spiritual expression on her dear face, she stood beside Miss Shaw and explained in a few touching words how the great

<sup>1</sup>The only gift presented on the platform was a purse of gold from the friends in the District of Columbia, but many other valuable presents were received.

work of the National Association had been placed in her charge; turning to the other national officers on the stage she reached out her hand to them and expressed her appreciation of their loyal support, and then, realizing that her strength was almost gone, she said: "There have been others also just as true and devoted to the cause—I wish I could name every one—but with such women consecrating their lives"—here she paused for an instant and seemed to be gazing into the future, then dropping her arms to her side she finished her sentence—"failure is impossible!"

These were the last words Miss Anthony ever spoke in public, and from that moment they became the watchword of those who accepted as their trust the work she laid down. They had been the keynote of her own life and in her last public utterance she sounded the slogan under which an army of women will march to victory.

When Miss Anthony returned to her hotel, stimulated by the excitement of the evening, all pain had left her and she felt almost well. She believed it was one of the sudden recoveries she had had so many times and her first thought was that now she could keep her promise to attend the celebration of her birthday in New York, which had waited on the one in Washington. During all her illness she had grieved over having to disappoint the women who had worked so hard to make it a success. By morning, however, the reaction had come; her strong will had to yield to the inevitable, and her only desire was to reach her own home, but it was necessary to wait till evening in order that she might take a sleeping car. As the sun was setting she went to a window of her room in the Shoreham which looked on the Washington Monument and for some time stood motionless gazing upon it. At last she turned to Miss Shaw and said, "I think it is the most beautiful monument in the whole world." "I prefer that of Bunker Hill," Miss Shaw answered. "O, no," Miss Anthony replied, "this is much grander." And then with deep earnestness she said: "Every one who sees it must feel the love of freedom and justice and want to be true to the principles it stands for."

This was her farewell. Accompanied by her devoted sister

and the capable nurse, she left Washington on the evening train and arrived at home in safety the next morning.

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Elaborate preparations had been under way in New York to give a birthday luncheon in honor of Miss Anthony at Hotel Astor on February 20 which should surpass any previous affairs of the kind. It was to be under the auspices of the Interurban Equality Council of Greater New York, composed of over twenty Suffrage Societies, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president. They had expected to have about two hundred guests but long before the day nearly four hundred places were taken. Mr. and Mrs. William Mills Ivans had issued cards for a large afternoon reception at their home on the 22nd "to meet Miss Susan B. Anthony." The disappointment, therefore, can be imagined when it was learned just a few days before these events that the guest of honor could not be present! Invitations for the reception were recalled but it was thought best to have the luncheon as planned. The *New York World* devoted an entire page to the occasion, which it began by saying: "The path blazed by Miss Anthony nearly sixty years ago is now an easy one to follow. There are few dangers to be encountered now in the wilderness of woman's rights; in fact it is not a wilderness any more but a land of promise well settled by many citizens. Today to proclaim one's self an advocate of equal suffrage is to own fellowship with the cleverest, noblest women of the country. The women who assembled around the thirty tables at this luncheon represented nearly every profession, to all of which women have been admitted since Susan B. Anthony knocked on the closed doors and presented her card."

Each of the city papers had a column or more of descriptions and illustrations. It was the largest luncheon ever given at this hotel noted for such entertainments and was perfect in all its appointments; jonquils predominated in the handsome floral decorations, the candle shades were yellow and the flags which draped the walls were caught up with broad yellow satin ribbons. The tables were set in the great ball-room; at the right hand of





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MISS ANTHONY'S LAST PICTURE.

TAKEN AT THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION, ONE MONTH BEFORE HER DEATH.

Mrs. Catt were the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and Edwin Markham, at her left William Lloyd Garrison and Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour, president of Sorosis, while the other speakers extended along the side. At one round table were twenty-one club presidents; one was occupied entirely by women lawyers, another by women physicians. There were women ministers, sculptors, painters, designers, actresses, singers, editors, writers, civil engineers, architects, nurses, settlement workers, trades union women, university graduates and club women without number. Mrs. Catt presided with the dignity, grace and tact in which she was unexcelled, and began the program by reading a telegram from Miss Anthony which said, "The word of a woman of eighty-six cannot be relied upon like that of a girl of sixteen," and conveyed her affectionate greetings. It was voted at once to send her a message of love and remembrance with the hope that she would be with them on her eighty-seventh birthday.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Wilbour gave a most interesting recital of the early days of her acquaintance with the great suffrage leaders and told of her part in arranging for the celebration of Miss Anthony's fiftieth birthday in this same city. The auditors were captivated by Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch's clever stories of her mother's and Miss Anthony's experiences. Miss Alice Henry, of Australia, spoke entertainingly of the practical effects of woman suffrage in that progressive country. Edwin Markham's exquisite poem of seventeen stanzas—*Song to the Divine Mother*—"written to the glory of Susan B. Anthony," the author prefaced by saying: "This song should be read in the light of the deep and memorable truth that the divine feminine as well as the divine masculine principle is in God—that he is Father-Mother, two in one. It follows from this truth that the dignity of womanhood is grounded in the divine nature itself. The fact that the deity is man-woman was known to the ancient poets and sages and was grafted into the nobler religions of mankind."

<sup>1</sup> Besides this Mrs. Catt sent her own message: "You may be sure now, as always, that you have the tender affection and sympathy of all the suffragists in the land, and that the army of those who love you and stand ready to help the cause is continually growing in numbers and strength." And that from Miss Shaw said: "Your heart would have warmed with happiness at the universal expressions of love, appreciation and gratitude."

William M. Ivans, recently the candidate for mayor, representing the reform element in New York, made a speech remarkable for a man prominent in politics at a critical time, in the course of which he said :

I am here today because I believe this to be my place. It is the duty of every man to uphold the hand of every woman in her efforts to redress a great and unspeakable political wrong. How can any man with a heart and a soul and an intellect look his wife or daughter in the face and say that he is entitled to any political right which she does not possess? That man has the soul of a hypocrite who tells you that he believes himself entitled to the ballot for the protection of his life, liberty and property and yet wishes to deny to his wife, the mother of his children, an equal right in the maintenance of hers. Such an attitude of mind is inconceivable to me.

I can never make a good advocate of woman suffrage because to me the assertion of woman's right to the ballot is the same as the assertion that two and two make four. Suppose some people maintained that two and two made six, and others declared that two and two made eight, and that an assemblage of the people were finally to rule that two and two made seven, how would you go to work to prove to them that two and two made four? I find it just as difficult to prove woman's right to the ballot. We ought to put the question in another way: By what right does man withhold that right? Not in the name of right at all, but in the name of might, unthinking and brutal.

And if I cannot conceive of the denial of this right by man, still less can I understand its denial by woman. Of all inconceivable things on earth, the women anti-suffragists are the most so. They consider themselves qualified to discuss these questions but not qualified to cast a vote. They organize societies to clean our streets and promote good government of all kinds, yet refuse the ballot which would enable them to choose servants to do these very things. They prefer privileges to duty. Let them do their duty and not be so supremely unwomanly as to seek nothing but privilege.

History shows us that women are the civilizers of society. They are the beings who make the characters of men, and to assert that they have not the right to vote by the side of men is the absolute negation of reason.

Mr. Ivans closed with a tribute to Miss Anthony as "the greatest and finest historical character which America has yet produced," and said, "When we come to fill our Pantheon with our true gods and goddesses Susan B. Anthony will occupy the highest place."

Several noted women, beloved friends and children of old friends of Miss Anthony were introduced—Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, daughter of the famous Abolitionist, Gerrit Smith; Mrs.

Eliza Wright Osborne, niece of Lucretia Mott; Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, daughter of William Lloyd Garrison; Countess de Resse, daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Phelps, in whose spacious home in East Twenty-third Street Miss Anthony's cherished paper, *The Revolution*, had its beginning. Mrs. Catt presented also Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, the sculptor, whose beautiful bust of Miss Anthony had that day been given to the New York Metropolitan Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Murray Whiting Ferris.

Miss Shaw spoke briefly but touchingly, bringing them precious messages from Miss Anthony and telling them how best they could honor her and make her happy. The scholarly address of William Lloyd Garrison was listened to with deep interest as he compared the careers of his illustrious father and Miss Anthony, and said:

I have no words to speak my own reverent regard for this dear old friend of fifty years. I can recall her earnest pleas for the slave's freedom when abolition was the all-absorbing question and before emancipation opened wider opportunities for women and she became a recognized leader of the woman's movement.

However it may have been in past times, wonderful good fortune has been the part of many once despised and rejected reformers within living memory. They have survived not only to witness, as Miss Anthony has done, great changes in the direction of social reformation, but to see prejudice and hatred yield to personal appreciation and regard. The recent Baltimore ovations from the wealth and fashion of the town show how Mayfair itself is finally conquered, when the social barometer rises to fair weather in places not long ago storm centres of woman suffrage. But even the present change of public sentiment from freezing ridicule and contempt to respectful consideration and regard, cannot take from the days of trial their glorious memories. No one who has not been in the small minority when truth was assailed and its defenders persecuted, can realize their uplift of heart and spirit. In retrospect the hardships of the Abolitionists and the advocates of Woman's Rights seem glorified and enviable—not only seem, they were.

To delicate and sensitive natures the misunderstanding of family and friends, the coldness and bitter feeling of a conservative atmosphere, were harder to bear than bodily discomforts and risks. It is the wounded spirit through which reformers with high hopes and brave endeavor chiefly suffer. But how vast the compensation! To say nothing of the joy inseparable from consciousness of duty done and self-respect maintained, no words can estimate the felicity of close companionship with men and women living for ideals. To be emancipated from trivial and transient matters and to move in a realm where the great realities absorb attention—what prompting to effort and aspiration!

I love to recall the words of John Stuart Mill: "If you aim at something noble and succeed in it you will generally find that you have not succeeded in that alone. A hundred other good and noble things which you never dreamed of will have been accomplished by the way, and the more certainly, the sharper and more agonizing has been the struggle which preceded the victory. Though our best directed efforts may seem wasted and lost ninety-nine times in every hundred, the hundredth time the result may be greater and more dazzling than we had ever dared hope for. . . ."

When I think of my father's reception at the London Breakfast in 1867, with England's noblest men to greet him, and of Miss Anthony, whether in England, Germany or her own country, welcomed with a deference and distinction which those born to the purple might covet, I gain faith in the supremacy of justice and the ultimate triumph of human rights.

## CHAPTER LXXI.

### THE PASSING OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

1906.



THE journey from Washington, after the celebration of her eighty-sixth birthday in that city, was made by Miss Anthony without great discomfort, her sister Mary and the trained nurse from the Johns Hopkins Hospital giving her the most careful attention. They reached home in time for breakfast on February 17. Miss Anthony was so tired that she did not go up stairs during the forenoon, saying she would lie on the couch in the back parlor until after the midday dinner and then go to her room for an afternoon nap. This she did and never afterward was able to go down stairs. The severe neuralgia yielded to treatment in a few days and the nurse returned to Baltimore, as it was hoped that rest and quiet would be sufficient to overcome the complete physical prostration. For the past three years the Anthony home had been blessed with a thoroughly competent housekeeper, Miss Carrie Bahl, who was also skilful in the sick-room and whom Miss Anthony liked to have about her. Miss Mary's gentle care always was a supreme comfort to her, and in a short time her niece, Miss Lucy E. Anthony, came to add an ever-welcome help and companionship. Miss Anthony had so much confidence in her physician, Dr. Marcena Sherman-Ricker, that she often said she felt better as soon as the doctor came into the house. She would rather be in her own room in her own home when she was ill than anywhere in the world, so all the conditions were favorable to her recovery.

For a few days Miss Anthony seemed slowly to improve, took

an interest in affairs and was cheerful and hopeful. Lucy read to her such extracts from the daily letters as would give her pleasure and she sent messages to the writers. Notwithstanding every care, however, pneumonia soon developed and for awhile there appeared to be no chance of recovery. Two of the most thoroughly trained nurses in the city were placed in charge, competent physicians were called in consultation and everything known to science was done for her relief. Her strong constitution enabled her to rally a little and those about her were much encouraged, but on March 4 both lungs became involved. Even then so great was her vitality that the double pneumonia yielded to treatment and the lungs became practically clear, but she could no longer retain food and steadily lost strength. She herself felt convinced that she would not recover and said that she was quite ready to go, that if she grew better she would soon have all this to go through again and the end might just as well come now. She had not a fear, not a regret, only calmness, courage and rational submission. Through all her illness her mind was perfectly clear, which was a great satisfaction, as she had always wished that she might not lose her faculties and still continue to live.

Through all these days Miss Anthony was thoughtful of everybody around her, urged the housekeeper to take some rest and begged the nurses not to let her make them any unnecessary trouble. To her niece she said often, "You have always been a ministering angel in this house." She was not willing that any one but her sister should comb her hair and each morning she would say, "O, Mary, there are no hands like yours." She seemed to be thinking constantly of those who had been most intimately associated with her and named the keepsake that should be given to each, seeming to divine just what would be most desired. She was absolutely without self-consciousness and there was scarcely a moment which was not occupied with thoughts of the work for suffrage; of those who had been with her in the past and of the ones to whom it must now be left. Above all else her mind was concentrated on the approaching suffrage campaign in Oregon, where a victory seemed almost assured. She had not expected to go to that State herself but had intended to raise a great deal of

money—had done so in fact—and to help in many ways; and she had been urging her sister to go, partly to represent her and partly to care for Miss Shaw, who, she feared, would break down under the heavy responsibility. All the time she was thinking and planning as her life slowly ebbed away, and leaving messages for friends and directions about the work even after she had ceased to be able to speak above a whisper.

At the time of Mrs. Stanton's death the present writer prepared a number of magazine articles which gave Miss Anthony especial pleasure because they were accurate in statement and showed an intimate knowledge of Mrs. Stanton's character and work. She said then and often afterwards, "I hope you will live to do that service for me." When it became publicly known that she was nearing the end, urgent requests came from various magazines for sketches which must be ready for use when they went to press the middle of the month. The writer felt that her duty to Miss Anthony lay rather in remaining in Washington and preparing these than in joining the anxious watchers at the home where no assistance could be rendered; and so all these sad days, and nights also, she tried to tell the story of that noble life in fitting words, and the last of five articles was finished on the evening of the day when the one they had attempted to portray was laid to rest beneath the winter's snow. The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, one of those nearest and dearest to Miss Anthony, was at her home in Philadelphia performing another duty in her preparations for going to Oregon to conduct a three months' campaign, but was getting daily word from Rochester and hoping against hope. As she was finally at the bedside almost every hour of the last week her account of those precious days possesses a value beyond that of all others.

"On the morning of March 7 I awoke with a feeling that Miss Anthony wanted me. It grew upon me so that I finally said, 'I must go to Aunt Susan today, I am so strongly impressed that she needs me;' and at noon, not sending word ahead, I took the train for Rochester, arriving there at nine o'clock at night. On reaching the house I found a placard on the door requesting that



no one should ring the bell, so I passed around the side and saw Miss Mary sitting at the table in the old place reading, and, without her hearing me, entered and stood beside her. Looking up she exclaimed, 'Oh, Anna Shaw, we have been wanting you all day! Early this morning Sister Susan said she must see you and talk with you. She insisted so much that I should write you that I finally did so and about an hour ago mailed the letter. I never saw her so persistent in anything and what she wants to talk with you about is in regard to having everything she possesses put into the fund which Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are going to raise for suffrage work.' I answered, 'I felt so impelled so come that, even though I feared I might not be permitted to see Aunt Susan, nevertheless I determined to come and hear directly how she is getting on, but do not let her know I am here until tomorrow.'

"On the arrival of the doctor the following morning, Miss Anthony was told of my presence in the house and immediately insisted upon seeing me. Although she was very weak, the doctor felt there would be less danger in this because of her great anxiety to do so than if she were denied. I shall never forget the expression of intense joy on her face when I leaned over the bed and spoke to her. Claspng my hand in both of hers she said, 'I have longed for you so much and I have wanted to tell you so many things.' The doctor feared to have her become excited because of the extreme weakness of her heart action, and only allowed the conversation to last for a very few minutes, but almost at once Miss Anthony said: 'I want particularly to tell you that I wish to revoke every other money gift which I have made in previous letters of request to my executors, because the small amount which I possess, when divided up, would be very little for each one, but all together it would help the fund. I want every dollar I have to go for that purpose, for I believe it will do more for the cause that way than in any other.' She then spoke of some money which had been borrowed from her and her sister, but which they had not been able to collect, saying, 'It is a shame that those men will take our little bit of money, which is so much needed in our work; \$1,500 would do a great deal to help it along.' I replied, 'Perhaps they will pay it now

that they know it is your last request that it should go to the cause.' She often said she wished she had been able to raise more money and make the work easier for those who remained.

"In one of these interviews she looked up and there was an expression of infinite tenderness upon her face as she said, 'These have been wonderful years,' and reaching out she took my hand and patted it affectionately, saying, 'How many happy, happy times we have traveled about together! Day and night, in stage coaches, on freight trains, over the mountains and across the prairies, hungry and tired, we have wandered. The work was sometimes hard and discouraging but those were happy and useful years.' On one occasion when she was very tired and could not speak clearly and seemed trying to remember something, I understood her to say, 'Can you recall the trouble?' and supposing she was thinking of one particular trouble, I asked if she wanted to speak of that unhappy time. Smiling she said, 'Oh, no! Let us recall nothing that was unhappy, the unhappiness isn't worth remembering, it is only the good that counts.'

"She spoke of the different workers with whom her life had been associated and said, 'Their faces pass before me, one by one, I cannot call their names but they are a host of splendid, loyal women and I remember and love them all. How good they have been to me! I wonder if we shall know each other in the hereafter. Perhaps I can do more over yonder than I have done here.' She referred often to the members of the National Board, who had served with her so many years; of their unselfish labor for the cause, of their loyalty and devotion to her, speaking of them just as a mother would talk of her children and telling of her affection for them. Among those to whom she sent special messages of loving interest was Rachel Foster Avery who had been as a daughter to her for many years, and who was now in Europe with her own daughters. She admonished her to educate them so that they might be helpful to their generation as their mother had been to hers, and she spoke of the beautiful years of Mrs. Avery's young womanhood when she had devoted not only herself but her means so generously to the work.

"She never wearied in hearing me talk of the Baltimore con-

vention, of the valuable service rendered by President Thomas and Miss Garrett, of their affectionate care of her during her illness at Miss Garrett's home, and said no daughters could have done more for her than they did. And then she recalled many others whose hospitality she had enjoyed during all the years. She never forgot a kindness and was appreciative of every little thing that was done for her. She was particularly pleased at the thoughtful tenderness of the young college girls, who frequently sent flowers and other tokens of remembrance through these days.

"At one time she talked of the money which her brother, Col. D. R. Anthony, had given to her sister Mary to be used at any time there should be a movement of the women of the country for a memorial to her, and said, 'I hope there will be no effort to put up a shaft or any monument of that sort in memory of me or of the other women who have given themselves to our work. The best kind of a memorial would be a school where girls could be taught everything useful that would help them to earn an honorable livelihood; where they could learn to do anything they were capable of, just as boys can. I would like to have lived to see such a school as that in every great city of the United States.'

"She never complained, but once, when the consciousness of approaching death seemed strongly to impress itself upon her, she said, holding up her hand and measuring a little space on one finger, 'Just think of it, I have been striving for over sixty years for a little bit of justice no bigger than that, and yet I must die without obtaining it. Oh, it seems so cruel!' 'Yes, it is cruel,' I answered, 'but remember what you have done for other women in all these years. Your grand struggle has changed life for women everywhere. Think of all the splendid opportunities open to the young women of today, largely through your efforts.' 'Oh, yes,' she said, 'it is very different now, and most of the young women who are benefitting by it haven't the least idea how it came about. They do not realize the change, they don't know what it has cost other women to get it for them, but some day they will learn.' She spoke of these opportunities for young women on two or three occasions and seemed to be thinking about them a great deal.

"I was allowed to see her four or five times a day and each time it seemed as if she had been thinking up something to tell me in connection with the work. She was particularly anxious that I should warn women everywhere not to become over sanguine by a little success or greatly depressed by any adverse action, but should assure them that the strong need of the hour was steadfastness of purpose and unfaltering confidence in final triumph. She said to impress upon them that there was no power on earth which could prevent it and that it would be hastened by the faithfulness and loyalty of the women themselves.

"I tried to make her feel that she would get well but she was wiser than I and knew better. It had been very hard for me to accept the presidency of the association and I did so only at Miss Anthony's earnest and oft-repeated solicitation. Fearing that after she had passed away I might give it up, she besought me over and over again to promise her that I would devote all the remaining years of my life to this one cause. This promise I made her, that so long as the association desired my services in any capacity and felt that I could be useful I would give my entire time to it, and would work for woman suffrage the remainder of my life in the best way I could, either in or out of the association. Over and over again she repeated her request and I repeated my promise. She particularly urged me not to be influenced by too great haste, but to keep steadily on, agitating and educating, to strike a blow whenever an opportunity arose, to take what came without fear, not to expect too much of people, especially not to expect gratitude or feel annoyed if any particular effort were not appreciated, but as far as possible strive to do the right thing and then bravely accept whatever results might come. She spoke of the changing attitude of public sentiment and many times assured me that I need have no fear as to the outcome, because justice must prevail sometime, and what was needed was constant patience and continual work.

"Once I said to her, 'Aunt Susan, as you look back on the past, if you had to live it over again, would you do the same?' And without a moment's hesitation she answered, 'Oh, yes, I'd do it all again; the spirit is willing yet; I feel the same desire to do the

work but the flesh is weak. It's too bad that our bodies wear out while our interests are just as strong as ever.' Each day we talked of the prospect of carrying Oregon and I would cull from the letters and newspaper clippings a fresh bit of hope to give her. Her dear face would lighten up, and when she had not even strength to turn her beautiful head on the pillow, her eyes would brighten, and, with an intensity of feeling that thrilled me, her faltering voice would say, 'Oh, if I were only able to be there! I long for it so!'

"One day when my heart was breaking I said, 'I do not know how I can live and do this work without you. I have been so accustomed to come to you for advice and help that I shall be utterly lost without your counsel. For nearly twenty years we have been together in every campaign and in all the great meetings and I have not learned to walk alone. You have always been at hand whenever we needed you.' 'I don't know much about the other life,' she answered. 'Some people think they know a great deal and they tell us what will and will not happen. I cannot say, but this I do believe, that if anyone there can help or influence those who are left behind in this life, I will come to you. If the existence beyond the grave is, as most of us believe, a conscious existence, I do not see how my interest in this cause can change or why I should desire less to work for it than when I am here in the body. I am sure that in every effort for woman's freedom and better service to the world I shall be as deeply concerned as I have been here, if there is any way of knowing about it, and if it is possible I will always be where I am most needed.'

"She seemed to improve each day after my arrival and by Sunday she was so much better that I thought I would go home for a short time, fearing that her desire to talk might injure her chances for recovery. That morning I spoke to her about it and at first she objected, but when I told her the doctor thought it would be better for her if she did not talk so much about the work, she seemed content to let me go with the promise that I would return in two or three days. Later I told her I was going to dine with the Gannetts, and that after I returned we would have one more visit before I started for home. She seemed very

cheerful, sending affectionate messages to Mr. and Mrs. Gannett and their daughter and son. When I left the room she waved her hand and said, 'Come back soon; I'll sleep while you are gone and then we'll have a good visit, doctor or no doctor.' She had rebelled all along against the prohibition of more than fifteen minutes' talk at a time.

"I felt almost happy for it seemed as if Miss Anthony really might recover, but when I returned at three o'clock the nurse met me with the information that she had grown suddenly worse and they had telephoned for the doctor. I hastened to her room and found her in great pain and unable to speak and in a few minutes she became unconscious. On the arrival of the physician, I saw from the expression of her face that there was no hope. Up to that time the doctor had given us encouragement to look for Miss Anthony's recovery, but she had had serious valvular heart trouble for the past six years, and the weakness from pneumonia finally caused the action of the heart to fail.

"From half-past three o'clock on Sunday afternoon Miss Anthony seemed even to her physician to be unconscious, but for hours I knelt at her bedside holding her hand and hoping for a recognition. At length I was called from the room and a niece, Mrs. Margaret McLean Baker, took my place. When I returned I sat at the head of the bed and placed my hand on Miss Anthony's forehead. In an instant she reached up and took it and the doctor said, 'I think she knows you.' I knelt at her side, clasped her hand in mine, laid my face on it and asked her if she knew me. It seemed as if she tried to speak, and I said, 'If you know me, I wish you would press my hand.' Immediately she pressed it and made an effort to speak, and I asked, 'Do you want me to promise you again that I will never give up the work as long as I live?' Immediately she drew away her hand and laid it on my head as if in benediction, and then taking my hand she drew it to her lips and tried to kiss it. Several times thereafter during the long night, she would press my hand, and probably for twelve hours after she was stricken she was more or less conscious. After that I could get no response from her, and yet she could feel the moment my hand unclasped and would reach after

it. The nurse said she missed its warmth, as one in sleep nestles toward warmth and comfort; but I felt that in those last weary hours it was her longing to feel comradeship, which even in her partial unconsciousness remained with her.

“By morning Miss Anthony had apparently passed into profound unconsciousness and made no sign but all that day I remained at her bedside and she clung to my hand. It seemed as if when she was entering into the Dark Valley she still held fast to the human friendships. Her sister Mary, with the silent fortitude that had governed her entire life, sat by the bedside motionless and speechless through all those long hours, and only they who understood the deep devotion of that heroic soul to her elder sister could know the agony that she endured.

“At the midnight hour the brave heart had almost ceased its beating, and at twenty minutes before one on the morning of Tuesday, March 13, it was stilled forever.”

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Never was the adage, “A prophet is not without honor save in his own country,” more fully disproved than in the respect shown to Miss Anthony in her own city of Rochester, which had been her home for more than sixty years. On the day of her death the *Democrat and Chronicle* contained a sketch of her life filling more than nine columns; the *Union and Advertiser* and the *Herald* had over seven columns each; the *Post-Express*, the afternoon paper, had six columns and the *Evening Times* about the same. All published large portraits and editorials of a column or more. For the next three days each paper filled several columns daily with copies of letters, telegrams, resolutions and tributes. On the day after the funeral the *Democrat and Chronicle* devoted nearly eight columns to the services and other matters connected with the occasion; the *Evening Times* more than a page, and the other papers many columns. It would have been wholly impossible for the newspapers of any city to do more to prove their esteem and appreciation of a citizen. On the morning of her passing away the *Union and Advertiser* said in its sketch:



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SHE GAVE HER LIFE FOR WOMAN.



The last weeks of Miss Anthony's life were in eminent keeping with her whole career; the magnificent struggle which the aged patient made against death was as fearless as was her lifelong battle in the cause which she espoused and did so much for—equal suffrage and woman's rights. Time and again when it seemed as if Miss Anthony must succumb to the demands of advancing years, she rallied her enfeebled forces and with a tenacity that was heroic and inspiring clung to life, while the whole country waited and watched with prayerful interest the life and death struggle which was going on in the modest Madison street home. It was only when her heart, worn out by the long battle, was no longer able to respond to the powerful will that Susan B. Anthony gave up her life work.

The *Post-Express* said in the afternoon of that day:

The same quiet peace and restfulness which permeated the life into which Susan Brownell Anthony came as a child of Quaker parents living in their refined and comfortable but unostentatious home in Massachusetts eighty-six years ago, now lend a halo of calm to the house and household where her remains rest awaiting the last rites and honors of the citizens of her adopted community, and the tokens of respect from her admirers all over the United States.

A Quaker born, a Unitarian in death, the tenets of her faith are beautifully expressed this morning in the rays of sunlight that are permitted, unchecked by blinds, to stream into the rooms of the saddened, grief-stricken gathering of women who have watched lovingly over the last days, hours and minutes of the life of Susan B. Anthony. A wreath of lovely, fragrant violets hung on the door is all that betokens a distinction between that house and others in the secluded street.

In a double column of heavy black-faced type the *Evening Times* said:

Women well may mourn. The soul of a system and a creed left the world last night when Susan B. Anthony crossed the Great Divide. The dominant mind that guided the destinies of the greatest woman's movement of the century is stilled. A soul, the greatness of which it remains for posterity to discover, shook off its fettering clay and soared to its place in the empyrean. Women well may mourn.

As a pioneer of woman suffrage she braved ridicule until she won her meed of respect and admiration. As the leader of a movement of recognized worth and power she lent dignity to the cause. In her life her labor was the sustaining power of what is as truly a creed as the tenets of a church. Her death, calm, resigned and peaceful, was a benediction on that creed. She gave to it all her worldly possessions.

In the greatness of her thought there was no blemish. She was an apostle as truly as the men who followed the Nazarene; a patriot as truly as the leaders who fought for the freedom of a nation even as she fought for equality and

freedom from the yoke of custom; a martyr as truly as those sainted ones who gave their lives for a principle.

In the garish brilliancy of a world's admiration she turned to Rochester as "home." Her heart was here; for sixty years her work had its inception here; in the Flower City the bud of a mighty force blossomed to its fullness; through her Rochester was honored of the world. Well may the women of Rochester mourn with the women of the world.<sup>1</sup>

The mayor of the city offered his appreciation and afterwards ordered the flags at half-mast as follows:

In the death of Susan B. Anthony Rochester loses a citizen who for many years has commanded the respect and admiration of our people without regard to belief in or dissent from the principle for which no sacrifice was too great, no effort too hard for her to make. If she had not been so well and widely known as the champion of woman suffrage as to overshadow every other interest of her life, more people would think of her, as might well be done, as the unwearied worker in every cause for the uplifting not only of her sex but of humanity.

Tomorrow (Thursday) will be held the funeral services for Susan B. Anthony. It is fitting that this should be made the occasion for a tribute of respect as unusual and marked as were her personal qualities and efforts for the many causes to which her life was devoted. It is suggested, therefore, that flags be displayed at half-mast throughout the city, and the attention of the custodians of all city buildings is called to this request.<sup>2</sup>

The papers contained columns of testimonials from prominent citizens, and extracts from a few of these will illustrate the character of all. President Augustus H. Strong, of the Rochester Theological Seminary (Baptist) said:

Miss Anthony had strong natural force of character and great nobility of soul. She espoused the cause of the whole sisterhood of women and gave her life to uplift them. She had some masculine qualities as well as feminine. She could meet a rough and bitter opponent with a sarcasm and ability that fairly benumbed and silenced him, but for all that she was a true woman, a woman of large heart, great kindliness of spirit, compassion for the world and determination to right the wrongs. There have been few such examples of life-long devotion to a great cause, and we honor ourselves in doing honor to her memory.

<sup>1</sup> Editorials of Rochester papers and those of other cities will be found in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> On the day of Miss Anthony's funeral the flags on the State House of Kansas, in Topeka, and on the City Hall of Leavenworth and the City Hall of Los Angeles, California, were flown at half-mast.

President Rush Rhees of the University of Rochester said in the course of his eulogy:

The trait of Miss Anthony which most strongly impressed those who had anything to do with her was her untiring moral energy. Nothing could have been more characteristic of her life than the determination manifested in her last days to dedicate every atom of her strength, every particle of her influence and every dollar that she possessed or could secure to the promotion of the cause which she regarded as essential to the fullest development of the largest influence and the truest liberty of her sex. Those who have not been convinced by the arguments for woman suffrage that seemed to her conclusive, yield to none in admiration for the sterling worth, the valid renown, the remarkable intellectual power and the exalted moral earnestness of Susan B. Anthony.

"She was the foremost woman in all the world," said Mrs. W. L. Howard, president of the Local Council of Women, "and yet it was marvelous how she could be interested in the smallest affairs of everyday life, and was never too busy to talk and counsel with women about their children and the affairs of their home life." Mrs. Mary T. Lewis Gannett, who was on terms of closest intimacy with her, said in ending her tribute: "She was a wonderful combination of strength and gentleness. Children loved her. The world knew of her intense earnestness, her great force, but the knowledge of her sweetness and tenderness, of her beautiful, womanly graciousness, is the especial heritage of the women of her own city, and the benediction of her life will be with us and inspire us as long as we live."

The Rev. Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, of the Lake Avenue Baptist Church said in part: "Now that the blow has fallen, we can only thank God that He has given to this community the glory and the privilege of having had Miss Anthony's home among us. Her single-hearted devotion to her conviction of truth and justice has made her one of the great women of the ages."

Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, now the most prominent woman of the city, expressed the universal feeling when she said:

In the death of Miss Anthony Rochester has lost not only its most eminent citizen but a rare and beautiful personality. Great as is her work, the woman herself was greater and finer. To keep as she kept at eighty-six her sense of humor and proportion, her interest in people, her kindling enthusiasm, her

faith in the future and her capacity for friendship undimmed, is a more difficult achievement than any to which she set her hand. No one came into association with Miss Anthony who did not feel the atmosphere of unselfish devotion, sincerity and comradeship in which she lived. No little kindness was too small for her to do, no service too slight for her to recognize. She made all women feel that she had found the secret of keeping charm, interest and vitality to the end of a long life in the abandonment of her whole being to the accomplishment of a great and unselfish purpose.

## CHAPTER LXXII.

### THE FUNERAL OF AMERICA'S GREAT WOMAN.

1906.



IT was at first the wish of the family that the funeral services should be held in the Unitarian Church, which Miss Anthony had attended for over fifty years, but it was strongly urged upon them that in justice to the public, to whom in a great measure Miss Anthony belonged, a larger one should be selected. The Brick Church (Baptist), the Jewish Temple and the Central Presbyterian were offered; the last was chosen because of its special adaptability. The desire of the people to look upon her face once more was so manifest that it was arranged to have her lie in state from ten o'clock till half-past one on the day of the funeral.

During Tuesday and Wednesday Miss Anthony lay in an upper chamber of her home, and here just those who had been the very nearest and dearest to her in life came often to gaze on their beloved and commune with the spirit that seemed still to linger in this sacred place. Wednesday evening they brought her down into the front parlor and laid her in the casket of Quaker gray on its downy bed of white silk and chiffon. She was robed as in life in her soft, black satin dress with its usual garniture of delicate lace, and on her breast was the Wyoming pin, the little enamelled flag with its four diamond stars typifying the four free States. The silver hair crowned the classic head with a shining halo, the noble face seemed chiselled in purest marble and she was grandly beautiful in death. At the head of the casket, on the old, round mahogany table on which the Wom-

an's Declaration of Rights had been written in 1848, were the handsome floral pieces sent by National Associations, while both parlors were filled with cut flowers and blooming plants from societies and individuals in many cities. All of the arrangements at the house were under the careful supervision of Mrs. Mary T. Lewis Gannett.

The relatives and a few of the most intimate friends were gathered here on Thursday morning, and after all had looked again and again into the dear face and whispered their farewells, the casket was reverently borne from the home to the church through the heavily falling snow. It was placed in front of the pulpit with a background of palms holding in the center a sheaf of wheat wreathed in white roses. On the casket lay a large cluster of violets and a silk American flag was draped across the foot. A Guard of Honor had been chosen from the young women of the Political Equality Club and the Susan B. Anthony League, and four at a time, dressed in white and standing at either end of the casket, remained on duty while the body lay in state: Charlotte Gannett, Gertrude Blackall, Charlotte Anthony, Helen Raynsford, Florence and Marian Mosher, Charlotte Dann, Ida Kennon, Florence Howard, Helen Bowlby, Mrs. Florence Fisher, Mrs. Florence Alexander.

Four policemen stood guard at the residence and ten were on duty at the church. The *Post Express* said of this deeply solemn occasion:

Flags at half-mast spoke the city's mourning for Susan B. Anthony; crowds at Central Church and all the avenues leading to it testified to the respect and affection of the citizens of Rochester for their greatest woman. The business men, many of whom had been converted from ridicule to belief in the doctrines that Miss Anthony promulgated, showed their respect by lowering their flags and drawing their blinds as the procession went by from the house to the church. . . .

In the quiet church, surrounded by no masses of flowers, no twinkling tapers, no uniformed guards, lay the body of a once humble-minded woman, before whose simplicity and steadfastness the etiquette of the strictest court in Europe had been laid aside and whom the mistress of that court had been pleased to call friend.

But it was not Susan B. Anthony, the leader of movements and the president of councils, that drew so many people to Central Church today to look upon

her immobile face and say their brief prayer as they passed through the aisle. It was rather "Aunt Susan," the sharer of many joys and griefs, the fighter of small battles for close friends, the white haired guest for whom homes were always open, the courteous, sweet-souled mistress of the little castle in Madison Street that she called home.

Women from the outer world brought the note of homage to a leader. Rochester made no secret of its personal grief. There must have been people of every creed, political party, nationality and plane of life in those lines that kept filing through the aisles of Central Church. The youth and the age of the land were represented. Every type was there to bow in reverence, respect and grief. Professional men, working men, financiers came to offer homage. Women brought little children to see the face of her who had aimed at being the emancipator of her sex, but whose work had ended just as victory seemed within reach.

Priests, ministers of the Protestant faiths, rabbis of the Jewish congregations, came to look upon her who had more than once given them inspiration in dark moments. Never failing in faith, believing in the doctrine that to labor is to pray, Miss Anthony had a wonderfully invigorating effect on her friends. This morning many spoke of this in sorrow that it was no longer theirs to claim.

A noticeable feature was the many negroes who passed the bier. Their emotion was indicated in the typical forms of their race. One old, white-haired man, limped down the aisle, stood for a moment at the casket and plucking a leaf from a wreath said, "I'll keep this to 'member Miss Anthony by." . . .

In a beautiful description Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows said: "It was an impressive picture, the great church, the casket draped in the American flag, with well-won palms and garlands, the white-robed girls, with downcast eyes, like angelic forms keeping vigil beside it, and the ceaseless procession that filed past the silent sleeper."

It was estimated that nearly 10,000 people passed by the bier, and when it was necessary to close the doors and prepare for the services hundreds were still in the line outside, while other hundreds were waiting at the four entrances to the church to take the places assigned. Special sections were reserved for the Board of Education, the heads of the city departments, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Political Equality Club, Local Council of Women, W. C. T. U., the various associations of College Women, the Women's Medical Society, official representatives of the schools and other bodies, and delegates from suffrage societies over all the State. The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union was represented by its vice-president, Miss

Anna Gordon; the National Suffrage Association by its treasurer, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton; the New York State Suffrage Association by its president, Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett.

The nine trustees of the church acted as ushers. Two nephews, D. R. Anthony, of Leavenworth, and Wendell P. Mosher, of Minneapolis, and four trustees of the Unitarian church, the Hon. George Herbert Smith, Eugene T. Curtis, Dr. H. W. Hoyt and J. Vincent Alexander, served as active pall-bearers, while the honorary pall-bearers were selected from the University of Rochester: Misses Ina M. Coe, president Students' Association for Women; Ethel J. Kates, president Senior Class; Evelyn O'Connor, president Alumnae Association; Beulah E. Fuller, president Junior Class; Bertha G. Adams, president Freshman Class; Laura Lawless and Enid Morris, representing the College Young Women's Christian Association and the Women Students' Athletic Association.

The entrance of the honorary bearers in their black gowns and mortar boards announced the coming of the family and immediate friends. They brought with them the flowers from the house, and the space around the casket was soon banked with roses, carnations, hyacinths, violets, lilies of the valley and mignonette, filling the church with fragrance. It was quickly crowded to its entire seating capacity of 2,500 and many hundreds were turned away sorrowful. On the rostrum were the Rev. C. C. Albertson, pastor of the church; the Rev. William Channing Gannett, minister of the Unitarian Church; the Hon. James G. Cutler, mayor of the city; Dr. Rush Rhees, president of the University of Rochester; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance; the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffrey, the Rev. William S. Carter, assistant pastor of the church.

The music finely rendered by the organist, Elbert Newton, was of a hopeful and inspiring character—a grand selection from Lohengrin, the prelude from Parsifal, and, as the family entered, Mendelssohn's "Consolation." The church quartette pre-



ceded the service with two hymns, Chadwick's "It Singeth Low In Every Heart," and Whittier's "All as God Wills, Who Wisely Heeds;" after the prayer Miss May Marsh sang with deep feeling, Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar"; at the conclusion the congregation united in singing, Gaskell's, "Calmly, Calmly, Lay Her Down." The Ninetieth and Seventy-first Psalms and other selections from the Scriptures were read by Dr. Albertson. It was said of the prayer of Mr. Gannett: "It seemed more in the nature of a song of thanksgiving than a prayer. Almost a smile of exaltation was on the face of the pastor—of whose congregation the great suffragist was so long a member—as he expressed exultant gratitude for the life that had been lived."

It is like the close of a day in which the winds have been high and there have been storm and stress, and the air has been cleared by the storm and stress; and now the day is done, the shadows are lengthening and we sit in the first moment of the afterglow, and the skies are still bright with the sun that has set. Let us lift our prayer of trust and of thanksgiving for the glory of the day.

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Father, what have we to think when we stand in the presence of death? What to say? That thou art never so much the good God to us as just at these moments when the voice to which there is no echo comes into the home and says, "It is I, be still, fear not, for I am God." And then something passes, the quiet settles on the face, and the eyes that greeted us with love are closed, and the hands whose touch has grown familiar no longer respond—and we call it Death. But underneath our sadness we feel the tides of gladness, and underneath the wonder and the mystery of it we feel the glory of the assurance that death is but the shadow that the great light causes. So our hearts begin to sing and rise to strains triumphant; and we feel never so within thy heart, O God of light and love, as when our faces whiten and our eyes are filled and our hands are empty.

We come in this sad, glad mood today and listen to what death teaches us of the deathlessness of life, to catch the supreme message that thou dost send to mortal heart.

Father, we thank thee. Sad—of course; our hearts are aching, but we come in gladness of heart. Thanksgiving fills our hearts and lips. What do we thank thee for? For *herself*, her woman's self; the gentle greatness of her spirit; the woman's self who loved the home; who loved it well enough to pledge herself to make the homes of earth more beautiful, wherever word of hers could go. We thank thee for herself—for the way in which thou didst choose and commission her to do high service, and for the way in which she took her part and said unto herself: "I go in the strength of right, to make the right triumphant on the earth; I go in the name of the undone right to

make it real; I go in the name of the forgotten justice to make it remembered in high places and in low; I go in the name of the silent and the silenced ones to give them voice."

We thank thee for the heart of duty in her. We thank thee for the dauntless will in her. We thank thee for the way in which she heard the contumely of the world and listened not, but listened to the voices that called her on and on through all.

We thank thee for the perfect and persistent consecration of her life to that high will revealed to her. We thank thee for her utter selflessness, by which all that was in her of strength of body, strength of soul, of mind and heart, was made a perfect one with the cause that she felt was laid upon her to fulfil on earth.

We thank thee for the way in which, taught by thee, her heart learned the old secret that throbbed in Jesus' heart, that those who lose their life for right and God shall find it.

And Father, still our prayer or thanksgiving goes on. We thank thee for her *service*. We thank thee for the world made whiter, justice made more just, since she has lived and spoken upon the earth, tired yet tireless in her efforts. We thank thee for the beauty of new womanhood that has dawned above us and around us. We thank thee for that dream she dreamed of men and women in a true togetherness, a perfect equalness, each with the other's hand, each with the other's mind, each with the other's heart, each with the other's conscience, and so walking, true, two and two, through the light and through the night, through suffering, sorrow, joy, through failure, through success, helping to make the world more beautiful, together.

And Father, we thank thee that there is something left for us to do. We thank thee that her dream did not come real, as she so longed to have it; that she dreamed a larger dream than one life could fulfil; that it was hers to say at last:

"Others shall sing the song,  
Others shall right the wrong,  
Finish what I begin,  
And all I failed of win."

We know that her heart ached while she listened to thy word, "I have caused thy eyes to look upon the land, but thou shalt not enter into it." So we take it as her bequest to us to do the unfinished work, that her dream may be realized—to establish the new justice and equality of right.

God, speed her on into a more perfect consecration and selflessness—if it be possible—where angels walk! God, bless her! All our hearts are blessing her. We fear nothing for her. We fear nothing in her presence, as she lies here silent. We hear her word, "Failure is impossible" for right, for good; for God is God, and they who serve his will are doomed to success. God, bless her; comfort those who miss her; inspire those who knew and loved her to do thy will! Amen.

The first address was made by William Lloyd Garrison:

The world has long discerned and duly acknowledged the noble character and service of Susan B. Anthony. On each recurring birthday of her ripened years, she has received the respectful homage of men and the passionate tribute of grateful women. Devoid of vanity and oblivious of self, her constant thought was of the great movement to which her life was given.

The change in woman's outlook and opportunity since her early days was full of cheer, but the self-evident justice of her cause made the delay in granting it a source of wonder and constant disappointment. No rest could come to that active mind and tireless body while a legal shackle rested upon her sisters. Star after star broke out in the darkened firmament to which her eyes unceasingly turned. Four States of the Union lifted from women all political disabilities; Great Britain and Scandinavia yielded a modified suffrage; and in New Zealand and Australia the battle was fully won. Yet how our friend longed for the complete triumph in her own land! She was willing to bear the ills of age if only the jubilee could be sounded while her living ears could receive the glad tidings.

Remembering Miss Anthony's indifference to personal eulogy, which she invariably turned to the credit of the cause, I shall not try to repeat in varying words the tribute of love and appreciation so often paid. Let me rather recur to half-a-century ago, when the fresh and earnest Quaker school mistress entered upon her consecration to the cause of the imbruted slaves and to the uplifting of oppressed womanhood. Out of the first movement the second grew, and what more natural than the impulse which led the new disciple to seek acquaintance with the Abolition leaders!

In my father's crowded household she came a welcome guest, a helper and not a hindrance. Unassuming, earnest, sympathetic, attractive to children, she won easily and completely my mother's heart. It was a time of stress for the tired housekeeper, who, with scanty means, must furnish hospitality to all coming in the name of human liberty. Some were indeed burdens but more were sources of delight, and, like "Susan", which she became at once, even to infant tongues, melted into the family like those of kin. Indeed the ties of unpopular reformers are often closer than those of blood.

At that time the struggle for woman's rights was already launched. The London Anti-Slavery World's Convention, in 1840, to which the American women delegates were refused admission on account of sex, with Lucretia Mott and Mary Grew among the rejected, marks the inception of the organized woman's movement which later developed.

The heroic Grimke sisters of South Carolina and Abby Kelly were the first to tread the bitterly hostile path of public speaking, forced to assert their rights as women to plead for black men in chains. Lucy Stone, in her charming youth, fresh from Oberlin, a curiosity as the product of a college, had followed closely these elder pioneers. But ridicule and coarse invective, verging on the brutal, were still to be encountered, and Miss Anthony faced them with undaunted courage. Personal dangers were little feared, but to tender and sensitive women the constant wounding of the spirit to which they were subjected, both from men and from unthinking and conventional women, was indeed a trial.

In retrospect, however, these indignities counted as naught, a thousand times

offset by the precious association into which such self-effacement for an ideal brought kindred souls. What were the sneers of subsidized editors, or the social slights of fashionable women, or even misunderstood motive, compared with the friendship of Parker, Garrison, Whittier, Phillips, Curtis, Pillsbury, Foster, Gerrit Smith, Frederick Douglass, and their compeers, occupying the stage where the real history of the times was making? Although a period of national darkness, it was to actors in the momentous drama one of exaltation and joy. Faith in the supreme laws, fidelity to conviction, the larger life that blesses those who follow truth, brought a peace of mind past comprehension and dwarfed the everyday annoyances that shut out the sunlight. The periodical conventions were full of excitement, interest and refreshment. Harmonious in purpose but with lively differences of opinion, they were fruitful in animated discussions. To reformers' children of those days, no modern entertainment can compare to these.

The felicitous conjunction of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton will long remain a type of faithful friendship. Each brought separate offerings to the cause, the lack of one supplied by the abundance of the other. Both will be linked in the history of the struggle. One can imagine Mrs. Stanton the magnet of a salon, a Madame de Staël, whose quick wit and gracious presence charmed and attracted; but there was no better place to view Miss Anthony than on the platform. There, with ease not exceeded by Mrs. Stanton in the social circle, she made the audience her guests and friends. She attempted no set speeches, pretended to no felicity of diction, caring nothing for periods but everything for clarity and directness, reaching her point, "straight as a line of light". Simple, practical and ingenuous, her unpremeditated remarks carried that quality of nature that makes the whole world kin. To hear her for only five minutes was to dissipate for all time the prejudices of an opponent. Whatever might be the disagreement with her sentiments, the onlooker could never afterwards doubt the sincerity and lovable character of this remarkable woman, who inspired such enthusiasm and loyalty among her co-workers. It was impossible for her to escape being "Aunt Susan" to all the younger members of the faith.

Dissensions are inevitable in all human organizations, those of reform included. The contrary points of view regarding methods, and the personal equations which always enter, cause lines of cleavage and make grievances that rankle. The wounds of the enemy are marks of honor, but those of fellow reformers pierce to the marrow. No one experienced these tribulations more than did this positive and self-reliant leader. Within or without the society she maintained a firm front against all antagonists, assured of the rectitude of her motives and the soundness of her judgment. It was no pride of opinion, for she was ever amenable to reason. The interest of her cause was her first and final consideration. These breaches lessened, if they were not altogether healed, as the victory neared. Estranged comrades again united. It will be with the woman suffrage as it was with the anti-slavery movement when the goal is reached—the internal friction will be lost sight of in the grand result, "As morning drinks the morning star."

The familiar figure, that to some of us has seemed perennial as the seasons, will be missed sorely when the anniversaries accentuate her absence. What

has become of that indomitable spirit, the wisest know not. No realm can be wherein this gentle yet rugged reformer would not find something to improve. No primrose path of dalliance could bring happiness to her being. But we are grateful that in our time and sphere she spent her mortal life. "What would not a man give," said Socrates, "if he might converse with Orpheus and Musæus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again. I, too, shall have a wonderful interest in a place where I can converse with Palamedes and Ajax, the son of Telamon, and other heroes of old!" And if the possibilities suggested by the ancient philosopher exist, what infinite delight awaits our friend, who carries with her the blessings of the down-trodden and the gratitude of her generation!

Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffrey, a woman of education and influence, who had lived in Rochester many years and been often at the Anthony home, spoke as follows:

We, the colored people of Rochester, join the world in mourning the loss of our true friend, Susan B. Anthony. Years ago, when it meant a great deal to be a friend to our poor, down-trodden race, Susan B. Anthony stood side by side with William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Abby Kelly Foster, Frederick Douglass and others, fighting our battles and espousing the cause of an enslaved people.

Well do we remember the 12th of December last, at the centennial of the birth of William Lloyd Garrison, in the Zion Church, when she stood in the pulpit and told of the struggles of Garrison and the trials of the noble women and men engaged in the anti-slavery movement. Then she spoke of her life work, the suffrage movement. She bade us look forward to better and brighter days that would surely come to us as a race, and as we looked up into her sweet face and listened to her words, they seemed like a benediction.

Little did we think it would be her last address to us as a race. With you, her dear sister Mary, we sympathize in your great loss. The colored churches in this city, the National and State Federations of Colored Women, the federated clubs of the association, the little Girls of Busy Bee, who at their last meeting stated that they would send with their offering of flowers money for Oregon, all extend to you their tender sympathy; your loss is our great loss.

The members of the Susan B. Anthony Club of this city bow their heads in sorrow for their great leader. She was our friend for many years—our champion. Sleep on, dear heart, in peace, for we who have looked into thy face, we who have heard thy voice, we who have known something of thy great life work—we pledge ourselves to devote our time and energies to the work thou has left us to do.

Mrs. Chapman Catt said in her eulogium:

Every century has produced a few men and women whose memories the world has adjudged worthy of perpetuation. The dear friend who has gone

from us was one of our century's immortals. Both friends and foes of the causes she espoused are agreed that this honor is hers. Her eighty-six years measure a movement whose results have been more far-reaching in the change of conditions, social, civil and political, than those of any war of revolution since history began.

When this woman opened her eyes upon the light of our world there was scarce a civilized nation whose standards were not tainted by the protection of human slavery somewhere within its domain. Not a woman was there in any land, or among any people, who did not live under the shadow and the oppression of laws and customs which should have been found alone in barbarism. When Miss Anthony laid down her self-appointed task of uplifting the world to a more just order of things, these iniquities had passed away as the result of that mighty movement. There is today an infinitely broader field of opportunity, of happiness and of usefulness for women than when she came. There is an immeasurably sounder, healthier and more rational relationship between the sexes than when she began her work. There is a higher womanhood, a nobler manhood and a better humanity. This woman for a large part of half-a-century was the chief inspiration, counselor and guide of that movement. Few workers have been privileged to see such large results from their labors.

There were great women associated with her from time to time, women of wonderful intellect, of superb power, of grand character, and yet she was clearly the greatest of them all, the greatest woman of our century, and perhaps the greatest of all times. Although she possessed intellectual attributes in full measure and was an acknowledged power upon the platform, there were other women equally well endowed. Her greatness lay in the rare qualities of her character, which have not been duplicated in any other leader.

Well do I remember my first intimate work with Miss Anthony sixteen years ago in a campaign in South Dakota. She was then seventy years of age. Should we hear of man or woman of those years today going into a new and sparsely settled country to conduct a campaign, we should marvel at it. Yet so full of energy and determination was she that no one thought of her age. She remained there for months, living under hardships and privations of which she never complained. Toward the close of that campaign, women began to whisper to each other and to say: "Oh, if we lose this amendment it will kill Miss Anthony. She has so set her heart upon it that at her time of life the shock of defeat will surely prove fatal." So we all redoubled our efforts, working no longer for the cause alone but for her sake as well. The day after the vote was taken, we gathered in the headquarters at Huron to hear the returns. As the reports piled up the adverse results, Miss Anthony passed from one to another, giving a cheerful word everywhere, smiling always, and bringing back the fleeting courage of all with her strong, "Never mind, never mind, there will be another time. Cheer up, the world will not always view our question as it does now! By and by there will be victory." This incident is indicative of her true greatness.

It was that hope which hoped on when others saw nothing to hope for; that splendid optimism which never knew despair; that faith which never forgot the eternal righteousness of her cause; that courage which never recognized disappointment, that tenacity of purpose which never permitted her to deflect

in the slightest from the main object of her life, which combined to make her greater than others. This is the combination of qualities which has produced martyrs. It is the character of a Savonarola or a Bruno. She never knew defeat. When that happened which others called defeat, she was wont to think of it merely as the establishment of a mile post to indicate the progress which had been made, and she never doubted that victory was just ahead.

We had hoped that this wonderful woman might remain with us for many years to come. We believed our hopes were warranted by the youth which she preserved in spite of her advancing years, and by the activity and ardor which never forsook her. We had hoped that she might see the full fruition of her desires. All over the world there had been prayer without ceasing that she might remain until her dearest hope should become an established fact. But I believe I speak for all enlightened womanhood when I say that we almost forget the grief and disappointment in the prayer of thanksgiving that this great soul has been permitted to live even thus long and to give its splendid service to the world. We realize that her life has given to many nations a higher perception of life and duty and that it has lifted society to a higher plane, and we are grateful. We are rejoiced that she was permitted to make her life a continual and triumphal march of well-doing until the very end.

She seemed to have been especially called to do a work which none but her could do. That work was not completed; but where in the beginning there was but a tiny force of workers, now there is a vast army to carry it on. This army has its leader, a superb and fearless leader, and I feel sure that I speak for every man and woman in this army when I say that we, one and all, at the grave of her whom we have loved, pledge anew our loyalty to that leader and fresh devotion to our common cause. Perhaps, then, the world did not need her any more. Perhaps she could now be spared to go to her well-deserved rest.

But we mourn her today, and every heart aches that we must let her go. We admire, we revere and we honor her because she was great, but we mourn her because we loved her. Who can tell why we love? There was something in her one may not describe which won our hearts as well as our devotion. Perhaps it was her simplicity, her forgetfulness of self, her thoughtfulness of others, which made us love her. We have not lost a leader alone, but a dear, dear friend, whose place can never be filled. We shall never see her like again.

Had the poet wished to put into verse that which was the motto of her life, the spirit which always actuated her, he could not have worded it better than when he wrote:

"To the wrong that needs resistance,  
To the right that needs assistance,  
To the future in the distance  
Give yourself."

We can pay her no higher tribute and build her no grander monument than to write those words in our hearts and make them the guide for the remainder of our lives, as we go on with the work she laid down.

The final tribute was offered by Miss Shaw, of whom an ac-

count said: "She had sat through the service with white face and tremulous lips, showing more plainly than others how greatly she was bereaved. It was with difficulty that she controlled herself at the beginning of her address, but she gained self-possession as she proceeded. It was deeply eloquent, given with feeling so intense that one fancied the words were watered with tears. When she spoke of Miss Anthony's last utterances her voice broke; and when she had finished she retired to her seat as if wholly exhausted, bowing her head and pressing a trembling hand to it."

Your flags at half-mast tell of a nation's loss, but there are no symbols and no words which can tell the love and sorrow that fill our hearts. And yet, out of the depths of our grief arise feelings of truest gratitude for the beauty, the tenderness, the nobility of example, of our peerless Leader's life. There is no death for such as she. There are no last words of love. The ages to come will revere her name. Unnumbered generations of the children of men shall rise up and call her blessed. Her words, her work and her character will go on to brighten the pathway and bless the lives of all people. That which seems death to our unseeing eyes is to her translation. Her work will not be finished, nor will her last word be spoken, while there remains a wrong to be righted or a fettered life to be freed in all the earth. You do well to strew her bier with palms of victory and to crown her with unfading laurel, for never did more victorious hero enter into rest.

Her character was well poised. She did not emphasize one characteristic to the exclusion of others. She taught us that the real beauty of a true life is found in the harmonious blending of diverse elements, and her own life was the epitome of her teaching. She merged a keen sense of justice with the deepest love. Her masterful intellect never for one moment checked the tenderness of her emotions. Her splendid self-assertion found its highest realization in perfect self-surrender. She demonstrated the divine principle that the truest self-development must go hand in hand with the greatest and most arduous service for others.

Hers was the most harmoniously developed character I have ever known; a living soul whose individuality was blended into oneness with all humanity. She lived and all humanity lived in her. Fighting the battle for individual freedom, she was so lost to the consciousness of her own personality that she was unconscious of her existence apart from all mankind.

Her quenchless passion for her cause was that it was yours and mine, the cause of the whole world. She knew that where freedom is, there is the center of power. In it she saw potentially all that humanity might attain when possessed by its spirit. Hence her cause—perfect equality of rights, of opportunity, of privilege for all, civil and political—was to her the bed-rock upon which all true progress must rest. Therefore *she* was nothing, her *cause* was everything. She knew no existence apart from it. In it she lived and moved



and had her being. It was the first and last thought of each day. It was the last word upon her faltering lips. To it her flitting soul responded when the silenced voice could no longer obey the will, and she could only answer our heart-broken questions with the clasp of her trembling hand.

She was in the truest sense a reformer, unhindered in her service by the narrowness and negative destructiveness which often so sadly hamper the work of true reform. Possessed by an unflinching conviction of the primary importance of her own cause, she nevertheless recognized that every effort by either one or many earnest souls toward what they believed to be a better or saner life, should be met in a spirit of encouragement and helpfulness. She recognized that it was immeasurably more desirable to be honestly and earnestly seeking that which in its attainment might not prove best, than to be hypocritically subservient to the truth through a spirit of selfish fear or fawning at the beck of power. She instinctively grasped the truth underlying all the great movements which have helped the progress of the ages, and did not wait for an individual or a cause to win popularity before freely extending to its struggling life a hand of helpful comradeship. She was never found in the cheering crowd that follows an already victorious standard. She left that to the time-servers who divide the spoil after they have crucified their Savior. She was truly great—great in her humility and utter lack of pretension.

On her eightieth birthday this noble soul could truthfully say, in response to the words of loving appreciation from those who showered garlands all about her, "I am not accustomed to demonstrations of gratitude or of praise. I have been a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for this movement. Whatever I have done has been done because I wanted to see better conditions, better surroundings, better opportunities for women."

Speaking of Miss Anthony, Lady Henry Somerset said: "She has the true sign of greatness in that she is absolutely without pretension. No woman of fame has ever so thoroughly made this impression of modesty and unselfishness upon my mind." This was the impression she made upon all who knew her, and, leaving her presence, one would say, "How humble she is!" Viewing her life achievements, one would exclaim, "How transcendently great she is!" No wonder she has won a name and a fame world-wide, and that she has turned the entire current of human conviction. One indeed wrote truly who said of her: "She has lived a thousand years if achievement can measure the length of life."

She whose name we honor, whose friendship we reverence, whose love we prize as a deathless treasure, would say, "This is not an hour for grief or despair. If my life has achieved anything, if I have lived to any purpose, carry on the work I have to lay down." In our last conversation when her prophetic soul saw what we dared not even think, she said: "I leave my work to you and to others who have been so faithful. Promise that you will never let it go down or lessen our demands. There is so much to be done. Think of it! I have struggled for sixty years for a little bit of justice and die without securing it."

Oh, the unutterable cruelty of it! The time will come when at these words every American heart will feel the unspeakable shame and wrong of such a martyrdom!

She did not gain the little bit of freedom for herself, but there is scarcely a civilized land, not even our own, in which she has not been instrumental in securing for some women that which she herself did not attain. She did not reach the goal, but all along the weary years what marvellous achievements, what countless victories! The whole progress has been a triumphal march, marked indeed by sorrow and hardship but never by despair. The heart sometimes yearned for sympathy and the way was long, and oh, so lonely, but every step showed some evidence of progress, some wrong righted, some right established. We have followed her leadership until we stand upon the mount of vision where she today leaves us. The promised land lies just before us. It is for us to go forward and take possession. Without faltering, without a desertion from our ranks, without delaying even to mourn the loss of our departed Leader, the faithful host is marching on. Already the call to advance is heard along the line, and one devoted young follower writes: "There are hundreds of us now who will try to keep up the work she so nobly began and brought so nearly to completion. We will work the harder to try to compensate the world for her loss." Another writes: "I believe, as you go forth to your labors, you will find less opposition and far more encouragement than heretofore. The world is profoundly stirred by the loss of our great General, and in consequence the lukewarm are becoming zealous, the prejudiced are disarming and the suffragists are renewing their vows of fidelity to the cause for which Miss Anthony lived and died. Her talismanic words, the last she ever uttered before a public audience, 'Failure is impossible,' shall be inscribed on our banner and engraved on our hearts."

She has not only blessed us in the legacy of her work and example but she has left us the dearest legacy of her love. The world knew Miss Anthony as the courageous, earnest, unflinching champion of a great principle and the friend of all reforms. Those of us who knew her best knew that she was all this and more; that she was one of the most home-making and home-loving of women. To her home her heart always turned with tenderest longing, and for the one who made home possible she felt the most devoted love and gratitude. She inscribed upon the first volume of her *Life History*, "To my youngest sister, Mary, without whose faithful and constant home-making there could have been no freedom for the out-going of her grateful and affectionate sister."

To this home-making sister the affection of every loyal heart will turn, and we, her co-workers, will love and honor her, not alone for this devotion to her sister, but for her loyal comradeship and faithful service in our great cause. She is our legacy of love, and it will be the joy of every younger woman to bestow upon her the homage of affection.

On the heights alone such souls meet God. In silent communion they learn life's sublimest lessons. They are the world's real heroes. Hers was a heroic life. By it she has taught us that the philosophy of the ancients is wrong; that it is not true that men are made heroic by indifference to life and death, but by learning to love something more than life. Her heroism was the heroism of an all-absorbing love, a love which neither indifference nor persecution nor misrepresentation nor betrayal nor hatred nor flattery could quench; a heroism which would suffer her to see and know nothing but the power of injustice and hatred to destroy, the power of justice and love to develop, all that

is best and noblest in human character. To the causes which such souls espouse, "Failure is impossible." Truly did President Thomas say in her address at our last National Convention, "Of such as you were the lines of the poet Yeats written:

"They shall be remembered forever,  
They shall be alive forever,  
They shall be speaking forever,  
The people shall hear them forever.'"

Miss Shaw pronounced the benediction and then Dr. Albertson said: "While we have been sitting here sheltered from the storm, some hundreds, if not thousands of men, women and children have been standing in the snow, waiting to look upon her face once more before we put this precious dust away. It will be a gracious thing if the congregation will remain seated till the people outside have had this opportunity."

The calmness and self-control of Miss Mary Anthony had been marvelous, but this last, long ordeal was almost more than she could endure. An account said: "The sister on whom this crushing blow had fallen with greatest force, appeared worn almost to the point of collapse by the stress of body and mind. Throughout the service, however, she maintained a remarkable command of herself. It was only at its close, after hundreds of persons had come forward to see the dead, that her grief seemed about to break through her self-control. She pressed her handkerchief hard to her lips, and, though her face was gray and drawn with anguish, she tried to keep back the sounds of grief that struggled for utterance. She bore up bravely until a poor, old colored woman came in, hobbling on a crutch and assisted by one of the ushers; she had been standing outside in the storm so long that she was completely covered with snow, and as she gazed on Miss Anthony's face she sobbed aloud. Miss Mary could endure no longer; the tears streamed down her cheeks and it seemed as if her heart would break."

Mrs. Barrows said in her description:

Every seat in the church was filled, but no one stirred. Tramp, tramp, tramp, came an army in single file, marching with quick but decorous step up one aisle, past the casket and down the other aisle. People who had sat calmly through the whole service broke down and sobbed as this living stream went

by. It was a biting storm with a searching wind, and as the people came in, old and young and little children, the snow covering their shoulders, clinging to their hats, blown through their hair, it was evident enough that no mere curiosity had held them in that fierce storm for an hour-and-a-half waiting for this privilege. They were the plain people, the people whom Abraham Lincoln and Susan Anthony loved, and who returned that love without making many words about it. Once in a while a seal-skin sack went by, which an umbrella had protected, but most of the passers had not even had an umbrella, as their clothing showed. Black and white followed one another, for Rochester has many colored people who appreciate what a friend Miss Anthony has been to their race. The old and the decrepit were in line with the bright-faced school girls, who will always remember the day and sometime learn how truly Miss Anthony lived for them. For three-quarters of an hour the people passed without haste and without cessation while the organ played softly selections of beautiful music. Then the good grey head and the placid features were shut away from mortal gaze forever. . . .

The public were not expected to go to the cemetery—they could not have done so in that heavy snow storm—but the few carriages of the relatives and close friends went slowly on the long journey through the city streets, along the country road and at last up the broad drive which led to the beautiful elevation on Mt. Hope where the fir trees stood tall and stately in their robes of snow. Often in recent years Miss Anthony had said, “Anna, I want you to speak the last word,” and as the casket slowly sank into its final resting place, Miss Shaw, in tender and reverent voice, pronounced the solemn words: “Dear friend, thou hast tarried with us long; thou hast now gone to thy well-earned rest. We beseech the Infinite Spirit who has upheld thee to make us worthy to follow in thy steps and carry on thy work. Hail and farewell!”

And then they turned away in the gathering darkness and left her there with her father and mother and sister whom she loved and longed for; at rest after four-score years of ceaseless work; at peace after a lifetime of noble strife; gone from a world which was infinitely better because she had lived and wrought.

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A little while afterwards Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton wrote: “Somehow there was a holiness about it all and we felt that Miss Anthony had but gone on a journey. There was nothing uncanny

about the house when we returned, and as we gathered for the evening meal we felt how happy she was if she could see how closely we clung to the sister left alone, and how determined we were to win our cause. Each one rejoiced that her path had led that way; each one consecrated herself anew. Oh, this blessed mother of us all, how glad are we that we were permitted to lighten her burden a little, to inspire her with trust, to help her lay down her work peacefully! The thought of those nearest her seems to be the thought of all her followers, for upon returning to the headquarters we find letters from all parts of the country, expressing sorrow, profound sorrow, but filled, too, with this spirit of determination never to give up the fight. And this spirit will grow and grow as the echoes of her last publicly-spoken words reach a widening and ever widening circle—"Failure is impossible."

Just before Miss Shaw started on the journey to Oregon, a week after Miss Anthony had been laid to rest, she sent this message to the officers of the National Association:

With what words can I express to you the longing I have to see you all to-day? If we could only meet together here and go out to our various lines of work from this office of our dear Leader—the little room from which she has sent to us and to the world so many messages of inspiration, love and counsel—I think we should carry a benediction with us which would both comfort our hearts and inspire our service. As I sit here alone today I seem to be surrounded by the unexpressed longings which she tried to utter as her spirit was about to take its flight. . . . She talked of our Official Board and its members, and expressed her hope and belief that each one of us would be faithful and never let our association go down or diminish our demands one iota until all were granted.

From this hour it is my purpose to devote every minute of my time to this one cause. I shall try to give my service in the same spirit in which she gave hers, not by narrowly excluding thought of all other reforms but in any way that will be helpful to ours as a primary purpose of life. We have all heard her say, over and over again, "I know nothing but woman and her disfranchised." So I say today, "Henceforth I shall know nothing but woman and her disfranchised." The cause is still with us. Our task is yet to be done, with the added responsibility and burden which she has bequeathed to us as her legacy. Her work is finished and now we must go on with ours.

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

LETTERS, RESOLUTIONS AND MEMORIAL MEETINGS.

1906.



ON the day of Miss Anthony's death the Senate of New York passed the following resolution, concurred in by the House:

WHEREAS, at her residence, in the city of Rochester, at an early hour this morning, the career of Miss Susan B. Anthony came to a close; and

WHEREAS, because of the distinguished character of her services during the eighty-six years of her life, she had become one of the most famous and remarkable women of her time; and

WHEREAS, because of her unceasing labor, undaunted courage and unselfish devotion to many philanthropic purposes and to the cause of equal political rights for women, her death creates a loss which will be mourned, not alone in this country but throughout the world; therefore

*Resolved*, That the sympathy of the people of the State be extended to her family in their bereavement, and that a copy hereof be transmitted to her sister, Miss Mary S. Anthony.

The resolution was presented by Senator W. W. Armstrong, Miss Anthony's townsman and personal friend, a consistent advocate of woman suffrage, and in offering it he read an editorial from the morning's *Democrat and Chronicle*, of Rochester, summing up her life and work, and said, "It recites some facts we may have forgotten." The honor of the Senate was sullied, and not for the first time, by Thomas F. Grady, who said he thought that body should not put itself on record in relation to Miss Anthony's work for woman suffrage. With this one exception the resolution was unanimously adopted in both Houses of the Legislature.

On the same day the Rochester Board of Education adopted the following memorial:

In the death of Susan B. Anthony Rochester loses not only its most distinguished citizen but also a strong and radiant personality that was one of the moral assets of the city. Behind the great movements with which her name has been identified was the force of her own character, adding strength and dignity to every cause which she espoused.

Her fellow citizens cannot forget and should not allow their children to forget those personal gifts and qualities which have won for her the deep love and admiration that find spontaneous expression today. To steadfast purpose she added a gallant courage which enabled her to overcome opposition that would have crushed a weaker nature. The figure of the ardent reformer familiar to the public for many years, her fellow townsmen supplemented by a portrait dearer and more intimate, made up of unselfish kindness and gracious womanliness. In this hour of her death there is broken many a box of ointment very precious whose fragrance fills the city. Young students whom she has helped, struggling authors whom she has encouraged, girls to whom she has thrown open the doors of a more generous education, sorrowful women whose burden she has lightened, and all the multitude of those to whom her faith and courage and devotion have brought fresh confidence and renewed strength will be among the number.

In testimony of the honor in which her life is regarded and her memory cherished be it resolved that a copy of these resolutions be sent to her sister, Miss Mary Anthony, and that the Board of Education of the City of Rochester attend in a body the funeral services of Susan B. Anthony.<sup>1</sup>

The Grand Jury of Monroe County adopted a resolution which expressed "deep regret and sorrow at the death of Susan B. Anthony" and said: "She represented the highest type of womanhood in her unselfish devotion to the cause of liberty and right and equal justice for all, regardless of sex. Her loss to the community and to the world at large will be keenly felt. As a mark of respect to her, we, as a body, adjourn to view the remains which lie in state in the Central Presbyterian Church."

During the weeks of Miss Anthony's illness there had come letters, telegrams, messages and offers of assistance almost without number. After her death they were multiplied many-fold, running up into the hundreds. It is not possible to make individual mention of each; space will not permit and there is a reluctance to discriminate, but perhaps there will be no criticism if enough are referred to simply to give an idea of their wide scope and character. They came from the presidents of col-

<sup>1</sup> At the hour of the funeral impressive services were held in all the public schools of the city.

leges, from the presidents of almost all kinds of organizations of women and from many associations of men. There were cablegrams from the Countess of Aberdeen, president of the International Council of Women, and from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of Great Britain; telegrams from Mrs. May Wright Sewall, honorary president of the International Council; Mrs. Mary Wood Swift and other officers of the National Council of the United States; Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis, secretary King's Daughters and Sons; Mrs. Josephine Silone Yates, president National Association of Colored Women; Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, president National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, president National Christian League for Social Purity; Mrs. Pauline H. Rosenberg, president National Council of Jewish Women; from the Ladies of the Maccabees and from many other national associations. Messages came from State societies and clubs in every part of the Union and from individuals in cities and towns from ocean to ocean.

The letters were as universal in their representation, but brief extracts from a few must suffice. From Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, president National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of Great Britain:

All our group of suffrage friends here are deeply moved and deeply grieved by the news of the death of our dear friend and leader, Miss Susan B. Anthony. I venture to call her our leader because I think suffragists all over the world claimed her and looked up to her as their leader, courageous, loyal and far-sighted. Certainly all sections of English suffragists had learned to love and trust her and she will be almost as deeply mourned on our side of the Atlantic as on yours. But indeed I feel that at the close of a beautiful, faithful life like hers, lasting in full vigor to ripe old age, the predominant note ought not to be mournful but thankful that we have had her so long and that she has given us so splendid an example of undaunted, unwearied work for the cause which she has promoted so greatly.

From Madame Chaponnière-Chaix, president National Council of Women of Switzerland:

This is no official letter but a word of deep sympathy in your great loss which is ours also and the world's. I was longing for some account of the last days on this earth of your blessed sister and then the papers came and



it was a sad joy to be able to follow day by day as it were the coming on of the solemn event and the entering into rest of the valiant one whose example will abide in the hearts of us all. To you, dear Miss Mary, who made for her the home, and who stood so lovingly by her side, goes our most heartfelt sympathy.

I shall never forget those two days spent by you and your revered sister in my country home in Celigny, in 1904; never forget that Sunday morning under the pines. How grand she was in her absolute simplicity and what a privilege it was to have been permitted to know her! My heart is so full and I know so little how to express what I feel so deeply, but you will understand how it is that having known your beloved sister even so short a time I yet feel that I have lost a dear friend and one whom it was so helpful to look up to and to reverence. But we will not speak of loss; she herself would tell us that she had left us for a little time passing on to grander scenes, to fuller life and usefulness, to deeper consciousness and to higher work for those whose needs she carried in her large, warm heart.

Tomorrow at our Geneva Union a small gathering will be held where Miss Vidart will give a short account of Miss Anthony's life; later on in a larger meeting we shall render homage to her work.

From Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, president National Woman Suffrage Association of The Netherlands: "Today the papers brought us the very sad news of the loss of the dearest of all women, our blessed saint, Miss Anthony. All womanhood will shed bitter tears, we loved her so much. But you, dear Miss Mary, have lost everything that made life desirable. I do not write to try to console you—only a few words of sympathy I want to send you. I wept the whole day with you."

From Baroness Olga von Beschwitz, secretary Council of Women of Germany: "The sad news of your revered sister's death has filled my heart with deepest sympathy for your great loss. Having enjoyed the privilege of taking part for one day in your happy home-life, of seeing the love and unity which bound your life to that of your sister, I feel your deep sorrow with you and ask permission to add a few simple words of reverence and love to the tributes of gratitude for the great leader's work, which have come to you from all over the world."

Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg, president Finnish Women's Association: "My heart is full of sorrow and sympathy for you. I loved your sister so dearly, and I owe to her so much, that I cannot yet realize that she has left us. From the first time I

heard her name she has been a constant inspiration to me. How widely known she is you will see by the fact that already, March 18, our leading Finnish paper has had a column about her death. Blessed be her work and memory!"

From Mrs. Ella M. Dietz-Glynes, president Society of American Women in London:

My happiest memory of Miss Anthony is of seeing her preside over the first International Council of Women at Washington. During that memorable week she guided all the meetings with clear head, firm hand and cool judgment. In power, foresight and presence of mind she towered above all. That week must have been as the fruition of many years of toil to her, and her happiness shone in her face through all the long sessions.

I saw her again after the Berlin Congress here in London and she spoke a few kind words referring to the Sorosis breakfast she attended during my presidency. I trust that your grief may be comforted by the thought of the good to the race wrought by God through her self-sacrificing life.

From Alfred H. Love, president Universal Peace Union:

. . . It is our selfishness that would keep her longer with us, and yet we feel to rejoice that she passes on with all the honors of a noble life and with the sincerest affection of all who knew her. I speak not only for myself but for my entire family and for our Universal Peace Union. We have had the pleasure of her visits, and I have joined her at our Peace Meetings, at Progressive Friends' Meetings and at suffrage and reformatory meetings since far back in the sixties, and it is but a slight and inadequate testimonial that I can place upon a life's record, when I say she was always true, firm and foremost for the right. She saw with clearest vision the road to happiness, prosperity and peace and she was courageous and independent enough to proclaim it and brave enough to walk therein. She was always a strength to me, and her efforts to bring about equal justice to all, liberty to the oppressed, an uplift to humanity in every condition of life, will ever secure for her the blessings of mankind and place her upon the roll of honor as one of Heaven's messengers.

Let us cherish her memory as a talisman for truth, virtue and justice! Let us hold fast to the victories she has won and show our love and reverence by extending them! Let us as far as possible emulate her example as we revere her character and thank God for his beneficent gift. I can truthfully and feelingly say, "None but thyself can be thy parallel."

From P. H. Coney, Commander G. A. R. Department of Kansas: "Miss Anthony was one of the world's most noted women. She lifted the status of woman in society and in business as had not been done in all previous time. She gave her sex

a standing equal to that of man, except for the full right of franchise, and for this she accomplished more than any one preceding her. She has carved a niche in human history that cannot be obliterated by time and she will be lovingly remembered as long as this history shall be studied. Her name and fame are enduringly impressed upon the minds of the people throughout the world and she will be remembered as one of the greatest of Americans and humanitarians."

From Professor John Bascom, of Williams College, Mass., and Mrs. Emma C. Bascom: "In labors abundant, in journeys exhausting, in perils oft, in weariness, mid scorn and derision, mid honor and praise, she has persistently striven for human justice, and her life of sacrifice has blessed, is blessing and will forever bless all humanity. With what joy can she give an account of her stewardship!"

From the Rev. Dr. John K. McLean, president Pacific Theological Seminary:

The intelligence we have been anticipating reached us through this morning's papers, that our revered and beloved Miss Anthony has laid down the implements of her earthly warfare for her rest and for what new and high activities we know not. Sure we may be, however, that she will not enjoy her heaven unless there be great enterprises and wide opportunities. She rests from the labors, the fatigues, the solicitude, the intensity of desire, but her works do follow her. The labor of her life has a vitality of its own. It is as a child born to her or a family of children to survive her and it is already embodied in hundreds of other earnest lives. The future care and toil will be theirs; the impulse and inspiration will be hers. So she shall continue to live on an even wider and grander scale than in these eighty-six rich and fruitful years.

Mrs. Ellen C. Sargent, of San Francisco, in closing her letter wrote: "Was it not Queen Mary who said that if her heart could be examined after death 'Calais' would be found engraved thereon? I think 'Equal Rights for Women' would be found deeply stamped on the heart of Susan B. Anthony."

The Rev. Newton M. Mann, of Omaha, for a long time Miss Anthony's minister in Rochester, said in his letter: "Your illustrious sister and my great friend of forty years is no more. The dear, unswerving, undiscourageable soul! It is a memorable

thing in any one's life to have known her, while to have had her friendship is to be counted among the supreme blessings."

From the Rev. Samuel E. and the Rev. Annis Ford Eastman, pastors of Park Congregational Church, Elmira, N. Y.: "Your great sister now belongs to the ages, but I am not sure that makes it any easier for you, missing her dear presence! May the spirit of the universe from whom she came forth comfort you, ennoble you with the testimony to her greatness that rises like incense from grateful hearts all over the world, and sustain you by those precious memories of your own with which no stranger intermeddled. We are exalted by the privilege of being today of the vast company of them that mourn and give thanks with you."

In the letter of Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, member of the School Board, Washington, D. C., she said: "The country has lost one of its most distinguished citizens, and women their best friend. The debt of gratitude I owe Miss Anthony is two-fold, for I am a woman and a member of the race for whose freedom she labored so faithfully and so long. The debt which the women of all the world owe her is great indeed, but the debt of colored women is greater than all the rest."

From Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, professor in the Washington Conservatory of Music:

In the telegram my husband and I sent you yesterday morning we borrowed from God's word what seemed best to express our heart's deep distress. As a "Cedar of Lebanon" did she not always tower above her companions? How often has she been storm-swept by doubt, misunderstanding and persecution, but deep-rooted conviction held her fast and the Great Conqueror only has been able to overthrow her. The greatest among us "has fallen!" Thousands of torches lighted by her hand will yet blaze the way to freedom for women, nor will her promotion take her where she can not share in that victory when it comes. She will know and will rejoice with us. I am grateful for the life of Susan B. Anthony. Its breadth, its strength, its beauty have been, will ever be an inspiration and a benediction to all humanity.

Priceless to me is the memory of my sojourn under your roof. Into those two days were crowded experiences that will never be forgotten and will always be helpful. Surely no woman ever had so many other women to share her grief as you have. Only think that in every land, wherever there is a woman who has awakened to woman's needs, there a heart grieves because the Great Friend of Women is no more! Aye, not only women's hearts but men's

hearts have been touched by the sublimely unselfish, the self-consecrated life of Susan B. Anthony and they too mourn her passing away.

From Clinton N. Howard, president of the Prohibition Union of Christian Men: "On the eve of my departure for Portland to make the address at the Centennial of the birth of Neal Dow, who will live in history as foremost in the battle against the saloon, I send this word of Christian sympathy in your bereavement of a sister who will always stand first in the battle for individual liberty. We who believe that she was right will redouble our efforts for the cause to which she gave her life, and we believe that from the other shore she will be permitted to see the early triumph of woman's complete emancipation."

Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, president of the King's Daughters and Sons, said in her message of sympathy: "In what ought to be its best beloved cause, all womanhood must mourn its best beloved leader." On March 14, Margaret Stanton Lawrence, daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, wrote: "So dear Susan has gone and left you! I wonder if she and mother are walking hand in hand in the great beyond? A long time ago a sculptor here in New York made a cast of mother's and Susan's hands clasped. I got it out yesterday, threw a yellow silk kerchief over a pillow and laid the hands thereon. Then I got out numerous pictures that I have and placed them around—one of Susan, mother and Mrs. Miller on the porch at Lochland; another of Susan, mother, your niece Lucy and myself on your porch at Rochester; another of Susan and Nannie Miller. In front of this group I stood a vase of yellow flowers. I quite felt with all these pictures and with the clasped hands that both mother's and Susan's souls were with me in my little home."

From Charles E. Fitch, chief of Records Division, New York State, Department of Education:

Not only would I pay tribute to Miss Anthony as the most earnest, devoted and resourceful woman of her time, whom trials never appalled and triumph only inspired for fresher fields of action, but I would also express something of the emotion I feel at having been honored with the friendship of one so great and yet so gracious. I can recall the days when she was reviled and persecuted and the dignity with which she met rebuffs and

reproaches. All that, however, passed away in the latter and better days and she became as widely honored as she always was beloved by those who knew her best. The world uncovered before her and she died amid universal sorrow. Her work will go on, stimulated by her zeal and directed by her counsels. This is your consolation. It is ours, who believed in and honored her, to trust that the high emprise to which she consecrated herself, and which she was not permitted wholly to accomplish, will go on conquering and to conquer until all shall be equal in administering the laws of the land.

A portion is here given of one letter only to illustrate hundreds of similar ones received from women in all parts of the country. It is from Miss Janet Jennings, for twenty-five years a well-known journalist of Washington, and was written to Miss Anthony just before her death:

I remember so well your early meetings in Washington which were all so new to me, a Western girl, ignorant and timid, with a moral courage wavering because undeveloped, but from that time steadily you developed it and gave me a strength invaluable ever since. With every convention, as the years went by, I realized more and more that I owed everything to you and your teachings—everything which helped me to grow, to lift myself to a broader plane of self-support, to a higher sense of the dignity of labor—self-respecting and respected by others. It is due to you that I am what I am—not much perhaps but never lacking in moral courage, in truth, in sense of justice. You know my work in the newspaper world, but you do not know how I turned from the aimless life of fashionable people once a year when you came, and Mrs. Stanton, Lucy Stone and the other great leaders, with the convention. It seemed as pure and fresh and strengthening as a mountain stream after a murky pond.

As it is impossible to do more than indicate the character of the letters, so is this the case as to the resolutions passed by different bodies. They came from the uttermost parts of the earth, from associations in almost every State in the Union, and apparently from every city and village in the State of New York. Some of these have been referred to. In Rochester resolutions were passed by organizations as varied as, for instance, the Socialist party, which paid its tribute of esteem and reaffirmed its "adherence to the principle of equal suffrage for all citizens regardless of sex"; the Striking Printers of Typographical Union 15, who expressed "heartfelt sympathy" and "as a mark of respect for Miss Anthony's efforts for the cause she cham-

pioned, and with due regard to her noble character, adjourned the regular meeting as a tribute to her memory"; and the Labor Lyceum, which declared its belief in "equal opportunity and equal suffrage for all citizens," and its appreciation of "the long, arduous, unselfish and efficient labors of Susan B. Anthony in the interest of a higher and better civilization."

The Principals' and Teachers' Association said in their resolutions: "As a woman with noble ideas for her sex; as a wise counselor looking toward the uplift of all womankind; as a citizen of our city and a friend of teachers, we can say without fear of challenge that she had no equal." The College Woman's Club resolved that "the life of Susan B. Anthony has been the greatest source of inspiration to all women in their effort for liberty and higher education." The resolution of the Students' Association of Women said: "To our beloved benefactor, Susan B. Anthony, is due in a large part the privilege of a college education. The nobility of her love and ambition for us shall always be for the women students of the University of Rochester a sacred inspiration toward lives of unselfish devotion and untiring zeal for service." In the course of the resolutions of the Alumnae these beautiful sentiments are found:

Susan B. Anthony possessed no negative forces. Every endowment of her nature was aggressive and positive. Others might find it necessary to reason from premises to conclusions, but Miss Anthony, by a process of evolution peculiarly her own, was quickly aggressive on one side or the other, and, viewed from the standpoint of equal rights to all, she was never arrayed on the wrong side. What privileges her sex enjoys today, compared with what it possessed when Susan B. Anthony entered the arena in its behalf, are beyond enumeration; and, while all she sought has not been attained, the progress achieved by the indomitable courage, persistency and ceaseless energy of the champion of Woman's Cause has been so marked that the only wonder of closely following generations will be that all she struggled to attain was not long ago conceded.

The Alumnae of the University count it one of their most cherished bequests that Miss Anthony was a loved and honored resident of Rochester, that she gave of her great talent liberally to the advancement of her sex in this beautiful city and especially in the Alma Mater of this Alumnae, where there would have been no such Alumnae had there not first been just such a grand and noble character as Susan B. Anthony.

The Local Council of Women spoke in its resolutions of the keen interest Miss Anthony always had taken in that body "as the last and the youngest of the organizations over which she exercised a personal supervision," and said: "She possessed the instinct of the true mother who leaves the older children to take care of themselves while she sits by the cradle tending the youngest and seemingly best."

The resolutions of Irondequoit Chapter D. A. R., after speaking of Miss Anthony's patriotic ancestry, said: "This chapter has been blessed in the membership of such a woman. In the precious amber of memory let us keep all that she has meant and been to us. We loved her ardent courage and her never-failing faith in the might of right; we revered the selflessness that enabled her to give herself, body and spirit, to the service of humanity. She was not disobedient to the Heavenly Vision, but what sight was given her to see, that she followed, undeterred by opposition and undismayed by difficulties."

The Political Equality Club said in part: "For more than sixty years she has given to the cause of woman every moment, every thought of her life. To her belongs as to no other woman in the world's history the love and gratitude of all women. To her mother-heart all women were her children."

One of the series of eloquent resolutions adopted by the Jewish Council of Women said: "More than any other woman of her day, Miss Anthony embodied true love for humanity. Her liberal mind knew no prejudice and her broad sympathy knew no bounds. While always loyal to the cause to which she pledged her life, she identified herself with every movement that meant progress and uplift, regardless of distinctions of class, race or color."

At a meeting of the trustees of the Unitarian Church the following memorial was adopted:

Susan B. Anthony, one of the world's grandest women, has laid down her earthly burden and gone to rest after many years of earnest devotion and unceasing activity seldom equaled in the span of one human life.

While she will be remembered as the champion of the rights and liberties



of her sex, it will not be forgotten that her voice was ever raised in behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed without regard to race or sex.

She loved justice and hated tyranny, and held in contempt shams of every nature. While her power of invective was strong and ever directed against all forms of injustice and unrighteousness, she was yet possessed of all the feminine qualities of tenderness, sympathy and human kindness; and as has been said of another: "Were every one to whom she did a loving service to bring a blossom to her grave, she would sleep beneath a wilderness of flowers."

Reared in the Hicksite branch of the Quaker faith, when their meetings were discontinued in this city she naturally turned to the liberalism of the Unitarian Society, and for more than fifty years she has been a devoted and faithful attendant of this church.

With feelings of sorrow, mingled with gratitude that she was permitted to pass while yet in the full vigor of her intellect, we transcribe on our minutes this tribute to her memory and worth.

No woman's organization in Rochester so fully represents all classes, creeds, races and shades of opinion as the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, which is also the largest as to membership, and the resolutions adopted by the Board of Directors of this body may be accepted as the consensus of sentiment in the city where Miss Anthony spent nearly three-fourths of her long life.

Susan B. Anthony, the foremost citizen of our city, the most honored American woman, has gone to her well-earned rest.

The sorrow of her passing falls heavily upon the Women's Union. Its organization was due to her; all its efforts met her most cordial support; she was the warm personal friend of its active workers, who were ever sure of her tender, womanly sympathy. The union's last reception was honored by her presence; during that entire afternoon and evening she added to the pleasure of each guest, who little thought that most of them would see her face no more. Her death brings a deep sense of personal bereavement and a renewed intention to live nearer the ideal she ever held before us. Thirteen years ago, the day the Women's Union was organized, she said from the platform: "We want a solidarity of the women of Rochester. When the women speak they can be heard through this club; then when one woman speaks every woman in Rochester will be speaking and those who it is intended shall hear will have to hear. It means all the women in Rochester united in every good work." And the union is striving toward the goal she set before it.

The debt the Women's Union owes Miss Anthony but faintly typifies humanity's indebtedness to one of the greatest and most loving women of her generation. We who have entered into her labors can scarcely appreciate how great the cost, can hardly realize the industrial, educational and

legal conditions of woman's life as she found them. Every young woman in our university owes her opportunities there to Miss Anthony; every young woman seeking wider industrial opportunities owes much of their possibility to Miss Anthony; every mother in our State owes her legal right to her own property, her own earnings and even to her own children, to Miss Anthony.

With indomitable courage, with energy unsurpassed, with faith scarce equaled, with love almost divine, through evil and through good report, through all the long years of her long life, Miss Anthony labored for the right as God gave her to see the right; and now with eye undimmed and natural force hardly abated, she has passed from earth and into the presence chamber of the King, secure of her welcome, bearing the love of all who knew her and the honor and admiration of the world. The inspiration of her life is a benediction to all who would leave the world better than they found it.

The union extends most heartfelt sympathy to the dear, bereaved sister, whose tender, devoted, watchful care prolonged Miss Anthony's life and made the heroic endeavors of her later years possible. Until the going down of the sun hath she stayed her sister's hands; may He who gave her this inestimable privilege sustain and comfort her in the lonely hours of her great sorrow.

The resolutions quoted were practically duplicated in character by those adopted by organizations in all parts of the world. Among the copies sent to Miss Mary Anthony were memorials from the National Women's Political Association of Australia, Canterbury Women's Institute of New Zealand, Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association of Ireland, Society of American Women in London, Alumnae Association Ontario Medical College for Women, Toronto Local Council, Montreal Woman's Club; from National Councils of Women and National Woman Suffrage Societies in every country; from all the associations referred to in telegrams and letters above; from Unitarian Conferences; from National and State Granges, National and State Women's Christian Temperance Unions, National Congress Daughters of the American Revolution, State Federations of Women's Clubs, Hospital Alumnae Associations, Economic and Civic Clubs, Young Women's Christian Associations, Societies of Friends, Leagues for Progressive Thought, Socialist Clubs, Ethical Societies, Business Associations of Women, Women's Republican Clubs, Women's Health Protective Associations, Women's Press Clubs, Floral Emblem Societies, Children Clubs,

Alumnæ of Colleges, Normal and High Schools, Women's Relief Corps, Mothers' Clubs, Council of Club Presidents; and from Women's Clubs and Suffrage Clubs by scores if not by hundreds.<sup>1</sup>

Before any attempt could be made to acknowledge the receipt of these resolutions, accounts of memorial services began to pour in, from other countries and from every corner of the United States. Many of these were held during the time of the funeral, and they continued to take place from the middle of March throughout the spring months until the beginning of summer.<sup>2</sup> They were largely attended and addressed by prominent men and women. Among the more noteworthy was one in the Hudson Theatre, New York, on Sunday afternoon, March 25, with an audience of over 1,500, nearly all women, under the auspices of the Interurban Political Equality Council, composed of over twenty suffrage clubs. The ushers were college girls in caps and gowns. There was one in Brooklyn the following Sunday in the old, historic Plymouth Church. The W. C. T. U. of Chicago had a meeting in Willard Hall at the noon hour on the day of the funeral, at which many men were present, and resolutions "to continue Miss Anthony's work" were unanimously adopted. A beautiful "home service" was held in Miss Anthony's own Unitarian Church of Rochester the Sunday following her funeral.

The Executive Committee of the International Council of Women, of which Miss Anthony was one of the founders, met in Paris, June 12-17, 1906, with members present from eighteen countries. In her opening address Lady Aberdeen, president of the Council, paid eloquent tribute to Miss Anthony, saying: "We can scarcely imagine a Council meeting without her strong and genial presence. . . . It not only spoke to us of the

<sup>1</sup> A resolution was offered at a district Methodist ministers' meeting in Asbury Park, N. J., saying simply: "Miss Anthony has cleared the way for the women of the present and future generations to a higher, better and more useful life as business managers and educators, and opened the doors of the professions to them for all time, etc." This body was so agitated that an executive session was held to consider the resolution and after a great deal of discussion it was laid on the table. Many ministers, however, in all parts of the country, paid tribute in their sermons to Miss Anthony's life and work and spoke at the memorial meetings.

<sup>2</sup> A little gleam of humor lightened up this record of sorrow when a prominent woman's club in a Southern city refused to hold a memorial meeting "because Susan B. Anthony and Henry Ward Beecher brought on the Civil War!"

past but inspired us for the future, for both by her voice and her life she ever sounded the trumpet call to press forward in a spirit of indomitable perseverance and faith. When she left us in Berlin she made a tryst to meet us in Canada in 1909. She cannot keep that tryst but she has left us a precious legacy in the memory of her large-hearted and devoted life, crowned as it was with honor and the love of her fellow workers, on whom it now devolves to carry forward the work which she has laid down." All of the delegates expressed their personal loss and that of their Councils in the death of the great American.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which Miss Anthony helped to found and of which she was honorary president, held its first convention in Copenhagen, August 7-11, 1906. The session in which greatest interest centered was that in memory of Miss Anthony, and not in her own land could deeper feeling and appreciation be shown. After a sketch of her life and achievements had been given by her biographer, tributes were offered by delegates from Finland, Australia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Canada, Norway, Hungary, Sweden and The Netherlands, each expressing the indebtedness of her own country to the great pioneer. Those most impressive in their significance were from the countries where women had gained their full enfranchisement; Australia, where this had been secured in 1902; Finland, where it had just been placed in the new constitution; Norway, where it was almost assured and was granted the next year.

The official report from the National Australian Women's Political Association, prepared by its president, Miss Vida Goldstein, and read by Mrs. Henry Dobson, said in part: "We believe that to Miss Anthony the women of Australia owe their advanced position. She never visited these far distant shores, but her name and work were a constant inspiration to our workers. They knew her life of real self-sacrifice; they realized that she kept her finger on the pulse of the woman-movement in all parts of the world, and they were eager that, if only for her sake, Australia should show a good report of effort and achievement. Her work and influence were so far-reaching that the fact cannot

be disputed that had it not been for Susan B. Anthony the women of Australia would not have the suffrage today."

Baroness Gripenberg, president of the Finnish Women's Association, eloquently expressed the love and appreciation of the leaders among the women of Finland, and the courage and inspiration they had received from their knowledge of Miss Anthony's long years of work for womanhood and their constant thought that she sympathized with their efforts and would rejoice with them when their victory was gained. She told of their deep disappointment that this came just too late for them to send to her the glad tidings.

The pioneer of the woman suffrage movement in Norway, Miss Gina Krog, said in her appreciation:

More than twenty years ago three large volumes came to the University library of Christiania and on the title page was written in Miss Anthony's bold, clear handwriting: "To the women of Norway." It was the History of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States. We were indeed fortunate in having these books when we united to work for women's rights. Those of us who had read in them of the heroic battle which had been fought for women's political enfranchisement did not for one moment doubt that woman suffrage must be put to the front and that it must be taken up to its whole extent and as an independent question. The demand must be, "The vote for women on the same terms as for men," and our banner must be lifted high over all party divisions.

In 1885 when I gave the first lecture in our country demanding suffrage for women I kept to this standpoint; and on this basis we organized, I believe to great advantage for our future work. This only gives a glimpse of how the American pioneers influenced the women in a small and far-off country. Although I read with admiration of all those remarkable women who took up the battle against the whole world, one of them stood out in stronger and clearer outlines than the others; that one was Susan B. Anthony, and she seemed to me the very personification of a great hero.

It is good both for men and women to have her image before them. When they speak of the weaker sex we point to her and say, "Look at that undaunted courage, that unquenchable hope, that indomitable will! Do you call that weakness?" But most especially do those women who have taken up the same work find strength and encouragement in her grand example.

Among the many touching incidents related was one by an eminent woman suffrage lecturer of Sweden, Mrs. A. M. Holmgren, who said: "On a cold morning of one of our long, dark, winter days when I started out I felt thoroughly disheartened,

but as I looked at the North Star I thought of Susan B. Anthony. Then all at once it flashed over me that this was her birthday. I hastened to a telegraph office and sent her a message of greeting, and then I went on my way sustained and strengthened."

The last speaker was the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association of the United States. After a beautiful description of Miss Anthony's last hours she showed how her lifetime of effort had always centered around one point—freedom for woman—not as a sex or a class but as human beings; and how the object of her life had been to awaken in women the consciousness of the need for freedom and the courage to demand it. She asked that women should be politically free not as an end but as a means by which they could build up a higher humanity. "Miss Anthony," she said, "was the humblest, simplest, most single-minded being who ever lived and wrought for a cause. She was just but tender; she exalted intellect but not at the expense of sentiment; and she was the incarnation of optimism and faith, as expressed in her last words from a public platform—'Failure is impossible.'"

When the recital of Miss Anthony's life and work was finished at the beginning of the services the entire audience arose and remained standing reverently for several minutes, while many were in tears. When Miss Shaw closed the exercises with her matchless tribute she was called again and again to the front of the stage to respond to the outbursts of enthusiastic approval.

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What greater proof could be offered than has been placed on these pages to silence forever the constantly repeated assertion that "women do not and did not appreciate Susan B. Anthony?" In their own words the testimony has been given which demonstrates that no other woman ever was so beloved and honored by those of her own sex. The leaders of all great movements among women offered eloquent and heartfelt tributes of recognition, gratitude and affection, and they voiced the sentiments of millions of women whom they represented. No other reformer

ever lived to receive in so full a measure the appreciation of those for whom the struggle had been made.

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In a preceding volume there is mention of an annuity that was secured for Miss Anthony through the effort of Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who collected among friends \$5,000, which produced an income of \$800 a year. This annuity was presented to her on her seventy-fifth birthday. Before Mrs. Avery went abroad in 1903 she arranged to have paid to Miss Anthony from her own means \$400 a year. As long as Miss Anthony was able to lecture she received some money from this source, although for practically all public speaking connected with suffrage she contributed her services. Thus she gave to this cause platform work from which she might have received many thousands of dollars. Her brother D. R. Anthony was always generous to her, and she was the recipient of many presents from women in various parts of the country and of a number of bequests. Many of her handsome dresses and wraps were given to her and all of her laces, jewelry, etc. Usually when she made a journey some one who loved her sent money for travelling expenses. Her sister Mary owned the home and had a moderate income. They lived in an extremely simple manner and as economically as was possible with comfort. Miss Anthony's personal wants were very few, and after these were supplied every dollar that came into her possession was expended in some way for the cause of woman suffrage. She left the following Will, made January 4, 1904, and properly witnessed.

First: I direct the payment of my funeral expenses and my just debts, if any.

Second: I give and bequeath to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the electro-type plates of the History of Woman Suffrage, together with the entire number of books that are printed, to be used in its educational department.

Third: I give, devise and bequeath all of said rest, residue and remainder of my estate, both real and personal, to my sister Mary S. Anthony, my niece Lucy E. Anthony and my friend Anna H. Shaw.

Likewise, I make, constitute and appoint the said Mary S. Anthony, Lucy

E. Anthony, Anna H. Shaw and Rachel Foster Avery, executors of this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me made.

And I hereby request that no bond shall be demanded of my executors.

Although Miss Anthony could feel certain that her money as thus disposed of would be very largely used to further the cause of woman suffrage, the desire became strong in her last days to leave it directly for this purpose. She may have thought that such action would influence other women to make a similar disposition of their property. As has been related in a preceding chapter she sent for Miss Shaw and made her request. In compliance with it a Memorandum was attached to the Will as follows:

On March 7th, 1906, Miss Anthony verbally requested Miss Mary Anthony and Miss Anna Shaw to see that the whole of what money she had should be put into the fund Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are raising for the Woman Suffrage Cause.

It is the intention of the undersigned to comply with and carry out this last request. Anna H. Shaw, Mary S. Anthony, Lucy E. Anthony.

Six or eight years before her death Miss Anthony had loaned about \$750 to a man to save him and his family from disgrace, and a note was given for its payment. Although afterwards this might have been paid she never received even the interest, and when toward the last she attempted to realize on the note she found to her great distress that it had been adroitly worded so that she had no recourse in law. Her life insurance of \$2,000, on which she had paid the premium for fifty years, she had assigned to her sister two years before to obtain from her the money to loan to a woman whose extreme necessity for it had been presented in such a way as to make Miss Anthony feel that she must come to her relief. These two loans reduced Miss Anthony's already slender means by over \$3,000. One year after her death, the Executors made a final settlement as follows:

ACCOUNT OF THE ESTATE OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

DEBIT: *Executors in Account with Estate of Susan B. Anthony:*

Balance from Security Trust Co. of Rochester, N. Y.....	\$1,368.75
Monroe County Savings Fund, N. Y.....	7.05





THE REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,  
PRESIDENT NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF ASSOCIATION.

LUCY E. ANTHONY,  
NIECE OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

EXECUTORS OF ANTHONY ESTATES.

Fidelity Trust Co., Rochester, N. Y.....	1,107.34
Rochester Savings Bank, N. Y.....	2.49
Deposit of Interest Coupons of two (2) U. S. Government Bonds, for nine (9) months.....	22.50
Deposit of one dividend on five (5) shares of stock of Old National Bank of Ft. Wayne, Ind.....	20.00
Interest on account at West End Trust Co. (This acc't was opened for the Estate by the Executors).....	16.35
For Inheritance Tax (Transfer Tax) contributed by the Executors .....	99.04
For expenses of Administration and Collectors Expenses, allowed to Executors by Surrogate's Office, Rochester, N. Y.; contributed by Executors.....	230.00
<hr/>	
Total .....	\$2,873.52

CREDIT:

(1) To Mae B. Nichols (Nurse).....	\$ 56.30
(2) " Consulting Physician.....	40.00
(3) " Margaret A. Shanks (Nurse).....	78.00
(4) " Box at West End Trust Co.....	4.00
(5) " Cost of Publishing Will.....	32.70
(6) " Marble Headstone.....	25.00
(7) " Inheritance Tax (Transfer Tax).....	99.04
(8) " Expenses of Administration and Collectors' Expenses .....	230.00
<hr/>	
Total .....	\$565.04
<hr/>	
	565.04

Balance of cash on hand.....\$2,308.48

PERSONAL ESTATE: LIST OF SECURITIES.

Two (2) United States Government Bonds of five hundred dollars (\$500.00) each, bearing 3 per cent.  
 Five (5) shares of stock of the Old National Bank of Ft. Wayne, Ind., quoted at \$165.00 per share.

REAL ESTATE:

Two (2) Lots at Fort Scott, Kansas.  
 One (1) Lot at Beatrice, Nebraska.

Received from the Executors, Anna H. Shaw and Lucy E. Anthony, the above named securities.

MARY E. GARRETT,  
 Chairman of the Committee of the Susan B. Anthony  
 Memorial Guarantee Fund of \$12,000 a year for five years.

Bryn Mawr, Pa., March 17th, 1907. M. CAREY THOMAS,  
 Treasurer.

The securities which are omitted from the above list were returned to the executors by the chairman and treasurer of the Fund Committee as being apparently without value.

The executors declined to accept the commissions allowed by the court, and themselves paid the inheritance tax, in order that Miss Anthony's bequest to the cause of woman suffrage might not be diminished. Its total amount was less than \$4,500.

For a number of years Dr. Marcena Sherman-Ricker had given Miss Anthony the most devoted service. During her last illness of three-and-a-half weeks she visited her two or three times a day, and toward the last she transferred most of her practice to other physicians and remained at the Anthony home day and night. The last forty-eight hours she scarcely left the bedside, doing all in her power for the relief of her beloved patient. When Miss Mary asked for her account she said: "I have none. I owe it to Miss Anthony that I am able to practice medicine. It has been a blessed privilege to care for her. I could not accept a dollar for that service, and I want you to promise that you will let me take care of you on the same terms as long as you live."

Mrs. Helen M. Millar, a lawyer, who had been for many years in the office of Surrogate W. Dean Shuart, had given legal advice to Miss Anthony and Miss Mary for twenty years and made no charge but declared that all had been a labor of love and duty. Judge Shuart, who had aided Miss Anthony in a long contest in the courts to secure the Clapp legacy, and in many other ways, had contributed his services as a mark of his friendship for her and for her cause.<sup>1</sup>

The funeral directors, Ingmire and Thompson, when their bill was paid, returned \$25 with the request that it "be used for the cause so dear to Miss Anthony's heart."

The New York State Suffrage Association sent \$100 to the National Association to put the nurses, Miss Margaret A. Shanks and Miss Mae B. Nichols, on its roll of life members.

The earnest request that the friends, instead of spending money on flowers at the time of the funeral, would send it for the Oregon

<sup>1</sup> Volume II, page 763.

campaign fund, resulted in a contribution of between \$400 and \$500 for that purpose, and in addition the house was literally filled with flowers. Hundreds of dollars also were sent to the national headquarters for the fund from various parts of the country, the donors stating that it was because of Miss Anthony's great anxiety lest the work in Oregon should be crippled for lack of money.

At the unanimous request of the teachers and patrons of Public School, No. 27, in Rochester, the name Susan B. Anthony was given to it by the School Board. On Arbor Day, the following May, School No. 26 planted an oak tree in her memory in the most beautiful part of Seneca Park and dedicated it with appropriate ceremonies, and it is to be marked with a bronze tablet. A tree was dedicated to Miss Anthony that spring in Elysian Park, Los Angeles; one in Cherokee, Indian Territory; and doubtless this was done in many other places that sent no notice of it to her sister.

Immediately after the death of Miss Anthony the question of suitable memorials began to be considered. On March 23, eight days after she had been laid to rest, a public meeting was held in the Chamber of Commerce in Rochester, called by the officers of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, president, and attended by a large number of the club presidents of that city and other prominent women. The object of the meeting was thus stated:

In the death of Susan B. Anthony, there is presented to the women of Rochester, who have been blessed by the presence and friendship of this great woman, an opportunity to lead in the movement to establish a worthy memorial of her life and service, in this her home city. The university of Rochester opened its doors to women in 1900, as the result of a movement in which Miss Anthony was deeply interested and efficiently active. It is therefore peculiarly appropriate that a building should be provided for the use of women students to be known as the Anthony Memorial Building. In this could be included a gymnasium, rooms for social purposes, dormitories for out-of-town students, and also some personal memorial of Miss Anthony.

The executors, Mary S. Anthony, Lucy E. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw, have been consulted as to the form of memorial and are agreed that nothing could be more in accord with Miss Anthony's life purpose.

By invitation Miss Shaw was present and she announced that Miss Mary Anthony would give toward this memorial one-half of the \$2,000 bequest of her brother, Col. D. R. Anthony, for a memorial to their sister. She said: "Suggestions have been made to erect a building for club purposes. I am more favorable to this other idea. A business building or club headquarters have a limit to their life just as a human being has. I understand that the life of a business building is only about twenty years. So it would be with the club rooms. I don't think Miss Anthony will ever die. She will be born again in every generation, but the sentiment we feel so strongly now will pass away. It is strange how soon new interests, new leaders and new lines of thought crowd out those of the past. Constant trouble in maintaining other memorial buildings is experienced, but college buildings live on and on. Care is bestowed on them by the college and they are kept in good repair. The theories of suffrage may not be propagated in the college but while Miss Anthony was vitally interested in suffrage, she was also interested in all things that would advance the welfare of women."

The *Democrat and Chronicle*, in referring editorially to this matter said:

In presenting the subject to the union, Mrs. Montgomery seems to have struck the correct keynote and one which finds general response, in suggesting that the memorial should be one to which friends of Miss Anthony, the country and world over, could consistently contribute. A building for women at the university, she argued, would benefit young women other than those resident in Rochester, as well as those who belong to Miss Anthony's own immediate community.

It is owing to the labors of Miss Anthony, more than to any other single individual, that women were admitted to this university on equal terms with men. She recognized clearly the advantages which would accrue, not only to the young women of this city but to others who might desire a liberal education. While her friends and admirers in Rochester will contribute liberally for this building, an opportunity might well be given for large and small contributions regardless of locality. Miss Anthony belonged to the world and devoted her long life to labor for the betterment of the world, and, if given an opportunity, the world will erect for her an appropriate and fitting memorial.

At this meeting the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Association

was formed with Mrs. Mary T. Lewis Gannett president of the Executive Committee, which is composed of women prominent in various lines of work in Rochester. A National Committee was formed of eminent women in all parts of the country. The cost of a suitable building to be erected on the campus of the university was placed at \$75,000 and the committee began at once a systematic effort to raise the money, which they realized would require considerable time. Its circular, after reciting the gains already made for women, said :

All this uplift, emancipation, enlargement, taken together, constitutes the "Woman's Movement" and it literally has been brought about within our own life-time. Of the five great movements of the wonderful sixty years just gone—that in science, that in religion, that in industrialism and towards democracy, that now beginning in international relations, and that for the uplift of woman from conditions of inferiority to conditions approaching equality with man—this last one, affecting half the race and coming close to all through home-life, may by and by be recognized as the *most* fundamental and far-reaching. Shall not we elders, men and women, who have lived through these sixty years, watching with joy this rise in woman's status and profiting by it ourselves, bear united testimony to our thankfulness for it and our confidence in it?

Of this Woman's Movement, in all its forms and in its every struggle, no one, on the whole, has been so unique and all-around a representative as Susan B. Anthony. From youth to age she offered herself, body and mind and heart and soul, to all the strains and bruises of the cause. Others with her, many others; but no one, perhaps, so completely spent herself for it as she. Most of these others had also the joy and strength of home, husband and children; her life was given wholly to human service—to ennoble all womanhood, and through women to ennoble mankind. The opportunity now is ours to testify to the movement and to honor the woman in one and the same memorial.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women in Toledo, Ohio, in April, 1906, a resolution was adopted that memorial meetings should be held in all parts of the country under the auspices of the Council and collections taken for the fund to be raised by the National Suffrage Association; also, "that there may be a permanent Memorial of Miss Anthony so placed that it may be recognized as national, it is recommended that the National Council shall secure a duplicate of the bust recently placed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York; and

further that the Council shall secure for this bust an appropriate place in the Capitol at Washington.<sup>1</sup>

The National Suffrage Association at its annual convention in Chicago, in February, 1907, adopted the following report of the Executive Committee:

WHEREAS, The sentiment in favor of woman suffrage has so far progressed throughout the world that its early adoption is now assured, and

WHEREAS, The rapidity with which women will be fully enfranchised in the United States of America depends upon the ability of the advocates of woman suffrage to bring it to the attention of those intelligent people whom they have not yet directly reached, and

WHEREAS, It was Miss Anthony's plan and constant wish to devote all funds, which friends of suffrage contributed, to the immediate purpose of advancing the cause each day, as rapidly as the means available for that day permitted; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That, as the most fitting memorial, the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall raise a fund of at least \$100,000 to be called "The Susan B. Anthony Woman Suffrage Fund," and to be used exclusively by this association to continue the suffrage work of Miss Anthony and those who labored with her for woman's enfranchisement;

*Resolved*, That all friends and admirers of Susan B. Anthony and all believers in the justice and humanity of the cause to which she devoted a long life of heroic effort shall be invited and urged to contribute to this fund.

*Resolved*, That the General Officers of this association elected by this convention shall select and nominate eleven women to act as Trustees of this fund, six of whom shall be General Officers of said association.

*Resolved*, That said fund, or so much thereof as may from time to time be in hand, shall be used for the furtherance of the woman suffrage cause in the United States of America, and in such amounts and for such purposes as the General Officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall from time to time deem best.

At this convention about \$25,000 were subscribed to this fund, which is entirely distinct from the fund of \$60,000 collected by Miss Mary E. Garrett and Miss M. Carey Thomas and not available for the current expenses of the association. The Susan B. Anthony Woman Suffrage Fund was incorporated under the laws of Illinois, and the names of Miss Jane Addams, Chicago;

<sup>1</sup>The present writer used to talk with Miss Anthony about what would be done to perpetuate her memory, and once, when a statue was mentioned, said there ought to be one in the pretty, little park almost opposite her home, through which she had passed hundreds of times when out for an evening walk. "I never can bear to see the statue of a woman exposed to the cold and rain and snow," she answered, "and I don't like to think of one of myself out of doors."

Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, New York; Mrs. Pauline Agassiz Shaw, Boston; Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, Berkeley, Cal.; Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Philadelphia, were added to those of the National Board.

It is a significant fact that the first memorial to take actual shape was a window in the new A. M. E. Zion Church of Rochester, which was unveiled August 20, 1907. This window of stained glass bears a portrait of Miss Anthony and underneath it her last words spoken in public, "Failure is impossible." It was presented by Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffrey in the name of the Susan B. Anthony Club. Eloquent addresses were made by Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf and Mrs. Hannah B. Clark, two of Miss Anthony's oldest and dearest friends. A window to Frederick Douglass had been dedicated the evening before, and it seemed peculiarly appropriate that the woman and the man should be thus commemorated at the same time in the city where both had begun their struggle for human freedom half-a-century ago.



## CHAPTER LXXIV.

### EDITORIAL COMMENT ON MISS ANTHONY'S LIFE AND WORK.

1906.



THE death of no woman ever called forth so wide an editorial comment as that of Miss Anthony, except possibly that of Queen Victoria, whose years in public life numbered about the same. On the desk where this is written are almost one thousand editorials, representing all the papers of consequence in the United States and many in other countries, and they form what may be accepted without reserve as the consensus of thought in the early years of the twentieth century in regard to Miss Anthony and the work she accomplished.<sup>1</sup> Compared with the newspaper comment of fifty years ago they offer the best illustration that could be had of the revolution of ideas during this period, for, although editorial expression is largely the personal opinion of the one who happens to fill the editor's chair at the moment, yet that of the country taken as a whole is a fair indication of public sentiment. It has been possible to quote only a few paragraphs in most instances, but selections have been made with a view of including all sections of this country and all shades of opinion, and the utmost care has been used to give the proper credit. These editorials come from the secular and the religious press, from labor journals and fashion magazines, and they demonstrate clearly that in a consideration of the so-called woman question political bias plays no part and sectional location but little, especially as between the East and the West. The prevalent idea that the Western spirit is the more liberal toward woman suffrage is not supported by this comment.

<sup>1</sup> For a large part of the editorial comment see Appendix.

It is a peculiar fact that some of the most appreciative editorials were found in papers that always had shown themselves hostile to the enfranchisement of women. Instances will be seen in those from the *Boston Herald*, *Brooklyn Eagle* and *Philadelphia Press* in the East; The *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Los Angeles Times* in the West and a number between these two extremes. But one paper of consequence in the entire country had an old-fashioned, contemptuous diatribe—the *Washington Post*. It was a literary curiosity, jumbling Jael and Ruth, Chaucer and Don Quixote, Darby and Joan, Volumnia and Boadicea, Margaret of Anjou and Madame de Staël into one amazing and incomprehensible whole, which was used to rebuke Miss Anthony and her co-workers. Under ordinary circumstances it would have been received with universal laughter, but at this sorrowful moment it aroused much indignation. The *Post* refused to print any of the protests and its course was inexplicable to the many women who had been attending the suffrage conventions in Washington for years and had always found in this paper a strong supporter of their cause. They did not know that it had passed under the control of John R. McLean, who took this opportunity to settle a grudge against Miss Anthony which dated from the time when she refused the request to assist his candidacy for Governor of Ohio.

The *Chicago Chronicle*, which has since suspended publication, contained an insulting editorial, and there were a few of that nature in small local papers. The leading characteristics of practically all, however, were their fairness, dignity and seriousness, in itself the strongest possible illustration of the improved status of women. Words could not express more beautiful eulogiums than were written of Miss Anthony and her achievements. While these afforded the greatest comfort and happiness to her friends, one could not but think how quickly Miss Anthony herself would have hastened over the personal compliments to search for approval not of what she had done but of the one thing that she had tried longest and hardest to do. A number of the editorials did declare unequivocally a belief in the justice and ultimate success of woman suffrage, while many considered it not improbable that

it would eventually come. Almost all expressed much tolerance toward the idea and thought it was making progress, but the Brooklyn *Eagle* called it "one of the world's lost causes;" the Brooklyn *Times* said; "It has made no new conquests in the last thirty or forty years and lacks the aggressive and resourceful leadership it once had;" the New York *Observer* observed that "Miss Anthony's peculiar views on this question would be soon forgotten;" the Buffalo *Times* said: "Miss Anthony's taking off is a great blow to the movement and there appears to be reason for belief that it will gradually subside." A number of Southern papers expressed similar views, but, taking the editorial comment as a whole, these were in an infinitesimal minority.

One never so fully appreciated the value of the subjunctive mood, however, as in perusing these panegyrics: "Whatever one may think of Miss Anthony's cardinal doctrine;" "even though we cannot agree with her conclusions;" "although many may widely differ;" "whether or not all may sympathize;" "it does not matter if one should not approve;" "even those who may be hostile to her cause;" "it is not essential that one should coincide with her extreme views." Over and over magnificent editorials were impaired by these stereotyped phrases—which Miss Anthony hated—by this hedging on the part of the writers, leaving a loophole of escape from this semi-political question; nothing could be gained by committing oneself, something might be lost perhaps. What was the cause, moral cowardice or simply a little of the moss and mold not yet rubbed off? But, notwithstanding a considerable evasion of the main issue, the editorial expression, taken altogether, showed a decided advance of sentiment even since the death of Mrs. Stanton three-and-a-half years before, which called forth wide and able comment of a very progressive character.

A few of the editors tried to translate the "regret" which Miss Anthony expressed in her last hours into a confession that her work had been a failure. This point is admirably considered in the second editorial quoted from the Boston *Herald*. It was, of course, a matter of keenest regret to Miss Anthony that complete suffrage for women had not been obtained in a larger number of States. The legal, educational and industrial gains she regarded

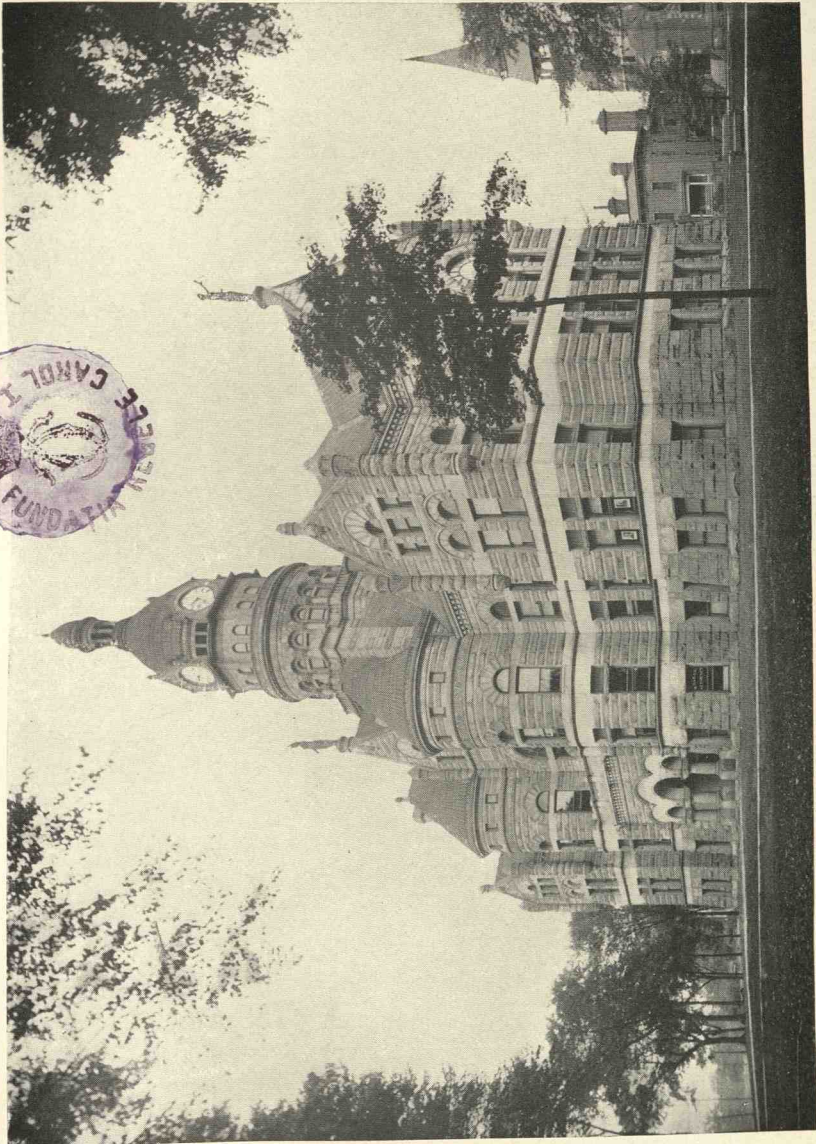
as collateral, and, while fully appreciating their value, she considered the suffrage of much more importance. She held, with all the leaders of this movement, that if women could have obtained political influence in the beginning they would not have had to struggle fifty years for the other rights; that many of these are of uncertain tenure and may be taken away by the same powers that granted them; and that disfranchisement is a much greater disadvantage than the usual limitations of sex. She fully realized that the right of suffrage is more difficult to obtain than all the others combined, because this alone has to receive the consent of a majority of all the voters in a State, while the others depended simply on the will of a Legislature, of a board of trustees, of individual employers. She was sorely tried at seeing the body of male electors constantly augmented by ignorance and prejudice against the equality of women, as in the enfranchisement of a million negroes immediately after the Civil War; of thousands of Indians in recent years, and of hundreds of thousands of foreigners every year.

On the other hand Miss Anthony found great encouragement in the rapidly increasing influence of women in every direction; she saw the number in the colleges approaching that of men, and the number of girls in the high schools far exceeding that of boys; she saw women under liberal laws acquiring property and financial power; she saw an army of them enjoying the independence of self-support; she saw millions united in various organizations, and these, in their work for social betterment, brought face to face with legislative bodies and taught their helplessness without a vote. The National Suffrage Association, which she had founded with a mere handful of women and carried through years of weakness and poverty, she saw expanded into a great organization, with affiliated branches in nearly every State; with a strong corps of officers; with spacious headquarters, a large office force, a press bureau and a newspaper; with a demand for literature that called for 600 pieces a day; with an income ten times as large as a few years ago. She saw women of all classes, creeds and interests entering into the movement for the franchise, and an absolute revolution of public sentiment in its favor, as evidenced in the

newspapers, magazines and utterances of eminent men and women.

In the United States and many other countries Miss Anthony saw the growing tendency toward a destruction of aristocracy of place, wealth, political power and sex, and the establishment of a democracy along all lines. In the widespread unrest and changing ideals she saw the way preparing for the coming of women into their own, for the recognition of their absolute equality of rights. There is no question that she died in perfect confidence of the complete success of the movement to which she had devoted her life. On her eighty-fifth birthday she wrote: "We are likely to be calm, cool and philosophic as we grow older. I certainly feel very much less anxiety about the final result of our cause than fifty years ago. Then I thought woman suffrage was coming right away, but now I know it is to come only through the slow process of education, and the results of that education are now revealing themselves all along the line." On returning from California she said in an interview, July 28, 1905: "My work has always progressed and it is making more rapid headway to-day than ever before. I can truthfully say, in looking back over my eighty-five years, that were it possible to live them over again, I would follow the same lines. Nearing the end, I am happy and contented."

The most noticeable point about these editorials was that, while unqualifiedly approving and indorsing all the gains which had been made for women by Miss Anthony and her coworkers, a considerable proportion expressed very grave doubts as to the possibility or desirability of woman suffrage. If they had been written a generation ago, the same grave doubts would have been expressed in regard to property rights, higher education, industrial opportunities and organizations of women with all that these imply in the way of travelling to and fro, speaking in public and importuning legislative bodies. Forty years ago all of these innovations were opposed with just as much ridicule, vituperation and awful prophecy as were used against woman suffrage at that time. Now, by the general public sentiment which this mass of editorial expression represents, they are accepted with approba-



NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS.

IN THE COUNTY COURT HOUSE AT WARREN, O.

tion and rejoicing, and toward the suffrage itself there is no virulent opposition, but simply a scepticism as to its ever arriving or its being necessary or even desirable.

There never was so striking an illustration of that utter absence of logic which marks the usual discussion of woman suffrage as appeared in these editorials. They united in acknowledging Miss Anthony's foresight, judgment, clear thinking and fine reasoning powers; they called her a public benefactor; they agreed that all the rights which she demanded for women that had been secured, had resulted "not only in the betterment of women but of men also;" that "their denial now would seem a reversion to barbarism;" that "they have been an essential factor in the elevation of the race;" that, "through their concession, American womanhood and the American people have received a great uplifting toward purity, intelligence and justice." They declared also that "all these have been accomplished without any such impairment of the home or of womanhood as was predicted;" and they asserted that "all these gains have come as the result of the agitation for woman suffrage." Having laid down these emphatic premises, they then deducted the conclusions that Miss Anthony's judgment might have been wrong in demanding the franchise; that its effect upon the home, society and women themselves is problematic, and that it is doubtful whether women really want or need it. In reading these editorials one is confirmed in the belief that men in general are incapable of applying their ordinary reasoning processes to a consideration of the question of woman suffrage.

A very large per cent. of the editorials said women did not appreciate Miss Anthony and that she should have converted those of her own sex. If these three volumes of her Biography prove nothing else they certainly do offer indisputable proof of the intense devotion of women to Miss Anthony, not only those of her own country but also of many others. There is no example in all history of a woman so universally appreciated and loved by other women. From the continual harping on the necessity of converting her own sex one would logically suppose that all of the other gains for women had been made because the majority demanded them, while as a matter of fact, not one of them had back of it the

smallest fraction of the demand by women that they have for years been making for the suffrage. Great reforms have never been brought about because of the demand of the masses but always because of the foresight, wisdom and ability of their leaders.

Whenever a roll is made of the eminent women of this country who will be known to posterity, it is found to be composed almost wholly of those who have stood for the enfranchisement of their sex: Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren, of Revolutionary times; Lydia Maria Child, Abby Kelly, the Grimké sisters, of the early "abolition" days; Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mary A. Livermore, Anna Dickinson, Elizabeth Peabody, Clara Barton, Dorothea Dix, Julia Ward Howe, Myra Bradwell, Maria Mitchell, Harriet Hosmer, Frances E. Willard, Jane L. Stanford, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Carrie Chapman Catt, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, President M. Carey Thomas, Mrs. Russell Sage, Margaret A. Haley—there is scarcely an end to the distinguished names.

To make a complete list of those living and working at the present time who are outspoken in favor of the franchise would be to name almost every one who is prominently connected with the organized life of the women of today—educational, philanthropic, reformatory, civic, industrial—the presidents of nearly all large associations, the leaders of all progressive movements. It would be a list including practically all the representative women in the United States, and to this could be added an endless roster of those in professional life throughout the length and breadth of the land. No one class in this country ever made a demand for the suffrage which even approached in magnitude that which is now being made by women.

This reiterated injunction to the advocates of woman suffrage to convert their own sex is simply the last refuge of opponents who have seen everything in the shape of an argument refuted and demolished.

The small organization of women known as the Anti-Suffrage Association will receive no solace or support from these editorials.



One of its stock arguments is that the advantages women now enjoy are in no way due to Miss Anthony and the woman suffrage movement. When nearly one thousand editors make the distinct and unequivocal statement that these advantages are the direct result of the work of Miss Anthony and her associates, and that the women of all time will reap the benefits of it and be under obligations for it, we may accept this as a verdict which cannot be set aside. The Anti-Suffragists will find cold comfort in the oft-repeated statements that if all women were like Miss Anthony it might be advisable to entrust them with the ballot; and in the half-concealed sneers at the incompetence of women and the unmistakable assumption of their general inferiority—sentiments which always will be found at the bottom of opposition to woman suffrage.

Some of the editorials said Miss Anthony would be better remembered for her work for other reforms than for woman suffrage; that she gave her best efforts for other causes; that she was gradually led to the belief in woman's right to the franchise; that she did not begin her labors for this until after the Civil War. Miss Anthony commenced her actual public work in 1852—for temperance—and that year in a published appeal she declared "the right of woman to march to the ballot box and deposit a vote."<sup>1</sup> From this very year while she labored without ceasing for temperance, for better laws for women and for the abolition of slavery, she subordinated every cause to that of woman suffrage. If all that she accomplished along other lines had to be forgotten she would wish to be remembered for her work for the enfranchisement of women, which she always regarded as infinitely beyond and above all other reforms. Nothing irritated her so much as the superficial statement that "everything has been gained for women." She invariably answered, "Without the suffrage they have the shadow, not the substance."

Other editorials said the laws were now better for women than for men, that they had more legal rights in regard to property, etc. This assertion cannot be justified in a single State. Others prefixed the adjective "masculine" to Miss Anthony's

<sup>1</sup> Volume I, page 71.

strongest attributes—"man-like courage," "power almost masculine"—everything great was masculine. Still others laid much stress on her "womanliness," and in the same breath objected to women's voting because "it might make them unwomanly to enter public life." A few were "glad for the sake of the home that she was not the typical woman." They failed to see that it would not be well for the home if all men followed the life of a reformer, and yet that homes are made safer, better and happier because a few brave men and women do consecrate their lives to the securing of reforms affecting domestic affairs and the conditions of community and State.

The *Savannah News* said, "One of Miss Anthony's reforms was to have a recognition of God in the Constitution of the United States," an assertion which had not the slightest foundation. Other papers quoted her as saying: "Our cause will succeed because God wills it;" "we can never fail so long as God is God"—expressions that she never used.<sup>1</sup> An editorial in a Buffalo (N. Y.), paper contained over twenty mistakes in dates, incidents, etc. Errors of a biographical or historical nature were, however, remarkably few.

In all the newspaper comment there was a refreshing and encouraging absence of such reference to "spinsterhood," "woman's sphere," "special functions" and the like as would have been universal less than a generation ago. This indicates that the time has come when a woman may be judged in her individual capacity, just as a man is judged, which is one of the conditions Miss Anthony worked to bring about. With but few exceptions the personality and career of this great woman were considered in the same spirit as those of a great man would be, and this universal expression of respect and appreciation is far more than a national eulogium on Miss Anthony. It is a recognition of her work which lifts it to an exalted plane and inspires with zeal and courage all who are earnestly striving to carry it forward. Thus even in death this grand, heroic soul continues the dominant purpose of a noble life.

<sup>1</sup> See references to the Deity in preceding volumes.



CORNER OF NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS.

MISS ANTHONY'S DESK; TESTIMONIALS, PICTURES, ETC., ARRANGED AS IN HER STUDY IN ROCHESTER.

During the preparation of the Biography and the Fourth Volume of the History of Woman Suffrage the present writer spent the larger part of seven years in the home of Susan B. Anthony. Taught to reverence her in childhood, an acquaintance in maturity had increased the profound admiration for her strong and beautiful character; but the study of her life and the years of close companionship revealed heights and depths undreamed of and at their end she seemed an infinitely greater woman than at their beginning. In remembrance of those inestimable years the writer offers as her personal tribute a few extracts from articles written at the time of Miss Anthony's death.

(From Syndicate Article.)

It has been said of Pericles, the great statesman and ruler of Greece, that "he found Athens brick and left it marble." This may be said of Susan B. Anthony as regards the status of woman, for she wrought as wonderful a transformation. . . . No personal sacrifice was too great for Miss Anthony to make if she could advance the cause to which she consecrated her time, strength, ability, money, all there was of her—body, mind and heart. She left the home she loved, she gave up marriage, she defied the conventions of society, she braved the world, for the single object of obtaining for women the rights of which they had been so long deprived, and without which they would always remain subordinate and undeveloped.

Miss Anthony was the chief object of the early persecution for several reasons. She was unmarried, which a generation or two ago was an especial reproach to a woman and a justification for making her a target; she struck her blows straight from the shoulder, called things by their right names, was absolutely fearless, accepted no compromises, was never silenced, never deceived, never turned aside from her purpose; she held men strictly to account and demanded justice; roused women from their self-complacency and made them realize their true position. She was the most dangerous foe to the established order of things and therefore the one who must be crushed. But Miss Anthony never was crushed. Never for one moment did she cease from effort or doubt the ultimate success of her work. Her closest friends were always of the highest character and by the sheer force of her own strong personality she lifted her cause to a plane of universal respect.

A principal reason for the large following of loyal and devoted adherents which she retained through all the years was that she never rose to place and power on the shoulders of other people. Her hands were ever outstretched to lift others up with herself, and she was always on the alert to discover ability in other women which she could help them utilize. One secret of her unflinching optimism was her absolute faith in women, which

nothing could shake. If they proved a disappointment she would say, "It is their inheritance, their environment, the next generation will do better." The vast reservoir of her trust in the final triumph of justice and right was never exhausted, and she left her faith and optimism as a priceless legacy to those who had already accepted her work as a sacred heritage.

(From article "The Lighter Side.")

A leading quality of Miss Anthony was common sense, and there never was a more zealous adherent of the gospel of work. If she were utterly exhausted she would say: "I'm so lazy that I'm not doing anything today." When a woman came to her and said: "I'm praying for you all the time," she answered, "Well, pray with your hands and your feet; I like prayers that take the form of work." At the close of one of her speeches she said: "Now, I don't want all you women to rush up here and tell me how much you love me. If you really do love me you'll go home and get right to work." . . . Some one asked her if she didn't get very tired shaking hands with so many people. "Not so tired as I used to get when nobody wanted to shake hands with me," was the answer.

Miss Anthony never would allow one woman to speak to her against another, but would always say, "Why can't you give other people credit for just as good motives as you have yourself?" She never descended to small politics; personal animosities had no part in her life; all resolved itself into one question, "Will it help or hurt the cause?" In late years Mrs. Stanton used to accuse her of growing conservative, but she was simply tired of controversy, and, besides, she saw no benefit in arousing antagonism against woman suffrage by advocating extraneous matters. Her unchanging belief was that women should get the suffrage first and then there would be positive force behind their opinions on all questions.

There was a prevalent belief that Miss Anthony hated men. It would not have been strange if this were true, for she was misrepresented, ridiculed, berated and maligned publicly by them in her early years, and privately when general sentiment would no longer tolerate outspoken criticism. The laws she condemned were made by men; the petitions she carried to legislative bodies were scorned by men; the questions she and her organization were obliged to submit to the voters were defeated by men almost continuously for forty years. They deceived her, they broke their promises, they lied to her, and they exulted over her because they had power to do these things. It would have been most natural for her to hate men—but she did not hate them. For many of them, indeed, she felt a profound contempt, and the hypocritical compliments to herself personally by those who were the enemies of all she stood for filled her soul with weariness and disgust. In this she was no exception to other women who have had the same experience.

But for men who were fair and broad enough to recognize the justice of her cause and to treat it and its advocates with respect, she had the highest appreciation, and for those who reached a helping hand she felt the deepest gratitude and friendship. She enjoyed nothing more than a conversation with an

educated, progressive man, and when to these qualities he added soundness of moral principles and integrity of character, no one exceeded her in admiration.

As to herself marrying Miss Anthony often said to the writer: "Any woman will marry if the man she loves asks her. I am no different from other women." Once she said: "No woman is ever wholly independent who has yielded to her love nature either in marriage or out of it." Very few men came up to her standard for a husband, and in her young days the men who proposed marriage had no attraction for her. As she grew older she was so completely absorbed in her work that she did not have time to think of marrying. Once she actually had her secretary answer the letter of an old admirer who had become a widower and wished to renew their acquaintance.

There is no doubt, however, that with her innate sense of impartial justice and personal independence the conditions of marriage in early days must have made it seem repugnant, for the wife in law and custom was literally a chattel, the property of the husband.

For many years the announcement of Miss Anthony's presence anywhere was sure to attract a very large audience, and she was generally willing to give it if in this way she could help her cause, but of late she said many times: "Oh, I am so tired of being the white elephant to draw the crowd; if only I could feel that it was not really necessary and that I might stay at home!" She also grew very tired of having things attributed to her which she never said or did, and she often exclaimed: "Will I ever cease to be a target for anybody and everybody to aim at? I think I should like to be forgotten for awhile."

Miss Anthony can never be forgotten, because the work she did will live forever and keep her memory fresh and beautiful. The little incidents here related show simply the lighter side of her character; volumes would be required to give an idea of its deeper currents.

(From the *New York Independent*, March 22.)

On the roll of America's great women the name of Susan B. Anthony must always stand at the head, because there never will be required of any other woman the long and hard pioneer work performed by her. Women of the present and of future generations will labor to bring about reforms and to advance the interests of humanity, but they will never meet such conditions as Miss Anthony and her associates faced when they began their struggle to emancipate woman. That foremost of rights—the right to speak in public—was forbidden by a sentiment stronger than law. A custom equally potent prohibited them from advocating their cause in the newspapers. Wives—and most women were married—had practically no legal existence, could not own property, make a contract, bring suit, give testimony in court or control their wages. Women were not recognized as industrial factors and had almost no employment outside the home. They had no form of organization. Not a high school was open to them, while a college education was hardly dreamed of. Their position in every respect was much inferior to that of men. Their opinions on any question outside of domestic affairs had no weight whatever,

and, indeed, the number who had any such opinions was infinitesimal. For the few brave ones who wished to change existing conditions, to carry their case before the public, to make their appeals to legislative bodies, there were only ridicule, contempt and denunciation. Most discouraging of all was the fact that these came from women as well as men, and that the strongest obstacle they met was the very class they were striving to benefit.

Miss Anthony held the gavel at more conventions than any other woman, and as a presiding officer she was not equaled by any. She participated in more State campaigns than any other woman. She lectured from ocean to ocean and in almost every State and Territory, her platform work covering a period of fifty-seven years. She was the only woman, and, indeed, the only person, who gave over half-a-century of continuous work in the interest of one reform. She was the pioneer in securing for women every right and privilege they enjoy today—in laws, in education, in business opportunities, in suffrage, in almost unlimited personal freedom. She struck the blows which undermined the wall of prejudice and custom that had surrounded women for ages and held them in a condition not far removed from actual bondage. She laid the foundation on which the women of all the future will build. Beyond all others she was made the target of ridicule, scorn, abuse and misrepresentation, because she was the most fearless, persistent and outspoken. Others would try to make converts by soft words, by concessions, by feminine attractions, but she, while always dignified and womanly, hewed to the line, told the unvarnished truth, never temporized, admitted no compromise.

But in proportion as her early experiences were more severe, her later life had richer rewards than ever came to any other woman. Beyond all others she was recognized, honored and loved. Men and women alike paid tribute to herself and her work. She lived to see most that she fought for accomplished, and to know beyond any doubt that all she demanded would eventually be secured.

(From *Collier's Weekly*, March 31.)

Many years ago the *Chicago Tribune*, edited by Joseph Medill, said of Miss Anthony: "She has stood the storm of abuse that she has aroused with perfect equanimity, and while others were cowed by the ridicule, which was hardest of all to bear, she used this opportunity to show to women the real opinion of them entertained by the stronger sex."

This keen and truthful statement explains why, in the early years, Miss Anthony was more abused and hated by both men and women than any of the other reformers. She turned on the light. The masses of women had been for ages deceived into believing that men loved them because they were dependent and inert, and revered them because they accepted with meekness their inferior position. She pointed out to them that at their first effort to assert their liberty and independence they were overwhelmed with the derision and contempt of men who did not consider them worthy or capable of either. This angered the men and humiliated the women and both made

common cause against the one who had dared disturb the existing order. But the old regime began to disintegrate and a new and infinitely better one to evolve. As the evolution of women themselves has continued the most of them have accepted each new opportunity as their birthright, with no more thought of those who secured it for them than has the child of the mother who risked her life that it might live. But to the credit of the sex and the race there are countless thousands who go back to the first cause, and they find it in those dauntless souls who suffered crucifixion for the salvation of womankind.

(From the April *Review of Reviews*.)

It is not possible to put into words the inferior status of women in the middle of the last century, when Miss Anthony, a young woman of thirty, stood forth as a leader of the most forlorn and hopeless cause that ever called for recognition and assistance. She started out to move the world without a spot on which to rest her lever. Those she wished to regenerate were for the most part an inert mass, who, when roused to action, only protested against being disturbed. There was no homogeneity, no *esprit de corps*, among women; each lived her narrow, isolated life, reaching out feebly to help those within immediate touch, but utterly unconscious of responsibility to the community in general or the world at large. They suffered from many wrongs, but they had been taught for countless generations that to protest was rebellion against the Divine Will. Church, State and Society combined to rivet their chains and when one came who would set them free, the oppressors crucified her and the oppressed gave sanction to the act. To face this situation, to stand almost single-handed against the tyranny, bigotry, prejudice, ignorance and deep-seated customs of the ages, to have no precedent for a guide, no past victories for an inspiration, no present sympathy or gratitude—this was what it meant to wage the battle for the rights of women half-a-century ago. Now practically all of these hard conditions have been met and conquered, so there never will be, there never can be, another Susan B. Anthony. She will forever stand alone and unapproached, her fame continually increasing as evolution lifts humanity into higher appreciation of justice and liberty.

The most persecuted of all women in her early days, Miss Anthony was the most honored of all in the closing years of her life. In her own country she long has stood without a peer. At the great International Council of Women in London, in 1899, and again at the one held in Berlin, in 1904, she was welcomed by representatives of all nations as leader of the women of the world. None ever has received such recognition because of service rendered to humanity. In history she will be known as the Liberator of Woman, and endless generations will read the story of her life with gratitude and reverence.

(From the April *North American Review*.)

The world in its progress reached a period about the middle of the last century when it needed just such a reformer as Susan B. Anthony. The time



had come for the regeneration of that half of humanity neglected in the struggle for existence through which the race has evolved from savagery to civilization. In this struggle, woman, handicapped by motherhood, domestic requirements and physical limitations, had not been able to keep pace with man, and, as the natural result, had become wholly subject to his laws, customs and commands. When the claims of material necessities began to grow less strenuous, there came an opportunity for the more spiritual forces to gain recognition, and thus dawned the era of free womanhood.

A few prophets among women had been crying in the wilderness for a number of years when Elizabeth Cady Stanton sounded her trumpet-call for a gathering of the believers in 1848. Its echoes reached to the East and the West and slumbering forces were roused to action. The spirit of unrest continued to spread; women began to wonder and ask questions; the time was ripe for a revolution and the one to direct it was at hand, for just as the century turned into its second half, came Susan B. Anthony. No one who makes a careful study of the great movement for the emancipation of woman can fail to recognize in Miss Anthony its supreme leader. Her powers of speaking and writing were surpassed, perhaps, by the splendid abilities of Mrs. Stanton; but, as a planner, an organizer, a manager, a politician in the best sense of the word, Miss Anthony was unequaled. The qualities of these are even more essential in the campaign work necessary to a cause which enters the domain of politics than are those of the orator or the writer.

But there were other traits possessed by Miss Anthony which made her leadership pre-eminent. She had a keen discernment of special gifts in other women which could be utilized and a faculty for bringing and keeping them in the work. Almost beyond any other, she had the power to create a following which would remain unwaveringly loyal and devoted in the face of repeated disappointments and defeats. She was endowed, as few others have been, with an unflinching courage, determination and spirit of personal sacrifice, which were needed more in her especial work than in any other ever undertaken by woman. But the strongest reason why Susan B. Anthony will be ever acknowledged the general-in-chief of this long contest for the freedom of woman is that she is the only one who gave to it her whole life, consecrating to its service every hour of her time and every power of her being. Other women did what they could; came into the work for a while and dropped out; had the divided interests of family and social relations; turned their attention to reforms which promised speedier rewards; surrendered to the forces of persecution which assailed them. With Miss Anthony, the cause of woman took the place of husband, children, society; it was her work and her recreation; her politics and her religion. "I know only woman and her disfranchised," was her platform and her creed.

On the evening of February 15, the eighty-sixth birthday of Miss Anthony was celebrated in Washington, the city which had welcomed her so many times during the past forty years. Letters of congratulation were read from the President of the United States, from Senators, Representatives, many distinguished men and women. Those she loved were gathered around her and

all about was the earnest, sympathetic audience which had ever been her inspiration. Robed in her soft, black gown, relieved as always with delicate lace, her silver hair parted over her noble brow, she sat there just as she had so many times before—and yet there was a difference. The great reformer, the orator, the planner of campaigns, seemed to have faded into the background and left instead only the beautiful, beloved woman, with an expression so spiritual that to every heart came the thrill of sorrowful thought—This is the last! One month from that night the snow was falling on her new-made grave.

## CHAPTER LXXV.

DEATH OF MARY S. ANTHONY AND CLOSING OF THE OLD HOME.

1907.



READERS of these volumes of the Biography of Susan B. Anthony doubtless have noticed how closely through the warp and woof of her life has run the thread of that of her sister Mary, who was seven years her junior. From the birth of the younger sister the two lived under the same roof and for seventy-nine years they enjoyed the closest companionship. Two persons were never more unlike in temperament or more alike in aims and ideals, while in the practical affairs of life, each was the needed complement of the other. Although so different by nature, yet so strong was their character, so complete their self-control, so deep their affection, that impatient words, misunderstandings or opposing actions were wholly absent. Miss Anthony had a national reputation for almost forty years before the general public knew of the quiet sister at home, who all this time had been her moral, physical and many times her financial support. The two sisters a little older and a little younger than Miss Anthony married at an early age and remained behind when the family removed from Eastern to Western New York in 1845. The two brothers went to Kansas to reside in the early fifties, and thenceforth Susan B. and Mary S. were the only ones at home. After the death, in 1862, of the father, who had always been a tower of strength to Miss Anthony, she learned to depend on the capable, steadfast, loyal sister, and this dependence increased, as the years went by, up to the last hour of her life.

Mary Stafford Anthony was born April 2, 1827, in Battenville,

(1488)

Washington Co., N. Y., the next year after the family removed there from Adams, Mass. She was but ten years old when the fortune of her father was swept away by the panic of 1837, and she grew to womanhood under conditions of the closest economy, the lessons then learned remaining with her through life. Mr. and Mrs. Anthony educated their daughters carefully, which was unusual for those early days, and at seventeen Mary taught the district school at Fort Edward, receiving \$1.50 a week and "boarding round." The family soon afterwards settling on a farm near Rochester, she found plenty of occupation at home for the next eight years, but all of her spare hours were given to study and she was especially proficient in mathematics and history. In 1854 she returned to her old home and taught one year in the district school and one in a private school at Easton, N. Y. She entered the public schools of Rochester as a teacher in 1856, and became principal of Ward School No. 2 in 1868, where she remained until 1883. At this time she resigned her position, having devoted thirty years to the profession of teaching, twenty-seven of these in the public schools of Rochester. She was an excellent disciplinarian and teacher, and many of the prominent men and women of that city recall with pride the days when they were her pupils. She retained always the keenest interest in schools, teachers and all matters connected with education.<sup>1</sup> After the father died the family left the farm and went into town and for ten years before the mother's death, in 1880, she was an invalid, the last six years entirely helpless. During all this time Miss Mary had full charge of the house and of her mother, and during much of it the additional care of young nieces and nephews. It was a time when there had to be a stove in every room, when there was no running water or any of the modern conveniences, and when most of the food had to be prepared at home. Every morning before going to school she put the house in order, bathed and dressed her mother, cooked her breakfast and gave it to her and did the day's marketing. She slept on a couch in the sick room and was up to look after the invalid many times every night. In

<sup>1</sup> For instances showing Miss Mary's strong stand for woman's right to equal pay see Chapter XII, pages 191, 192.

the chapters devoted to those years numerous instances may be seen of the help and encouragement she found time to give to her sister, who was passing through the severest stress and storm of her existence.

The whole life of Mary Anthony was one of self-sacrifice and service to others. When her mother had passed beyond need of her care and she had given up the duties of the schoolroom, she did not pause for the rest she had so fully earned but turned at once to other fields of usefulness. An earnest member of the W. C. T. U. she did all in her power to promote its aims; she was also an active worker in the Red Cross Association and was with Miss Clara Barton through all the calamity of the Johnstown flood. Every line of the varied activities of the Unitarian Church received her assistance. She was an officer of the city's Committee of Charities and gave her personal attention to scores of individual cases. Many days of every year were devoted to mending and making over for poor children garments which she had collected from friends, and no day was too inclement for her to carry these and baskets of food where they were needed. She substituted without charge for teachers who were ill and could not afford to lose their salary; and she took care of sick mothers whose daughters were obliged to go away from home to earn the daily bread.

In the years preceding and during the Civil War her very soul was enlisted in the effort to abolish slavery, and after this had been done she felt always the strongest friendship and sympathy for the negro race, which she manifested in many helpful ways. As was the case with her sister, however, the dominating interest of her whole life was in securing equality of rights for women. When that immortal first Woman's Rights Convention of 1848 adjourned from Seneca Falls to Rochester, she and her father and mother joyfully attended and signed the "Declaration." Nearly fifty years afterwards, at the urgent request of the Unity Club, she gave at one of its meetings some "reminiscences" of the old Unitarian Church on Fitzhugh Street long since swept out of existence by the inroads of business, in which she said:

This church was memorable to me personally for two distinct epochs in my life that I have always counted among the most fortunate. It was the church



MARY S. ANTHONY.

AGED ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE, FROM A DAGUERRETYPE.

in which my father for the first time felt that he could conscientiously listen to what the Society of Friends called "hireling ministry," a paid minister, music and all the accompanying formalities of church service. Those of you, who when young loved music, can appreciate my pleasure in the change from the long and often silent Quaker meeting, broken at last only by the hand-shaking, to one where instrumental and vocal music was followed by a good sermon, interesting to old and young alike, and then more music. The liberal preaching of William Henry Channing in 1852 proved so satisfactory that it was not long before this was our accepted church home. . . .

The other event was the meeting here of the first Woman's Rights Convention, July 2, 1848, to commence the great struggle for woman's equality. . . . At its close dear Lucretia Mott thanked the members for their liberality in opening the doors of the church to such a convention, and said that, a few years before, the Female Moral Reform Society of Philadelphia applied for the use of a church in that city in which to hold their annual meeting. They were finally allowed to use the basement, but only on condition that no woman should speak. Accordingly one clergyman was called in to preside and another to read the reports of their work which the ladies of the society had prepared.

As deeply interested as Miss Mary was in all progressive movements she never had dreamed it possible that she could raise her voice in their behalf in public. The most modest and unassuming of women she had cheerfully remained in the background, not even seeking to shine by the reflected light of her sister's renown; but her worth and ability were gradually becoming known and Miss Anthony was constantly urging her to take a larger part in public work. In 1892, against her protest, she was made president of the Rochester Political Equality Club and continued in this office for eleven years—until she insisted on resigning at the age of seventy-six. In 1893 she was elected corresponding secretary of the New York State Suffrage Association. Her work during the great amendment campaign is described in Chapter XLII, and at the end of it she was made secretary emeritus.

Through the developing experience of the local club work Miss Mary became a most acceptable presiding officer and speaker. Retiring as was her nature she had nevertheless much self-possession; her appearance was pleasing, her voice was excellent and she had always something of interest and value to say. Under her presidency the club flourished and reached a membership of over two hundred, and the first and last meetings of the year always were held in her home. Her addresses, which were much

in demand in Rochester and the neighboring towns, were keen, logical and marked by the quiet humor and good-natured sarcasm which were so apparent in her conversation. Among the subjects considered were, Growth of Suffrage Sentiment in England and America; What Constitutes Christian Citizenship? Do the Majority of Women Want to Vote? Woman Suffrage Catechism; Mile-stones Showing Progress of Women; Arguments of the Anti-Suffragists; Origin and Advance of the Woman's Rights Movement. Her annual president's address always showed a close study of current events. During the later years of her life she made several long journeys, accounts of which were embodied in delightful papers that were read before a number of clubs. Some of these were, A Tour of Europe (1899); To the Pacific Coast and Home Again; Berlin and the International Council, comprising thirty-one typewritten pages. These papers illustrated her acuteness of observation, common sense views and logical deductions, while they were diversified by bits of description showing her fine appreciation of the beautiful and historic.

As Miss Mary gained confidence in herself and the long-repressed nature expanded, she ventured to send brief articles to the newspapers, always making her point in a few strong sentences. Especial attention was attracted by her Protests against paying her taxes when she had no representation. She began making these Protests in 1897, continuing them for ten years, and as they were widely published they had a very considerable effect in calling attention to the injustice of taxing women and allowing them no voice in levying and disbursing the taxes or in choosing the persons who should do this. A few examples will indicate her logical position.

1901: Enclosed find \$62.63, city tax, which I pay under protest, still believing that taxation without representation is just as great "tyranny" today, under the so-called republican government of the United States, as it was in 1776 under the monarchical government of King George III. Yours for Equal Rights.

1902: At the expense of \$1,000,000 collected from the men and women taxpayers of the United States, 3,000 Indian men in Oklahoma, many of whom cannot read or write and do not pay a dollar of taxes into the public treasury, have just had the suffrage thrust upon them. Thus they are made by the



Government the political superiors of women in all the States but four—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. With profound admiration for this “jewel of consistency,” added to the many others in the crown of our republic, I herewith enclose \$15.33 county tax levied on my property for 1901 and, as heretofore, wish it distinctly marked on your books, “Paid under protest.” Yours for the right to vote as well as for the privilege of being taxed.

1903: We are cheered by the news that the next accession to the “Crown of Citizenship” will probably be the remains of the various tribes of Indians in this State of New York, blankets, feathers, war-whoop and all, to help guide our “Ship of State” into ports of safety. It will be a matter of pride to see them standing side by side with our other lawmakers, helping to enact the laws for 200,000 intelligent, educated, law-abiding, taxpaying women of the State to obey. In the name of all that is honorable and fair, I protest against such injustice.

1904: Once more all women politically classed with minors, criminals, lunatics and idiots are compelled to contribute to the support of a Government which denies them any voice in the control of its affairs; and once more I pay my taxes under protest. Please so record it.

1905: Another instance of the old-time “chivalry:” In the new Statehood Bill for Oklahoma and Arizona, as presented to Congress, women are classed with minors, illiterates, criminals, lunatics and idiots—as unfit for self-government.

A minor may live to become of age, the illiterate to be educated, the criminal to be pardoned, the lunatic to regain his reason the idiot to become intelligent—when each and all can help decide what shall be the laws and who shall enforce them—but the women—never. They must ever and always submit to the injustice of being governed in whatsoever manner the male portion of the citizens see fit. The shame of it!

I protest against paying taxes to a Government which allows its women to be thus treated.

1906: (Referring to a flagrant case in Rochester.) . . . Until when women are on trial they can have the presence of women, not only in the audience, but to serve in pleading their cases and to constitute one-half the jury, equal justice cannot be rendered. Men alone are no more capable of dealing out justice to women than women alone could be trusted to deal out justice to men. The combined judgment of both men and women would surely be better than either alone.

At the expense of being flippantly termed “reformers” by one of our daily papers, a few women ventured to defy criticism and witness the kind of justice meted out to the voting and non-voting participants in the illegal transactions, and were made to see more clearly than ever before the necessity of possessing the right of franchise—the right protective of every other right. Again I protest against paying taxes while refused this right.

1907: (Last protest.) It is almost inconceivable that even now, in this twentieth century, intelligent men still continue to choose the aid in governmental affairs of the most ignorant and depraved classes of men, even of pardoned criminals, while politically ignoring the intelligent and educated women of their own households.

As ever and always, I still protest against helping to support a Government manifestly so unjust to one-half of its people.

This spirited action on the part of Miss Mary soon encouraged other women to follow her example, and so many demanded that "Paid under protest" should be placed on the record that one of the daily papers advised the treasurer to open a new set of books for the "protesting" citizens.

The conviction that the question of the vote for women was paramount to every other grew stronger each year and to this Miss Mary finally devoted nearly all her contributions of labor and money. At a public meeting in 1905, when donations for a certain purpose were called for and Miss Anthony urged her to subscribe, she answered firmly, "No; my money is going where other people's will not go, and that is to the cause of woman suffrage." One of many instances of this kind which might be given is found in her letter to a prominent man who asked for a subscription to the George Junior Republic:

My life work thus far, together with what means can be spared from my little income, has been religiously devoted to the task of making our *senior* republic true to itself. A republic, according to the best authority, is a state where the sovereign power is exercised by representatives elected *by the people*, not one which ignores one-half and at the same time compels them to help support a government managed by the other half.

The "Junior Republic" lad who was here last year informed us, with all the assurance of Young America, that the girls in that republic had been *allowed* to vote that year the same as the boys, but the experiment was not considered a success and probably would not be continued. I have not heard the results of his prophecy. Probably, following in the footsteps of the senior republic, the girls there have been forced to give up their rights and meekly submit to the dictatorship of the boys. Such ruling cannot fail to work harm to both classes, causing the one to feel and act in many cases the part of the unjust judge, while the other, in yielding to such usurpation, loses the independent force and will-power necessary for great achievements. Yours for a *true* republic, senior or junior.

It had always been a source of much regret to Miss Mary that women were not admitted to the University of Rochester and she had many times agitated the question. When a fund was being raised for this purpose in 1900, she decided to give at once the \$2,000 for a scholarship which she had intended to leave in her

will. After the women were admitted and before the money was paid over, several things occurred which raised a doubt as to whether they were really to enjoy the full privileges of the university, among them the refusal to allow women students to compete for the prizes, and she wrote several letters to obtain assurance on this point. One of them, to Mrs. Ellen C. Eastwood, treasurer of the Fund Committee, was as follows:

You and many of the women who have devoted so much of their time and labor to give our girls the advantage of a college education may think me entirely out of the way in my demands for strict adherence to the pledge of the university trustees for the perfect equality of rights and privileges for them, but experience teaches us that failure to adhere to a pledge in any one respect, only serves to make it easy to violate it in another and still another instance, until it virtually amounts to nothing.

Since the wealthy women of our city would not come to the front in this work, it was left for those to do, many of whom, like myself, have spent the greater part of life in steady, plodding labor preparing for the "rainy day," but fully alive to the necessity of giving the young women of our city broader opportunities to fit themselves for work. To give of money which has "fallen into one's lap" without effort of her own is an easy matter, but to give large amounts from the hard earnings of years is quite a different thing. It is only from a deep sense of justice to our girls that I could think of contributing so large a sum as \$2,000, and it is only that same feeling which makes me insist that they shall have the full benefit of the sacrifices made for them.

I am not alone in my anxiety on this question, and, as treasurer of the fund, it seems to me you should see that a plain statement from the trustees is presented to the public assuring them that if any departure from the original pledge has been made it shall be rectified and the pledge adhered to in every particular.

The treasurer could give no definite information and Miss Mary then wrote to the Board of Trustees, saying in part:

I have been reading of the action of Chicago University "segregating" the sexes in that institution, and also of the proposed "adjustment of questions incident to the admission of women on equal terms with men in Rochester University," neither of which is at all re-assuring to lovers of Fair Play. . . .

It is in no spirit of fault-finding that I have expressed my views but from a most earnest desire that the young women who are brave enough to meet the new conditions in school life shall receive their full share of encouragement. No one can question the stimulus derived from their competing with the young men, not only in every day studies, but also for prizes—as the Alling prize for Debate, the Dewey prize for Declamation and all premiums

for good scholarship. If "the prize money was given by people who had no thought or wish that young women should share its benefits," so also when the money was contributed for the college itself there was no thought that young women would ever share *its* benefits. Does not the pledge under which we made our subscriptions cover both cases? Yours for justice to boys and girls alike.

To this appeal the president of the board, Rufus A. Sibley, sent a curt answer, giving no assurance whatever as to her points of inquiry. She was very reluctant to pay her subscription under these circumstances, but was finally prevailed upon to do so, largely through the position taken by the Rev. W. C. Gannett that "the main thing had been accomplished in opening the educational advantages of the university to girls," and that "there must of necessity be many details left to the judgment of the trustees." She was not, however, fully satisfied, and in her letter to the treasurer of the fund she said:

The pledge on the first page of the subscription book says: "The university will admit women to it, and to all its departments and branches of instruction, and to *all privileges pertaining thereto*, including scholarships, etc., in the same manner and upon the same terms and conditions as those which govern the admission and membership of men;" and furthermore that "the money herein subscribed shall be paid only when its trustees by appropriate and *irrevocable* action admit women in the manner hereinbefore mentioned." This certainly, so far as I can see, covers the entire question. Nevertheless, trusting that right will prevail and that perfect equality of privileges will be made the supreme law of the university, I fulfil my part of the obligation contained in the pledge of the subscribers by enclosing my check for \$2,000.

On May 13, 1899, in company with Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Sanford and daughter Madeline, and Mr. and Mrs. D. M. Anthony and daughter Gertrude, all of Rochester, Miss Mary sailed for a tour of Europe. They travelled 12,000 miles, visiting the principal points in France, Italy, Switzerland, England, Scotland and Ireland, and stopping in London for a part of the International Council of Women. Miss Mary was at this time seventy-two years old and during the entire trip she was not ill an hour, never complained of fatigue, was equal to every undertaking, even that of climbing Mt. Vesuvius, appreciated and enjoyed everything, and came home, well, happy and eager to resume her duties. On

May 19, 1904, as related in Chapter LXIV, she went again to Europe, attended the International Council of Women in Berlin and visited friends in Switzerland and England with Miss Anthony. As soon as she felt that her sister no longer needed her companionship there she hastened home, arriving July 26, in good health and cheerful spirits, "glad to get back to my native land and my native language," the diary said. While abroad her letters to friends had been given by them to the papers and published under conspicuous headlines, and on her return she was "interviewed" to the extent of several columns. The reporters, not only in Rochester but elsewhere, had been learning in late years that she had some very interesting things to say.

Miss Anthony had tried to keep Miss Mary in England to make a round of visits with her, but neither then nor at any previous or subsequent period could she be convinced that people cared to know or entertain her except for the sake of her sister, and it often required all the persuasive powers of the latter to induce her to accept invitations and other attentions. At councils and conventions she would take the simplest room at the hotel and keep herself modestly in the background, perfectly contented just to see the work and listen to the speeches for the cause which was to her the dearest thing in life; and she was supremely happy at the universal recognition of Miss Anthony, whose early trials she so vividly remembered. But Miss Mary was deeply loved for her own admirable qualities by those who learned to know her well, and affectionately regarded by the hundreds who enjoyed the courtesies of that most hospitable home, where she so capably filled the double role of Mary and Martha. In looking over the letters she received it seemed as if every one spoke of some kind and helpful act. On April 1, 1901, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw wrote her:

I may not have time to run up to 17 Madison St., tomorrow morning on my way through Rochester, to give you my congratulations on your birthday, so I will write a little love note. I am glad you were born and wish it had not been quite so long ago, but as I was not consulted in time the mistake of having you too soon was made. I only hope the good health and wide interests which keep you so active and useful will stay with you through the many years in which I trust you may still bless your community. Here

is my sincere appreciation of your long life full of happiness and helpfulness as it has been in the past. I want to declare my affection for you and my gratitude for the many kindnesses you have shown me and the warm welcome you give me every time I go to your home. My greatest ambition is to be worthy of the unselfish love of yourself and Aunt Susan. May the good powers above keep and bless you.

Do take Mrs. Harper's and my advice to get all the good times you can. Go wherever you feel that you will enjoy things. Take the trip to Minneapolis and Leavenworth with Aunt Susan and make a swing of visits. The house will stand.

On the same date Miss Lucy E. Anthony wrote:

As I get out a sheet of my best paper on which to pen a little birthday note to you it brings to my mind the time when I was a youngster in your home and you used to give me your prettiest note paper and lend me your gold pen to use in writing special letters, Christmas, birthday, etc. And this leads me on to thinking and thinking of how you have always been willing and ready to give of your best thought and service to all of us, and always have had time to listen with sympathy to all of our plans, aspirations and troubles. Surely your nieces and nephews are blessed in having such an aunt, and when we realize that we have a pair of them in you and Aunt Susan—we are indeed twice blessed!

My dear Aunt Mary, I think of you every day, and I have realized every day for many years what you did for me all those years I was in Rochester and I wish that you might really know the gratitude and thankfulness I feel. . . . If ever a phrase "seventy-four years young" were applicable it certainly is in your case—for you do not look a day over sixty-four, and your pretty complexion and pink cheeks—like Grandma's—give no sign of age.

May all blessings be yours this new year and if you receive in a hundredth measure as you have given they will shower upon you.

When Miss Mary started from London on her long voyage home in 1904, alone except for one or two acquaintances on board, Lucy wrote in her "steamer" letter: "How I wish you could have remained with us! We will look after Aunt Susan the very best we can. You know she is difficult to keep in line but we will try hard to deliver her safely into your hands the last of August. . . . You have taught me many, many lessons, dear Aunt Mary, both by example and precept, but, unlike most teachers, yours have been chiefly by example. I think you don't begin to realize how many people are constantly learning from your lovely, thoughtful and generous ways, but many are, and many of us

know that the truest generosity is in the giving of one's own self, one's time, strength and thought for others, and that is your life."

And in her letter Miss Shaw wrote:

It has been a real pleasure to us all and to me in particular to have had a little nearer acquaintance with you. Somehow at home you are always occupied with the house and the local work, and we, when we have come to Rochester, have had so much business to look after that we have not had time to sit down quietly and know each other. This trip has done more for us in that line than all the years of suffrage work and I am thankful for it.

Dear Aunt Mary, I want you to realize how much I care for you personally. You get so in the habit of feeling you are Aunt Susan's sister that you forget you are yourself and as yourself are appreciated and loved. It has been a pleasure to see you enjoying your trip and I am sure you will feel the better for it after you go home. Take things easily and don't use up all your strength. You have a good deal of it now and must keep it, and if you take ordinary care of yourself—just half the care of yourself that you give to Aunt Susan—you will be good for many years of useful service.

Again I want to tell you I love you very dearly and appreciate your unselfish devotion to all of us who in any way serve our cause. I know of no other woman who gives her life in the quiet, unassuming way in which you do, and yet you are unconscious of any sacrifice or merit. Heaven keep you on this trip! We all hate to have you go home without us and it would have added to the pleasure of all of us if you had stayed until we went too. We will do our best to look after Aunt Susan.

Among the letters of 1905 is the following from the Hon. George Herbert Smith, trustee of the Unitarian Church in Rochester and member of the Legislature from that district:

I am so glad that the celebration was of the birthdays of you both.

Your unflinching devotion, your splendid work and your countless sacrifices for the cause have been an encouragement and a shining example for many, in addition to the good accomplished by the work itself.

I wonder if you can know or guess how many people in Rochester, and elsewhere too, are ready to believe in your stand for political equality because you were once their teacher and they are sure you must be right. That you may abide long in the land with us and continue to point out things that we may do for the cause of woman, is the devout wish of yours most sincerely.

As Miss Anthony grew older and less strong Miss Mary took upon herself more and more of her sister's work. She had long been accustomed to keep in scrap books matters connected with her club and those of local interest, but after the last volume of

the History of Woman Suffrage was finished in 1902 and Miss Anthony ceased her own scrap book collections of fifty years, Miss Mary began at once to preserve the newspaper clippings of national affairs relating to women and especially everything connected with her sister. She spent many days of every month cutting and pasting, and had it not been for her scrap books and the carefully kept records of the journeys of the last three or four years, some of the most valuable material for the writing of this volume would have been forever lost. Only those who have dwelt under the same roof can ever know the extent of her personal service to her sister. This is referred to particularly in the account of her seventieth birthday celebration, Chapter XLIX, and in many other places in these volumes. Miss Anthony's attachment to her home and family was so intense that, if they had suffered by her absence, she would not have done her public work, but she had always the knowledge that every need of the household was looked after by the efficient, faithful, ever-present sister. During the nearly sixty years of Miss Anthony's public life they always exchanged letters several times a week when she was away from home. Figuratively and almost literally Miss Mary kept the candle in the window for her return from her hundreds of journeys, her room in readiness and every comfort provided. She did Miss Anthony's shopping and all her errands, mended her clothes, put the lace and ruching in her dresses, helped pack her trunks, looked after the tickets and went with her to the station. During the last years she was sister, mother, daughter; she warmed the overshoes and wraps when Miss Anthony was going out, cooked special articles of food, prepared the bath and carried her through the many slight attacks of illness. Miss Anthony had always the fullest appreciation of these services which she many times expressed in public and private. When her Biography was finished in 1898 she wrote in the first copy: "To my youngest sister, Mary, without whose faithful and constant home-making there could have been no freedom for the outgoing of her grateful and affectionate sister."

During Miss Anthony's last illness Miss Mary was so calm and outwardly so cheerful that those in the house thought she did not



know the end was near. She did, however, fully realize it but her self-control was so perfect that she made no sign. What the severing of the ties of nearly eighty years meant to her was beyond all expression in words, but she met the crushing sorrow with the sweet serenity and noble courage that had characterized her entire life.

The feeling of all was expressed by an editorial in the *Union and Advertiser* which said in part :

Women's hearts are saddened far and near today as the news spreads that Susan B. Anthony has gone from earthly life, but none is so heavy with grief as that of the sister whose life was bound in the existence of the great departed reformer and whose every thought and effort was for the success of what the elder was striving for even unto the very end of her long career. To that bereaved one goes out the warmest sympathy from every quarter of the world, and were it possible Mary Anthony's burden of sorrow would be taken from her as she looks on the quiet form lying in the house where so many happy and busy hours were passed by the sisters. . . . The home on Madison Street, kept bright and cheerful by "Sister Mary," was a haven of rest after long and arduous trips, and the scene of hard work as well. Miss Anthony loved it with the true feminine love of the hearth-stone. It is hushed and desolate now with the living presence of the famous woman gone forever.

Many of the letters received by Miss Mary at this time are given in a preceding chapter; a few of a more personal nature seem to belong here. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote: "This is only to say that while the world mourns its great loss, while a million women miss their leader and their friend, I am grieving especially for you. It is hard to live on glory and the good of the people when one's heart aches. Love, courage and strength to you." From a very old friend and co-worker, Mrs. Martha J. H. Stebbins, came the message: "Wherever Susan B. Anthony's name is written in words of loving appreciation your name will always stand by its side, as all know that her work was possible only because you were unflagging in a service that never wavered or failed however great the effort required. . . . With sincerest sympathy from all the friends and members of the club." Mrs. Jean Brooks Greanleaf, one of the nearest and dearest to her, sent this loving tribute:

You are constantly in my thoughts. Words mean so very little at such a

time and yet we must say them to ease our heart's effort to help those we love. You have so much that is beautiful to help you bear this trying but perfectly natural sorrow. No unperformed duty to your sister can be remembered to add to your grief. Your perfect union, while it makes the sense of loss keener, is such a precious link between you still. To know how the world has come to love and appreciate the great soul is in itself a consolation. But more beautiful than all is the knowledge that Susan B. Anthony went home with her intellectual forces undimmed by age or disease, with her noble heart as full as ever of the passionate love of liberty and justice, and her grand character without weakness or blemish. Dear friend, while my heart bleeds for your pain, I feel uplifted when I think what a rich dower of blessings she has left you. Oh, "Sister Mary," much as I have loved you in the past, you are doubly dear today because you were and are her "other self." Thank God for you both, and may He help me to be worthy of the friendship you both have shown me.

Mrs. Helen M. Millar, for many years the legal adviser and loving friend of both sisters, said in her letter: "No more fitting tribute could you pay the memory of this beloved sister than by entering the Oregon campaign and going on with the work in which the sisters two, hand in hand, have been so long engaged. The earnest wish and prayer of all friends will be with you, that your strength may fail not and that years may be added until at last you stand on the heights and see the flag of freedom for woman triumphantly waving over every State in the Union. Then indeed will the final words of tribute be paid to our Miss Anthony, who still lives and will ever live in the hearts of every true citizen of this republic."

Miss Anthony's intense interest in the approaching campaign for a woman suffrage amendment in Oregon has been shown. She journeyed to the Pacific Coast in 1905 to help inaugurate it, and continued her effort to raise money for it up to her last days, contributing liberally herself. When she knew that she should not be able to take any part in it personally she felt that Miss Mary could be of much assistance and would represent her. She was particularly anxious that she should go and give to Miss Shaw the tender, personal care so long devoted to herself. Throughout her illness she worried lest it should prevent her sister's going, and as the end approached she expressed again and again her desire in this matter. Miss Mary promised her that she would go and do all in her power for Miss Shaw and the cam-

paign. She was far from well during Miss Anthony's illness and after her death but she did not hesitate to carry out her promise, and the friends felt that it would be beneficial for her to have a complete change and to escape for awhile from the great loneliness she must inevitably feel. It was necessary for Miss Shaw to reach Oregon as soon as possible and they knew Miss Anthony would wish them to work instead of weep. On March 24, just nine days after she had been laid to rest, they were ready to start on the long journey. At the last moment Miss Shaw was missing, and, hunting through the house for her, Lucy softly opened the door of Miss Anthony's room, and found her on her knees by the bed praying for strength and inspiration for the great work and responsibility that lay before her.

"I never saw a more beatific smile than was on Aunt Mary's face as the train pulled out of the station," said Lucy Anthony afterwards; "she bore the journey well and seemed eager to arrive and begin the work." At Umatilla a dispatch was handed her from the Portland *Evening Telegram* asking for a greeting to the people and a mention of the suffrage question. She answered: "Miss Shaw and I are coming to place at the service of the people of Oregon our time and every possible effort to help bring to women the freedom which every true American man and woman should prize above life. It was the last prayer of my sister, and we come in faith that it will be answered by Oregon men with a splendid victory which shall make the State even more famous for its love of justice than it now is for its beauty and prosperity."

They were met at the station by a delegation of ladies, who presented a handsome bouquet of roses and carnations to Miss Mary and gave her a warm welcome. During her entire stay she was the guest of Mrs. Charlotte Moffett Cartwright. On Sunday, April 1, a large memorial meeting for Miss Anthony was held in the White Temple where she herself had filled the pulpit but nine months before. The city was beautiful in its spring raiment, the fruit trees blossoming, the grass vividly green, the flowers in bloom, and all seemed full of cheer and hope.

For her seventy-ninth birthday, April 2, Miss Mary received \$120 from relatives and friends in the East, to be used in the way

that would please her best, and at once she turned it over to the suffrage fund. Day after day, all through the long weeks, she went to the headquarters and worked till night, doing whatever her hands could find to do and in some way helping everybody else. She often accompanied Miss Shaw on her lecture trips to neighboring towns, seeming to feel that she had been placed in her special care by her sister, and no mother could have been more tender and thoughtful, more solicitous for the comfort and happiness of a loved child. Her journal recorded on many pages the experiences in Oregon during those three months. One amusing entry said: "Wholesale liquor dealers, saloon keepers, dive-proprietors, drunkards, gamblers and thugs generally, inside and outside of prison, are in full accord with the Oregon Society of Women Anti-Suffragists. Blessed companionship! How proud these women ought to be of the tie that binds!"

It is not the province of this chapter to give the history of that campaign. Never, unless perhaps in that of California in 1896, was there as large an amount of splendid work done, never as much money spent in speakers, literature, etc.; and never was there such a combination in opposition—all the elements referred to in Miss Mary's journal, added to the large trusts and corporations that rule the State. The result was apparent defeat, although it was the well-founded belief of many experienced in politics that the amendment actually carried but was counted out. It almost crushed the leaders of the campaign. Try as they would to imitate Miss Anthony's heroic courage and optimism in the face of defeat, it was impossible, and their hearts were filled with thankfulness that she did not have to add this disappointment to the many she had endured.

Miss Shaw, Miss Mary and Miss Lucy started home the evening of June 11, laden with flowers, fruit and lunch baskets from the devoted Oregon women. They arrived in Rochester at five o'clock on Sunday afternoon, June 17, and early the next morning they made a loving pilgrimage to Mt. Hope. That night the journal said: "Anna and Lucy have promised me that when they leave this earth their ashes shall be placed near Susan and me, with a single stone containing their names."

Miss Mary was so quiet and self-contained that she never gave any outward indication of her deep grief but the entries in the diary told their own pathetic story. Every Thursday marked an anniversary: "Just two weeks today since we left Sister Susan in her casket under the snow at Mt. Hope, and already, by her own wish, I am so far away." . . . "Four weeks today since we laid Sister Susan to rest. I can think of so many things I could have done to give her greater comfort and pleasure and deeply regret I did not do them, but it is difficult to keep human nature always at its best." . . . "Seven weeks today since I saw Sister Susan for the last time. So many, many things happen and my first thought is to tell them to her, as I was wont to do, and get her opinion. It will be a lonely home when I return to it in June. O, she seemed too beautiful to put away forever!" After the defeat of the amendment she wrote: "Twelve weeks today! I hope and trust that after leaving us and all the troubles here, our loved ones find quiet and peace." "Thirteen weeks today since the last sad ceremonies, and I am half the way back to the ever lonely home." Almost every entry spoke of the loneliness which awaited her. On June 19, two days after her arrival, she wrote: "I called Dr. Sherman-Ricker today to do something for the dizziness and other ailments which have been bothering me for the last six weeks." Nothing more ever was written in the journal.

Just after returning from Europe in 1904 Miss Mary had written her brother, Col. D. R. Anthony, "I seem to be the only one of the three who can stem all tides, endure everything, with no ill consequences." The preceding year she had invested nearly \$6,000 in an annuity, saying she fully expected to live into the nineties, as many of her ancestors had done. She seemed perfectly well, had wonderful powers of endurance and gave almost no indications of age. In 1905, however, she began to have attacks of dizziness and faintness, and she could not throw off colds and minor ailments as always before. During her sister's illness she had sustained a severe injury through vertigo, and a second while in Portland. Other serious symptoms developed and she never was entirely well after returning home. The faithful and

capable housekeeper, Carrie Bahl, who had promised Miss Anthony that she would always remain with her sister, relieved her of all household cares and gave her the most devoted attention; one of the nurses who had attended Miss Anthony had continued to keep her room in the house and gladly rendered whatever service was needed; the trusted physician came whenever it was necessary, but Miss Mary's health continued steadily to decline all summer. Her friends called often and tried in every way possible to make the days pass pleasantly, but she suffered sorely from loneliness and from the realization that her great life-work—to aid that of her sister—had been taken from her. She had not, however, had any intention of ceasing from labor but had mapped out many things to do, and this physical weakness was such a surprise that she was almost bewildered. She thought at first that it came from over-exertion and would pass away. It is not known just when she understood that her life was nearing its close but a letter from Mrs. Greenleaf, written at her country home, September 6, said, "Are you not really glad that, as you say, you 'can see the beginning of the end,' and will not have the weary way alone so long to tread?"

Whenever she was able during the summer she busied herself making three scrap books—of the Baltimore convention and Miss Anthony's eighty-sixth birthday celebrations; of her death and the many memorial services, and of the Oregon campaign. She classified the hundreds of letters received at the time of Miss Anthony's illness and death, indorsing on each a few words as to its contents; recorded the number of Histories and Biographies sent away, and kept her correspondence up to date. As she grew feebler a relative wrote, "It is so difficult for her to give up waiting on others and herself." She made a supreme effort to attend the State Suffrage Convention in Syracuse, in October, with Miss Shaw and Lucy, as there was nothing she so much enjoyed, and here she received the most loving attention. After she had become so ill that the physician advised her not to go away from the house, she managed to reach a meeting held in the interests of colored people, but she never again left home. On Thanksgiving Day she was downstairs for the last time.

Many loving messages came these days, among them this one from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt: "You have my tenderest sympathy and solicitude. Some day perhaps science and intelligence will be able to banish disease and pain from the earth. What a load of anxiety for dear friends would then disappear! But as yet yours is the common lot of humanity. I can only hope that the fortitude which has borne you so victoriously through life will not desert you now and that it will temper the pain and suffering. Let me remind you that your life has been a blessing to womanhood, and the big suffrage army love you for all you are and all you have been. I think you the most wonderful woman in many ways that I have ever known. Be assured that thousands of us are with you in spirit, hoping that each day has been better than the one before, and that the loving care which surrounds you will win you back to health once more. Meanwhile, here are my love, my admiration, my service, all at your command."

The gentle Quaker spinster not only loved music and flowers and bright colors and pretty adornments but she was also devoted to children and showed her affection for them in many ways. On the day before Christmas a number of them from the school where she was so many years a teacher, came to the house and sang their Christmas carols. She was not able to see them but she clapped her hands when they had finished and sent them her loving thanks.

Several of the nieces were most anxious to go and help care for their aunt, and Lucy Anthony, who was like a daughter in the household, was especially desirous of doing so, but Miss Mary steadily refused to allow it, saying that she now had the entire time of the professional nurse, and, with the housekeeper's relieving her of all anxiety about domestic affairs and looking after her every want, she could not possibly be better taken care of.<sup>1</sup> In one of her dictated letters she said: "It is all right about your love for me and your interest in my welfare but there are others to be considered. The world is too busy for the attention of many

<sup>1</sup> After Miss Mary's death Mrs. Elizabeth J. Loomis, of Chicago, sent \$50 to the National Suffrage Association to make the housekeeper, Miss Carrie Bahl, a life member in recognition of her efficiency and faithfulness.

people to be turned to one person, especially when most of them could be doing more important work." It was clearly apparent that she was determined not to deprive Miss Shaw of Lucy's assistance when overwhelmed with preparations for the approaching national convention, and so they concluded to disobey her commands. Early in January Lucy went to Rochester and when she saw the joy in her aunt's face at her coming she decided at once never to leave her while life lasted.

Throughout her illness Miss Mary was as patient and brave as she had been in health. Her dominant thought was to use every remaining power for the cause of woman suffrage. She had many times urged her friends to give to it while living and remember it in their Wills. Now she dictated an earnest letter and sent many copies to those whom she knew well enough to justify it, urging them to follow the example of her sister and herself in this regard and saying that 'it would make her weary days and nights endurable if she could have their assurance that they would do what they could in a financial way for this cause for which so much work must still be done before the complete victory.'

The president of the New York Suffrage Association, Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett, came at her request to talk about the best methods of work in the State. Toward the last she felt a strong desire to send a message to the convention of the National Association, which would meet in Chicago February 14, and would be the first one she had failed to attend for twenty years. On Miss Shaw's last visit she tried to dictate to her what she wanted to say. Sometimes when she would pause in framing her sentences and Miss Shaw would suggest one in her beautiful phrasing, she would smile and say, "They would know I didn't write that." Her message, given two weeks before her death, said in part:

Until we purge ourselves of the iniquities we profess to abhor in other lands and put into practice those principles of justice which we claim are the foundation of our national greatness, we cannot hope to inspire confidence in the people of the world in our lofty pretensions of freedom and fair play for all.

The wrong which today outranks all others is the disfranchisement of the mothers of the race. So long as this injustice toward woman is perpetuated, just so long will men fail to recognize justice in its application to each other.



Because I believe this so thoroughly I have given the best of myself and the best work of my life to help secure political freedom for women, knowing that upon this rests the hope not only of the freedom of men but of the onward civilization of the world.

I therefore urge upon the delegates and members of the National Association not to lose courage no matter what befalls but to work on in hope and faith, knowing full well that the time of the coming of woman's political freedom depends largely upon the zeal and the patient service of those who believe in its justice.

The workers pass on but the work remains and demands the loyal service of us all.

Up to the last conscious moment Miss Mary's mind remained clear and strong. Her Will had been made three years before and during her illness she had dictated a letter emphasizing its provisions. She gave explicit directions in regard to business matters and expressed the wish that her funeral services might be conducted simply and with the least possible trouble to everyone. She was thoughtful of all those around her and tried to save them from unnecessary labor.<sup>1</sup> In answer to a question as to her feeling toward some one she said, "I should be very much ashamed of myself if at this hour I did not love everybody." No concern as to her own future disturbed the tranquillity of her soul. She faced death as she had faced life, sanely, serenely, unflinchingly. During the last day she talked with those about her but in the evening she seemed to sleep, and the gentle, helpful, heroic life reached the end as the old clock struck four on the morning of February 5, 1907.

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Miss Mary herself would have been greatly surprised that the press associations telegraphed the news of her death to all parts of the country, and that each of the papers of her own city devoted columns to accounts of her life, work and funeral, and published appreciative editorials. That from the *Evening Times* said:

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mary's thoughtfulness was constantly illustrated. One day toward the end she asked where Mrs. Gannett was, knowing she was in the house. When told that she was very tired and was lying on the couch down stairs, she asked at once what cover had been put over her and said, "That is not enough; get the big, double, grey shawl and tuck it in all around her."

"The death this morning of Mary S. Anthony will be mourned by a wide circle of friends, not only in this but in other countries, but especially will it be felt in this city, where she had lived so many years, where so many people knew her, and where all who knew her felt the deepest admiration and affection for her character. While not so widely known as her more famous sister, Mary S. Anthony had a place scarcely less important in the work of elevating and helping womanhood. Quiet and homeloving, she made a foil to the more energetic nature of the other. For years, however, they were associated in the work of woman suffrage, and the death of her sister, less than a year ago, was a blow from which she never recovered. The great interest of her life was gone and she slowly declined until today came the sad news of her death—a relief to her but a heavy loss to thousands everywhere; above all a loss to those in this city who for many years had been so closely associated with her."

The *Post-Express* said in part: "For half-a-century the name of Mary Anthony was hardly known outside of this city, while her sister was famous on two continents. But later the world learned what was known here—that the extraordinary energy which Susan B. Anthony displayed in public was possible only through the unselfish loyalty, the unflinching devotion and the unremitting labor of her sister at home. No one realized this so well as Miss Anthony herself or was more ready to say it. . . . Both were lovable in character, devoted to duty, energetic in action, strong in intellect, loyal to great reforms and courageous in every emergency. Now after long and useful lives, full of earnest strivings and unselfish devotion, they go into history hand in hand and of equal strength and stature."

The *Democrat and Chronicle* thus closed its editorial:

In measuring the work of Miss Mary S. Anthony, no less than that of her sister who has passed on before, it would be unjust to leave the impression that her energies were devoted exclusively, or to any disproportionate extent, to the procurement of equal suffrage for women with men. While this end was never for a moment lost to sight, there was no legitimate field for the betterment of women in which these two notable women were not active. The liberal education of women was a cause in which they labored arduously and for which they sacrificed much. To Mary S. Anthony, with her sister

and other noble women, some of whom were less radical in their views regarding woman suffrage, young women owe the privilege of education in the University of Rochester on equal terms with men. Thus these leaders among women were not solely champions of civic rights for their sex; they stood for everything which would make the lives not only of women but of men also brighter, broader, more wholesome and better worth living. While it is true that Mary S. Anthony, during the lifetime of her sister emulated Martha of old in choosing the humbler part, her memory will be none the less warmly cherished by those for whom she labored so long, so consistently and so effectually.

The old, historic Anthony home was filled with loving relatives and friends on the afternoon of February 7, come to look for the last time on the sweet, placid face of its gentle mistress. The dove-colored casket with the silken Stars and Stripes across the foot, was surrounded by a wealth of flowers, from the church, the club, the university association, the medical society and many individuals. Mrs. Mary Thayer Sanford, an intimate and much loved friend, had charge of the arrangements. There were no formal services here, but the same children who gave their Christmas carols came again with Miss Helen F. Samain, their teacher, and their fresh young voices sang farewell songs, the sweet music continuing until the casket was borne from the house. Then all went to the Unitarian Church which was crowded with men and women. Places were reserved for the Political Equality Club, the W. C. T. U., the Women Students' Association, the Blackwell Medical Society and other organizations.

As the audience gathered, familiar hymns were played, and when the casket was carried up the aisle, Naomi, a special favorite of Miss Mary's. The services opened with a hymn she greatly liked, "It Singeth Low in Every Heart," and later another was sung, "What Thou Wilt, O Father, Give." The Rev. W. C. Gannett, her minister and devoted friend for many years, read from comforting passages of Scripture—"Let not your heart be troubled." . . . "Nothing is quickened save it die." . . . "What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" . . . From Socrates—"Let us be of good cheer about death. There can no evil befall a good soul either in life or after death." . . . From his own writings—"Through the silence a Voice saith, 'It is I, be

not afraid.' The old, familiar places are astir with holy memories. The things unseen grow real, grow near, grow beautiful. The two worlds seem to mingle. Our pain becometh peace. Slowly we learn the truth that Death teacheth us the things of Deathlessness." . . . These were followed by a prayer eloquent with hope and faith and courage. Then, as seemed most appropriate, women speakers continued the services. Mrs. Greenleaf said in the course of her tribute:

"Thank God for friends!" exclaimed Emerson. Thank God for friends, our hearts echo as we gather here to render tribute to the beloved woman whose body, worn out in the service of humanity, lies in its burial casket today. We may well give thanks who have known and loved Mary Anthony, and to our thanks for having known her, let us add the expression of our gratitude that she has finished the work so faithfully performed and become "a part of morning" with the sister she so loved and cherished. "Beautiful is life," just as beautiful is death when it closes a well spent life here and opens one where

"The eternal step of progress beats  
To that great anthem calm and slow  
Which God repeats."

I revered Susan as the greatest woman I ever knew, she was my inspirer, my guide; but Sister Mary I loved as I have loved few women. She was one of the most perfect examples of a truly feminine soul I ever have met. Most modest and unassuming, gentle and loving, staunchest of friends, tenderest of daughters and sisters, brave and inflexible in the defence of what she believed to be right, and craving and striving for that freedom of expression that belongs to all God's children—this was Mary Anthony as I knew her. Can we give ourselves up to selfish grief over our loss when we know that wherever the fountain of truth, purity and goodness is found, there abide Mary Anthony and her sister Susan?

Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffrey touchingly expressed the love and appreciation of the colored race for the friendship and help they had received in such abundant measure from Mary Anthony. Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery, member of the School Board, said in part:

When a hero dies they place upon his breast tokens of his achievements, emblems of honor. On this woman's breast many honors are laid today because of the various reforms in which she was engaged because of her untiring faithfulness, her devotion to those nearest her and her work for the poor. All these are her orders of nobility. But higher than all, in my estimation,

is the service she gave for many years in our public schools. Oh, the work of our teachers! There is no honor too high that we can pay them. From what we have been told by friends and associates this woman must have been a wonderful teacher. She solved not only the problems of the classroom, but was able as principal of a school to execute the greater problems. The importance of the work of training our children cannot be overestimated; there is no other so important to the community. Therefore it is today a whole city that lays its tributes of honor on Mary Anthony's bier.

In her loving testimonial Mrs. Gannett said :

It is hard to put into words one's estimate of Mary Anthony, she was so utterly self-effacing and yet so positive a personality. We are apt to dwell on her devotion to and co-operation with her beloved sister, but no one who really knew her could think of Mary as merely an auxiliary to Susan. She was a strong and independent character, and her life was full of her own kinds of service. Her neighbors knew and loved her as one prompt to see and meet any need for friendly help. In every organization with which she was connected she took an active part, ever ready to put on herself the hardest and most thankless tasks. We know of much loving service and faithful work performed by her, but I am satisfied that by far the larger part of all she did was unknown save to those she served. Children especially appealed to her and on her long journeys in this country and across the sea she dotted her way with here a picture postal and there a menu card mailed to some child collector, and children were always remembered with little gifts brought home. A daily duty-fullness was hers, a life wholly without thought of self, loyal in friendships, devoted to every good cause, consecrated to the purest and noblest ideals.

With deep feeling Miss Shaw read the "message" that had been sent to the national convention, and thus began her eulogy :

As the glowing light before the morning sun, or the radiance after the sun has set, so was Mary to Susan B. Anthony. They were more alike than people thought, for years of service in the same cause made them one. When Mary looked forward to this hour she said, "Don't waste time on me but say the strongest words you can to rouse men and women to see the injustice of disfranchisement." This was her last word in regard to the most important question before humanity today. It concerns the freedom of the mothers of men, who themselves can never be free until they are born of free women. That which made Mary Anthony great as teacher, friend and reformer was that back of all were the sterling qualities of character which made her what she was as a woman; which crowned her life with the truest symbol of success—the power to look squarely out into the eyes of all mankind without servility, and up into the face of God without fear.

The day was bright and beautiful and a large number of people

went to the cemetery, where the deep snow lay pure and white and radiant in the sunshine. As the casket was lowered into the grave Miss Shaw said slowly and reverently: "Dear friend, enter into your rest beside the sister dearly beloved. Together you toiled without fear or faltering; together your weary bodies enter into the quiet of eternal peace, but we feel the presence of your fuller life and know that where service is needed there together your immortal souls will always be found and your highest joy be known. Farewell."

Then Mr. Gannett spoke the tender, solemn words of the "committal," and the friends turned away with a last good-by leaving the two sisters once more side by side after a separation of only a few months in all the eighty years.

Among the many written tributes two seem especially to demand a place here. The following, by an old friend in Rochester, Mr. J. M. Thayer, was sent to Miss Mary on one of her late birthdays:

When Paul with holy zeal and speech most rare,  
In all the ardor of perpetual youth,  
Dispensed with liberal hand and zealous care  
The latent germs of new-found gospel truth,

Apollos, faithful to his chosen part,  
With loving care refreshed the sterile soil,  
From living fountains in his own warm heart,  
And shared the honors as he shared the toil.

And thus, St. Susan, fired with kindred zeal,  
And holding kindred gifts at her command,  
Has grasped the quick'ning germs of human weal  
And sown them broadcast over all the land;

And Mary, like Apollos, quick to see  
That soon or late the pressing need must come,  
Has crowned her life by holy industry  
As "water-bearer" from the fount of *home*.

We emulate the one, whose dauntless soul  
Has found the courage thus to "do and dare,"  
But honor her no less who "keeps the goal,"  
And thus on both bestow their equal share.

The second was written by Mrs. Louise Lawrence Fitch, of

Rochester, about the time Miss Mary started with her sister for Berlin.

Just a willing sacrifice  
Of a woman's holiest right;  
Just a daily abnegation,  
Putting self far out of sight;  
Just a tender, faithful care,  
Doing all things with her might,  
Just "Sister Mary."

Just a life whose consecration  
Makes another's life-work sure;  
Just a love that sees the end  
And, seeing, all things can endure;  
Just a heart of faith and hope;  
Just a soul inspired and pure,  
Just "Sister Mary."

The Will of Miss Mary S. Anthony was made January 4, 1904.

I give, devise and bequeath all of my property, both real and personal, to my beloved sister, Susan B. Anthony, in fee and absolutely.

In the event, however, of the decease of my said sister, Susan B. Anthony, prior to, or at the time of my decease, I give, devise and bequeath all of said rest, residue and remainder of my property to my niece Lucy E. Anthony and to my friend Anna H. Shaw.

Likewise, I make, constitute and appoint the said Susan B. Anthony, Lucy E. Anthony, Anna H. Shaw and Rachel Foster Avery, Executors of this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me made.

And I hereby request that no bonds shall be demanded of said Executors.

On June 22, 1906, the following letter of request to the executors of her Will was carefully prepared in Miss Mary's own handwriting and put in the bank with her papers, a copy of it being sent to the executors:

I desire that one thousand dollars (\$1,000) be given to Mary T. L. Gannett, Mary Thayer Sanford and Emma B. Sweet, to be used as an Emergency Fund, at their discretion, to further the work of the Rochester Political Equality Club;

That one thousand dollars (\$1,000) be given to Harriet May Mills, Isabel Howland and Ella Hawley Crossett for an Emergency Fund, to be used at their discretion, to further the work of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association;

That one thousand dollars (\$1,000) be given to the Rev. Anna Howard

Shaw, Harriet Taylor Upton and Catherine Waugh McCulloch, to be used, at their discretion, in the National Suffrage work;

That five thousand dollars (\$5,000) be given to the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw personally, for her devotion to and persistency in working for the Enfranchisement of Women—much of the time without money and without price;

That Lucy E. Anthony, the only niece who has given her time and labor for the Suffrage Cause, shall be given five thousand dollars (\$5,000) for her *personal* use.

Lastly, I desire that the rest, residue and remainder of my property—both real and personal—shall be used as an Emergency Fund, at the discretion of my Executors, that where there is a prospect that a State can be carried for Woman Suffrage, it may help to send enough lecturers and other workers into the field to *make sure to win*.

In order that there might be no misunderstanding as to her wishes Miss Mary dictated a letter to Mrs. Mary T. Lewis Gannett on December 2, 1906, two months before her death, signed it and had Mrs. Gannett sign as a witness.

The final disposition of what little property my sister Susan left was made by her executors according to her last expressed wish and with my full sympathy and cordial consent.

From the time I was able to reason at all I have always felt thoroughly convinced that by far the greater share of the evils existing between men and women resulted from the legal subordination of women from the beginning of time to the present day. I feel thoroughly satisfied that this one question sinks all else into the background—that until we can establish equality between men and women we shall never realize the full development of which manhood and womanhood are capable.

Therefore, I in like manner have requested that the residue of my estate be given to the Suffrage Cause at the discretion of my executors—after the various bequests or payments to associations and to my niece Lucy E. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw—as noted in my letter of request to my executors. I wish to put on record my appreciation of the devotion to the Cause of Woman Suffrage on the part of these two women.

In 1848 Mary S. Anthony attended the first convention ever held in the interest of the rights of women; she signed the first formal demand ever made and voted for the first resolutions ever adopted for these rights, including that of the suffrage. Her testimony and her effort for almost sixty years thereafter were consistently given for equality of rights, and to aid in securing it her last words were spoken and the careful savings of her lifetime were left as a legacy.



It is not essential to speak of the resolutions adopted and the memorial meetings held, or to quote from the many letters of sympathy received. The prevailing note of all was expressed in that of Miss Harriet May Mills, written at Biskra, on the Desert of Sahara, where she was travelling: "O, how hard it is to realize that the two guardian spirits of that blessed home are gone forever from our sight. It was such a dear refuge to all of us who were a-weary in body or mind, and not one ever left its hospitable door without feeling happy and refreshed."

It was indeed a sorrow that this consecrated home could not be preserved without change in order that it might stand as a shrine to which women should come in all the future years to offer thanks for their freedom and opportunities. The matter of thus preserving it received the most careful consideration but for many reasons this was found to be wholly impracticable. It must remain a blessed memory to those who have known its inspiring influences, and from the written page future generations must learn to reverence it as they love and revere the two noble women who sanctified it by their pure and beautiful lives.

## APPENDIX.

### EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE LIFE, WORK AND DEATH OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.<sup>1</sup>

1906.

The magnificent testimonials below deserve first place, as the expression of the city which was the home of Miss Anthony for sixty-one years.

Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle*: The death of Susan B. Anthony closes one of the most remarkable careers any woman in this country has ever known. Hers has been a life of unceasing labor, of unequalled courage, of undaunted persistency in the face of opposition, ridicule and disappointments, of the most unselfish devotion to many philanthropic causes, through all of which there ran one strong unbroken strand, the demand for equal rights and responsibilities for her sex.

Beginning in weakness and obscurity, pressing forward over obstacles that seemed insurmountable, and in the face of hostility entrenched in social sentiment and custom, in constitution and laws, never halting, never apologizing, never compromising, this heroic woman came in the closing years of her wonderful life to stand, beloved and honored, before rulers and kings, and to receive from all civilized lands grateful acknowledgment from those who are greater than kings or rulers—the people—of her splendid services in the cause of humanity. For Susan B. Anthony, supremely known as the pioneer and chief apostle in the cause of woman suffrage, was far more than that. She was more, even, than the champion of her own sex. She was the friend of the slave, the friend of labor, the friend of the struggling student, the friend of the Union in its mighty conflict with the forces of the Confederacy, the friend of the lowly and the poor, the friend of the oppressed whatever their sex, race or creed.

Possessing what has always been spoken of as masculinity in logic and organizing power, but which she refused to acknowledge as distinctively and exclusively masculine, she had also the woman's heart in her which moved her to

<sup>1</sup> These editorials are arranged in the following manner: First those from the press of Rochester, N. Y.; then of New York City and State; Boston and New England; New Jersey; Philadelphia and Pennsylvania; Baltimore; Washington; Ohio; Indiana; Michigan; Chicago and Illinois; Wisconsin; Minnesota; Iowa; Missouri; Nebraska; Kansas; Colorado; Utah; Montana; Oregon; Washington; California; Louisiana; Mississippi; Alabama; Florida; Georgia; South Carolina; North Carolina; Virginia; West Virginia; Tennessee; Kentucky; the Religious Press; the W. C. T. U.; Suffrage News Letter; Poems.

Only a portion of the editorials is used in most instances—enough to show the spirit—and no attempt is made to reproduce those which appeared in large numbers of foreign papers and magazines. A résumé will be found in Chapter LXXIV.

instant sympathy and relief. Her heart and her hands moved together. When it was in her power to extend aid she was never content with condolences. Practical to her finger-tips and devoid of all self-consciousness, she wasted no time on self-pity because of her own sympathies, but went straight to the task of doing what she could.

But to all who knew her Miss Anthony's true womanliness was one of the conspicuous phases of her character. She was caricatured for years as a man-woman. She was denounced, ridiculed and satirized as one who was both ashamed of her sex and a reproach to it. It was said that she wanted to make speeches in public because men did it; that she wanted to vote because she was masculine in her tastes and ambition; that she was coarse, indelicate and unwomanly. That was the old story. She faced these accusations for years from the press, from the pulpit, from drawing-rooms, from halls of legislation and from mobs. Did she not suffer from them? Did not her brave heart often bleed over misconstruction of motive and misrepresentation of character? Surely those who knew Susan B. Anthony, the depth of her earnest, sincere, straight-forward soul, the loftiness and comprehensiveness of her aims, the tenderness of her sympathies and the beauty of her ministries, can only wonder that such a monstrous perversion of the truth could ever receive credence. But it must be remembered that through a long life of uninterrupted labor this noble woman was antagonizing ingrained customs and prejudices that were not the growth of generations only, but of centuries, of all recorded time. Whether she was right or wrong in her solution of the problems she attacked, she had studied them by night and day, she had looked at them from every side, and, as an expert in their investigation, she was entitled to more respectful treatment from her own sex, as well as from men, than she received for many years.

Miss Anthony was a well educated woman. The foundations of culture were laid wide and deep in her childhood and girlhood. For years she was an able and successful teacher. She studied human nature, first in the classroom and then in the great world which she knew as few of her contemporaries, men or women, did. She had a large, luminous intellect, a strong physique that hardly acknowledged fatigue, a love of affairs, especially those pertaining to the relations of the State to men and women, which stimulated her to constant study and research. The Constitution of the United States, the Constitutions of the several States and the laws in their bearings upon her mission were as the alphabet to her. The man who, presuming upon his sex or upon his official station, assumed superiority of knowledge concerning public affairs or the bearings of laws and institutions upon Miss Anthony's favorite issues, was likely to find himself brought up as with a lasso by a few clear-cut sentences, irresistible in truth and logic. She could settle a discussion with about as few words as any person the public life of this country has ever known. In that respect she was justly comparable with Abraham Lincoln, whose logic and tact and wit went hand in hand.

The qualities of mind and temperament which greatly distinguished Miss Anthony were her intense practicality, her extraordinary logical powers, her undying persistence, her tact and her unflinching sense of humor. To speak of the last first, it may be said that it was the lubricating quality which saved her

from the grinding effects of a life that otherwise would have worn her out in her prime. Her humor was crisp and sparkling, sometimes keen and searching. It made her brief, business-like visits to an editor's sanctum or a statesman's office something more than they otherwise would have been. It flashed like sunshine into the prosaic question of the moment, illuminating and cheering it and adding a stimulus to succeeding work.

Miss Anthony was a woman of unusual tact. Never mean or tricky, never compromising herself or her cause, she displayed remarkable skill in adjusting herself to the occasion, the individual or the audience she was addressing, and the exigencies of her plan and purpose.

Miss Anthony's fidelity, especially to the work she had laid out for herself in life, was unshakable. She permitted nothing to daunt, nothing to divert her. "This one thing I do," was the fundamental rule of her life. Versatile in sympathies, nevertheless from the time she became convinced that woman must have the ballot to assure to her an equal footing with man in society and the State, down to the last conscious moment of her life, she kept that end in view. Rarely if ever did she make a public speech or write a paper on any question in which somewhere that thought, perhaps in a single felicitous and convincing phrase, did not crop out. So persistent was she in this that she became identified with the cause of woman suffrage to such a degree that many were unconscious of her activities and successes in other lines of reform and ministry.

Miss Anthony was a trained and wonderfully persuasive public speaker. She was in no sense declamatory. She did not deal in rhetoric or the flowers of fancy. Her speech was as direct, as clear-cut and as convincing as an axiom. Her logic admitted no refutation, granting her premises. She not only herself saw the connection but had the power of making others see it, and in the fewest possible words.

For sixty years Susan B. Anthony has been a resident of Rochester. She came here in the freshness of her young womanhood, and this has been her home to the hour of her death. Here she has undergone obloquy and here she has been loved and honored beyond, perhaps, the experience of any other person. For years she has been the best known citizen of this city. Her reputation was world-wide. She had traveled abroad and received attentions rarely if ever shown an American woman, and had come back to Rochester with the thought of "Home, Sweet Home" in her heart and its words on her lips. Hither she has returned after strenuous campaigns in distant States on the Pacific coast, in the halls of Congress or Legislatures, to rest for a brief while only, and like the evangelist of a cause which she was, to go forth again to a more arduous field of labor. Rochester will miss her. Rochester mourns her departure; for her admirers and friends, her lovers and champions are not only they who saw eye to eye with her, but a great multitude who, while they did not agree with all her views, respected, admired and loved the splendid qualities of heart and mind which made her in many respects the queen of American womanhood.

Rochester (N. Y.) *Herald*: The life of Susan B. Anthony, which came to a peaceful end yesterday morning, was full of unique and distinguished achieve-

ments. It may easily be said to have been the most remarkable career among those of American women, perhaps of all women, who lived in the nineteenth century. It was moulded to a single consuming purpose and that purpose received the fullest sacrifice that it was within the power of any human being to give, the devotion of an earnest soul, a brilliant and vigorous intellect and a wealth of physical energy—all these for a period much longer than the active lives of most men and women. This dominating purpose of her life was the attainment of the suffrage for women.

This was an unpopular cause when it was first espoused by Miss Anthony, and it is still but little less in disfavor. It is this very unpopularity of her chief aim that makes the esteem for her moral worth and the admiration of her intellectual genius such complete testimony to her incomparable mind and character. She did not realize the dream of her life—to see the ballot in the hands of American women everywhere upon the same terms that it is given to men. But she did live to see and enjoy a friendly toleration of her theories and demands for recognition, where in her early life she had been met with discourtesy that sometimes verged upon sheer brutality. And, what was of far greater importance, she saw many reforms, more or less collateral to her project of woman suffrage, enacted into law and adopted in the usage that is more pervasive in its influence and effect than is the law. The enlarged sphere of woman in the industries, in commerce and in the literary occupations, the increase of the compensation of women in the occupations which are practically monopolized by them, the realization by women that they become bread-winners without disgrace and even without hardship, and that the world's rewards of genius are bestowed without respect to sex—all these have come to be; and more or less clearly these changes are to be traced to the influence of the agitation begun and inspired by Susan B. Anthony.

Miss Anthony's personality, seen from a nearer viewpoint, inspired the love and admiration of everyone. Many of her acquaintances dissented from her creed of society and politics but among them there was not an enemy. Some of those who instinctively recoiled from the thought of a woman mingling with the filthy concerns of politics, rejoiced in the light of Miss Anthony's kindness and friendship, and reveled in the delight of mental contact with her. She was frank, simple, unpretentious. In a word, she was genuine. Her friendships, as her public life, were at the surface as they were at the heart. It was no more in her power than in her will to deceive. Such a character it was easy for one who met it to understand, and, understanding, it was impossible not to love and revere it. Mere differences of opinion could not disturb attachment to so ingenuous, unselfish and brave a nature as hers.

In conversation, as in public speech and writing, Miss Anthony's native intellectual gifts shone in her clearness of thought, in her apt phrases and in frequent flashes of her wit. She had a terseness and vigor of characterization that might well be envied by the foremost speakers of the country. She could be bitter when the bitterness of sarcasm best served the purpose of her public appeal; but she never could be bitter or unpleasant in her private relations. She was not by nature of a combative temperament. She sought always friends, never enemies. Her fighting was all born of devotion, earnestness,

self-surrender to what she deemed a great cause. She was one who loves peace, but who goes forth to war in order to return again to enjoy a larger and more perfect peace.

Rochester (N. Y.) *Union and Advertiser*: The death of Susan B. Anthony brings to its close the remarkable career of a world-famous woman, a career without a parallel. The more carefully that career is considered the greater it appears. It is remarkable not only for the extraordinary amount of work accomplished by Miss Anthony, but for the unique character of that work and for the indomitable perseverance with which it was prosecuted in the face of most disheartening obstacles through a long period, even to the close of her eighty-sixth year.

In considering the life and work of Miss Anthony what impresses one most is her great strength of character. This compels the admiration of all, even of those who have not shared her enthusiasm for the cause to which she devoted her energies. We say "the cause" for the reason that, although Miss Anthony was a leader in advocating many causes, reform of our educational system, temperance, emancipation of the slaves, there was yet one cause to which she was chiefly devoted and with which she will ever be identified, that of woman suffrage. This cause has had many advocates, but by them Miss Anthony was recognized as their leader. She lost no opportunity of championing that cause. If she were addressing a public meeting on a topic entirely foreign to it she could be depended on to work in an argument in favor of woman suffrage. Often this was accomplished with a single shaft of irony; but that shaft was made to "go home" with telling effect. Although Miss Anthony did not live to see the triumph of her favorite cause in her own State she saw it victorious in several States. She had the satisfaction of knowing that her labors in its behalf had not been barren of results.

Miss Anthony's advocacy of woman's rights was by no means confined to work for the suffrage. She fought and won many a fight for rights that had been denied to women; by her personal efforts she secured many changes in the legal status of women in this and other States, and in each instance to their advantage; but she believed that the ballot was the weapon needed to secure their full rights, and therefore for that she made her great fight.

Miss Anthony had a striking personality which was impressive or winning according to occasion. By her appeal of the suffering was never denied, no matter what the reputation of the applicant. The unfortunate girl or woman, cast out by society as unclean, found in her beneficent nature solace and comfort, and never did she know the time that she was embarrassed by the application for advice or assistance of any one, no matter what the person's character. She was a woman of great strength of mind, persistent against what she was convinced was wrong and for what she believed to be right, and yet feminine to a degree. In her the world saw a remarkable combination of qualities, those of a woman who was always womanly and those of a leader in thought, not only a leader among women but one who held her own with the leaders of men. As a public speaker she was interesting and forceful. She had a good voice which she used effectively, and her talk was always to the point. She made a strong argument. In debate she was keen, ready-witted

and ever prepared to meet and bear down opposition. Her conversation was interesting and attractive. Her sympathy was easily awakened where it was deserved.

Miss Anthony was one of the great women of the world. That fact has long been recognized. Her fame will endure.

Rochester (N. Y.) *Post Express*: (Referring to the famous trial for voting): Then a remarkable thing occurred. Although a Judge is not presumed to make up his mind until counsel has been heard, no sooner had Mr. Selden concluded, than Justice Hunt drew from his breast pocket an elaborate written opinion, which he proceeded to read. He held, and very justly, that Miss Anthony had no right to vote, and was not to be excused by the plea of ignorance; but he then declared that there was no question for the consideration of the jury; he refused to allow Miss Anthony's counsel to address the jury; and he directed the jury to return a verdict of guilty! Mr. Selden insisted that this direction was one "which no court had a right to give in a criminal case", but the clerk, under the direction of the Judge said: "Gentlemen of the jury, harken to your verdict as the court hath recorded it: You say you find the defendant guilty of the offense charged; so say you all." No answer was made by any of them; neither by word nor sign did a single jurymen indicate his concurrence. Mr. Selden asked that the jury be polled. "That cannot be allowed," said the Court, and added: "Gentlemen of the jury, you are discharged." Whereupon the jurymen left the box. Miss Anthony then made a speech, which the Court endeavored to interrupt and prevent and then sentenced her to pay "a fine of \$100 and the costs of the prosecution." Then Miss Anthony replied, "I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty." Justice Hunt amiably remarked, "Madam, the court will not order you committed until your fine is paid." There were a great many things that Mr. Justice Hunt did not know, but among the things he did know was this, that if he committed Miss Anthony for failure to pay her fine, her counsel would procure a writ of habeas corpus and bring before another court the lawfulness of a conviction without a jury.

Miss Anthony, of course, never paid either the fine or the costs of prosecution, and no appeal was ever taken. Great indignation was aroused by this treatment of Miss Anthony. . . . More than twenty years went by before the highest judicial tribunal in the country had occasion to pass upon the question involved in this case, and it then said, all the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States concurring: "It is not competent for the Court in a criminal case, to instruct the jury peremptorily to find the accused guilty of the offense charged, or of any criminal offense less than that charged." It was always believed by Miss Anthony and her friends that no jury would have convicted her, and the only reasonable explanation of the extraordinary conduct of Justice Hunt, so emphatically condemned by the Supreme Court at the first opportunity, was that he thought so too, and accordingly resolved to convict her himself! It was one of the greatest judicial outrages ever perpetrated in this country, and though Miss Anthony did not have the right to vote, it was a question for the jury, not the Judge, to decide.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rochester (N. Y.) *Evening Times*, page 1425.

*New York Tribune*: During most of her long and active career Susan B. Anthony suffered a certain injustice in being in the public mind conspicuously, if not exclusively, associated with a single cause, and that not a victorious one, while her successful and beneficent achievements in other directions were largely ignored or forgotten. We do not know that she in the least resented such injustice, or that she paid it sufficient attention to be more than subconsciously aware of it. Indeed, she was for the last third of a century so much absorbed in that one cause that she was probably quite willing to be thought of solely as connected with it to the neglect of everything else. Equal suffrage for women had become the Alpha and Omega of her benevolent ambition, and she was its chief protagonist. As such she was unsurpassed in ability, in efficiency, in the influence which she exerted and in the respect which her character and demeanor commanded.

The wisdom of the end she sought, after she had made suffrage at least apparently that end, is questioned by many even of her own sex. But there can be no doubt that the agitation and discussion which she aroused and so vigorously sustained have been productive of much good, and that her labors have already been crowned with greater success than may appear in a superficial view of the case. She was not, it is true, able to keep the world "male" out of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution nor to get Congress to enact a national woman suffrage law. But she lived to see, largely through her efforts, equal suffrage granted to women in four States and a large though not complete measure of suffrage in various other States. She secured for married women in New York and elsewhere the right to hold and dispose of property, the possession and use of their own earnings, the guardianship of their children and many other things which are now approved as a matter of course and the denial of which would at the present time seem reversion to barbarism, yet which were denied, when she began her long campaign.

On the ground of these real achievements the fame of Susan B. Anthony is secure, and the lasting gratitude is assured, not only of women who profit from her labors, but equally of all right thinking men who perceive in the moral, intellectual and social enfranchisement of women an essential and commanding factor in the advancement and elevation of the human race. The co-education of the sexes may or may not be carried as far as she would have had it. The equal right with men to vote and to hold office, for which she so earnestly contended, may never be universally granted. What is certain is that American womanhood and the American people have in this last half-century received a great uplifting toward purity, intelligence and justice, and that because of her prominent and effective participation in that work Susan B. Anthony is to be remembered with respect and gratitude.

*New York Sun*: In Susan B. Anthony has passed away a woman who more than any other member of her sex personified the movement for Woman's Rights. Her last days were cheered by the retrospect of a long, useful and honorable life. . . . It is now hard to realize the extent to which sixty years ago, in England and the United States, woman was the subject of unjust discrimination under the common and statute law. It was then not only cus-



tomary but legal for a husband to use his wife's property as he pleased. As Miss Anthony herself reminded us not long ago, if a man failed, his creditors used to attach his wife's property and often took away from her everything she possessed. Frequently also when a woman was toiling to support her little ones her husband or one of his creditors would collect her earnings and send her home penniless to her starving household. The father, not the mother, had the right of custody over children. Now, on the other hand, not only in New York, but in many another State of the Union the law gives a married woman not merely the right to her own earnings but also the guardianship of her children. Indeed, in New York legislation has improved so signally the status of a married woman that, according to a familiar saying, what is her husband's is hers, and what is hers is her own. For the amazing change that has been effected in this particular during the last half-century American married women are more indebted to Susan B. Anthony than to any other member of their sex.

If we survey Miss Anthony's life as a whole we must recognize that she accomplished a vast amount of solid, durable and beneficent work. She may be looked upon as the Moses of the movement for Woman's Rights. She brought her sex out of the Wilderness, wherein for centuries they had been subject to grave legal disabilities and to an unfair disbarment from educational and professional opportunities. Even as regards equality of political rights she brought her sisters to the border of the promised land.

New York *Evening Post*:<sup>1</sup> Yesterday's well-deserved tributes to Susan B. Anthony mark, for one thing, the complete change in the public attitude toward that estimable woman. Originally portrayed as a monster whose sole thought was to have her sex imitate men and to destroy all of woman's attractions by making her coarse and masculine, Miss Anthony has lived to see widespread recognition of her own personal charms and high-mindedness, together with an understanding that the cause she represents is more and more bound up with the economic progress of woman. When Miss Anthony began her labors there were comparatively few women in industrial life, and an appreciation of the housewife as an economic worker was still lacking. Today the presence of the woman laborer in all but four lines of work now occupied by men has given to the suffrage movement an entirely different footing. This must be admitted by friends and opponents alike. The rapidly growing movement for the organization of women's labor unions is another expression of a desire to be represented in the Government, or at least to influence legislation, which cannot be ignored or laughed away in the old fashion. Whatever may be the fate of the woman suffrage movement one thing is certain: Susan B. Anthony will always be remembered as one of its patron saints, with about all the attributes which should make for canonization.

Same: The death of Miss Anthony is sad only in that it is the passing of a

<sup>1</sup>This editorial was written just after the celebration of Miss Anthony's eighty-sixth birthday in New York three weeks before her death. It was read to her and she was pleased at its progressive tone.

reformer who did not survive to see her cause triumph. She lived long enough to see a great change in public sentiment toward that cause and toward herself, and to receive many testimonials of high regard even from those who failed to agree with her in her lifelong contention. The suffrage cause is now entrusted to the second generation. Miss Anthony was almost the last of the original group of suffragists which included among others, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, William Lloyd Garrison and Lucretia Mott, and like them she aided in the righting of many wrongs while engaged in the pursuit of her main object. Abolitionists they all were; through their unceasing efforts have come not merely the opening of the professions to women and an entire change in the legal status of the sex, but the advancement of the temperance and peace movements as well. Few American men have lived more useful lives than Miss Anthony; yet it was her fate to be politically classed to the end with Indians, criminals, the feeble-minded and the insane.

*New York Daily News:* A life as perfectly rounded as womanly woman can conceive has been garnered into Immortality.

A woman as typical of the sweet and gracious and adorable virtues of the American ideal as ever lived has signed her name to a legacy wherein the entirety of American womanhood are joint heirs.

Permitted to exceed the benign allotment by over a decade-and-a-half, this soul has laid down the potential weapons of Right and Equity as her conceptions defined them, and has not left one blot upon the copy-book of her life, not one erasure, not one blunder, not one mistake.

Susan B. Anthony was supremely greater than her cause. Had she not been she could not have kept forever before it. Her cause was gigantic, and in the evolution of time we may realize how great it was. But she knew and realized its greatness and she lived the knowledge of its greatness; she spoke and worked and toiled and aspired and sacrificed to make that greatness evident by removing it from the belittling environments into which lesser natures than hers inclined to drag it.

For more than sixty years this magnificent woman passed her days and nights in the highways of Thought's controversies, where womanhood is exposed to austere contacts inclined to diminish and blunt and exterminate the sensitive womanly graces. But public life developed the beautiful, the tender and the sympathetic in Miss Anthony and at the recent convention in Baltimore, when the ashes of dissolution were already beginning to fleck her vigor, above all and before all the representative women of America who thronged the assemblage, her venerable form, her placid countenance, her undisturbable benignity, her exquisite courtesy, pervaded the sessions with such an inspiration that the halo still abides in the memory of all who partook.

How true it is that the best we can pen will soon or late fade from the inked page; but how equally true it is that the gap left in life's ensemble by the taking off of such a nature and such a character will face untold future generations and to them speak far more eloquently of the revered one than lies in mortal power even to anticipate.

*New York Times:* To those who had the privilege of knowing Miss An-  
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thony at all well it was not easy, even in the earlier days of her active career, to explain, and it was still less easy to excuse, the bitterness and derision with which she was almost universally treated. She was at heart one of the kindest and most considerate of women; she was constantly rendering services of the most generous sort without the least display, and she bore the rudeness and violence of her opponents, not, certainly, as suffering fools, patiently, but with womanly dignity and high-mindedness.

One can hardly realize now what she had to encounter sixty years ago both on account of the causes she publicly advocated and on account of the simple and then singular fact that she, a woman, chose to advocate them publicly. Slavery, intemperance and unfairness to women were not in the late forties and in the fifties looked upon at all as they are at present. They were accepted as the institutions and customs of the best society of the time, and any severe comment on them was irritating to the great mass of respectable men and women. But that this comment should be made in public, in speech and in print, by a woman, and especially by one who for a time wore unconventional and unbecoming clothes, shocked the general sense of propriety to a degree we can hardly even understand and with which we cannot at all sympathize. In regard to all these things there has been change amounting to revolution. Slavery is abolished and almost forgotten. Intemperance is greatly lessened, and the inequalities of woman's status before the law are practically done away with except in the matter of suffrage, and as to that there has been such serious modification that women could probably have the vote at any time that they really demanded it.

*New York Transcript:* The first cry of Miss Anthony and her colaborers was for the ballot as a means to open the door for women everywhere and to safeguard the privileges to be secured. Primarily the ballot was demanded for woman herself and but incidentally for the good of society. Having won for herself a high place among the forceful elements of society in spite of her political disfranchisement, woman may hope one day to be invited to share the full responsibilities and duties of citizenship for the perfection of civic government. This is the land of promise now before the sex which Susan B. Anthony fought to enfranchise and which she really emancipated from the shackles of prejudice and unjust laws. Like Moses, she died in sight of the prize, and in inspired moments her worn and fainting soul must have been illumined with the thought that the ballot she so long and so fearlessly sued for as woman's private right would one day be assumed with dignity as woman's public duty.

*New York Commercial:* It is one of the paradoxical facts of American life that its married women are more indebted to the late Susan B. Anthony, spinster, for lightening their grave legal disabilities than to any married person in the world. To every informed wife possessed of independent property there should come at this time not only genuine sorrow at the loss that the world sustains in the death of a forceful and original thinker and a worker in great reforms, but especial gratefulness for the work done by Miss Anthony in securing to all her sex legal rights long withheld; and such hearing and

standing in all matters where women's influence, vote and counsels are lacking and sorely needed as shall accomplish reforms of future pith and moment. That Miss Anthony lived to see so many of her dreams realized and her examples emulated is a satisfaction that many men as well as women shared with her.

New York *Evening Journal*: Without the pioneering of such women as Miss Anthony there would have been no place today for the "new woman" in business and the professions. The results she most figured upon have not been secured, but a greater cause has been won, for women today are free from the entanglements of prejudice, they are out of the narrow rut that encompassed them when their cause was first championed and they are now on the high road that leads to even greater distinction and greater power than if they had been allowed the freedom of the ballot with all of its lurking dangers.

But best of all Miss Anthony lived to be respected and loved by people who once criticized without stint. Three-score years is a long time to remain in the eyes of the public, but during all those long years she was always working for the same cause and to the same end. She was as great a leader among women as could have been found during that time among men, with a few notable exceptions. It is an omen of good for her sex that during all these years she remained true to herself, that she won friends among and the respect of the greatest statesmen of her day. At the ripe old age of eighty-six she goes from her sphere of usefulness, but she leaves behind a record that, blended with time, makes her one of the most earnest and useful women of her age.

New York *Mail*: Susan B. Anthony did not, in fifty-four years of hard work, succeed in winning the ballot for women, except as her agitation may have been instrumental in obtaining it in three or four Western States. But her energetic leadership and the example of her uncompromising adherence to an unclouded ideal have been potent in bringing about the immense improvement that has taken place in the position of women under the laws, in this country. . . . Since the first woman's rights convention met in the year 1848, the position of women has been made over. And to a very considerable extent the heroic figure of the gifted, tireless and dauntless spinster of Rochester has been the power behind the transformation.

New York *Globe*: If time softened the acerbity of this glorious old maid toward the public, it also softened the temper of the public toward her. While her views were not altogether accepted, she saw them command respect. The era of ridicule, of cat-calling, of vegetable-throwing has long been over. Her career illustrates again what a life devoted to a single idea can accomplish—how much of dynamics there is in actually knowing, not merely believing, that you are right.

New York *German Herald*: Susan B. Anthony deserves a monument from the women of this generation. She it is who has brought it to pass that the entire marriage law has been so changed that it has become an axiom that "what is the husband's is also the wife's—what is the wife's is her own." . . .

Miss Anthony contributed more than any other person toward revolutionizing the conditions of life and self-support of women in America. She was the Moses who freed women from "slavery" and the flesh-pots of Egypt. Whether the entire change in the material conditions of women has not radically changed their moral condition—"that is another story."

New York *Staats Zeitung*: Susan B. Anthony, the eighty-six-year-old reformer who has just died was a courageous and also a tolerant woman, though she stood for ideas which in German circles especially, and particularly in those of our adopted German citizens, found their most vehement opponents.

She was a notable champion of woman suffrage in this country and in Europe. She began her agitation when the name of Susan Brownell Anthony and her aim were the stock subjects for poor jokes and for derision of the "new" woman, as people then loved to call the one who strove for equality of rights—and that is not so very many years ago.

Today Susan B. Anthony is respected even by those who do not agree with her. Even in "old-fashioned" Germany, with its ideas of woman as nothing more than the quiet house-wife, the timid servant of the lord of creation, she is honored, and when the Emperor and Empress, at the time of her visit to Berlin two years ago, greeted her with high honors, she became even "fashionable" there, where people up to that time had looked down with scorn and derision upon the "masculine woman." . . .

She devoted her long, pure life to one thought, and she lived to see women fully enfranchised in the States of Wyoming, Utah, Colorado and Idaho. But she had also to live to see that even in these States, politics was not changed by the votes of the women, who, on the contrary, followed in the footsteps of the male politicians. In all these States the fully enfranchised woman has proven that her influence is not for the betterment of political conditions, and but few women, except those in the professions, have thought it worth their while to make use of this right which cost so much to gain.

But though Miss Anthony is best known as the champion of the unpopular cause of woman's enfranchisement—whether in America, in England or in Continental Europe—her life-work has not been in vain, even from the standpoint of those who do not agree with her. To her more than to any other woman, is due the fact that woman today occupies a changed, a more independent position and one of more dignity. When she commenced her work she found woman wholly absorbed in her household, troubling herself but little concerning any of the great questions of the day—leaving willingly to man the mental problems, the activities and the contests of life.

At the hour of her death she saw woman, (whether believing in the suffrage or not), claiming the right to participate in public work, in the arts, the sciences, in commercial life; claiming the right to support herself either when driven to it by circumstances or from personal choice—and no one now objects so long as she remains a woman and does not pass those bounds set by custom and by nature. That this revolution, this dream of thirty years ago, has become a reality, women owe chiefly to Susan B. Anthony, and for this reason even those who do not agree with her on other points may think of her lovingly.

*New York Searchlight*: In truth it would require several volumes to tell in all its variety the tale of Miss Anthony's participation in that one great and prolonged struggle which enlisted her very best endeavor—the cause of woman suffrage. She entered into it braving the flouts that came from women as well as from men; she led in the winning of its victories. . . .

She was a womanly woman. Her entire life was a refutation of the ancient argument against the woman suffrage movement, to the effect that participation in public affairs would unsex a woman. She possessed the domestic spirit in a very large degree and her home life has been described as full of sweetness, the useful handicrafts of an old-fashioned Quaker household and the exercise of a gracious hospitality affording her rest from public labors.

*New York World*: Susan B. Anthony has died full of years and of such honors as the world at last found itself compelled to pay to womanly courage. She could not live to see the right to vote granted to the women of America nor even to see a majority of them demanding it. But she far outlived the time when the answers to her arguments took the form of abusive words and pictures and even to mob violence; and she saw extended to her sisters the school suffrage in twenty-four States, full suffrage in four and a partial municipal suffrage in several others. The story of Miss Anthony's life is the history of the woman's rights movement in this country for more than fifty years.

*The Worker*, (New York): Although Miss Anthony was not a Socialist, we Socialists cannot refrain from paying her honor, for she was a brave woman who honestly devoted her life to a great cause—only an integral part of our Socialist program, indeed, but still great even by itself.

William M. Ivins, (New York): She was among the noblest, the best and the most wonderfully balanced women of the world. She began life as a teacher and she ended life as a teacher, and none ever did her duty more thoroughly. Had she been a man she would have taken off her hat in the presence of no one except God.

*World's Work*, (New York): Miss Susan B. Anthony, the gentle and untiring agitator for woman suffrage, long outlived the absurd and cheap ridicule that for a generation was heaped on her as a representative of a once very unpopular movement. She was as unselfish and unwearying an apostle of woman suffrage as any civic or even any religious movement has had in modern times. And she had lived to see many beneficial changes in the legal status of women, which may be traced indirectly to the movement for suffrage; she had seen her cause win many converts among men of great influence; she had lived, therefore, what may, from a personal point of view, be regarded as a triumphant life; for she had the joy of complete devotion to a great cause, and she won the respect of all the world and the hearty admiration of a large part of it.

*Harper's Weekly*, (New York): . . . If it had been practicable to bestow the suffrage upon women like Miss Anthony who wanted it, without imposing voter's obligations on the rest of the women, no doubt it would have been

done long ago. That, however, would by no means have appeased Miss Anthony, whose interest was not in getting the voting privilege for herself but in arousing the spunk and promoting the mastery of all womankind.

What Miss Anthony thought of men, or that she ever took much thought about them except as inconvenient but indispensable supplements to women, we do not know, nor does it matter. She was one of the bravest figures of her generation, and outliving and outfighting the ridicule and disparagement that met her early demands, she came to be honored as her single-minded courage deserved, and in her later years to be affectionately regarded by thousands of observers who did not share her views. When she died she was by very much the most distinguished citizen of Rochester. Perhaps they will set up her statue there some day.

*The Outlook*, (New York): Miss Anthony has been, on the whole, the most prominent leader in the woman suffrage movement, and has been before the public a full half-century. She has spoken in almost all parts of the United States, and until within a very few months retained her vigor of body, and until the end her vigor of mind. For many years she passed through a constant storm of ridicule and sometimes of abuse; and her angular figure and face lent themselves easily to caricature. She looked the typical woman suffragist of the popular imagination of forty years ago; she was, on the contrary, a woman of a great deal of charm of nature. Vivacious, overflowing with humor, kindly and singularly unselfish, her hand, her means, and her thought were always at the command of the cause she loved and the people in whom she was interested. Miss Anthony's life was a long devotion; and whatever may be thought of the cause to which she gave the greater part of it, no one can question its entire consecration, its penetration by the highest ethical impulses, its unflinching courage and its unshaken faith. As an advocate of an unpopular cause she was indefatigably earnest and persuasive, appealing to reason rather than using gifts of eloquence in which she was easily surpassed by many of her co-workers. She was quick and adroit in statement and always in command of her intellectual resources. She never seemed to harbor any resentment toward those who heaped ridicule upon her; and she had a delightful way of recalling with touches of humor, experiences which must have been very disagreeable at the time. She was a born individualist, quite willing to stand alone and perhaps preferring to do so; but she was the servant of her ideas and the trustee of all her gifts. That she was mistaken in the main contention of her later years *The Outlook* believes; that she was influential in removing many disabilities from women and opening new fields for their activity is beyond question.

*Leslie's Weekly* (New York): In greater degree, perhaps, than any other individual is the late Susan B. Anthony, the famous champion of woman's rights, to be credited with that wonderful enlargement of the feminine sphere of activity which marked the last half-century. Of the many workers in the cause with which she was identified, she the most completely gave to it her life and energies, displaying an intensity of conviction, a courage and a persistence that stamped her as its most typical leader.

*Vogue* (New York): For fifty years Miss Anthony carried on a warfare for distinctly unfashionable projects. Bitterly opposed to her, until the last years of her life, were the press, the pulpit and the fashionable world, and yet, save in the bringing to pass in this country of universal suffrage for women, this woman of the people triumphed all along the line, and her death was made the occasion of extensive and appreciative comment in the leading papers of the metropolis and the country. Her old time insulter, the press, completely changed its point of view; the pulpit and society did not, however, register their change of opinion. Her glorious campaigns in behalf of enslaved white womanhood and the negro bondswoman and bondsman, were not dignified by either forty vice-presidents or a list of fashionable patronesses. On the contrary she was reviled by all the great forces that make public opinion, and by the mob generally. A refined, sensitive, educated gentlewoman, burning with a holy zeal for the women of this and other States—who, fifty years ago, were practically without any legal rights to their inherited property, their earnings or their children—Miss Anthony went through the cruel experience—for her a veritable torture—of having herself, her associates and the just demands they were presenting, reviled in the coarsest possible terms by nearly every public spokesman. Dear to her, as to any of us, was the good opinion of her fellow human beings, but when the choice had to be made between general approbation and the obloquy that was the inevitable concomitant of leadership, or even lay advocacy, of such unfashionable reforms as the recognition of the rights of women teachers to the privilege of teachers' conventions, or the co-education of the sexes, or the freeing of the slaves, or other as radical changes for those days, Miss Anthony unhesitatingly chose the way of martyrdom.

Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Daily Eagle*: Miss Anthony is one of the women whom Americans of this generation have delighted to honor, not only for her fine personal character and for the charm that her presence has radiated through public assemblies of women from one end of the country to the other, but also for the good she has accomplished. Although she was first and always a woman suffragist, and although woman suffrage is generally believed to be one of the world's lost causes, admiration and liking for Miss Anthony were by no means confined to suffragists. Everyone who met her or who heard her on the platform was won by her honesty and sincerity and by her pungent common sense.

This atmosphere of admiration has followed Miss Anthony about for perhaps thirty years, and it is very difficult for a person who has come to mature life in that time to realize the obloquy which the sweet and sunny old woman bore, and bore without bitterness, during her early life. The revolution in the position of women the world over, but especially in the United States, was one of the great social changes wrought by the nineteenth century. Of that whole movement Miss Anthony could have said: "All of which I saw and much of which I was." In 1850 when Miss Anthony was first moving toward a public career as a lecturer, a married woman was practically a chattel of her husband. She had almost no independent property rights or any legal control over her children. Wage earning for women, save in household employments and as elementary teachers on wretched pay, was unknown. Women were not



slaves but that was not due to the law but to the fact that human nature was better than law. The injustice of this situation was patent and it appealed to many women of keen mind and high sense of justice. New England was full of the anti-slavery agitation and it was a time of moral uprising and political re-alignment. The women of that time who sought to remove the disabilities under which their sex labored pinned their faith to suffrage for women. Perhaps that was natural in a country where the ballot is the cornerstone of liberty, and the logical argument for woman suffrage—especially as it applies to women who own property and pay taxes—is clear enough. But big movements seldom travel on strictly logical lines. The agitation for “woman’s rights” during the twenty years from 1850 brought to women all sorts of rights except the one toward which it was specifically aimed by the women who directed it, of whom Miss Anthony was one of the most prominent. Property laws, divorce laws, laws for the control of children and of wages have been liberalized almost to the revolutionary point by the agitation in which Miss Anthony took such an active part, but the right to vote remains where it was, save for some experiments in Western States which seem to be proving less and less satisfactory the further they go.

The laws in all our States giving greater rights to women are a part of Miss Anthony’s monument. The movement which has sent women into all sorts of business careers also got a large part of its inspiration from her. Whether that movement is a blessing or not is still uncertain, but Miss Anthony never had any doubts on that point and was proud of her share of the work. . . . The leaders of the “woman movement,” notably Miss Anthony and her firm ally and close friend, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, lived through their old age and died not merely in the odor of sanctity but of public admiration and a widely extended love. And they deserved the honors with which their old age was so pleasantly crowned.

Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Times*: If it had been the lot of Susan B. Anthony to have died thirty or forty years ago, she would have left a name only to be mentioned with ridicule as the leader of “the Shrieking Sisterhood,” a foolish enthusiast in a hopeless cause. It may be that in the years that have intervened the cause to which her life was mainly devoted has made no material advance. It has made no new conquests; it lacks the aggressive and resourceful leadership it once possessed, while arrayed against it is an efficient organization of women who are satisfied with the domestic sovereignty which has been the portion of their sex during the ages of the past and object to being dragooned into the muddy field of politics. . . .

Miss Anthony did not confine her activities to the cause of woman suffrage; she was not less zealous in every cause that she deemed worthy of her efforts. She was strenuous in her advocacy of temperance reform, and was one of the most indefatigable of workers in the cause of the abolition of African slavery. With Whittier she could say:

“Wherever Freedom shivered a chain,  
 ‘God speed,’ quoth I.  
 To Error amid his shouting train  
 I gave the lie.”

But it was to the political enfranchisement of women that her life was chiefly devoted. Nor, whatever opinions we may entertain as to the desirability of tempting women to enter the political arena, can it be denied that her labors were singularly effective in ameliorating the condition of women in this State and through the Union; in removing unjust legal discrimination against her sex and legalizing their individual rights to property and other matters of no less importance. The woman is an ingrate who fails to hold the memory of this brave, noble, self-sacrificing woman in highest reverence, or who fails to teach her children to honor the name of Susan B. Anthony. Nor should America fail to give due recognition to her worth and to the world-wide honor which her life has reflected upon American womanhood.

Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Citizen*: Miss Susan B. Anthony, who died yesterday in her eighty-sixth year, has so long been looked upon as the leader of the movement for female suffrage that this, rather than the general influence exerted by her for the advancement of other good causes, is what will be thought of by most readers of the newspapers when they learn of her death. It is questionable, however, whether her best claim to remembrance is not to be found in work that lay somewhat apart from that to which so much of her time was given. However intelligent people differ in respect to the suffrage movement, there is not likely to be any difference concerning the movements for the better education of women, for the enlargement of the industrial life of women and for the establishment of complete legal equality for women in all property holding relations, and to the accomplishment of reform in these particulars the deceased was one of the most effective agents of her time.

Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Standard-Union*: Miss Anthony lived long enough to see one of the reforms which she devoted her life to an accomplished fact and the other two well under way. Best of all she lived long enough to have survived the enmities of her earlier years, leaving none but friends behind.

Incident in New York *Sun*: "Susan B. Anthony was one of the best friends a young reporter ever had," said a man on Park Row the other day. "She was a good friend, too, of the older ones. She had a keen sense of the value of news and lost no time in getting out facts. She was a sincere believer in the press and would go to all manner of inconvenience to keep the cause she represented before the people.

"Some years ago I applied for a job as reporter on a Washington paper. The city editor didn't take my name and address but he told me to knock around town that night and see what I could do. There was some sort of a woman's convention in town and Miss Anthony was at the Riggs House. I told her frankly just how matters stood—that I was a new man in town and didn't know much about the convention. 'Oh, well that's easily overcome,' she said, and she told me all about the convention and its work. 'Give my compliments to your city editor,' she said as she shook hands cordially, 'and tell him I hope he will send you to the convention tomorrow.'

"I saw her several years afterwards. She remembered me and wanted to know if I got the job."

"Dorothy Dix" in New York *Evening Journal*: Susan B. Anthony is dead in the youth and beauty of her wonderful old age, the broad, calm brow crowned with the laurels of a nobly-spent life; the keen, gray eyes that saw the emancipation of the negro slave, seeing prophet-wise in death the coming freedom of women; the tireless hands that have labored so long folded on the quiet breast, their work done at last.

It is a time of sackcloth and ashes, when all women may well mourn the passing on of the great woman who was the Moses of her sex, and who led them out of the wilderness of utter subjection to where they can, at least, look over into the promised land of equal rights.

No woman has done so much for other women as she has. She found women with few rights before the law, little or no control over their own property, and no representation in the Government that taxed them. She leaves them with a thousandfold better legal protection, with laws that secure a woman's own property to her in many States and that safeguard it to a degree in all, and with the women in four States possessing an equal voice with men in making the laws that govern them.

She found the doors of almost every college barred to women, and the highly educated woman looked upon as a freak and derided as a monstrosity. She leaves nearly every university door swinging on its hinges to admit women, and parents as anxious to educate their daughters as their sons.

She found the woman who attempted to speak in public, no matter how eloquent, how sincere, or how important the message she had to bring, hissed and mobbed and lampooned. She leaves vast audiences listening to women orators and applauding them to the echo.

She found only three vocations, that of the domestic servant, of the factory hand and of the school teacher, open to the woman who was under the necessity of earning her own bread. She leaves every profession and every walk of commerce free to women and with no bounds set to a woman's achievements except the limitations of her own ability and energy.

It is true that alone and single-handed Miss Anthony did not bring about these enormous reforms. They are too great for any one individual to have accomplished, but to her above all others, is the honor due, for she was the head and front, the animating spirit of the great movement for women's emancipation that has done so much to better the condition of the female sex, and to which the woman of to-day owes her ability to get an education and to make an honest living at something better than servile drudgery.

For more than sixty years Miss Anthony labored unceasingly for her sex, and when the great angel asks the name of the one who loved best her fellow woman her name will lead all the rest. No wrong under which woman suffered was too great for her to dare attack it, no injustice too small to enlist her pity and her attempt to remedy it.

She saw the tears of the slave mother with the child torn from her arms and sold away from her, and she was foremost among those who fought for freedom for the negro.

She saw women with great intellects starving for knowledge, and she fought to open the avenues of education to them. She saw the poverty of the sweat shop women make the millstones between which they were ground, and she

fought to better the conditions under which they worked. She saw the honor of the girl-child made the plaything of the debauchee, and she fought for laws for her protection. She saw the woman working by the side of the man for half the salary, and she fought for equal pay for equal work. She saw the intelligent, educated, tax-paying woman of the country classed by the law with the idiot, the criminal and the insane, and she died fighting, with her face to the foe, to have this monstrous injustice removed.

For more than sixty years—longer than the lifetime of the average person—her life was one constant battle against wrong. It was not easy fighting. For many years there were no plaudits of victory, no cheers to hearten her and encourage her. She did not even have the sympathy of the women for whom she was so bravely and heroically battling. No one, perhaps, ever endured a greater martyrdom, for, strange and incredible as it seems now, during the earlier years of her life she was not the object of reverence and praise that she is to-day, but a subject for the cartoonist's pencil, the butt of the cheap wit and the victim of the execration of the narrow-minded.

It was my good fortune once to stand beside her on the platform when an audience composed of the most brilliant and distinguished people of a big city, rose and cheered her until they were hoarse, and pelted her with roses until the frail figure in its black silk dress, and with its white silk shawl slipping from the shoulders, was standing almost knee deep in flowers. When the applause had died away and the audience gone, she turned to me and with a smile that trembled between a laugh and a tear, she said, "Time brings strange changes. In this very city that has pelted me with roses I have been pelted with rotten eggs for saying the very things that I have said tonight."

No one ever served a cause more unselfishly than Miss Anthony served the cause of woman. She had wonderful executive ability; she had untiring industry; great genius in many lines—all the things the world is most willing to pay for, and yet she gave them all and asked no reward for herself.

Death claimed her before the dream of her life of equal suffrage for man and woman was realized. Perhaps none of us now living will see it come true, but future generations will, and then Susan B. Anthony will stand side by side in human gratitude and fame with the other great liberators of mankind.

Buffalo (N. Y.) *News*: If criticism may be spoken at this time without thought of detraction from the shining sun of Miss Anthony's admirable talents, without intent to cut off the smallest fraction of praise for her essential nobility of character, her indomitable but genial courage, her consummate ability in debate, her genius for leadership on broad lines, it is simply this, that in common with other reformers and probably inspiring most of them, she neglected the conversion of women themselves to her cause.

Few things are less probable than that woman suffrage will be conceded through pleadings with men in their capacity as statesmen. That way has been tried with singularly scanty results from so long and so intelligent an argument for a cause that makes its own argument. But the men are not going to

act until they find the women asking them to let them vote. When the women in the households conclude they want the ballot they will have it mighty quick. American men, as a rule, do not deny their women anything they can give, grant or convey to them; anything they can beg, borrow or steal for them.

Of Susan B. Anthony no less may be said with truth than that she has added luster to the American name. She had a heart of oak, to her honor be it said, but it was a woman's heart. She had no doublet and hose in her disposition. It was that breadth of mind, that tolerance of spirit, that patient waiting on Providence while she wrought steadily at her appointed task, that kept her sweet of speech to the very last and saved her from so much as the touch of bitterness. And for that reason her memory will be kept in gracious remembrance as long as the enfranchisement of women interests Americans.

Buffalo (N. Y.) *Commercial*: Life is certainly well worth living, when it ends with the closing of a record like that made by the wonderful woman who was buried at Rochester yesterday. Miss Anthony takes her place with the really great men and women of this generation. She was in advance of her generation; but the time is nigh at hand when it will hardly be believed that she was the object of scorn and fury and ridicule because she fought fearlessly for the rights of true womanhood.

Buffalo (N. Y.) *Courier*: Miss Anthony was "strong-minded," yet womanly, exceedingly keen, but companionable and kindly. In the evening of her life the feeling toward her of the people of her home city was reverential; so was that of great numbers elsewhere in this and other lands. The peace of the latter years, the changed quality of public sentiment regarding her, were in strange contrast with the conditions in those early times when her name was so usually spoken with a sneer, and her platform appearances were occasions for insult and violence. The cause to which she devoted the main part of her life has not progressed in the degree she hoped for, but its equity is now conceded by most fair-minded thinkers, even though they may doubt the expediency of the extensive application of its principles; and Susan B. Anthony lived long enough to be honored many years instead of derided. Men in the seats of the mighty have testified their respect for her.

Buffalo (N. Y.) *Times*: In the death of Susan Brownell Anthony the woman suffrage movement loses its most active and forceful exponent. For many years she upheld the cause, always in the face of the strongest kind of opposition. Others fell discouraged by the wayside, but she pressed on to the end of her life. She was one of those grand characters, who, filled with the great zeal which the sense of being in the right imparts, will not be deterred by defeats and discouragements, but are spurred by them to still greater efforts to accomplish the purpose in view.

. . . Miss Anthony's taking off is a great blow to the movement and there appears to be reason for belief that it will gradually subside.

Kate Burr in Buffalo (N. Y.) *Times*: Susan B. Anthony's grand, dominant characteristic was her sense of justice. Justice was the guide of her life and

the key to her nature. She is chiefly spoken of as the champion of woman. So she was, but not more than she was the champion of man.

She hated wrong. She hated oppression. She fought them wherever they showed their heads and she gave them no quarter. She espoused woman's interests, not as a narrow devotee, but on the principle that woman has as good a right to justice as man, and that to cheat a woman is as bad as to cheat a man. Man degraded by the lash of slavery descending on his back, man self-degraded by the bestiality of drunkenness, roused Susan B. Anthony's righteous anger and moved her to protect and save just as much as did the spectacle of woman cowering beneath the tyranny of black-letter laws and barred by despotic custom from half the avenues of life.

Miss Anthony accomplished a colossal work as an abolitionist and temperance reformer, yet her name will go down to history mainly in connection with the woman's rights cause. Why this meed of fame for one specific labor in a life of such variety and scope? Because in that particular task—the placing of woman on an equality with man before the tribunal of positive law and the still more formidable tribunal of popular prejudice—Susan B. Anthony stands alone. Her position is unique, her renown solitary. She had helpers but not compeers. She was pioneer and general—forlorn-hope and attacking column—advocate and executive. Combine the functions of Wendell Phillips and Abraham Lincoln as regards the abolition movement and you have the functions of Susan B. Anthony in the cause of Woman's Equality before Law and Society.

As there are fortunes so vast that their owners cannot count them, so there are benefits so enormous that their possessors cannot reckon them up. The benefits conferred by Susan B. Anthony on her sex come under this category. The women of the United States—nay, of the globe—love her. They admire her; they are grateful to her; they revere her memory. But do they fully understand what they owe her? It may be doubted. By the coffin of one who for more than sixty years thought always of her sisters and never of herself, let womanhood solemnly reflect. Where woman was enslaved, she is free; where she languished smitten by the blight of thwarted ambition, she can act; where her mental aspirations were doomed to famine, a thousand institutions of learning bid her enter and feast; where law robbed her, now law extends its iron gauntlet in her protection. Had there lived no Susan B. Anthony this triumph of chivalry and justice had not been.

Albany (N. Y.) *Argus*: In any estimate of Susan B. Anthony's contribution to the progress of her times, there must be admitted the great debt which today owes to her and the pioneers of her cause for the shaping of public opinion to meet the changing social and industrial conditions of women in the United States and in other lands. . . .

The mantle of the dead leader of the woman's cause will fall upon the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, a woman who partakes of much of Miss Anthony's gifts of ready wit and sterling sense in the fighting of the battles for reform; but, happily, to be the champion of the rights of woman these later years is by no

means the test of courage and devotion it was when Susan B. Anthony first set forth on her mission to clear the path for the woman of today.

Troy (N. Y.) *Press*: But Miss Anthony did remain on earth long enough to see the movement which she had championed so bravely and persistently elevated from the plane of ostracism to that of partial recognition, and found herself saluted by the highest in the land as one who with singular courage and undoubted sincerity and consistency had waged a battle which entitled her, as all acknowledged, to a place among the heroic. . . .

In real achievements for womanhood and civilization the records of the vast majority of presidents, generals, statesmen and politicians pale when compared to the work of this wonderful woman.

Troy (N. Y.) *Times*: But if Elizabeth Cady Stanton had the masculine intellect Susan B. Anthony had the masculine vigor in field work. She was the pioneer to whom mountains and rivers offered no obstacle, and who followed the early settlers to the almost trackless West that she might implant in the new commonwealths of the Pacific Coast the principle of sex equality.

It may seem paradoxical, but yet it is true, that Susan B. Anthony and the zealous band of workers that surrounded and accompanied her found it easier to convince Legislatures than to persuade their own sex. The fact remains that the most steadfast opposition to the extension of the ballot to woman comes from women themselves, and that the greatest obstacle in the way of securing that reconstruction of political method will be removed when women themselves decide that they wish the ballot. If there were many Susan B. Anthonys the walls of the Jericho of public government by the male sex would fall before the zealous and continued trumpeting. And it must be conceded by all, that, as a result of the labors of the women of whom this leader who died today was the most distinguished and effective, much that was inequitable and oppressive has been removed from those statute books which affects the rights and the privileges of what is becoming less and less known as the weaker sex.

Syracuse (N. Y.) *Herald*: Miss Anthony's chief title to lasting distinction, after all, is her unsurpassed contribution to a cause of nobler and broader import, the elevation of American womanhood. In this direction, at least, steady advancement has followed her unremitting labors and her persuasive appeals. If the American woman of today enjoys a far more generous protection from the laws than her predecessor of half-a-century ago ever dreamed of receiving; if she holds a far more honorable and useful place, not alone in the domestic circle, but even in the public activities of American life, she may credit her advantage to the unflagging zeal, the man-like courage, the stubborn persistence, the sisterly sympathy and the fine intellectual equipment of Susan B. Anthony, more than to any other single influence.

Auburn (N. Y.) *Citizen*: Her name is now, and has been for years, a synonym for woman suffrage. The advance of woman, which was her life work, is her monument. It speaks for her unconsciously, wherever today

women are enjoying conditions of living that are an improvement over those of the last generation. . . . In her character and personality Miss Anthony was a pure type of the "old American." All her life she lived simply, worked hard, stood unwaveringly by her principles, and her austere mind did not know the meaning of compromise. . . . As time passes, more and more will Miss Anthony's place be confirmed as one of the great leaders in securing human rights.

Auburn (N. Y.) *Advertiser*: In fact it may be said that most movements for the betterment of the race have had Miss Anthony's heartiest endeavor. She has been the Wendell Phillips of her sex and her good deeds will live long after her passing away.

Utica (N. Y.) *Press*: She was a splendid American woman, plain spoken and of great ability. Any cause is fortunate that has such a conscientious, consistent, persevering advocate.

Elmira (N. Y.) *Gazette*: . . . All this is as heroic as the final deeds and thoughts of warriors and statesmen. Miss Anthony gave her last feeble breath as she gave the power of her vigorous life to a cause. No man has made a handsomer death in history or fiction than this woman. The last words of Marmion in poesy or the last exhortation of Captain Lawrence, as recorded in national chronicle, provide no greater inspiration. To the army who believe that woman should have the ballot and stand in law in all respects the equal of man, her dying moments will supply exalted impulse.

Elmira (N. Y.) *Advertiser*: Her life work was for women, and while she could not accomplish all she desired, the measure of her success is great. She braved criticism, defied ridicule and earned the most profound respect both for herself and her principles. It is a strong character that is lost to the world in her death.

Johnstown (N. Y.) *Democrat*: Now that the great and good woman, Susan B. Anthony, is dead, the able editors of those newspapers which steadfastly misrepresented her principles and her logic are voluminous in their praise of her noble purpose and her heroic sacrifices for a great cause when silence would perhaps be the graceful thing. To those who will stop to think a moment it will seem that the marked credit she is getting now from these newspapers should have been vouchsafed when she was at the zenith of her noble career or at least toward the close of her busy life, that she might have known that her worth was appreciated. But this was denied her and now that she is clasped in the embrace of death the able editors of these papers are endeavoring to outdo each other in their efforts to measure her greatness.

Same: When most of the men of affairs today were barefoot boys and when the stirring events of the big world outside the small one in which they strayed in the sunshine came as the vaguest of echoes, the name of Susan B. Anthony was the jest on every cynic's lip and that brave woman was beginning the fight that she lived to see all but won. It was a great and a beautiful



part which she took in the battle for a wider application of the doctrines of freedom and equality. Her voice was one of the most potent that ever was heard in the suffragist forum. She was sagacious, resourceful and full of the warrior spirit that neither faltered nor flinched. During a life running far beyond the allotted span she was a power in the world, an inspiration to her sex, a pioneer in a cause that ought instantly to appeal to every just mind. At first she was the object of jeers and ribaldry and misrepresentation. But all this she outlived and her later years were full of honors and popular recognition. Her work has been done. The fruits of it remain only to be gathered.

*Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) News:* She stood for a principle, and, if she did not win the success of that principle, she won the respect of the intelligence and honesty of the world.

*Le Roy (N. Y.) News:* Her friends and admirers were legion, and the fruits of her labor will live and multiply until the object of her life's work is attained.

*Rome (N. Y.) Sentinel:* Susan B. Anthony, whose death has just occurred at Rochester, was one of the remarkable women of our age. Perhaps if there were not a notion that women are out of place as leaders in public matters more such might appear. Certainly Miss Anthony did much to dispel that notion, and, by her own example, showed that women can be leaders. She was a great leader—great because of the confidence all had in her integrity and ability. Her services during the Civil War alone entitled her to a lasting memory. Her later work for woman suffrage stamps her as one of the intellectual giants of the age.

*Erie County (N. Y.) Independent:* Although Miss Anthony died regretting the incompleteness of her work, it would seem to an observer that under all the circumstances no person ever before had as much to rejoice over as she in what had been accomplished and largely through her own efforts. The work of emancipation of women will still go on and that for which she nobly battled will yet be accomplished, for the forces moving that way are too strong to be overcome by intolerance, bigotry and prejudice.

The city of Rochester, her home for sixty years, that in early days mobbed and hooted her when she attempted to speak in old Corinthian Hall, today falls down and worships her memory. The press of that city and its chief citizens proclaim her its greatest citizen; the high, the low, the rich, the poor strove with each other to pay respect to her memory and gave proof of their grief at her departure and on the occasion of her funeral.

Where but a few years ago the newspapers of the world flung out sarcasm, gibes and sneers at Susan B. Anthony and the cause she so earnestly advocated, today the same newspapers give columns and pages to the history of her life, to the great good she has accomplished and to praises without stint of her character and life work.

We know of no woman in the history of the race, except it be by the accident of birth, who has been so honored and who has been as prominent before

the world as has Susan B. Anthony. Yet she had no title, but was one of the plain people, striving to better the lot of all her sex and of mankind in general, plain and simple in her life and actions, seeking not fame but achieving greater fame than has before been given to woman.

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Boston *Herald* (March 14) : Miss Susan B. Anthony was one of the American women who has made for herself a name that will live in honor for generations. She was the great leader of those who within fifty years have steadily labored for justice to women. It does not matter whether one approves or disapproves of the specific cause of woman suffrage to which the main activity of her life was devoted, although in the advancement of this cause a large degree of success has been achieved, and it is within the limits of probability that the extension of this degree of success will some time be achieved, and that women everywhere in the republic will be admitted to vote on conditions of equality with the male portion of the citizenship. Whether or not this complete logical triumph of her labors, protracted through half-a-century, shall finally come about, it will henceforth be conceded that Miss Anthony was a woman of unusual ability, of noble character, of single-hearted devotion to the emancipation and elevation of her sex and of large accomplishment in that cause.

One born in recent years is likely to have a quite inadequate notion of the difference between the social, industrial and legal status of women in 1850 and 1906. Always there have been women of talent and power who have achieved a place of distinction for influence in their times. . . . But for the masses of women there was in all civilized nations half-a-century ago a condemnation of incapacity that no sensible person now presumes to insist upon. Within that period has come an uplifting of intelligence and aims, a deliverance from social and legal trammels, a demonstration of worth and wisdom, that only the most sanguine would have believed to be possible. And all has been accomplished without any such destruction of the normal balance of the social fabric as was honestly feared by many. Women are not less pure, not less admirable as maids, wives or mothers than in the former time because they have a larger liberty of development and a wider sphere of interests and service. In fact, it would be almost impossible to overstate the enrichment of the community life and its exaltation that has followed as a consequence of the broadening of the intelligence and the opportunities of the womanhood of the land. It is grossly unfair to attribute to this growth of independence and power the faults of our civilization, that are the product, rather, of increased population, of augmented wealth and of prevalent lust of luxury. Indeed, abundant reason appears for believing that if woman had remained the subject and limited class in the life of the community that she was before the time when earnest agitation for women's rights began, the present condition would be vastly more corrupt and more hopeless than it is.

It can hardly be too emphatically said that all the wonderful gains of women in deliverance from a legal and social injustice that operated as practical oppression have come in the train of the agitation for women suffrage and have been stimulated and assisted by it. The status of women in the disposal of

their own persons; in their privilege to enter employment and engage in business on their own account; in their rights to hold and dispose of their earnings; in their wifely and maternal relations; in their individual responsibility to the community; in their educational opportunities; in their concern for the welfare of society and the State; in their means of influencing public opinion, has experienced a momentous bettering revolution, in the beneficent fruits of which their brothers and husbands participate hardly less than themselves.

It is proper to recall that Miss Anthony did not begin her reforming labors as a woman suffragist. It was in behalf of equal wages with men for equal work, and of the temperance cause, that she first appealed to the public in the name of justice and humanity. . . . It was not long before she reached the conclusion by a process of logic that the best guarantee for the equal rights of women, of whatever nature, is the ballot, and became pioneer woman suffragist. But during her long career as an advocate of this course she was the glad and earnest helper of every movement for the equal rights of her sex, accepting joyfully any step of progress everywhere, whether or not it was secured for the time being by what she held to be the certain guarantee of its permanence. Without wavering in her ideal or her purpose, she was an opportunist. Any real step forward she hailed as a progress, having perfect faith that the results would serve to demonstrate the capacity of her sex for another advance.

She had the experiences of the pioneer reformer in full measure—misunderstandings, misrepresentations, ridicule, detraction, ostracism—but they intimidated her no more than they intimidated Sam Adams or William Lloyd Garrison. She lived to behold a widespread and rewarding, if not complete, establishment of equal rights. She had lived down contumely and received the homage of gracious, thankful appreciation at home and abroad. Women will not forget their debt to her, and the other sex will more and more recognize that she has been its friend, not its enemy.

Same, (March 20): It is said that Susan B. Anthony in her last illness expressed poignant disappointment that after sixty years of earnest, devoted labors she was not to see the triumph of the reform that was nearest her heart. This was a not unnatural feeling. It testifies, however, more certainly to the ardor of her hope than to the weakness of her endeavor. She longed to taste the sweet joy of experiencing victory. There is no reason to presume that she surrendered faith in the final success of what she esteemed to be a reasonable and righteous cause. This yearning is common to all zealous workers for progress, and sometimes they seem to have a doubt that another will carry on the work to which they have consecrated their aspiration and toil with an equal energy of purpose. We have no reason to presume that this was Miss Anthony's feeling. It is more probable that she was simply regretting that she would not be alive to share in the pride and congratulation of her fellow-workers; regretting also that the day of the complete deliverance of woman, as she regarded it, was so long delayed. Every leader desires to accomplish the task he has set for himself. It is the dream of the courageous.

In this world reforms do not come quickly; they come with travail, with

wasting, with temporary disappointments. But the thing to be avoided is getting marshalled on the wrong side, becoming an obstacle instead of a promoter. One needs have a care that he serves under the white flag, not under the black flag. The lament of Miss Anthony and the consecration of the soldier in Baroness von Suttner's "Ground Arms" are not opposing utterances, but harmonious and co-operating. It may be that the specific cause to which the former's energy was so long devoted may never triumph generally in the precise form she anticipated, although it would be rash to say it will not. But it has been triumphing in allied and noble ways year by year. It is fair to say that woman has been emancipated within the last half-century, as the colored race has been emancipated, although much advancement remains to be achieved in both cases. What has been gained will not be entirely lost. Although periods of stagnation and disheartenment may come, the world does not go backward irretrievably. . . .

*Boston Budget and Beacon:* It may be said of the late Miss Susan B. Anthony that she passed away full of years and honors, after a life of prolonged conflict for the advancement of her sex and humanity generally. She was a born reformer. She did not see the right and still the wrong pursue, for she had the courage of her convictions and never failed to lift up her voice in defence of the poor and oppressed. She was early enlisted in the ranks of those who were opposed to the perpetuation of African slavery, that foul blot on our country which it took so many years to wipe out, and she was the friend of William Lloyd Garrison when both were reviled as fanatical disturbers, and when a great part of the wealth of the United States was persistently used to denounce them as enemies of a peculiar institution, which, it was claimed, was founded and allowed by heaven.

Miss Anthony was no less ardent in other righteous causes, and she was one of the earliest advocates of woman's rights. She gained many victories, though she did not live to see the full accomplishment of the end for which she labored, but she succeeded in making woman less the slave of man than she was when Miss Anthony began her career as an agitator. . . .

In her public life she lost none of her womanliness, and was far from being the masculine, unsexed exhorter that many of her detractors represented her to be at all times and in all places. In fact, she was distinctively feminine and loved all the tasteful, personal adornments that dainty and refined womanhood craves. . . .

The dignity and sweetness and purity of her life will be a perpetual inspiration to those who feel called upon to enlarge the scope of their vision and to devote themselves to philanthropic labor outside the domestic circle; and, indeed, to all women her earnestness and big heartedness should show that only through enlightened effort for the benefit of others is true happiness attained. It may be made in the quietude of the home, as well as in the larger field of reformatory endeavor, and Miss Anthony's example may well be a guiding star for all her sex, who can rise to a level above the mere selfish indulgence which is too often falsely called enjoyment.

Dying as she lived, wedded to the cause of woman's progression, Miss Anthony left all that she possessed to aid her successors in the continuance of the

work to which she had given her best energies down to the last moment of her active life. A brave woman, a kindly one and true.

*Boston Journal of Education* (March 20): A great and good woman has gone from among us. Susan B. Anthony was in a class by herself, and the Senate and Assembly of the greatest State in the Union passed, unanimously, highly discriminating resolutions in her honor. Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe and Frances E. Willard are names to be spoken reverentially by all Americans, and it is no disparagement to any of these to say that in the length of service to humanity, in intensity of conviction, in nobility of spirit, in lusty heroism, Susan B. Anthony is likely to occupy a distinct place as a leader of women in the nineteenth century. For more than fifty years she was distinctly at the forefront, always setting the pace, never allowing any one to be ahead of her in alertness or in courage. Emancipation of laboring men and women from unjust conditions, of the slaves in the South, and of women everywhere were the ideals with this noble woman. To have known her, to have been in her home, are among the privileges and memories which make life well worth while.

From seventeen to thirty-two years of age she was a teacher. And it was as a teacher receiving a mere pittance, (in those days it was worse than now), that her noble soul was stirred by a sense of injustice, and her first outcry was for better pay for honorable work; and the more than half-a-century of public activity for humanity which followed her fifteen years of school life fruited from her conviction as a teacher. She was in the fullest sense a teacher, leading the country in noble and righteous effort.

Same, (March 22): Susan B. Anthony has been more highly honored, officially and unofficially, by Rochester since her death, than any other man or woman has ever been, and for the last quarter of a century of her life she was universally acknowledged to be Rochester's first *citizen*. Never, however, was this noble woman—respected above any of her neighbors, in a way—allowed to vote as to what should be done with the taxes collected on her property, or as to the municipal activities for the benefit of the public, while hundreds of rascallions were permitted to debauch politics. The only reason these "citizens" could defile public life was the mere fact that they were men, and the only reason that she could not have a vote was because she was not a man. One does not need to be a "woman suffrage crank" to see how viciously absurd all this is.

*Boston Transcript*: The story of Susan B. Anthony's life is told in another part of this paper and it is a story which all should read, the young for inspiration, and the old that their gratitude may be stimulated for service so unselfish, so unfaltering and so single in its purpose. She was not merely a sympathizer with the weak and the oppressed; she was a devoted helper. To recognize an injustice was in all the acts of her life but the condition of an effort to correct it. From her youth to old age her life was a battle against social wrongs. While slavery existed she was its fearless and unrelenting foe, and the women of America have found in her one of their most devoted and indefatigable champions. Yet her noble antagonisms did not embitter her.

Her life retained its sweetness, because her soul was the citadel of serene faith that that justice which she loved and for which she strove would ultimately prevail. In spite of her weight of years her energies never relaxed, nor did mind or spirit grow dim. Wherever she thought her presence would be helpful, there she betook herself, whether this side of the continent or the other, and this outpouring of energy was probably one of the causes of her fatal illness. But that was as she would have had it, and after so good a fight, so appropriately finishing her course, even her best friends could hardly wish it otherwise.

*Boston Times*: The death of Susan B. Anthony takes away one of woman's strongest partisans; one of the brave feminine few who dared to champion a cause in great disfavor and much frowned upon. To promote equal rights for women is not now considered a presumptuous plan. The New World has set woman on a high place. Her men have revered and honored her. It remains now for woman so to keep herself that she may deserve a place upon this pedestal. Miss Anthony believed in the goodness of woman. She had great faith in her personal power, in her ability to do great deeds if left untrammelled and freed from tradition's shackles which limited her horizon and restricted her ways. Miss Anthony was right in this belief. Woman, today, has proved her strength. She has demonstrated her might and her power for achievement. Let her also have a care to her manners and morals. Let her battle with her temptations with the same wholehearted and determined zeal, as did this distinguished survivor of the little band who gave birth to the women's rights movement and left it, a loving legacy, for women to work out to their future honor and uncriticised glory.

*Boston Traveller*: Channing called Miss Anthony the Napoleon for the struggle of temperance, anti-slavery and woman's rights. Since 1850 she has been fighting for these causes, and from being the most ridiculed and mercilessly persecuted woman she became the most honored and respected in the nation. Through all her struggles and disappointments her hope never flagged, her self-respect never wavered, nor did she ever give way to revenge. . . . Due perhaps to her more than to any other woman, the condition of women has been brought up from the time when no one thought of making her living by any other means than sewing, teaching and factory work, to where the way has been opened in every avenue of industry, until woman stands today almost the peer of man in opportunities of financial development.

Henry B. Blackwell in *Woman's Journal* (Boston): The public life and work of Susan B. Anthony mark an era in civilization, and her departure leaves a void that no one else can fill.

I first met Miss Anthony about 1854, on Broadway, New York, at the corner where the "Flat-Iron" building now deflects all the winds of heaven. I well remember her as she greeted Lucy Stone and myself—a young woman of perhaps thirty-five, full of activity and vigor, brimful of enthusiasm and capacity for work.

For many years, both in early and later times, I saw much of Miss Anthony. I have been impressed not only by her absolute devotion to the suffrage cause,

but also by a certain magnanimity and large-heartedness, which manifested itself on many occasions. While she had her strong preferences and predilections, she held them secondary to her main object, and was willing to accept suggestions from any quarter. She could welcome the co-operation of persons of the most various tastes, principles and opinions, without modifying or concealing her own. Whether in the palace of the rich or the tenement of the poor, in the society of Queen or seamstress, of the luxurious millionaire or the hardy frontiersman, she, like Benjamin Franklin, remained simple, unembarrassed and sincere. It is said that most men and women cease to grow after they reach maturity, but Miss Anthony grew steadily in quality of mind and heart with advancing age, mellowing but not weakening as the years went by.

Miss Anthony had qualities of leadership such as are possessed by few women or men. With rare devotion and unflinching tenacity of purpose, she has identified herself for years with the suffrage movement, growing steadily in public esteem. Her name will always be identified with this greatest of all political reforms. Under her leadership she has lived to see the principle secure a permanent foothold in the institutions of three continents, sure to grow and spread everywhere with the growth and spread of civilization.

Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*: Miss Anthony was above all things simple, sincere, earnest and possessed of the sturdiest common sense. Her character was rooted in the bed rock of the New England nature, not in Puritanism but in the higher liberty of the Society of Friends, the Quakers whom the Puritans persecuted. She was born to spiritual freedom, to the inspiration of an untrammelled conscience, and never did an ecclesiastical order or creedal formula hamper her exercise of that conscience. She never knew fear—that fatal limitation of effort never entered her life. Mind and soul, this daughter of Quakerism was independent of all save the “inner light” and she had no cant about that—it was simply that it underlay her active intellect as its constant and unprofessed force. . . . And so on through her whole eventful life, it was the law within that guided her and produced her large and ever-growing influence, until from the hooting, mobbing, ridicule and slander, which beset the pioneer work of herself and her strong associates, men and women, she became one of the most honored and admired citizens of the United States. And with all this she could not vote without being sentenced to prison for the attempt. . . .

Every effort of her life was devoted to matters of humanitarian reform, yet she did not dissipate her energies over too many fields, leaving almost all reforms to others and concentrating her talents for organization and direction upon the special purpose of her life.

A child of the Berkshire Hills, from under the shadow and sunshine of Greylock, she never lost the freshness and vitality of her youth. She possessed the strength of the mountains, was as firmly rooted as they in the serious foundations of life; nor was she more easily moved. She had also their steadfast charm—not trivial prettiness, but a deeper one; in her youth and her age alike she was comely and attractive. They think foolishly who assume that she was predestined to a maiden life, for had she chosen she might have

had the common lot of women as wife and mother. There were opportunities enough urged upon her by men to whom her rare personality appealed, but she found none of them on her level of consecration to a greater individual service. As she grew into a serene and exalted old age, her strong features grew in dignity and power, and yet they were always characterized like the elder type of New England women—Abigail Adams, Mercy Warren, Mrs. Lyman of Northampton, were kindred in spirit and appearance. Those who succeeded her and her fellows in the advocacy of the suffrage for women have fine qualities—Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Chapman Catt, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and a multitude more, bring accomplishment of speech and writing and executive force which make them fit successors. But with Miss Anthony departs the early zest that grew with conflict and the mastery over hostile forces. The path is plain now and there is no persecution such as their elders met; the matter has become too serious for amusement even to the emptiest of legislators and the most conservative of women.

Lowell (Mass.) *Courier*: Legislators have heard Miss Anthony in respectful attention on scores of occasions, and have then voted to defeat the measure for which she worked with all her might—universal suffrage. But as the years have passed there has grown, in some States at least, a feeling that justice required universal suffrage, and that suffrage for women would mean a correction of many of the evils that now oppress. Of that the future must decide. Miss Anthony was the champion of her sex, and even to her last breath had their welfare at heart. That her efforts were not without results in raising womankind to a greater recognition as a business worker, the story of her life bears witness, and she steadily gave her years to the improvement of social conditions. . . .

She was a good fighter, always ready to face the issue, regardless of the odds or the opposition. It was sufficient if she believed she was right. While we honor her name and recognize her service it will rest with the future to give her her due. Her name will always be linked with the most unselfish workers for the cause of right, and if ultimate triumph shall crown the cause for which she labored, she will be ranked as the greatest woman of her time.

New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard*: In this State of Massachusetts, which has in many respects been a pioneer in new movements, it seems at the present moment as if the idea of full woman suffrage were more unpopular than it was a dozen years ago, and there is like reluctance to accept it elsewhere. In spite of that, it is not probable that the body of solid opinion in its favor is much, if any, diminished; and by the rule of actions and reactions it is likely that a wave of persistent agitation stronger than that which was so materially helped by Miss Anthony in her younger days may again be seen. There is this to be said, which could not be said of the earlier period, that even the opponents of woman suffrage have practically abandoned some of the ground they once occupied. We do not hear as much sneering about the strong-minded and the short-haired women as we used to, and the present seriousness of the opposition as compared with the flippancy of the former time is very evident. The woman suffragists have succeeded in getting their propaganda past



the period in which ridicule was the principal weapon of assault upon them. Their antagonists have to be serious and in earnest. The debate is on a more dignified plane than it was; and so far Miss Anthony and her fellow workers have won the victory.

Worcester (Mass.) *Telegram*: The American people are the better for the life work of Miss Anthony, and they will improve faster when they adopt more of her ideas for the standards of right.

Lawrence (Mass.) *Tribune*: A fine type of American womanhood has passed away in the death of Susan B. Anthony. Though she failed to accomplish her life mission, the securing of woman suffrage, she was successful in advancing mightily the cause of a higher humanity.

North Adams (Mass.) *Transcript*: To Susan B. Anthony, the close of whose long life of endeavor and achievement came today, is accorded the honor that belongs to one who represented as fine a type of devotion to principle as any that our national history records. Those of the younger generation can hardly conceive the bitterness of the opposition which met her early efforts, so foreign is it to the spirit of toleration which prevails today. To her was given the privilege of seeing scorn turned to respect, derision to admiration. Hers was a rare triumph, the completeness of which was not measured by the political standard which she had set.

To Miss Anthony's courage, her devotion, her sound judgment as to methods, a quality which she possessed in rare degree for one so strongly moved by the reformer's instinct, are due much of the gradual change in public attitude, the increasing respect given to advocacy of the cause, even on the part of those who do not agree with its political phases. For Miss Anthony it was a personal triumph, carrying with it the advancement of the cause she had made her own.

To the town of Adams, to the Berkshires as a whole, it is an honor which time will not lessen, to have sent out the woman capable of so signally influencing the social and political history of the country, and, through America, of the world. How much of her strength of character and her loftiness of purpose is to be attributed to the influences of her early surroundings among the foothills of Greylock we cannot, of course, know. But certain it is that all the inspiration of the mountains was hers, that the singleness of her purpose and the completeness of her devotion were such as we are accustomed to associate with the highest human manifestations of the "spirit of the mountains."

It would be fitting, indeed, were her last resting place to be at the foot of Greylock, under whose shadow she began to develop the purpose that made her a leader among men and women, Berkshire's best contribution to human progress.

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Portsmouth (N. H.) *Times*: Every important movement in the country, looking to the advancement of woman, and her equality with man before the law, has had the aid of her influence, if it has not been initiated through her

efforts. Miss Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore and Julia Ward Howe made up a quintette of leaders, whose equals in ability have been seldom found in the direction of any cause. Their work on earth is done but its influence remains and will be felt until the day of complete triumph arrives.

Concord (N. H.) *Patriot*: Certainly among those who have done things, the name of Susan B. Anthony must be written high, and the beauty of it is, and the pride of it is, that her struggle was ever in the direction of lifting men and women to higher planes of living, of broadening woman's freedom, of a more just and equitable administration of the law, of clothing women with those commonest and best established of rights, legal, moral and natural, which their brothers enjoy.

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Providence (R. I.) *Tribune*: The brutal truth is that the late Susan B. Anthony in leaving the whole of her estate to "the cause" with which she was identified, was as guilty of misusing money as is the man who buys good dinners for himself downtown while his children at home are ill fed and scantily clad. The cause of woman suffrage could not be perceptibly advanced by an infinitely larger subsidizing than she was able to give it; and if her sister or other relatives did not need her money, she should have left it to some institution that could use it for the practical alleviation of some of the real sufferings of humanity. It is not permitted, from the point of view of either Christian ethics or sound economics, to say that she had a right to do with her own as she pleased. The responsibility for the helpful disposition of accumulated money which its possessor no longer requires, lies as heavily on the person with a modest fortune as on the wealthiest of multi-millionaires.

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New Haven (Conn.) *Leader*: Who can doubt that this splendid woman would have been a splendid wife had she seen fit to give her love to one of those who sought it? Who can doubt that such a woman would have been happier if given a companionship worthy of her splendid qualities of heart and mind, or that she fully realized the charms of such a companionship?

She denied herself all things that might take strength and inclination away from the work to which she consecrated her life. She lived and she died a loyal, loving life—a life freely given to the cause of her sex. The world does not yet realize how much Susan B. Anthony accomplished for the human race.

Meriden (Conn.) *Journal*: Her influence in the elevation of women has beyond question exceeded that of any other individual. Suffrage was not comprehended in Miss Anthony's original intentions. She found women shut out from the management of social and moral reforms, purely because they were women, and the men of that day distrusted the ability of women to direct with wisdom political or moral movements. They were willing to accept their services as workers and helpers in a good cause, but they denied to women leadership or responsibility. . . .

When Miss Anthony began her life work, organizations of women were almost unknown or confined to the narrowest limits of church work. There are now many national organizations of women, whose work, while various, is entirely for laudable objects—the amelioration of the woes of mankind and the elevation of the masses. That the suffrage movement has had great influence in bringing women to leading positions in sociological and reform movements is manifest. . . .

Miss Anthony was a woman of remarkable ability, of the highest personal character, of most lovable disposition and faithful to the last to the cause to which she devoted all her energies. She was a true friend to humanity everywhere, and in her death the world loses one who lived only to do good.

Ansonia (Conn.) *Sentinel*: The death of Miss Susan B. Anthony removed from life one who held self as the last and least consideration. She never allowed herself to grieve over insults. She spent no time in bemoaning defects. She worked, and worked hard, to accomplish a definite end for mankind and womankind, and few women have expended so much energy in behalf of others and still retained an abundance of vitality after passing the age of four score. Her trials seemed to make her the lovelier and her courage the stronger. She looked failure calmly in the face and defied it. Her life-work was justified and it bore abundant fruit for humanity.

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Camden (N. J.) *Courier*: Miss Anthony was the life and soul of the women's rights movement, and throughout her active efforts in that behalf retained the admiration of her associates and the respect of all her fellow citizens without regard to creed or party.

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Philadelphia *Inquirer*: If there are those who think that Susan B. Anthony's career was a failure because she did not secure the enfranchisement of women in all States, they are the more deceived. Few individuals have seen so much accomplished which was due as much to a single initiative. A Quaker by descent, educated in a Philadelphia Quaker academy, she threw off conservatism in youth and caused the Nation to stand aghast because she appeared in public as a speaker in defiance of the command of Paul that women should remain silent.

There were many years of intense criticism and objurgation, but she never swerved from her course and she succeeded beyond what was considered possible when she began her campaign. She lived to see women fully enfranchised in four States, and partly enfranchised in many others, but this was the least of her accomplishments. It was due to her more than anyone else that a woman has not only all the rights possessed by a man, but many more. There is no nation in the world where the rights of women are conserved as here and where they are awarded so many privileges. When Miss Anthony was young, woman had an inferior position before the law, both as to rights in property and in the control of her own children. All these ancient barriers have been swept away.

In recent years "Aunt Susan" has been an apostle of light and love. She has lived down all opposition and goes to her grave mourned and lamented by a whole nation which she has done so much to uplift. So long as womankind have such champions they are in no danger, and when women really want the ballot they will get it.

*Philadelphia Telegraph:* Miss Anthony was the last of a great group of fearless spirits who were profoundly moved to missionary effort on behalf of their own sex, and in an even larger way on behalf of a race downtrodden and in bondage. While her crusade for the political redemption of women failed of the large measure of success she hoped for, it is certain that their liberation from the chains of prejudice which bound them with legal and social restrictions, dates from the movement to endow them with the powers of the electorate. If the intelligence, the wisdom and the moral support of women are sought for measures having in view the common good, it is because they have been awakened to their co-responsibility with men in maintaining those institutions which sustain, uplift and broaden the State; and this awakening was due very largely to the steady, unflinching preaching of the doctrine of universal suffrage as an individual right. The extension of the franchise to woman has not come, except in a restricted sense; but more and more her influence in our political affairs shows itself in our public life, and no one can say or will say that that influence has been other than stimulating to the progress of civilization. The long, patient and persistent apostleship of Susan B. Anthony was not in vain.

*Philadelphia Press:* Miss Anthony was of the moral fibre of which martyrs are made. In this country there is no field for such people except as reformers. Miss Anthony was a reformer by nature and became very early a reformer by profession. . . . She brought to the cause of Woman Suffrage powers of persuasion, organizing ability, persistence and an intensity of conviction that soon won her friends, allies and disciples who became an organized association and have carried on the propaganda ever since. . . .

The progress in remedial legislation to secure women's personal and property rights has been more marked, and, we believe, more important than the gains in suffrage. The two reforms have gone together, advocated largely by the same people, and, considered by results, have proved one of the most fruitful and important movements of the century. Miss Anthony's part in the movement was a leading and directing one for fifty years and entitles her to rank as one of the world's great women.

*Philadelphia Record:* No one will deny that the legal maxim that husband and wife are one, and the husband is the one, has worked incalculable hardship and cruelty to women. Most of their legal disabilities have been removed. In many States about all of their disabilities, other than political, have been removed. In this reformatory legislation the women-suffragists have taken a leading part. It may be argued that the willingness of men to do justice to women when asked proves that women do not need the ballot, and it may

be argued that the social reforms achieved by women demonstrate that they ought to have power to achieve further reforms. At any rate, the personal and property rights of women have been practically created by the suffragists, among whom Susan B. Anthony was one of the most eminent.

*Pittsburg Press:* But will this splendid struggle go down in the annals of failure because woman's emancipation, as Miss Anthony understood it, is as yet accomplished only in a few Western States? While striving for woman suffrage she accomplished more good in the cause of women than even she seems to have realized. Woman's right to an education, her successful advent in the business world, her wide influence in all matters connected with the educating and training of children, the weight of her opinion in furthering clean nonpartisan government of cities—who can say how many of the privileges women now enjoy are due to the efforts of this wonderful woman who died thinking her life a failure! Like many other world benefactors, she fell short of her direct aim, but still did more for humanity than she set out to do.

Miss Anthony, with her enthusiasm, her untiring activity, her strong stand for what she thought was just, has inspired thousands of men and women to work with like enthusiasm and with the same moral staunchness for the progress and development of womanhood. The forces for good set into activity by her will never die. Far from failing, she achieved a success that will continue to grow and brighten till the end. And thus must every great life be judged—not by what it harvests, but by what it sows.

*Pittsburg Post:* Miss Anthony's whole life was devoted to the purpose of uplifting humanity. Particularly did she strive to improve the condition of her sister women, but her broad sympathies were not confined to them, and her good works largely inured to the benefit of the sterner as well as the gentler sex. . . .

Her work in the cause of temperance and of religion would be alone worthy of high praise. Her influence was not confined to this country but extended throughout the world, and her death will be universally regretted, for she was in truth a noble woman.

*Chester (Penn.) Republican:* There was absolutely nothing personal in Miss Anthony's mission. She really wanted nothing for herself. Never did a knight of old who put his lady's glove at his spearhead and started out to right the wrongs of the fair sex, have a more disinterested motive. She wanted equality; not for Susan B. Anthony, not because she was a woman, but she wanted equality for women. She asked no political favor for herself, aimed at no ultimate benefit for herself; she asked equality for women. And not for women who loved her either, but for women who laughed at her, insulted her, who refused her proffered help with malicious laughter or well-bred smiles of indifference. Miss Anthony's principal struggle was with those whom she most desired to help. Had every woman in the United States helped Miss

Anthony to insist upon woman suffrage, her fight would have been over years ago and she would today lie a crowned victor in the struggle.

After all, there is more in woman suffrage than at first appears. Let any woman in the United States commit a crime. She will be tried by a jury of men, before a Judge who is a man; and yet women are more likely to understand women than men. Why should she be debarred from the ballot and a right of equal suffrage? These are all questions which Miss Anthony has debated for years. Of course, if women do not want to vote, they surely have the privilege of joining the hangers-back who sit mutely by and refuse their aid to the struggle. . . . Every woman should see in her a friend, a champion and a well-wisher, and breathe over her cold form a little word of thanks for the good she wished them and would have done them.

York (Pa.) *Dispatch*: That, as a human being, Miss Anthony's life was a splendid success there can be but little doubt in the mind of any reasonable person; whether or not she was a success as a woman is a question open to debate—and in this latter statement lies no reflection on her spinsterhood; while her winning personality, her brilliancy of mind and her oratorical ability are given full consideration.

That Miss Anthony was self-sacrificing, that she devoted her life to the helping of others, that she was a pure, noble woman with the highest ideals—these qualities and many others are beyond all cavil. But despite all she accomplished, the question arises as to what might have been the result if she and her thousands of spinster supporters had married, had had sons and had thoroughly imbued these young men with their exalted ideals. Woman was created as a helpmeet for, not as a competitor to man. Temperance must come from within, as opposed to without. The hope of the world lies in its children. Mothers are the inspiration of almost every good course that is held in the world. The example of Victoria the Good did more to make England relatively decent than all the writings and lectures of the united, strong-minded spinsterhood of the empire combined—and these are but a few of the reasons that cause *The Dispatch* to state that Susan B. Anthony's success as a woman is open to debate.

Wilkesbarre (Penn.) *Record*: The death of Miss Susan B. Anthony brings to mind the supremest devotion to principle. Wherever the cause of woman suffrage has gained a victory there is the impress of Miss Anthony's influence.

Scranton (Penn.) *Tribune*: She was an Abolitionist when to plead the cause of the manumission of the slave demanded the heroism of an apostle among the political quietists and gentiles of the North and certain death if she sought to propagate them in the South. Susan B. Anthony had the masculine courage of her masculine convictions. In her crusade for the abolition of slavery she had to face the howling mob, which in many of its moods can be little differentiated from howling beasts, but the soul of that great woman never flinched. She had a mission; that mission she was determined to carry out, and she did. . . .

Forty years ago when Miss Anthony began her agitation in behalf of the enfranchisement of women from the artificial and political disabilities that are the hereditary relics and conceptions of man in a state of savagery, she had as little sympathy from her own sex as she had from men who did not admit a natural and inalienable right to make the laws under which one must live. She was told that women did not want to vote, that if they were endowed with a vote they would not use it, or only cast it at the suggestion or under the control of a husband or other male relative. She was ceaselessly impressed with the fact that the proper sphere of the woman is the hearth and not the polling booth; she had to listen to the reiterated asseveration that activity in political affairs is inconsistent with the highest obligations of motherhood.

Miss Anthony knew all this more intimately and thoroughly than the most disinterested of her counsellors. Being a woman, the psychology of womanhood was an open book to her. But for her expediency and justice were not synonymous. Because women would not in the dawn of their emancipation make full or free use of their prerogative of untrammelled citizenship was no reason why they should be disinherited of its privileges and aspirations. Evolution, she was aware, is very slow, very tedious, incomprehensible in many of its manifestations. What was right was right in her eyes, no matter whether it was a benefit accepted or deferred. If women would not avail themselves of the right of suffrage it was no excuse for withholding it, at least until after the experiment had been made.

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*Baltimore American:* Miss Anthony was not always the recipient of popular favor. Many now living can recall very stormy episodes in her life; in fact, the early part of her career was pretty much all storms without a ray of sunshine. She came before the public at a time when female orators on a public platform were not only a novelty but a severe shock to the general sense of propriety. She rapidly developed remarkable power as a speaker but the fact was lost sight of in the universal prejudice. She and her sisters on the platform were for many years the sport of the ruder spirits who haunted their meetings, while the better element looked askance or openly denounced their appearance in public. This was particularly true of the period prior to the Civil War, when they were principally engaged in the temperance and antislavery movements.

At the close of the war came toleration. Miss Anthony's championship of woman suffrage excited incredulity and sometimes division, but vituperation and rowdiness had been conquered by the evident sincerity of the woman and the plausibility with which she presented her case. There has rarely been a more striking instance of conquered prejudice. . . .

She lived to see her principles established and put into practice in several States of the Union, a triumph which is not always vouchsafed to reformers, and she lived to see women welcomed on the platform with pleasure and admiration, a victory of no mean order when her own receptions by the public for a number of years are borne in mind. But the greatest triumph of all—and she may be fairly regarded as one of the pioneers in the movement—she lived to see women lifted up from their helpless and aimless condition in so-

ciety to a state of independence which enables them to share honestly in the struggle for existence and contribute their part to the sum of human happiness and progress.

*Baltimore News:* Amid the discordant tendencies, the doubts and hesitations, the deceptions and disappointments of practical life, whether in the field of politics or of business activity, a life like Susan B. Anthony's appears peculiarly enviable. Animated by a single unwavering purpose; never troubled by a moment's doubt as to the justice or the high beneficence of the end for which she was striving; sustained by an unfailing confidence that the cause she held so righteous and so reasonable would ultimately triumph, this woman must have had three-score years of such unalloyed internal satisfaction in her work as it is given to few mortals to enjoy. Progress enough there was in the propaganda to which she devoted her life, to furnish her with such a measure of the outward and visible tokens of success as to save her from any necessity of growing into either a recluse or a fanatic in order to maintain her unflinching attitude.

Woman suffrage itself has obtained something of a foothold; and collateral changes have taken place which an advocate of woman suffrage may claim as due in no small measure to the suffrage agitation. Women's legal rights have been vastly enlarged since Miss Anthony began her work; the higher education of women has been developed with revolutionary completeness. As she looked back over these changes which had occurred during her long life—a life which combined in a remarkable measure a true strenuousness with a rare serenity—Miss Anthony might well have felt a glow of satisfaction over and above that which goes with the consciousness of life-long steadfastness in faith and in works.

*Baltimore Herald:* Miss Susan B. Anthony who died yesterday, consecrated her life to an idea. She believed that the women of America were cruelly and savagely oppressed, and that their natural lords and protectors denied them rights given to them by their Creator. And so she spent sixty-five years making speeches and converts.

It would be idle, of course, to deny the usefulness of such a life, but it would be idle also to accept Miss Anthony's scheme of things without argument and at her own valuation. Her sacrifices, her splendid heroism and her genuine sincerity are not proofs that she was right. Like the crusaders who died upon the battlements of Jerusalem, she gave everything for an idea. And like these same crusaders she often lost sight of other ideas equally beautiful and sublime.

Nevertheless, such lives are of infinite value to the human race. Right or wrong, Miss Anthony was a valiant soldier. She labored, she suffered and she kept the faith. We Americans may not accept her gospel, but we should at least thank the fates for the fragrance of her memory.

*Baltimore Telegram:* Calmly Miss Anthony went to her rest, and left behind her a record of "well done, thou good and faithful servant." We realize that we have lost a noble woman with broad sympathies and a determination to uplift her fellow travellers; we know that she is one that it is difficult to



replace, and we stand in awe before the outgoing, the closing of the gates, the knowledge that it is forever. We may expect no return. The fine presence, the amiable countenance, the encouraging smile will no longer perform their mission here, but a voice from mysterious distances tells us that the soul of the departed will expand and develop beyond the comprehension of mortals.

She was the central figure of the recent convention, and it was wonderful that a woman of her age possessed the power to sway the large audiences by the force of her magnetism, the attractiveness of her personality. It was because she lived abreast with every moment and refused to give Age the right to wither her. . . . It was the devotion to her family and friends, the sacrificial spirit and the high integrity which won universal respect. These will be inscribed indelibly upon the tablet of the influence she bequeathed to humanity. Miss Anthony was indeed beyond the cause she championed, that was why she gave it strength and dignity; she lived above the taunts of opposers because she was pure-minded, and, well sustained in her belief, she feared nothing, endured much and triumphed splendidly. The world is the loser by the death of Susan B. Anthony.

*Baltimore Sun*: Long life enabled her to see a day in which the male public treats woman suffrage with kindly interest, instead of obloquy, and almost wonders at the steady conservatism of most women with regard to the extension of the ballot to the fair sex.

From sketch in *Baltimore Sun*: For years Miss Anthony's name has been linked with every notable movement in behalf of securing greater privileges for the fair sex, and to the defense of the cause she brought intellectual gifts of a high order. Her brilliancy of mind and oratorical ability were supplemented by a winning personality, and by thousands of woman suffragists she was spoken of in the most enduring terms. . . .

It has been said that Susan B. Anthony's strongest characteristic is courage. She needed and exercised every bit that she possessed after that first rebellion. Fearlessly and valiantly she led the way along the unknown trail that leads to equal suffrage and the world poured a hot-shot volley of ridicule, calumny and opposition down on her and on the little advance guard that was brave enough to follow her. . . .

She preached the doctrine of suffrage and equal rights, and no one grasped her message, not even the women themselves. Her very name became a term of derision. She was caricatured, insulted, jeered, denounced, and still she went on preaching. Fifty years ago woman's rights stood for dress reform, for neglected home duties, for so-called unwomanly women and for rabid political tendencies. Susan B. Anthony said that woman should have the right to vote. She tried to teach women their own power with the ballot, and they laughed at her and said they didn't want it. . . .

Out of her long life of constant struggle and anxiety, during which for many years her portion was abuse, hatred, ridicule and aspersion, Susan B. Anthony reaped only optimism. Not the optimism of the enthusiast, the fanatic, who wraps himself in the mantle of an idea and refuses to look at the

rest of the world of ideas. Hers was the clear-sighted, sure optimism of genius that sees very far ahead and is satisfied. . . .

Just why Miss Anthony more than all the other early advocates of woman suffrage was picked out for personal abuse is not clear at the present time. No one who knows her can understand it. No woman of her dignity, sweetness and gracious womanliness could ever have been the unsexed virago described in the newspapers of forty years ago. It is possible that the fact of her being unmarried had something to do with it. In her youth it was a disgrace and a humiliation to be an "old maid." Mrs. Stanton, for example, was as persistent a fighter, as radical a thinker and in every way as prominently in public life. She had the backing of a husband and was treated with a degree of respect in consequence.

Why Miss Anthony never married is best known to herself. She was not without suitors. The real history has been concealed behind the jocular protest that she could never consent that one she loved should be united to a political pariah. Probably no woman has ever had more genuine comradeship with men. Men of intellect and experience could always appreciate her keen logic and sense of justice, while her wonderful knowledge of political history made her always a very entertaining companion, and once her friend, always her friend, was the rule.

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Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star*: When the full record of this wonderful woman's career has been compiled it will doubtless be found that she was a maker of history in far more than the advancement of the woman suffrage proposition from a jest to a serious accomplishment. The effect of her work and that of her associates has been to introduce women into practically every field of human activity. The women lawyers, physicians, business managers, clerks, experts of every description, who are so numerous today owe their opportunity in very large measure to Susan B. Anthony and those with whom she worked for so many years. . . . The transformation in the past four or five decades has been no less than phenomenal. It is not too much to declare that the greater part of this revolutionary development may be accredited to the unceasing efforts of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone. . . .

Miss Anthony was aggressive, acutely intelligent in every maneuver, resourceful and convincing. To meet her was a delight; to converse with her was a privilege. Her mind was of a quality rarely encountered, and she retained to the end that remarkable precision of thought and lucidity of expression which rendered her a redoubtable adversary in debate.

Washington has for many years regarded Miss Anthony as a citizen ex-officio. Winter after winter she came here to pursue her task as a special pleader before Congress for the enactment of a constitutional amendment admitting women to the suffrage. She persisted in the face of forbidding obstacles. She did not live to see her supreme object accomplished, but she did live to see many of the States accept the doctrine of equal suffrage, and she had at least the satisfaction of knowing that she had won the sincere respect of the entire country for her singleness of purpose, her fidelity to her cause and her exceptional ability as a leader and advocate. She was in truth

America's grand old woman, and her admirers, numbered today by the millions, feel that one has passed whose like will seldom again be seen.

Washington (D. C.) *Post*: Susan B. Anthony was an extraordinary woman, who, enveloped in a delusion, pursued a phantom for more than threescore years. She had persuaded herself that her sex was the victim of man's tyranny and man's perfidy, and she became a leader of that circle of masculine womanhood that clamored for "woman's rights," even as Don Quixote set himself to redress woman's wrongs; but the world went jogging along in the same old rut, believing that it was Darby's business to plow the glebe and Joan's work to sweep the room.

Who of us would not prefer Ruth to wife than Jael? Some half-a-dozen centuries ago that was a masculine woman who was possessed of the crown matrimonial of England—Margaret of Anjou. She was a heroine wedded to a weakling, and she ruled her lord and the realm with a rod of iron. Caligula was little more cruel. In that same age lived Chaucer's sweetheart:

"I saw her dance so comelily,  
Carol and sing so sweetly,  
And laugh and play so womanly,  
And look so debonairly,  
That, certes, I trow that nevermore  
Was seen so blissful a treasure.  
For every hair upon her head  
Sooth to say, it was not red,  
Nor yellow, neither, nor brown it was.  
But, oh! what eyes my lady had,  
Debonair, goode, glad and sad,  
Simple, of good size, not too wide.  
Thereto her look was not aside  
Nor overwart."

Can you imagine her on the stump shrieking politics? On the contrary, she is the home body, fit to wife some good man, or to gird the sword on some brave man, or be the mother of some sturdy boy or lovely lass—that is her mission in life. There are millions and millions of her, and she pesters her mind naught about "rights" and "freedom" and "suffrage" and things foreign to her estate. Her duty is to be a good woman, a faithful wife, a fond mother—to such, rights come in troops. If she only make her husband happy, he will embarrass her with the number of rights he will bestow upon her.

While Napoleon's answer to Madam de Staël was impertinent and disgraceful, yet woman's sphere is not political but domestic. It was a fine compliment great Marcius paid to his mother: "Hadst thou been wife to Hercules, six of his labors thou wouldst have done, and saved your husband so much sweat," but that was poetry; besides, Volumnia was not a womanly woman. She was a Jael, a Margaret of Anjou, a Boadicea. We prefer the gentle Ruth, the lively Rosaline, the lovely sweetheart old Chaucer tells us of.

Man's hand is fitted to grasp the scepter, woman's is fashioned for the distaff.

The Rev. Alexander Kent, People's Church, Washington, D. C.: To her clear vision and high purpose, her indomitable energy, her self-denying, self-sacrificing devotion to the cause she had espoused, both men and women owe much for the better conditions in which their daughters find themselves today. And yet Miss Anthony never regarded herself as a martyr or posed as such. She never regarded the choice of the higher as involving self-denial or self-sacrifice. If it was denial or sacrifice of the lower self, it was always gratification of the higher, and she was ruled by the higher and lived in the higher, far more largely than most people.

To be right was, in her thought, a much nobler ambition than to be popular, and she never allowed others to decide questions of right and wrong for her. She would act on her own judgment, feeling that even if it happened to be wrong it was right for her to follow its dictates. . . .

Miss Anthony was wholly out of sympathy with the common religious thought, but she had an abiding faith that this universe is on the side of justice and that soon or late men will have to adjust themselves to the laws of life and build up a rational, orderly and happy society. As to the future, she was content to wait. She professed not to know, but she never doubted that the best possible preparation for any future life that may come is a life of justice and kindness in the present.

Michael Edward Driscoll, (Repub., Syracuse, N. Y.), in the National House of Representatives, March 20, 1906: The true philosophy of life is to grow old gracefully and to continue young old men and women, after the example of Benjamin Franklin, William E. Gladstone, George F. Hoar, and the late Susan B. Anthony, of blessed memory.

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*Cincinnati Commercial-Tribune*: If men were half so earnest in their pursuits as Susan Brownell Anthony was in the pursuit of her ideal, greater things would be accomplished and there would be greater sincerity of purpose for the foundation stone. She was a heroic character—sincere, devoted, persistent, intellectual and forceful. . . .

She was always consistent, always womanly and at no time an antagonist whose forcefulness was to be overlooked. She was a great woman, a remarkable woman, lovable and beloved, always commanding respect, ever courteous to an enemy, skilled in debate and tactful at all times. She was distinctly American and a distinctive American product. Whether she will have a successor worthy of her strength and earnestness remains to be seen. In any event, her impress is on the woman suffrage movement for all time, and her name will be linked with it in success or in failure.

*Cincinnati Post*: Miss Anthony spoke with force and authority, and compelled the world to listen. She was not afraid of abuse and ridicule, forms of attack peculiarly difficult for a woman to withstand. Many have conviction. Add to this courage, and you have leadership. With conviction and courage the power of even the humblest individual is incalculable. This latent power in every person is one of the things which make life worth while.

*Columbus Post:* The broad-minded, progressive, intelligent womanhood of the entire world will mourn so accomplished and heroic a leader. "Heroic" hardly seems the word with which to describe the beautiful simplicity of the Quaker woman. Strength which was the outer symbol of a mighty inner force was the chief characteristic of Susan B. Anthony. And yet, why not write the name of this noble woman high among the galaxy of heroes whose names are used to conjure up courage and virtue and honor and patriotism? Surely no warrior ever showed a more intrepid spirit in the prosecution of the cause which was dear to his heart than was shown by this woman, who held aloft the banner on which was inscribed complete liberty and equality, while countless thousands of oppressed women saw their burdens lifted one by one and felt the proud freedom which the work of this woman gained for them.

And was she not a queen in the best sense of the word? Did she not wear the crown of noble womanhood, set with gems which radiated the light of liberty for her sex? Did she not wield the scepter which arrested ignorance and subservience in their onward march against the mothers, wives, daughters and sisters of the race? Did she not lift all womankind from the low mire of mere existence and place them upon the throne of a lofty ideal whose guiding star was progress and whose pillar of fire was the elevation of their sister women? Yes, Susan B. Anthony was one of America's uncrowned queens. She was a member of that galaxy of great women, among whom the names of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary A. Livermore, Frances E. Willard and Julia Ward Howe stand out like beacons of light to all women who love purity and progress.

All of these women but one, Julia Ward Howe, have answered the last summons, but all as surely and as vitally live in the hearts of the people as if earth were not deprived of their noble presence. Virtue cannot die, progress cannot step backward, purpose cannot become extinct, patriotism cannot be extinguished. And thus it is today that these women are yet important factors in all the great world movements, not only of this day and hour but of all future time; and thus it is also that, while all women mourn the death of Susan B. Anthony—woman's loyal friend—and while men bow their heads in sorrow at the removal of the great woman whom to know was to reverence, there is comfort in the thought that all that was noblest and best in her life has permeated and infused the womanhood of the entire world.

*Columbus (O.) Journal:* The death of Susan B. Anthony removes from the arena of life one of the most remarkable persons of the age. She has been generally regarded as simply an advocate of woman suffrage—the foremost leader in that reform—but she was more. She stood for the rights of woman in every phase of life. What she has done to establish the rights of her sex, in the courts and as a member of society, comprises the whole scope of woman's advancement, so that today all of the civil rights that women enjoy belong to her. There is no person in the world whose memory the women should so tenderly cherish as that of Susan B. Anthony.

She was a woman of strong intellect and her thinking was vigorous and

logical. She furnished the ideas for her cause and she stood by them with courage until they were accepted everywhere. She failed to attain what her whole heart was set on, which was woman suffrage, but if it ever comes it will be from the seeds that she has sown.

*Cleveland News:* The public life of Susan B. Anthony was so thoroughly and prominently a part of the history of this country during the most strenuous period of its progress that it is familiar in almost every household in this nation. . . .

Fully alive to the great possibilities of the American nation and people, she placed, above all other ambitions, the one point upon which she deemed the forces of freedom and progress weak, the refusal of the elective franchise to women. To this work of "liberating the American women" her heart, her life-work, her eloquent voice were consecrated, and a peculiar feature of such advocacy was and is that upon a square question of equity there was extreme difficulty in adducing argument in refutation of her claims. She had to be met upon other ground than that of simple equity. No mind or tongue was sufficiently powerful to overcome constitutional inhibition or legal restriction.

Aside from the suffrage idea, however, she was one of a company of grand intellects ever alert and active in the cause of humanity. Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, Frances E. Willard, and many other grand names have become an imperishable part of American history, and as long as that history is read, taught and understood must hold a firm place in the hearts of the people.

*Springfield (O.) Sun:* Miss Anthony was the most unique, as well as the most powerful champion of the cause of woman's suffrage. She was strong-minded rather than logical or analytical and she waged the fight for almost two generations with remorseless energy and unquenchable zeal. She had no enemies of any sort who did not respect her during her lifetime, and who will not, now that she has laid the burden down, freely pay their tribute of veneration and admiration to a life so blameless and nobly spent. She was a good fighter, a good friend, a good woman. Her name will be inseparably linked with some of the greatest movements of the first century of the republic's existence. While the names of Frances E. Willard and Mother Stewart are probably better known in connection with the temperance movement, and several women, living and dead, vie with hers in the greatness of their contributions to the cause of the Southern slave and of woman's right to the ballot, there is none which has gained such imperishable lustre in the advancement of all three movements and covering so great a period of time.

*Toledo (O.) Blade:* Miss Anthony was a strong character, and yet throughout her public career of more than half-a-century she preserved those womanly qualities which commanded the love and respect of all. Even those who opposed the cause which she espoused admired her devotion to her life mission and those attributes which made her a world-wide leader in great reforms.

*Indianapolis Star*: But to Miss Anthony the right to vote, the attainment of political liberty, was the culmination of all her hopes, the one achievement which to her mind covered and included all others in the movement to uplift women. It was not that she cared personally for the mere privilege of casting a ballot for this candidate or that, but for what the act signified in a broad way. To her it meant that with this privilege women would become a more important factor in the world's affairs; that they could attain directly rights that they now secure with difficulty and by indirection, if at all; that they would gain in dignity and intelligence through the feeling of responsibility placed upon them, and that they would have a standing in official and business life that is now denied them.

It was a wonderful fight she waged during those long years. Such singleness of purpose, such earnestness and zeal and sleepless energy, have probably never before been united in a single individual in behalf of any cause and for such a length of time in the history of the world. For years she struggled against great odds. The public which is now quite accustomed to the appearance of women on the platform and even in the pulpit and in all public places, can hardly realize what a shock it was to popular opinion when she first demanded the right to be heard. She was publicly insulted, in not a few cases by ministers; her character was assailed, her lectures were interrupted riotously by people who would not like to be classed as hoodlums; she was hissed and ridiculed and declared to be dangerous, an incendiary creature, not fit to be at large.

All these experiences of the earlier years were hard to endure, yet in a way they no doubt served as a stimulus. They roused her combativeness, they spurred her on to greater efforts and kept her in the field when indifference to her proceedings might have brought discouragement. Gradually she gained ground; her ideas seemed less revolutionary; people began to listen with respect and even when they did not accept her views entirely were willing to admit that to some extent her cause was just. Many years ago violent opposition ceased and intelligent people everywhere recognized her as a remarkable woman worthy of the highest praise. . . .

When the names of men and women who have served their fellow creatures unselfishly are written down in the Nation's roll of honor this woman of high courage, of steadfast and unselfish purpose, of keen intellect and kindly heart, will take a high place.

*Indianapolis News*: Full of years and of honors, Susan B. Anthony's career has ended. Any one could look with envy on it. Death in such a case is a friend that brings a crown. 'She felt, it is said, that it was a privation "to struggle for more than sixty years for a little liberty and then to die without it." That was simply the spur of mortality. Were we ever to attain we should cease to strive, and so there is a disposition, strongest in those worth it, to feel that what is done is nothing; with everything gained the ideal expands still and the goal is farther off than ever. For sixty years Miss Anthony wrought for woman's freedom, "a little liberty" she called it; and because it had not

come in the shape of universal woman suffrage she seemed not to comprehend how much she had actually accomplished.

When she began to strive for woman's betterment, woman had not even property rights; she was hardly a person. Her place and privileges today are owing as much to this steadfast soul as to any one mortal factor. Doubtless the world has rolled into a new morning since Miss Anthony began her labors, and doubtless much of the change has been due to changed conditions of life, but certainly no individual effort can be reckoned greater than hers. It is true as Miss Shaw said to her, "Your splendid struggle has changed life for women everywhere".

*Indianapolis Sun*: A day was when the great woman suffragist was laughed at and even had to submit to arrest for the unheard of crime of casting an American ballot. Today, hundreds of thousands of women in the United States have the full prerogatives of the popular vote and make themselves felt in no uncertain way at the polls. . . . Her death brings encomiums for her life from all sides. It is the best evidence that she could want of the success of her ministry for woman. Her soul will go marching on.

*Evansville (Ind.) Courier*: The regrettable thing is not so much that the public is less tolerant but that there are so few of the courage of Miss Anthony to fight for an ideal against opposition and calumny. The life of Miss Anthony is worth immeasurably more to the country than the war talk of Roosevelt, the military spirit he tries to create. The real heroism of life is to be sought for rather in the lines of peace than in the intoxication of battle. What is needed is more men and women of the character of Miss Anthony than military or naval heroes.

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*Detroit (Mich.) Times*: Susan B. Anthony, who died yesterday, was a radical, a persistent reformer, an enthusiast and a heroine. To have all of the qualities first named insures one of the last, for a persistent radical and enthusiastic reformer is always laughed at, scoffed at and abused, and must be heroic to persist. Miss Anthony is no exception to the rule. Few persons in American public life were ever more vilified in print and picture than she used to be, and few have deserved such treatment less.

She advocated many reforms, beginning as a girl, and keeping up the fight until she died at the age of eighty-six; but the central idea of her life was that women have a right to vote for the same reason that men claim the right to vote, and nobody who starts with the assumption that there is such a thing as a right to vote in the same sense that there is such a thing as a right to life or liberty ever answered her arguments. Many persons do, consciously or unconsciously, admit such right, and they helped to keep her, to her dying day, convinced that she was absolutely and unassailably right upon the highest grounds of justice.

Through the voting of women she hoped to uplift society, close the saloons, purify politics and bring about all the good things that the believer in democracy hopes it may accomplish. It was a fine ideal and she accepted her



convictions for all they implied. She gave her life to the work, scorning opportunities that would have made her rich and giving all she could earn or beg to the cause of woman's rights. Ridicule, abuse, insults and lies only made her more determined, and their cruelty and injustice had no tendency to smother the love she felt for mankind and her wish to make men better.

Unlike many of her class, she lived long enough to see her worth acknowledged universally and to see the end of the ignorant and flippant abuse that was once heaped upon her. She also saw some progress toward the goal she hoped the world might reach. That the world would reach that goal and leave it far behind, had all men and women the unselfishness and devotion to the common good that Susan B. Anthony had, there is no question.

Grand Rapids (Mich.) *Press*: Susan B. Anthony died in the possession of the love of thousands of her women adherents and respected even by those who strenuously opposed her views. She lived to see her cause, once derided and mocked, grow in strength and influence until it actually gained its ends in several States of the Union and won concessions elsewhere. Today the women of Grand Rapids go to the registration places preliminary to exercising their rights as school electors. As they put down their names they may well give a thought to the plucky spinster of Rochester, who battled so long even for this right. A cause can never be deemed "lost" as long as it has leaders of the Susan B. Anthony type. So staunch was she in the conviction that she was right, so indomitable was her courage, so unwearying was her allegiance that, had all others deserted, universal suffrage would have still lived and she would have recruited a new army to fight in its name.

Winnifred Harper Cooley in Grand Rapids (Mich.) *Press*: Miss Anthony desired for women personal freedom, education, the opening of all honorable occupations, the control of the wages they earned, the legal right to own and manage property, to possess their children, to share in the financial accumulations during marriage. All of these claims have been recognized. In addition she demanded political enfranchisement, representation for taxation—that the Government might justify the principles on which it was founded. In four States this has been fully conceded and partially in one-half the others.

That Miss Anthony appeared before the committees of every Congress for nearly forty years in behalf of this demand; that she arranged and managed annual conventions for this purpose during all this period; that she traversed the country from Maine to California continuously for over fifty years, making thousands of speeches, and giving every waking moment to aggressive and systematic effort for the rights of her sex, is indisputable proof that she was beyond all others responsible for the marvelous improvement in the position of woman.

Woman stands glorified by her new freedom. That she may never abuse her power, but may translate it into the highest sense of duty and responsibility, would be the never changing wish of the one who made this, in the truest sense of the word, the woman's century—Susan B. Anthony.

*Chicago Post:* The strongest characteristic of Susan B. Anthony was courage; her most notable aid, a magnificent optimism; the propelling force of her life, an honest, unwavering persistence. Hers was a life absolutely dedicated to an idea. Never for a moment, even in the hour of sorest defeat, did she lose sight of the goal of her ambition. With splendid consistency she followed for more than three-score years the line laid out for her guidance when she made her first public plea for suffrage and equal rights for women.

Susan B. Anthony was a woman far in advance of her time. For years she preached and wrote and worked, appealing to women everywhere, few of whom understood her; flinging her strong, vigorous arguments at all manner of men, most of whom laughed at her.

But she never wavered. Neither the puzzled looks of her sisters nor the jeers of her brothers discouraged her. She had taught her feet to follow one straight path, and they never were allowed to stray into any other. And when at the advanced age of eighty-six she laid aside whatever of burden life had left her, she counted among her sisters the world over thousands of intelligent and earnest followers, and among her brothers none who did not delight to do her reverence. . . .

No woman of modern times has been more highly honored in her life; no woman of history has held a higher place in the world's esteem than that now reverently set apart for the enshrining of her memory.

*Chicago Tribune:* Miss Anthony has passed away without seeing women admitted to perfect political equality with men, and yet she must have taken satisfaction in her last days in seeing how far the world had moved since she stood up in a teacher's meeting in 1853 and demanded the right to speak. At that time it was an unheard of thing for a woman to speak in public, even in a gathering like that one, composed mainly of women. Now women are successful in all the professions, at the bar, in the pulpit, and in the practice of medicine. In some of the States women hold public office on equal terms with the men. In all States the influence of woman is deeply felt in public life.

The achievement of the franchise was only a small part of the reform in the relation of woman to the law contemplated by Miss Anthony. . . .

Women have secured so many rights today that they miss less than before the formal endowment with the franchise. The right of agitation is theirs, and it is the conviction of many that the influence of women is even greater in the States where they have not the franchise than in those States where they vote the same as men. On the whole, there was little left for Miss Anthony to desire. . . . She is a brilliant example of the success to be attained by holding resolutely to one standard through a long life, never discouraged, never ready to give up, accepting such partial concessions as the enemy might yield, not as bribes to desist, but as encouragement to fight on.

*Chicago Record-Herald:* As far back as 1852 Miss Anthony made up her mind that the right of suffrage was fundamental, that if women could secure it they would gain the power to force concessions on other points, while without it their influence would be relatively small. But she had begun her public work as a temperance advocate, and became interested in divers great reforms,

and there can be no doubt as time went on her persistent labor in the suffrage movement was an important factor in the opening up of a new world to the members of her sex. . . .

Since that time the agitation for woman suffrage has made substantial and permanent gains that are not to be despised, and, as we have intimated, it has contributed largely toward bringing about all those activities of women that are accepted now as a matter of course. Not failure but brilliant success was the fortune of Miss Anthony when her work and life came to a close.

*Chicago News:* It is hardly open to doubt that Miss Anthony's pioneer work in preparing public sentiment during the last half-century has had much to do in hastening these changes. By her own example, as well as by her teachings, she accustomed the country to the unwonted idea of woman's activity in public life. How earnestly she labored in this cause and at what monetary loss and humiliation, even to the point of undergoing arrest for her attempt to vote in 1872, her Biography shows. The brunt of the pioneering work, both in the temperance movement and in the advocacy of woman suffrage, fell upon her, and in both causes she labored with a skill and indomitable energy that made her perhaps the most effective and influential of all the women who have been conspicuous in these movements.

*Chicago American:* Death has enforced upon Susan B. Anthony the rest she denied herself through a long and splendid life. She shared the lot of all inspired and unselfish men and women who gave themselves to their fellow human beings. She endured and lived down scorn and calumny. Unruffled and determined in the face of tremendous opposition, she calmly continued to fight for the cause she had espoused, and lived to see the beginnings of a great victory.

Talk of heroes in these modern days is common enough. He is a hero who climbs a hill for the purpose of killing a village full of savages. He is a hero who sinks a ship and drowns five or six hundred brave men. But what is there in heroism, inspired by the intoxication of battle and by hope of the applause of a nation, to compare with a whole life of hard, bitter toil for the good of others, with no reward but sneers and no inspiration save the consciousness of being right.

This country needs a few *men* with half the courage of Susan B. Anthony. Her soul was of the stuff that makes real heroes. May her memory grow with years till her name stands with those of the great of this nation, where it truly belongs.

*Chicago Chronicle:* Susan B. Anthony, who died a few days ago past eighty-six years of age, was without doubt one of the most remarkable women of the last century.

In respect of intellectual activity and keenness she was singularly gifted. In respect of the sense of proportion or of the practical consequences that might follow on putting into practice some very alluring theory she was often quite the reverse. She was enthusiastically certain that the advent of women would purify and sanitize politics, but she practically lost sight of the scientific

necessity for the balance of action and reaction. She forgot the perverse effect politics must have on women if they were really enough better than men to have a good influence on politics.

She possessed or was possessed by that quality so invaluable to the crusader—spontaneous and absolute confidence in the infallibility of her own judgment. It probably never occurred to her that it was possible that any one who dissented from her theories could be more nearly right than herself.

In many movements her active spirit led her to take conspicuous part. Long identified with the so-called woman's rights movement, she exerted a strong influence in widening the field of activity of her sex in the work of the world, but whether that has been of unmixed benefit to either her sex or the world it is yet too early to make up final judgment.

In the particular aim to which she gave most of her strength, that for woman suffrage, she seems to have failed. Certainly she failed to persuade or convince the majority of her own sex in the most populous regions of her own country that they desire or that they ought to desire the privilege of voting. A few crude, sparsely peopled mountain States adopted the policy and if the results there have justified her anticipations of the purification of politics the fact is not yet manifest to the world.

In whatever she undertook or advocated she was animated always by the profoundest sincerity of conviction. Of that probably nobody has ever made any serious question, nor that she gave to any cause she took up her utmost strength as well as sincerity. In man it is not claimed by anybody that sincere conviction and sound judgment necessarily go together, and she did not succeed in convincing the world that the rule in that regard is necessarily different in woman.

*Illinois State Register:* Miss Susan B. Anthony was a wonderful woman. In intelligence, character, conviction, she stood pre-eminently a champion of her sex. Her death is a loss to her country. Her life was a credit and a benefit to her country. It was a life of positive, heroic, womanly devotion to ideals—a wonderful struggle to promote the best interests of mankind and of womankind, it having been the wish of Miss Anthony to enjoy such triumph for woman suffrage as she enjoyed in the victory for abolition of slavery.

Men who look upon the power, the intelligence, the courage, the resourcefulness of woman with disregard, cannot but think more of the sex represented by Miss Anthony even from a glance at her courage and achievement. It was not altogether the ultimate end and aim sought by Miss Anthony and the methods she applied that attracted attention to her, but the fact that she kept paramount before all who were honored by expression from her, the necessity of benefitting men by benefitting women—of accomplishing virtue—developing work by co-operative advancement of men and women.

A humanitarian, scholar, patriot and public benefactor, Miss Anthony has not lived in vain. Men and women will ever reap benefits from her life and teachings; and surely her life will be an inspiration to women especially to seek high ideals, to guard and promote virtue in combat with vice, to promote

interest in human existence by study of economics and application of rules of honor in the affairs of State as well as in the home.

Miss Anthony sought to broaden the sphere of feminine life and to make those benign feminine influences a more universal power for good. She has shown how heroic and patriotic woman can be and what marvellous potentialities she possesses if they but be recognized and developed. . . . Development in women of such character as was possessed by Miss Anthony means the betterment of the nation—the betterment of woman, the betterment of man and the betterment of the world.

Peoria (Ill.) *Star*: The base spirit of commercialism never appealed to Miss Anthony. Having enlisted for the fight, she spent her earnings, her time, her talent, freely for the cause she had at heart, and she left a name that will last through the ages. Here is something that money cannot buy, but it comes only by devotion to an idea and it comes at the end of long service. That which is permanent must be built upon a sure foundation. Only that lasts which is based upon service to one's fellows. All other things are feeble, selfish, transitory—a breath may take them as a breath has made. Susan B. Anthony has conferred untold benefits not only upon her sex but upon humanity at large.

Neither sneers nor sarcasm nor abuse nor outrage, sanctioned by public opinion and perpetrated in the name of the law, deflected that iron purpose or broke that unconquerable will, and she lived to reap the full reward of her toil, to be honored and respected, not only by the women she had saved but by the very influences in church and State that had derided and maligned her. Greater triumph no one can ask and it comes as a reward for well deserving.

Bloomington (Ill.) *Pantagraph*: Miss Susan B. Anthony has died at an advanced age after a life devoted mainly to one idea, the enfranchisement of her sex. She was a woman of good character and considerable ability and no doubt possessed of honest and conscientious convictions. But measured by what she has actually accomplished her life has been practically a failure. She has been an extremist and has scolded men unmercifully for more than half-a-century and goes to her rest with little more than a record of sharp, biting criticism of conditions which she could not change and which the wives and mothers and daughters of the land really did not want changed.

Miss Anthony's voice was heard in bodies of suffragist agitators but not in the councils of the more conservative and practical women of the country who were striving for the uplift and betterment of mankind. When we compare such a life with that of Clara Barton and other women who have put their hands to the task of relieving human suffering and making conditions better for all who came within their reach, it must appear as falling far short of the mark. She spent her life in an effort to accomplish the impracticable and impossible and her memory for that reason has less of the sweetness and fragrance that linger after the passing of a woman full of good works and helpful deeds for her sex and kind.

Quincy (Ill.) *Herald*: Miss Anthony lived to see public sentiment turn in

favor of her cause and to know that in four States of the Union women have all the political rights accorded to men. She also saw her propaganda girdle the globe and in Australia and New Zealand her sex recognized with full franchise. The cause has been fortunate in having for its champions such pure and consistent souls as Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe and Elizabeth Cady Stanton—the stainless trinity of the women's crusade.

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*Milwaukee Sentinel*: "Being dead, she yet speaketh." The peaceful passing of Susan B. Anthony from unconsciousness into the deeper sleep of death marks the close of a life long and eventful, a life rich in accomplishment, but even the grave has no power to silence the voice which was raised in behalf of woman nearly sixty years ago. . . . For her present position today, a position which has made strong impression on the entire world, the American woman owes much to Susan B. Anthony, within whose lifetime the great evolution has occurred. . . .

It is doubtful if the majority of women who accept these benefits lightly would ever have won them for themselves. It needed a woman like Miss Anthony who could stand not only opposition but ridicule; who went on unflinchingly even though her lecture tour in 1861 was a series of riots during which she was hissed and hooted and finally made the target of eggs and burned in effigy. In rejoicing for the sake of the home in the fact that Miss Anthony was not the typical American woman, but rather the rare exception, there is no need for failure to recognize the value of the exception and to give full credit to the things which she has indirectly brought to many thousands of homes.

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*Minneapolis Journal*: The death of Susan B. Anthony removes from American public life a remarkable figure. For more than sixty years this woman has been active in the work of social reformation. She may be described as one of the first labor agitators in this country. Her active career in behalf of the unfavored began with a public speech made before the New York Teachers' Association in the early fifties, where she demanded for women equality of wages with men when they did the same work. . . . She early became an advocate of the temperance cause, and as an outgrowth of her devotion to that principle, became convinced that the most powerful instrument with which to change social conditions would be the ballot in the hands of women; and ever since 1852 she has been an ardent and indeed the leading advocate of woman suffrage. She has appeared many times before committees of congress, and Senator Edmunds said of her argument before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate in 1880, that it was unanswerable and well suited to a committee of men trained in the law.

*St. Paul Dispatch*: With the passing of Susan B. Anthony there closes a definite era in American life, in the life of American women. Miss Anthony was the type of the women who distinguished that era. So much was she the type, that, in considering her and her life work, it is much more the work

than the personality which comes to mind. She had a distinct individuality; otherwise she would not have been able to accomplish the very considerable and most important benefits which were wrought during her almost-century, and largely through her efforts. But she had a certain power of detachment; like so many maiden women, she was able to lose herself in her work, to loose the personal ties and become a force rather than a person. There were remnants of femininity, of personalities, about Mrs. Stanton. Never about Miss Anthony. It is the most difficult thing in the world to escape from the thrall-dom of the personal; it is almost impossible for women. And this escape is what distinguished Miss Anthony in the first consideration. She wrought a tremendous work for women, and therefore for the race. Those who differed most widely from her in an estimate of her objective, and even of the means chosen in working toward that objective, came at last to believe in the woman's ability and in her very work—though they interpreted it differently.

The condition of American women is better because Miss Anthony and her associates worked definitely for suffrage; and we believe it is better than though suffrage, distinct and statutory, had been secured. Miss Anthony has to her credit, as a reformer, larger and more vital effects than though a national amendment had been secured to the constitution. She has appeared before every Congress since 1869; that in itself shows the winning of respect. She won legal rights for women, statutory position, without which the American woman of today could not be the independent person and the distinguished force she is in the national life. And this influence has extended over seas. Other women in other lands are winning their way because of the work done here in America by Susan B. Anthony.

The woman of to-morrow will be different. The modern club woman is not what the reformer of fifty years ago was; but she still comes into her kingdom, her queendom, only because such women as Miss Anthony battled heroically for her right to move and have her being co-terminous with that of man. Today it is not identical, is not trespassing, but is lived in co-operation and under a common desire to better both men and women.

*St. Paul Pioneer Press:* Not so many years ago the name of Susan Brownell Anthony, who died this week, was a jest. Her militant activity in the emancipation of her sex attracted the jibes of a large part of the human family. Many thinking people, ordinarily serious, smiled at the mention of the doughty champion of woman suffrage—a cause long listed as a standardism for humorists and wits to work upon.

Undaunted by abuse and ridicule, Miss Anthony fought on and on for more than half-a-century. She gave to her mission all of her zeal, her power, her time and her money, and in the end she lifted the status of femininity; caused to be open to woman the higher possibilities of education; gave to her valuable opportunities in the industrial and commercial world and a chance to demonstrate her fitness in whatever field of endeavor she cared to enter. Eventually she secured to woman a certain degree of political suffrage, and to her alone is attributed the revolution of the position of her sex wrought within the last fifty years.

Duluth (Minn.) *News-Tribune*: Susan B. Anthony was a force, a personality, a stubborn contradiction to the existing order of things that curtails the civic rights of women. The service she has done for her sex is inestimable; the service she has done for the race can scarce be calculated. Her life has been potent in its influences. She has left her impress upon the public affairs of the last fifty years.

Ridiculed and insulted because of her views in her youth and young womanhood, she lived to see the first fruits of her labor and to win the respect of the most radical opponents of her ideas. It takes time to adjust proportions. It may be that history will not call Susan B. Anthony great, but it will accord her a high place among the servants of her race, the movers in a splendid cause. Of commanding intellect and kindly heart, the admiration she compelled was closely allied with affection. Even in these days of intellectual women, it is not probable that we shall look upon her like. She has many followers and more beneficiaries, but no true successor—no equal.

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Des Moines (Iowa) *Register and Leader*: Susan B. Anthony was not the equal of Mrs. Stanton in intellectual power, did not possess the humane spirit of Mary A. Livermore, and lacked the culture of Julia Ward Howe; but as organizer and leader in what has been termed the woman movement, she has played a larger part and more important part than all together. . . .

Miss Anthony was not an orator, but her addresses did more for the advancement of woman than those of any dozen women of her time. She said the things that needed to be said at the particular time in which she was speaking. Not every man who listened to her was converted, but every man who heard her realized that she knew her business and was making a formidable appeal. The net outcome of her work and of her example it would be difficult to estimate. The status of woman has changed more in the three-quarters of a century of her active labors than it had in the nineteen centuries that preceded. In the field of mechanical invention there has been nothing to astonish the world which compares with the change in the thought of the world with regard to woman's capacities and woman's sphere. . . .

Miss Anthony put all the emphasis on the ballot. What she did for women was infinitely more important than if she had won for them the right to vote. The right to vote will come in time; but when it comes it will be found to be but an incident, and not so important at that, when compared with the worldwide enfranchisement of feminine endeavor that preceded it.

The world cannot honor the memory of such a woman too much. Her spirit was the spirit that has made America great. She was the type of strenuous womanhood. At a time when dilettanteism is so much in evidence it is worth while to stop a moment at the bier of a strong, forceful, earnest, faithful worker who took life seriously and who did not lay down her burden until her pulse was stilled.

Burlington (Iowa) *Hawkeye*: A student at ten years of age, a school teacher at fifteen, enthusiastic and persuasive as a "daughter of temperance" at



twenty, the powerful friend of the fugitive slave at thirty, and for over half-a-century the organizer and head of the woman suffrage movement!

Thus is summed up the life of Susan B. Anthony. With it all there was a magnificent courage and a determination that knew no obstacle sufficient to turn her from her course. Her death ends a long life of heroic struggle for her fellow women. While not able to see the full fruition of the ideal for which she sought, she died satisfied, without doubt, that her work had been greatly successful. . . .

In short, Miss Anthony has been able to see as the result of her life of devotion and work in behalf of woman, a vast advancement in the welfare of the gentler sex, an ennobling of the position which women necessarily occupy in the world's affairs. As one looks back at the time when Miss Anthony was the scoff of the nation; when in the press and on the platform she was held up to public ridicule, one marvels at the courage that enabled her to force her way through it all until she became honored of all men and women. One must admit the marvelous qualities of such an individuality and join instinctively in the universal homage paid to the memory of the remarkable woman who has just passed to her reward.

*Sioux City (Iowa) Journal:* It would be idle to deny, however, that whatever the specific and physical results may be, the campaign of education made by Miss Anthony and her co-workers has been without excellent results. Women undoubtedly stand higher today in influence in public life than they did half-a-century ago. They are more a factor in affairs. They are everywhere sharers in business, commercial and professional life. . . .

In the growth of these conditions Susan B. Anthony and her courageous co-workers must have had a large influence. The most striking quality about Miss Anthony perhaps was her persistence. She was a worker rather than a fighter. Her life was gentle. She was feminine and beloved by women. She came of a good family. She had her share of the brains and did not hesitate to employ them in a way which, to her conception, seemed best. She was a prominent part of one of the most interesting and significant phases of the social history of the United States for the last half-century.

*Sioux City (Iowa) Tribune:* Why do we pay tribute to such persons as Susan B. Anthony, who have not even converted a large minority? Because we know that the destinies of this nation are in the hands of men and women who will not be diverted from their purpose, who will not compromise with what they believe to be wrong, who dare to stay out of the procession. Suffragists or not, we may all uncover our heads in memory of the life of Susan B. Anthony.

*Dubuque (Iowa) Times:* The name of Susan B. Anthony should be honored whenever and wherever women assemble in the cause of temperance, equal rights, education or philanthropy. She was before the public half-a-century as the representative of movements unpopular in their inception at least, but she honored her sex and won the admiration of friends and foes

alike by the courage and sincerity with which she sought to advance what she believed to be the cause of justice.

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*St. Louis Chronicle:* (Syndicate Editorial.) Men say there are no more miracles! Yet a Quaker girl, a young New England school teacher, arose among us with an idea, won to herself a few associates, called conventions, set on foot a propaganda, perfected a great and constantly widening organization, systematized it into a powerful influence at the polls in many States and a potent, abiding moral power in every section of this land. If this is no miracle it must be admitted that a new human force has come into existence and come to stay.

Susan B. Anthony gave her youth, her prime and her old age to the advancement of womanhood. Her battle for years was against the cruelest of all human weapons, ridicule and sneers. There is no lack of opponents still to the movements she fought for. But there are few earnest men and women who any longer doubt the sincerity of her purposes, the high moral altitude of her spirit or the infinite possibilities suggested by what she actually accomplished. Her rare combination of genius, courage and energy would have made any man great in his own generation. It has made a woman great in her century and has stamped an enduring impression upon the age.

*St. Louis Globe Democrat:* But the country moved far in Miss Anthony's time toward recognizing the rights and broadening the opportunities of women, and her part in winning the ground gained was conspicuous. The marvel was that she accomplished so much and continued her arduous labors so long. . . . What Miss Anthony lived to see was a vast extension of woman's world in public and business affairs. Women are perfectly free to be orators and agitators and they get an impartial hearing. They may enter any profession or pursuit and some are active capitalists. All departments of education are open to them. The laws treat them in property and family rights on terms of considerate fairness and responsibility. . . .

Human progress is not a struggle up an isolated peak, but rather marches in an endless mountain chain, where one summit reveals another that seems fairer. Miss Anthony had a giant's strength and performed well a giant's work. Regret is not a word that fits into her biography.

*Kansas City (Mo.) Journal:* Perhaps no more remarkable woman has lived in America than Susan Brownell Anthony. The history of her life is the history of social and political conditions for more than half-a-century, and one may not write of her without a flood of reminiscent associations of the greatest minds this country has produced. From childhood she was thrown into the intimate companionship of such men as Phillips, Beecher, Channing, Dana, Greeley; of such women as Mrs. Stanton, Lucy Stone, Alice and Phœbe Cary and a host of others, some of whom were her co-workers in the active campaign for woman suffrage which she waged all her life.

There may be those who believe sincerely that woman suffrage has made  
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little, if any, headway in the United States. It is a common delusion that women, by their own efforts, have never advanced their cause, but that the exalted position of the sex socially and politically has been due to the generosity of the men. Granting the helpful influence of friendly and liberal men, it must be admitted that the very persistency of such splendid women as Susan B. Anthony and her associates has forced a quickening recognition of what they claim to be the justice that underlies their pleas. It has been a very long and wearisome campaign, but the one soldier who never dropped in the ranks or became discouraged in the face of what seemed almost insuperable obstacles was Susan B. Anthony. Ridiculed, browbeaten, blocked in discussion and assailed by all the arts of political obstructionists, this great emancipator of womankind lived to see something more than the promise of a brighter day for those in whose interests she fought the good fight. Her career is at an end, but the work that she did will continue to advance from the momentum which her life of sacrifice gave to it. Others will take up the burdens and bear the brunt of the battle, but none will ever experience the tragic difficulties of an individual struggle for the principles she believed in, as did this Quaker woman of gentle birth who did so much to convert a continent to her convictions.

*Kansas City (Mo.) Star:* It has been the lot of very few women in America, or anywhere else, to enjoy a more honorable distinction than that which came to Susan B. Anthony in the latter years of her life. It was her privilege to meet, on terms of perfect equality, persons of the most exalted rank, including Kings and Queens and other rulers of the people, and in her own land the close companionship of the intellectual nobility was constantly available.

From the moment that her condition became critical, the news from the chamber in which she lay prostrate assumed first-class importance in the public prints, and the announcement of her death brought forth columns upon columns of historic incidents in connection with the movement for equal suffrage headed by this remarkable woman. . . . The complete triumph which she had looked forward to as the crowning reward of her untiring zeal and devotion was denied her. But all of the splendid moral compensations which wait upon those who strive without abatement or fatigue for what they deem to be right were hers.

In her long and unwearied fight for the ballot for women, Susan B. Anthony was responsible for a greater boon to her sisters than the right to vote. In the great dignity of the station to which she herself attained, in the abundant honors which were heaped upon her in life, in the reverence which the country pays to her memory, now that she is gone, Susan B. Anthony gave the fullest proof of the authenticity of her great mission and of the incalculable service she was able to render to the cause of woman.

*St. Joseph (Mo.) Press:* To Miss Anthony belongs great credit for whatever may have been accomplished in the cause of woman suffrage and woman's rights. She labored without cessation, in the face of ridicule, of obstruction and of discouragement. She fought a good fight and never showed a white feather. She was sincere in her convictions, she believed implicitly in her

theories and was the ever-present inspiration to quicken flagging interest and cheer the weakening combatants. She gave her life to the work and is entitled to a grateful memory for her example in consistency and her great effort in behalf of womanhood.

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Lincoln (Neb.) *State Journal*: Little restraint of words is needed in writing an estimate of Susan B. Anthony. For sixty years she has been a prominent figure in American public life. During that time, however violently men and women have differed from her in opinion, they have found no fault with her motives or character, have been forced to admit her ability, and have had no choice but to accord her a place among the best and greatest leaders of the country's thought and action. The length of time during which she held a commanding position in public life cannot be matched in her own generation, and is made the more remarkable and creditable by the fact that she held this sway while excluded from the official positions that help men to hold public attention and that form part of their reward for public service.

In the first twenty years of her public life, Miss Anthony's work in behalf of the rights of women entitles her to be called the Garrison of the equal rights movement, but it will be no less fitting to call Garrison the Anthony of the abolition movement. Miss Anthony, in fact, stands above Garrison in many respects. She was anything but a person of one idea, as her work in behalf of the anti-slavery and temperance movements testifies. Her fame is secure though her cause is not yet won; it is not certain that the same would be true of Garrison had he died with negro emancipation still a matter for the future. In the late forties when Miss Anthony took her first stand for the rights of women as she believed, and this at first meant nothing more startling than the right to speak in temperance meetings, her action meant social ostracism, journalistic abuse and general suspicion of her character and motives. Supreme courage was the first attribute of the woman reformer of that day. This twenty years of pioneer effort, involving as it did extreme privation, toil and personal abuse would stand by itself as a creditable life work. With Miss Anthony it was but a beginning.

A more completely consecrated character can hardly be found in the history of the time. In the last sixty years of her life it is doubtful if she ever regarded a dollar or a day as her own. Money to her was something to be used in the advancement of the cause of sex-equality; time meant nothing less. Given ability and a willingness to sacrifice herself to this one aim, it is not surprising that the history of Susan B. Anthony is the history of the woman's movement in the United States almost from its inception to today.

Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner*: The death of Susan B. Anthony has called forth a unanimous panegyric from the press of the country, and it expresses the almost universal sentiment of the people. But almost without exception the newspapers have made the mistake of laying the chief stress upon her advocacy of woman suffrage. Miss Anthony is recalled now, it is true, because of her advocacy of that policy, but her fame in future history will rest upon

something else. Of late years her splendid service in the cause of emancipation has been overlooked, but in time the credit due her for that splendid work will be recalled. It is quite true that Miss Anthony was a pioneer in the equal suffrage movement, but it is equally true that she was a pioneer in another movement that has grown into immense proportions—equal pay for equal work, whether performed by man or woman. Single-handed and alone she fought for that principle for years. Sneered at, maligned and ridiculed, she persevered through all the weary years. But she lived to see a wonderful measure of success crown her efforts in that direction. People may differ as to the measure of blessings that might accrue to women through equal suffrage, but there is no difference of opinion upon the statement that women have been vastly benefited by her championship of equality before the paymaster. Miss Anthony lent her support to every cause calculated to benefit humanity and her voice and pen were always at the service of those who suffered.

Omaha (Neb.) *Bee*: As William E. Gladstone won for himself the endearing appellation of England's "Grand Old Man", so Susan B. Anthony deserves the title of America's "Grand Old Woman". Miss Anthony's passing at a ripe age takes away the last survivor of a notable and brilliant group of reformers, whose achievements in behalf of human liberty and enlightened civilization far transcend the movement to establish electoral suffrage for women, with which her name is most generally associated. . . .

To her successful leadership is likewise due much that has been gained in removing from women the civil disabilities with which they were formerly burdened and giving them equal rights with men before the law and in the courts. Scarcely any advance step in the progress of women of this country toward civil and industrial independence has been made during the last half-century in which she has not been a leading figure and a potent factor.

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Emporia (Kas.) *Gazette*: It is difficult to make comparative estimates of the importance of human beings. But looking back over Miss Anthony's work it is safe to say that she has been as powerful an influence for good as were most of the men who have been President of the United States in her life-time. She was not as powerful a lever for good as was Lincoln or Grant or Roosevelt, or perhaps Grover Cleveland; but, taking them out of the list, only a few Presidents of the last fifty years remain who will measure up in moral and practical influence in American public life with Susan B. Anthony.

Lawrence (Kas.) *Journal*: Susan B. Anthony was the victim of the accident of birth. Had she been a foreigner of the male persuasion or had she been an ignorant man she would have been granted the suffrage which she coveted so much. Being a woman she could not have it. Miss Anthony was a great woman, strong and masterful, and her life was one worth while. She was a long time in the public eye and was never discredited by word or deed.

*Denver Republican*: When Susan B. Anthony began her propaganda in behalf of equal suffrage she and her idea were greeted with laughter from all sides. It was a new thought and the newspapers hailed it with delight. There was much material for laugh-making carried in the movement. The opportunity was not to be lost.

But the woman persisted in the face of the laugh. She was not to be turned away from her purpose. She kept resolutely on and all the ridicule had no other effect than to confirm her in her ideas. The secret of it was that she believed in what she had undertaken to accomplish. She was sincere. Woman was being kept from her rights; man was denying her a privilege it was hers equally to share with him. Only by giving her the ballot could he accept her as his full equal, raise her to her proper position.

In time this evidence of sincerity began to win. The world is not naturally cold, not disposed to laugh in the face of the man, much less of the woman, who comes pleading for justice and fully convinced that a wrong is being committed. Humor over the new idea gave way to serious consideration. The sincerity of the one zealous advocate was opening the way.

Gradually woman began to gain admission into offices from which she had been ever barred. The discovery came that many lines of work she was more capable of doing than were men in the same position. Her scope widened; it became "respectable" for woman to earn her own living; she came less and less to be looked upon as a helpless creature who must abide ever at home and keep within a given bound. The sincerity of one woman who was insisting in season and out that woman was the equal of man and co-bearer with him of the responsibilities of society, was winning its way into the public mind.

Begun as a propaganda with but one end in view, the enfranchisement of woman at the polls, the movement bore its first fruit in an entirely unexpected form. Its first result was to open the way for woman to earn her living. It had to be so. The suffragists had expected to achieve the far away end in a single bound; they could not. The way had to be gradually prepared. The uplifting had to be through a process of evolution. Suffrage could not have come as the first fruit of the agitation. The first step toward it was years delayed. Woman was first conceded the right to vote on questions of school management which seemed to come directly within her sphere. It was a concession that promised more privilege later. Then a Western State threw down the bars completely; another and then two others followed. The pause since has been seemingly long, but it should not be so considered. Great reforms are ever slow of realization.

Miss Anthony regretted that she must die before seeing the full realization of her hopes, the full fruit of her work. That she could never have lived to see. The centuries to come will yet be bringing forth fresh fruits as the results of the seeds she planted. Her influence will flow far into the future. The extreme limit of human life could not have revealed to her more than the beginning of her work; as it is, she was granted to see more results than have the majority of the world's reformers. She has seen woman come near to her own, the beginning of the full realization. And the world knows that but for her, for her sincerity and zeal, the triumph had not been so large nor

so near. Sincerity won the battle; the sincerity of one woman who wanted this thing with all her heart, with all her mind, and gave her life to securing it.

*Denver News:* Susan B. Anthony is dead! It is hard to think that anyone who has been so very much alive for so many years can be dead. What a life hers has been! What history it has been a part of and helped to make. What a triumph it was to pass from being the most ridiculed and the most scorned woman in America to being the dearly loved "Aunt Susan" of half the world!

For the last decade-and-a-half Miss Anthony has entered no assembly that the rafters have not rung with applause, and in any gathering of women, whatever the organization, she has been the central figure. The Federation of Clubs has always been conservative, yet at one of its earlier biennials, twelve years or more ago, her appearance was the signal for an ovation such as it has never given any one else and which no other living woman could have inspired.

The secret of this conquest of the public heart lay in the woman's genuineness. Such sturdy sincerity and unconsciousness of self are rarely seen. The Cause was always the one absorbing object of her interest. She was merely the instrument of the Cause, not because it was right so to sink herself, but because she could not do otherwise. Mind, heart and will were absorbed in an allegiance to the Cause which precluded all interest in herself or the impression she was making.

Richard Mansfield says every one is playing a part with a greater or less degree of art in the acting. Most persons are, but Susan B. Anthony has never been one of them. She did not act. She lived, lived in the passion for woman's freedom and advancement and took no thought of her part in the great drama of emancipation. Other fine workers for the cause were careful as to the way in which they did their work for the sake of the cause. They strove to be "womanly". They were politic and careful, sweet-voiced and gentle that prejudice might be overcome. Miss Anthony was herself; and whatever her instinct, her indignation and her intensity prompted she said and did. . . .

Let every woman who enjoys the freedom she helped to win and every man who rejoices in the larger horizon of the mothers of his race give loving homage to the great heart and dauntless spirit of Susan B. Anthony.

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*Salt Lake (Utah) Herald:* Although she lived to see great progress made in her life work, Miss Anthony expressed regret just before she died because she had done so little. The fact is she had achieved marvels in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. She had to overcome the accumulated prejudices of centuries; she had to combat the natural opposition of sex selfishness in man; she fought the traditions of civil and religious conservatism, and, more than all, she had to struggle with the unwillingness of her own sex to approve of her efforts. . . .

Miss Anthony's influence was attributable largely to her sincerity, directness and singleness of purpose. Every purpose was centered in the one object; almost every moment of her waking hours was devoted to the one thing. Sarcasm, ridicule, abuse, the diatribes of orators and jests of humorists alike failed to disturb her serene poise or divert her from the aim toward which all

her energies were bent. She was a great woman, in herself the best refutation of the ancient argument that woman lacks the ability to concentrate her energies and pursue logically to its conclusion an abstruse problem involving numerous complicated factors.

*Salt Lake (Utah) Telegram:* The great evangel of woman's rights, of temperance, of cleaner, higher lives, has passed away. She was of the fighting Anthony stock; if a thing was right it ought to be struggled for; with her everything was right or wrong and she would never listen to a compromise between the two. . . .

She was a gifted woman, a natural and brave leader; she knew no such word as conciliation; she could never see why an inferior man, because he was a man, should be granted political and property rights which were denied to her because she was a woman; so she devoted her life to breaking down the senseless barrier that withheld from women their own. She stood for justice, and for quite fifty years her name has been a household word throughout the United States. She was a great woman; entirely feminine in her bearing, but still with a masculine intellect and courage, and so determined in her convictions that nothing could turn her from a position she believed to be right. She was a natural leader, and whenever the women who made great names for themselves in the same cause have been mentioned, for two-score years, Miss Anthony's name came first.

*Salt Lake (Utah) Goodwin's Weekly:* Miss Anthony was of that kind of fighting stock that does not count the odds against it, but magnifies itself to be equal to any emergency. Her watchword all her life was justice. She did not believe that our country was free so long as the mothers of the race were restricted in their liberties. She wanted woman lifted up that man might be exalted, and so fought on and on and died in the harness. Her purpose was never doubted, her sincerity never questioned. She had the gentle, tender heart of a woman, the power and will of an aggressive commanding man, and goes to her grave wrapped around with honor.

*Salt Lake (Utah) News:* Miss Anthony was venerated by hosts of intelligent and progressive women who recognized her worth and her uncommon abilities. Her departure will be mourned by hundreds of thousands in this land, and also in the emancipated nations of the eastern hemisphere. She will be mourned in every circle where the elevation of woman is a leading motive, and her name will ever be identified with the cause of freedom and equal rights for all. She is a grand and noble spirit and will reap the full reward for all her labors while in mortal life. Peace be to her and sweet repose to her earthly remains.

*Logan City (Utah) Journal:* Miss Anthony and her fellow workers have not labored in vain. It is being more generally recognized that women have some rights that men are bound to respect; that God created them the equal of man in all respects but in brute strength; that in those respects in which women appear inferior, it has not been lack of ability but because they have



been repressed. Miss Anthony lived long enough to see dual suffrage put to the test, as in Utah, and to see the predictions of the scorners as to the awful unsexing of women that would ensue—in fact, all of their predictions—come to naught. The work she did lives after her. Mountains of prejudice have been removed and the cause to which she gave her life is gaining constantly.

Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells in *Young Woman's Journal* (Utah) :

. . . Among the women whose histories have been handed down through the ages, and those celebrated of more modern times, one need have no hesitation in placing Susan B. Anthony. Her wonderful power to sway the multitude reminds me of no other in history than Savonarola. The gift did not consist in choice of words or phrases. Miss Anthony never dealt in platitudes or borrowed from her associates. She was strictly original, simplicity personified in this respect as well as in her style of dress and living. She had inherited a little of the sweet, mild Quaker ways of the old-fashioned regime, perhaps, but taken all in all, she was her own individual self, not easily disconcerted even with failures or disappointments. She could be gracious and even kind when "her girls", as she called them, were righteously indignant toward those who had ignored her when honor was her due. I recall one particular occasion when several ladies present felt Miss Anthony, (their General), had been very indifferently treated by men who should have been proud to show her honor. A number of us were sitting at dinner in the Ebbitt House, Washington, and were discussing the slight to Miss Anthony. She looked down from the head of the table and said in her most serene manner: "I'm glad that my young women know when I've been insulted if I don't know it myself." Silence fell upon all; there was no more to say.

The world is richer because of the beautiful life, character and example of Susan B. Anthony. The nation does well to heap honors and build lasting monuments to her who has made so brilliant a record for heroism and loyalty to a cause, which, when she espoused it, was decidedly unpopular, and one might add without precedent or prestige. Miss Anthony gave to equal suffrage not only her best efforts and most ardent endeavors, but she gave herself, with all her noble qualities of head and heart. Firm as the "Rock of Ages", she planted her feet upon the corner-stone of the structure commenced by the Pilgrim Fathers when they fought for freedom of conscience, and in this age of the larger development of humanity, this brave, heroic woman included all the sons and daughters of the land. Neither race nor color was excluded; there was no privileged class in her category. All were to be free; there must be no slaves in these United States. . . .

There are men and women born into the world at certain periods of time for a distinctive purpose, with a mission to fulfill for their fellow men. Their pathway is not smoothed for them, they have obstacles to overcome, not only difficult but distasteful perhaps to their nearest and dearest kindred and friends. They are the pioneers through new fields of advancement, the pathfinders to growth and culture, possessing the attributes of faithful endurance, firmness, steadfastness and integrity. Miss Anthony's long life abounded with varied experiences and struggles for the right, but was fraught with triumphs

that marked her career and standing in later life, clear-cut in the midst of errors and misrepresentations.

Almost unaided and alone at times, she heralded truths with which her understanding was quickened even though they were unacceptable. She, years ago, ploughed the rough way and sowed the seed that has taken deep root and has since sprung up here and there, eventually to bear good fruit. She had arrived at a stage of human achievement in transmitting the highest and best of her own nature to those with whom she mingled, and she expressed unconsciously perhaps the reality of her ideals. She was the embodiment of the spirit with which she was endowed, enriched and expanded; the result of a fixed purpose to help mankind. Miss Anthony had culled from the "Book of Life." She knew how to take advantage of the teaching from within, and she possessed the faculty and, above all, the personal energy to utilize the forces at hand. She was spoken of as a practical woman. She was much more than practical. She possessed those higher attributes of soul that made her intensely lovable and that called into action the best and rarest impulses in others who came within her environment. Her very presence in an assembly seemed to impart courage and confidence and to strengthen the faith of the audience in the cause she advocated.

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Anaconda (Mont.) *Standard*: There is nobody who would return woman to the condition in which she lived before Miss Anthony's efforts began; there is nobody who would deny her the right of education. The question of suffrage is not yet settled. The opposition to the right of woman to the ballot is not now as bitter as was the contest waged against her admission to the institutions of higher education at the time Miss Anthony raised her voice in behalf of her sex. Time may bring the full fruition of the hopes of the noble, earnest woman in whose death her great sisterhood, the world over, loses a friend and for whom all womankind may well mourn.

Helena (Mont.) *Record*: . . . This is a wonderful advance in behalf of womanhood and it is all due to the earnest work and persistent effort of Miss Anthony and her associates. For her work in the interest of her sex and for other measures of reform which she advocated, the name of Susan B. Anthony is held in high esteem and will shine with increasing lustre as the result is more fully understood and appreciated by the women of the world.

Butte (Mont.) *Miner*: Miss Anthony belonged to the intellectual type of women who are usually not loved so much as they are highly respected.

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Clara Bewick Colby in *Woman's Tribune* (Portland, Ore.): The starry flag was not half-masted yesterday though one of the bravest soldiers, one of the greatest generals of any age or of any country passed from among us to the invisible world—a gentlewoman with the brains of a savant, the courage of a Spartan, the soul of a martyr—such was our beloved Miss Anthony. With Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and a few other volunteers in

the little army, the whole world against them, she set forth to redeem woman from a condition of servitude to her rightful estate in the industrial and educational world; to win for her, complete enfranchisement. Without wavering or halting she pressed forward until she beheld the partial fruition of her labor—the final goal almost in sight.

From the onset of hooting mobs to the laurels of victory and pæans of appreciation and gratitude was a long and toilsome journey. Now she has gone to her greater reward bequeathing to us her spirit and inspiration.

Portland (Ore.) *Journal*: The work Miss Anthony did when viewed in perspective was monumental. Day by day, month by month, year by year, steadfastly she pursued it, never daunted, never tiring, never changing. With it all her womanly personality was very fascinating. Many of those who met her during her visit to the Lewis and Clark Exposition fell under her charms. A woman with an experience so broad and varied, whose interest in life and practical affairs was as keen as it had been at thirty, with all the ripening that came from eighty-five, could not fail to be interesting and could scarcely fail to illumine any subject which came under discussion. To those identified with her in the cause, who lived with her much of her life and shared many of her innermost thoughts, she was something more than a mere woman, representing as she did to them the embodiment of a vital idea which the passing years were bringing closer to consummation. And while there were many who did not share with Miss Anthony her enthusiasm, who might even be inclined to think that with her ideas achieved they would still fall short of a panacea, there will be none who will not lay upon her tomb the tribute of respect and admiration for her splendid womanhood and her lifelong and unselfish devotion to an idea for the elevation and betterment of her sex.

Portland *Oregonian*: There lies upon an honored bier to-day in Rochester, N. Y., the body of a venerable and beloved woman, the long years of whose endeavor have left the stamp of progress upon two-thirds of an active, moving century. . . .

It is not necessary to endorse Miss Anthony's demand for the ballot for woman in order to give her full credit for the sincerity of her work, for the reforms in woman's position in the industrial world which her efforts brought about, and for woman's improved status before the law. In all of these reforms, as long ago as 1849, she took the initiative. Her sincerity is undoubted; her sense of justice was uncompromising and almost stern; her sympathies were quick, and her experience, covering a period of more than four-score years, searched the entire domain of struggling, human endeavor.

The last entry has been made in the record of her long and busy life. There is no prophet in all the land to whose divining we can trust in matters of national policy and growth. What we do know is that a host led by Susan B. Anthony have long worked earnestly for the expansion of a political idea, believing it to be both just and expedient, and that the faithful leader has passed on, bequeathing hope of ultimate success to her followers.

Portland (Ore.) *Telegram*: The absolute measure of Miss Anthony's services to the world is difficult to determine. From conflicting viewpoints it is differently estimated. This is true as to the judgment of both men and women. Wherever the opinion prevails that the home is primarily woman's kingdom, that society best profits from the charm and largess of the feminine character in the love and care which woman bestows upon her children and family, there is bound to be doubtful contention as to the value of Miss Anthony's life accomplishment. On the other hand, where there exists the belief that women are co-partners with men in the responsibilities, the striving, the sacrifices and the activities of a socially constructive character; where there is conviction that the participation of women in the direction of public affairs is an essential to securing the betterment of social conditions, there will be positive, even vehement, assertion that Miss Anthony was an apostle of progress, giving to the world a conception of fuller liberty and a more rational relationship between all members of society.

Pendleton *East Oregonian*: It will never be known in this world just how much Miss Anthony has done for the race and for the feminine half of it especially; but enough is known to give her first place in the great movement of the past century which has enlarged the field of woman, declared the rights of woman, and brought woman up to a clearer knowledge of her influence, power, responsibility and destiny.

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Seattle (Wash.) *Mail and Herald*: Miss Anthony's was a remarkable career. Born in 1820 she has been a fellow worker with the men and women who have left the impress of their genius on the age. She, too, may justly be called a builder of empire, a maker of States. With Emerson she was an advocate of high thinking and plain living. She was a co-laborer with Whittier, with Theodore Parker, with Julia Ward Howe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Anna Dickinson. She joined hands with John Brown and Walt Whitman. She learned the lessons of a broad-minded philanthropy from Abraham Lincoln's speeches and Henry Ward Beecher's sermons. With Mrs. Browning she heard the cry of the children and that of the mothers of children and the daughters of mothers. She gave her whole life to the hard service of changing the prejudices of men and the still more bitter prejudices of women.

Channing called her the Napoleon of the woman suffrage movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton said that she forged the thunderbolts while Miss Anthony launched them. The weapons she used were Light and Love, to use a phrase from Whittier, while the battle ground was the free broad field of Truth.

In appreciation of her self-sacrificing devotion to principle, the world now lays its tribute upon her new-made grave. Few women have been more honored by all that is noble in man and womanly in woman than Susan B. Anthony. She came up from the hill slopes and grassy meadows, the green fields and running brooks of her humble farm home near Rochester, to command the admiration of the best thinkers and the most prominent people of the

world. Fashionable dudes and dudesses, intellectual microbes and other useless social appendages, may cast ridicule upon the life and labors of Miss Anthony, but the leaders of thought, the moulders of opinion, in all ranks and among all classes, pay homage to the persistent, painstaking and sweet-spirited work of her who now lies with hands folded over a heart that beats no longer.

*Olympia (Wash.) Recorder:* Hers was unselfish devotion, rare personality and ability, tireless energy that wrought mightily, and even those who opposed her theories paid the tribute of admiration and high regard. The name of Susan B. Anthony has been a household word for more than a generation, and she will ever stand secure as one of the greatest leaders of her sex, as a moulder of political thought and the greatest exponent of woman's rights.

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*San Francisco Chronicle:* There are many men and women who do not believe that society would gain by the success of the cause to which Susan B. Anthony devoted her life. There is no man or woman who can doubt that society has been a great gainer by the inspiration which it has received from the observation of her single-minded devotion to the ideals which she believed to be right.

In the case of Miss Anthony there can be no question of the great value of her work to woman and therefore to society. Without reference to the question of woman suffrage, to which the later years of Miss Anthony's life were almost entirely devoted, older men and women will remember her as one of the greatest of the band under whose leadership the women of America have gained their economic emancipation. It is difficult to realize that when Miss Anthony began her work in most States of the Union woman had hardly any economic rights which man was bound to respect, or, in fact, usually did respect. In regard to her domicile, her property and even her children, she was in entire subordination to man. If married, there were few things she could do of her own volition. The promise of "obedience", which formed part of every marriage ceremony, was literally interpreted. Woman could protest, and did protest, for no law was ever able to compel woman to keep silence, but in the end she had to submit. The range of occupation then open to woman was very limited. The compensation for such work as she was permitted to do was very small. She was a dependant and made constantly to feel her dependence.

From that degrading economic position woman has emerged under the leadership of a band of women and men of whom Susan B. Anthony was always one of the strongest, and in which for the last quarter of a century she has been without a rival. It is true that such emancipation of woman would have been impossible had not the free life of an always advancing frontier developed a race of women worthy of emancipation, but none the less is credit due to such women as Miss Anthony, who had the mind to perceive, the courage to attack and the strength to persist until respect was compelled and a great measure of success achieved. To no person now living are the women of America so greatly indebted as to Susan B. Anthony.

*San Francisco Call:* A great American is dead. Susan B. Anthony, a Quaker by birthright, as the Friends call it, had in her good fighting stock. Her brothers had the same warrior sap in them. . . . She was the world's leader for woman suffrage. Many strong women have stood beside her, have followed her lead. But perhaps they prove that she was exceptional, and that suffrage being neither a privilege nor a pastime but a responsibility, only she and her equals were born to bear it. Her coadjutors have been mostly of the emotional type; their advocacy has been on emotional lines; but she was coldly logical. She appeared as a citizen, an individual, leaving out sex and asking nothing as a woman but all as an intelligent human being. Admitting her premise, no one ever met her argument or overthrew her conclusion. She never alienated nor antagonized. The Quaker blood in her was manifested to the end in her dignity and graciousness.

It is a mistake to say that Miss Anthony's greatest work was in the bestowment of limited suffrage on women in many States and of unlimited suffrage in a few. Her really great service is but little known. Before her time women suffered under a startling list of disabilities. Their rights of inheritance and devise were hampered, their control of their own earnings and property was limited. They did not enjoy legal exemptions that were accorded to men. The list is too long to give, but in its entirety it was a record of the very old practice of treating women as incapacitated to take care of themselves. All of this elaborate system of statutes was swept away by the work of Miss Anthony. That is her just claim to having been a great American.

*Oakland Enquirer:* Susan B. Anthony lived and labored for a great cause. That cause is not yet won. Great reforms are slow of accomplishment, but just as feudalism and human slavery passed away, so the subjection of women will one day be relegated to the domain of obsolete ideas and the world will wonder that such a discrimination on account of sex was ever possible. Political rights have seldom been conceded without struggle and the fight for suffrage has been a long one. It has been fought against ignorance and prejudice, the two greatest obstacles to human progress. Miss Anthony was one of the pioneers in this movement. She did not live to see the realization of her hopes, but she did live to see the dawn of a better day. She lived to see the movement to which she devoted her life recognized as one of the great reforms of the age. To a large degree prejudice has been overcome and today the subject of political equality can be discussed with calmness and in sober mind without the sneers and ridicule which it encountered in its early stages. . . .

Susan B. Anthony was one of the world's great emancipators. She has finished her course. Other hands will take up the work and the cause of suffrage, as she predicted, will go on to success. Failure is impossible.

*Monterey (Cal.) News:* Miss Anthony was a woman of wonderful intellect. In her advocacy of the cause and her management of the organization which seeks to obtain the privilege of suffrage for women, she showed herself

the equal in debate of any who opposed her, and the equal in her managing ability of any high government official who might claim that women were not qualified to hold positions of great responsibility. Had all the women of the United States been like her, their sex would long since have had a majority of the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

While she was president of the suffrage association, the annual conventions of the organization were generally held in the city of Washington while Congress was in session. It was her object to demonstrate to the statesmen assembled there that women could carry on a deliberative convention fully as well as the men who met in the capital to make laws for the nation. She always succeeded in this, for she put forward women who were capable of oratory and logic that were quite equal to those of the most famous men in the Senate and House of Representatives. She herself was not an orator, but she knew her subject thoroughly and had a gift of repartee that would have made her famous in a running debate in Congress. In addition to this she was one of the best presiding officers that Washington ever saw. Those who went to the conventions of the Woman Suffrage Association with the expectation of seeing the delegates get tangled in the mazes of parliamentary rules and lose their temper were disappointed. What they saw was a large convention managed with a regularity that put to shame the national conventions of the leading political parties, and from the rostrum they heard speeches that were brilliant and convincing.

In the latter part of the campaign of Miss Anthony, she was no longer compelled to meet the argument that women were not mentally qualified to pass judgment on questions of State. She had met and overthrown that argument. . . .

*Los Angeles Times:* Susan B. Anthony, whose death occurred yesterday, had few intellectual equals among the women of her times. Her long career was filled with an honorable and able endeavor in behalf of a cause to which she was devoted to the extent of consecration—the securing for woman an equal standing with man before the law. To her faithful and never flagging efforts in this cause were attributable many of the reforms which have immeasurably benefitted her sex. Many laws which were prejudicial to women have been replaced by just laws through her indefatigable labors. Her work in the cause of temperance and for the abolition of human slavery was of benefit to humanity. She lived to see realized, in whole or in part, many of the reforms which she so earnestly advocated.

In the earlier days of her life work, Miss Anthony was subjected to much ridicule because of her convictions and the steadfastness with which she advocated them. But these ill-natured manifestations practically ceased long ago. They had no effect to turn her aside from what she regarded as the path of duty and fortunately she outlived the shafts of ridicule to see her cause respected and herself honored as its consistent and unswerving champion.

Whether one believes in woman suffrage or not, if he be fairminded, he cannot withhold the just meed of honor from this noble woman, who has gone to her death crowned with honors. A long life of devotion to an ideal and self-sacrifice for its attainment, challenges the respect alike of thinking men and

women in every land where sincerity of purpose and devotion to principle are honored. So rare a quality is absolute sincerity in these days of greed and self-seeking that we may well pause to pay a tribute of admiration and respect for one whose life was as pure as the untainted air of mountain fastnesses and whose purposes were as steadfast as the sun.

Same: Judging her by her clean and blameless life, Susan B. Anthony has at last reached a place where no difference is made between women and men, except it may be in favor of the women.

Same: Susan B. Anthony "despised certain kinds of men." She was not to be blamed for that. There are certain kinds of men that God Himself must despise.

*Los Angeles News*: While Miss Anthony belonged to a past generation, in which Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and other men of supreme talents were her friends, she adjusted herself to the changing times, and to the end led in the march of progress, instead of following with the aged and the world-weary.

But Miss Anthony's achievement as a reformer is not to be measured by the four States won for equal suffrage. It is to be seen in office and shop, in factory and in university, wherever women are working. To her the vast army of wage-earning women owe the deepest gratitude, for when she first began to lift her voice in behalf of greater freedom, the wives and daughters of American citizens had only two avenues of employment open to them. They were permitted to sew or take boarders. The doors of the colleges were closed to them. With the strain and stress of fifty years of hard work, with the pain and humiliation of half-a-century of ridicule, Miss Anthony helped to win the economic independence of women.

Therefore, today, who shall say that her career was not one of victory? Who shall measure the value of her services? Every American woman has cause to pay her the tender tribute of a tear of gratitude.

*Los Angeles Express*: It is something to have lived and labored as has Miss Anthony. She was true to her noble principles, true to the cause of womanhood and the affection of the American women will never grow cold.

Susan B. Anthony, Abolitionist, temperance worker, champion of woman's legal status, co-education advocate and woman suffragist, is no more; the music of her life is stilled and America's grand old woman has said good night.

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*New Orleans Item*: A woman of transcendent ability has passed away at the great age of eighty-six years, after a tempestuous career such as no woman ever before experienced. She began her public career as an advocate of temperance; then she took up the work of abolition of slavery, and finally began the now pending work of woman suffrage.



Strange as it may sound to the present generation, it was to Susan B. Anthony that the negro owed his liberation. She persistently demanded abolition long before the Republican party were driven in the same direction by the force of circumstances and party expediency and it was she and Mrs. Stanton who circulated petitions asking Congress to abolish slavery as a war measure. Until these petitions came to Congress, few of the leaders were ready to acknowledge that a Civil War could justify such a measure.

New Orleans *Times Democrat*: Miss Anthony was a woman of fine intellect, of untiring industry, and deserves to go down in history as one of the great women of this country. Her success in life was not attributable to exceptional advantages, but to extraordinary strength of character and Puritan morality. Whatever one may think of her cause, hers was a character to be admired, and she has passed away with the respect of all who knew her and her work.

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Vicksburg (Miss.) *American*: Ridicule, obloquy, even threats had no effect upon Miss Anthony's devotion to the cause to which her life was devoted. After many years she reaped her reward. She lived to see the practical triumph of almost every claim for which she fought. Personally, from having been the victim of ribald jokes and scurrilous newspaper attacks and an object of national ridicule, she lived to see herself a power in the land, her principles respected and herself held in honor. Probably the indifference and even active opposition of women themselves is the only reason why her cherished project of woman suffrage did not meet with complete success during her life.

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Mobile (Ala.) *Item*: Moved by the same spirit which led Miss Frances Willard to devote her life to the cause of temperance, Miss Anthony moved quietly through calm and storm, to pass away in ripe old age, leaving behind her a reputation having a brilliancy which few women attain and a personal character so rugged and charming as to win the love and veneration of all men and women. In the Hall of Fame no two niches could be better filled than with statues of pure marble of Frances E. Willard and Susan B. Anthony.

Tuskegee Institute (Ala.) *Student*: Miss Anthony's stirring address in the Chapel that bleak Sunday afternoon will not soon be forgotten by those who listened to it. . . . It meant so much to all of us. She spoke of her deep interest in the Negro and in the cause for which Tuskegee stands. She found in the school the realization of many of the hopes she had indulged during the years prior to the emancipation of the slave and in those earlier years when freedom had just come to him. . . .

The Negro people have lost a friend whose voice was ever ready in their behalf. Her loss will be sincerely mourned not only by the women of the world for whom she battled, but, as well, by the race in which she had such great faith.

Birmingham (Ala.) *Age-Herald*: Miss Anthony fought for the liberty of her sisters, while most of them treated the subject lightly or scornfully. They did not want suffrage rights, or at least they refused to give Miss Anthony the support she sorely needed. No doubt in after years most, if not all, she asked for will be granted, and then the public will appreciate the intelligence and earnest devotion of the great reformer who lies dead at her home in Rochester, N. Y.

Birmingham (Ala.) *Ledger*: Although Miss Anthony had almost no following throughout the South, and Southern people, as a whole, did criticise her most adversely, and while there is still very little sympathy with her ideas, yet the meed of respect which she has earned cannot and will not be withheld from her.

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Jacksonville (Fla.) *Times-Union*: We had hoped to hear from the enfranchised women that tyrant man was not allowed to mourn for Miss Anthony nor attend her funeral services. That they are permitted to murmur condolences speaks much for the meekness and innate kindness of the better half of the world that recognizes in her its savior and its friend.

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Atlanta *Journal*: Miss Anthony was one of the pioneers—was the pioneer perhaps—of the “woman’s rights” cause at a time when it took a great deal more courage to advocate the overthrow of customs and conventions than it does now. She was regarded as a crank. But she had the courage of her convictions, and for many years had lived down the ridicule with which she and her fellow-reformers were wont to be greeted at the beginning of their endeavors. She succeeded in getting a hearing for her ideas, and once she had a long hearing she inspired respect and a very general sympathy.

The greater freedom which has accrued to women in American life is directly traceable to the efforts of these pioneers. They accustomed the world in which they moved to the idea; they took the brunt of criticism themselves; they were extremists perhaps. But these extremists cleared a space for the large and more moderate following of women who came after them. If they had done nothing more than gradually to spread among the women of the country the idea that a broader interest in public affairs, in all phases of the national life, is a legitimate feminine province—if they had done no more than this—they would have to their credit a vast achievement.

Miss Anthony lived to see many of the things which she was at first severely criticised for advancing become such accustomed phases of national life that they no longer attracted attention. Co-education is very general now. When Miss Anthony began her life-work there was none of it. . . . Women enter into active competition with the men in all practical professions. And the sentiment which made this possible, whether it is an unmixed good or not, is probably due more to the work of Miss Anthony and her associates than to any other cause. We believe the result of the movement in which Miss An-

thony was so conspicuous a leader has been to give women a larger field for growth without any loss of their distinctly feminine qualities and attributes.

Miss Anthony's life has been an earnest and courageous one, and, on the whole, a useful one. Perhaps it might have been a happier one if she had not begun her life-long fight against what was the established order when she was a young woman. But if so—if she deliberately turned away from what she knew might be a more quiet and more natural existence, deliberately bartering these for what she considered a higher usefulness—must there not have been a strain of more than usual nobility in her character? There must always be a voice crying in the wilderness.

*Atlanta Constitution*: . . . The meed of great and persistent courage is hers, as well as earnestness, self-sacrifice, clearly-cut reasoning powers and a fidelity to conviction which would have done credit to the leader of any of the movements that have marked epochs in the history of humanity.

Miss Anthony in conjunction with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage and other women of emphatic beliefs, stood valiantly for what she conceived a big and vital principle, when to do so meant ridicule, intolerant contempt and enmity at times amounting almost to proscription. The harshest weapon, perhaps, that could have been used against this undaunted little coterie was the charge that they lacked in womanliness; an accusation which has ever wounded the sensitive feelings of womanhood everywhere, whether engaged in the pursuits of private life or in the glare of publicity advocating such reforms as they deemed equitable and needful for the advancement and protection of the sex.

That Miss Anthony was not crushed by such methods is the strongest possible tribute to her faith in a new and unpopular cause. She did not win her crusade for what she considered the most imminent article of her creed—equal suffrage for the sexes; but she and her associates won an incomparably greater victory. Their courage and their quiet insistence are largely responsible for the advanced individual status of women everywhere today. Cluttered at first with cranks, as is every reformatory cause, the process of the slow years eliminated all superfluous and impending elements from the propaganda of which she was one of the heads, and it progressed along gradual and sensible lines in a manner that finally bore down the first fierce antagonism. It will remain for the historian of the future to decide just what part Miss Anthony and her fellow-workers had in the professional and industrial activity of women today; and it will be difficult to say how far they were instrumental, through their courage and inspiration, in stimulating the intellectual and individual apotheosis of the sex along practical lines. This process in fact is merely in its incipency. We think, however, that when the ultimate estimate is made up, the example and the preaching of this brave little band will figure largely in the allotting of definite and praiseworthy credit.

*Savannah (Ga.) News*: Miss Anthony's next appearance of note was as an Abolitionist, and her speeches and writings did hardly less than those of Julia Ward Howe to inflame the passions of the Northern people against the

South. When she and her co-workers for abolition had succeeded in bringing the two sections into conflict in one of the most deplorable of wars, and when peace had been restored, Miss Anthony gave her attention and talents to the various reforms that have been agitated in the past forty years. For a time she was regarded as the very soul and center of the woman suffrage movement and it was largely through her efforts that the word "male" was left out of the ballot laws of several of the new States of the West. Another of her reforms was to have a recognition of God in the Constitution of the United States. That she was a woman of great ability, talent and versatility needs not be asserted; her career is sufficient voucher for that. She will be regarded as one of the great women of America of the last century.

*Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle:* Women who contend most strenuously for the rights of their sex are as a rule never especially attractive to the masculine half of the world's population. This may be a decidedly uncomplimentary admission with respect to the mental endowments of the latter but nevertheless, it is so. But, above all, do women deliberately run the risk of losing the finer respect of the sterner sex when they don the garments of their brothers. Men admire—every prompting of nature incites them to do so—what is known as womanliness in women, and the least departure from that standard at once lowers their esteem. And the wearing of men's clothes, as Miss Anthony did, is one of the surest methods of impressing upon the male mind a lack of womanliness in the wearer.

Still there can be no doubt but that Miss Anthony by her long life so loyally devoted to the effort to bring the world to agree with her in regard to the social reforms she advocated, has left an indelible mark upon the thought of her time. She made many converts to her peculiar views, and though probably not much nearer to their universal prevalence now than when she first undertook her life's mission, she has not lived or labored in vain.

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*Greenville (S. C.) News:* The passing away of Susan B. Anthony is of more than ordinary importance. She was one of the most remarkable women of the age and her life work stands apart from all else of a like nature in the history of the world. She began the advocacy of the principles which she conceived to be right at a time when it required more than mere courage to confront the adverse sentiment that it aroused. She lived through a long period of ridicule, and finally arrived at a point where she had the respect of the country at large. That is no mean compliment to pay her, and to have outlived the prejudice and opposition that once confronted her proved her to be a woman of remarkable power and sincerity of purpose.

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*Charlotte (N. C.) News:* Miss Susan B. Anthony is dead. She died at a ripe old age and through her long life she was never pestered by contaminating association with the unspeakable man. She never married. In fact, Miss Anthony seems to have conceived the fancy that the members of the stronger

sex had some deep-seated grudge against all women in general and she took upon herself the task of avenging the wrongs and injustices of the sex.

Miss Anthony was one of the best known women in America and her popularity was obtained through her indomitable efforts towards woman suffrage. Although she was fervidly sincere, still, evil fate that it was, she was guided by an evil star. She wore ever the garb of delusion and spent the long years of her life in pursuit of a phantom, which grew none the less phantasmal through her ardent chase of it.

Although she put the best efforts of her life into the task of securing suffrage for the women of America, still when the angel of death called for her she was forced to look back over a life strewn with little but failure. Miss Anthony was sincere and meant well, but she had the wrong idea of the likes and desires of the other members of her sex all over the land. She never realized the fact that the great majority of American women cared not for suffrage. Had she realized this she would have spent her energies in a more profitable and worthy cause.

No, the good women of our country do not want suffrage. They care nothing for "rights" and "franchises". They are happy and content to reign in the happy kingdom of the home. They esteem more highly the work of rearing the children aright and making the home cozy and attractive than they do for the matter of the "ways and means" of getting Bill Jones elected as coroner. They have a work, a calling apart and by far more sacred than that of making good laws and steering the Ship of State.

Our good women have ever been happy in their God-given work, and that they may be content and happy in it forever is our earnest wish.

Raleigh (N. C.) *News-Observer*: Miss Anthony gave her life to advocating woman suffrage and other measures that she thought would bless humanity. In a day of indulgence and indifference to great questions, how inspiring is the spectacle of a large-minded woman consecrating herself and all her powers to one cause that had no selfishness in it!

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Danville (Va.) *Bee*: Long as Miss Anthony lived, she did not have the privilege of seeing any very encouraging results from her labors, though she did live to see a measure of toleration for the movement with which she was identified that was not accorded to it some years ago. It must be conceded also that the movement gained strength and the number of its supporters was largely increased. Miss Anthony may have found some satisfaction in the knowledge that she left the cause she so long espoused stronger than it was when she began to plead for it, and she may have felt also that she was leaving something of her spirit in the breasts of those who remain behind to carry on the work. We cannot get rid of the feeling, however, that her superior talents might have been more profitably exercised in some other way.

Lynchburg (Va.) *News*: . . . Contrasting these existing facts with what was unquestionably the universal and overwhelming public sentiment against

Miss Anthony during the early stages of her career, it is easy to understand how great and forceful a leader she has proved herself to be.

'Tis but a narrowed and smitten vision that would view such an individual in other aspect than as a noble woman—nobly consecrated to a cause, which to her was in its essence and meaning both righteous and tending to the uplift of her sex. And this we say though radically at odds with the philosophy to which Miss Anthony rendered so sublimely courageous an adherence.

Roanoke (Va.) *World*: A woman of strong and cultivated intellect Miss Anthony has made her impress upon her class and has influenced a number of followers who will continue to advocate the claims of women to the ballot. But if she has promoted any really great work the results of her labors are not visible, and she may end her years on earth with the consciousness that with all her activity and earnestness in wrong directions, she leaves no lasting monument of good accomplished for humanity.

Roanoke (Va.) *Times*: In the life of Miss Anthony there are many points that can be studied with profit. It was a long one and full of good work. She was charitable and ever ready to help the poor and oppressed, but she was different from most women and, to our mind, the chief aim of her existence, which was expressedly the furtherance of woman's rights, was a failure.

Women possessed of mental ability must use it. It will be exercised and must expand. Miss Anthony never married and knew none of the joys of a home of her own, in the true sense of the word. To her woman's sphere was out in the open, exercising the same rights in the Government as man, and this was what she started out to bring about. The influence of woman is felt in every sphere of life but the influence she exerts along the lines suggested by Miss Anthony is not the lasting kind and not the kind that counts in the end. We honor the memory of her as a noble woman, self-sacrificing and faithful, but we do not remember her as having more than been instrumental in keeping alive a question that the best-thinking women of the world themselves admit is a fallacy.

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Parkersburg (W. Va.) *Dispatch-News*: From the time that Miss Anthony began her struggle, when ignorance intolerant of a new doctrine drove her fleeing from frenzied mobs, her propaganda went forward year by year; State after State and community after community became willing converts to her creed. In the last three national campaigns women delegates were sprinkled in the great conventions in no inconsiderable numbers.

There has never been a lessening of the forceful march, and there will not be. A principle that was planted amidst unreasoning riots; that has swept through the years and blossomed into full-fledged bloom in the placid peace of a well-set intellectuality, will not die with its author's final extinguishment. Were it no more vital than that, it would have died almost ere it was born. It will go on and on, like the march of a human soul—and like the marching soul, nobody can divine its end. Woman suffrage is a living, breathing question of the times.

Wheeling (W. Va.) *Register*: In the death of Susan B. Anthony the cause of woman suffrage loses its strongest supporter and the world an able and sincere woman, who has done much to uphold the rights of her sex and for the amelioration of woman's environment.

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Nashville (Tenn.) *Banner*: Miss Anthony has been a very earnest as well as a very strong character. She believes fervently in the reforms she has attempted to institute and has the courage of conviction. Her activity and prominence in the cause of woman suffrage have made her the subject of much ridicule, which she bravely withstood. The object for which she labored is very far from universal accomplishment, and by the greater part of the practical world it is still regarded as chimerical, or at least inadvisable, but it has within the past twenty-five years made decided advances largely due to the efforts of Miss Anthony and her associates in the woman suffrage movement.

Aside from what has been accomplished in the interest of woman suffrage, much good has been done by the abolition of laws affecting injuriously women's legal status and property rights that were the relic of the unenlightened past. The English common law classed married women with idiots and infants in incapacity, and many unjust discriminations were made against the sex as compared with the privileges of men. The agitation carried on by women of Miss Anthony's class has had much to do with correcting these wrongs. . . .

She labored more abundantly than them all. She has been a staunch pioneer in a cause without great sympathy from even those whom she sought to benefit. The world is not yet prepared to concede that she is right in her demand for complete sex-equality, but it is now freely acknowledged that she has accomplished good results and that she has been thoroughly earnest and conscientious in all she has undertaken.

Chattanooga (Tenn.) *News*: The death of Susan B. Anthony removes the greatest woman that this country has produced. That may seem to be an extravagant statement, but history will sustain it.

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Louisville (Ky.) *Herald*: If women of the type of Susan B. Anthony were to be the contribution of an extended suffrage to our national life, few would be inclined to do other than urge its enactment.

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Most of the religious papers of the country devoted a considerable amount of space to sketches of Miss Anthony's life and comment. She never had a more uncompromising opponent than the Rev. Dr. James M. Buckley, or one who had more often declared in effect that woman suffrage would be the "sum of all villainies" which Providence and the people would never permit; but he devoted a page-and-a-half of his paper, the *Christian Advocate*, (New York), to a comprehensive sketch of Miss Anthony's career. He said: "In her most belligerent period Miss Anthony was a dangerous woman in debate

before a popular audience and played with her opponent as a cat does with a mouse," and thus continued:

"In later years her personality, chastened by the flight of time, became most winning. Certain intense and emotional women who had been lifelong opponents of woman suffrage needed no argument when presented to Miss Anthony; her vivacious manner and benign aspect won them over at once. . . .

"Many changes have taken place since she began her career. In some of the States the laws give women so many protections that it is almost dangerous to go into business transactions with them. Woman is now admitted to any sort of business that she can do, and in some instances they receive larger salaries than they would receive if they were men. In several States they are also allowed to vote on school questions, and in a few of the Western States to vote on the same terms and conditions as men. Whether what Miss Anthony most aimed at, universal suffrage, will come to pass in any thickly settled State of this Union or in the District of Columbia and the Territories, or in any of the great nations of Europe, remains to be seen. The advocates are constantly seeing signs of progress. The opponents of the movement think that there has been a decided retrogression within a few years.<sup>1</sup> Whatever, however, may be the fate of the proposition, Susan B. Anthony has a sure place among distinguished English-speaking women."

*The Western Christian Advocate*, (Cincinnati), thought it would be much better for all women to marry and that if Miss Anthony had had her life to live over possibly she would have preferred marriage; but it said, "She led a useful life. . . . Her motives were good. . . . Women have a great deal for which to thank Susan B. Anthony. She has made the way clear for them to own their property and children; to earn their living side by side with men, and to have great influence in public life. Without their interference the juvenile court law and the child-labor legislation could not have been passed." "But, after all," the editor concluded, "it is the wife, the woman who stays home and cooks the supper and takes care of the children, who, with love in her heart, makes the world go round." And yet it seems from the *Advocate's* own statement that laws as well as love are necessary and that some children need more care than they get in the home.

*The Central Christian Advocate*, (Kansas City, Mo.), in a four-column editorial, recapitulated all the changes in the laws favorable to women and said: "Which of these rights and privileges did women acquire by female suffrage? Not one. The removal of all these disabilities has been done by man. Does woman need the suffrage? The answer is self-evident and axiomatic—she does not." The editor held there is no natural right to the suffrage but it is the prerogative of intelligence, and, while it should never be forced on women, he concluded: "What, therefore, by virtue of intelligence

<sup>1</sup> Women vote on school questions in over half of the States. At the time this editorial was written they had complete suffrage in Australia and New Zealand; during the same year this was granted in Finland and the next year in Norway, while it is almost assured for the coming year in Sweden. The prospects are very favorable for the full enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain in the near future.



becomes the right of man, by virtue of a like and equal intelligence becomes the right of woman. This applies to the ballot as well as to anything else. . . . When the moment comes that women do want the ballot, when they do ask for it, it would be medieval tyranny—the old tyranny that woman is the property of the man, the old tyranny that ‘they twain shall be one,’ and that one shall be the male lord of creation—when they do ask for it, we repeat, it would be nothing short of superficial and contemptible egotism and barbarism to refuse it to them.”

*Zion's Herald* (Boston) said: “Miss Anthony was a woman of keen mind, strong will and big ambition, apt to teach, not so apt perhaps to learn, a born leader and a staunch friend, whose best service was wrought not for the special cause of which she talked most, but for the broader interests of womanhood and for the moral emancipation of the slaves of drink and of physical serfdom.”

All of the above are of the Methodist Episcopal denomination.

*The Watchman*, of Boston, (Baptist), said in its tribute: “The women of today hardly realize how much they owe to Miss Anthony and her associates, who, through fires of ridicule and wrath have fairly forced the equality which women now enjoy before the law from a reluctant male electorate.”

*The Morning Star*, of Boston, (Free Baptist), said in part: “On the height where Miss Anthony stood she could see the woman's cause in a clearer light than those who were on the lower levels and the vision sustained her. This is not strange in the present state of the cause. It has more friends, and even when it is opposed it is done with more civility and intelligence, perhaps, than was the case a generation ago. Then the opposition was always ignorant of the real end in view and it was sometimes brutal. Society was still in the condition in which it believed that it was woman's destiny to be “obedient” to man, and in which her essential capacity for ignorance was so taken for granted that equal educational privileges for her were never provided. But in the midst of these circumstances Miss Anthony identified herself with the woman's cause with as much courage and helpfulness as most people do with a cause that is already the object of popular favor.

Her death twenty years ago would have been a far more serious thing for the suffragist cause than it is today. Then the cause was little known and little cared about and had less ground for triumph than it now has. With whole States making no distinction between men and women voters; with many cities and towns allowing women to vote on school questions and related matters, and with a larger company of able advocates of the cause than it ever had before, there is good ground to expect that a movement, which was so laboriously climbing up the hill in the nineteenth century, will stand on the summit in the twentieth, and be recognized as one of the century's distinctive achievements.

*The Christian Register*, of Boston, (Unitarian), had a long sketch but no editorial opinion. *The Presbyterian*, of Philadelphia, said: “Beyond question, whatever one may think regarding the desirability of woman suffrage, it is a

fact that the women who have persistently agitated the question have given to all women rights that those living today wonder were ever withheld."

*Der Christliche Apologete*: Susan B. Anthony, the tireless champion of woman's rights, may well be called a heroine of modern times. . . . She spoke before every Congress from 1869 to 1906. There is scarcely a State or a territory in which she has not spoken and in most of them many times. . . . During a period of fifty-seven years she made thousands of speeches on behalf of temperance, anti-slavery, woman suffrage and social purity. Her voice was a rich contralto and she could easily make herself heard by audiences numbering several thousand persons. She spoke in a strong, argumentative style and by her clear logic and intense earnestness she convinced all those who heard her. Although Miss Anthony, in her public speaking never depended upon a manuscript but preferred to be entirely free even from notes, her articles prepared for the press show great industry, and such of her addresses as have been preserved, her articles written for magazines, her letters and other documents are rich in thought and choice in language.

In the first years of her public work Miss Anthony suffered bitter persecution. During the last years of her life she was the most honored woman in the whole country. . . .

The New York *Observer*, (Presbyterian), took the following view: "Susan B. Anthony, who died recently, was a woman of strong mind and still stronger will, who had the courage of her convictions, and was always ready to make pecuniary sacrifices in behalf of the reforms she espoused. She did good service for temperance and abolition and will be remembered for that when her peculiar views on other questions are forgotten."

Just before Miss Anthony's death, *Unity*, (Chicago), edited by the Rev. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones, said: "How splendidly does time vindicate the prophet, and how the generations atone for the mistakes of the day! During more than half of the long public career of Miss Anthony she was the butt of journalistic ridicule or something worse. Now, without yielding one whit of her high position or withdrawing a line from her main contention, she is doubtless the best known, the most beloved and the most widely honored woman in America. Nay, we will not even use a sex word. Is she not clearly the foremost citizen in the United States today, man or woman? We dare say this with no disrespect to President Roosevelt or to Edward Everett Hale, the next in line of honored citizens."

And just afterwards it said: "The best known and the best loved woman in all the world has passed away. Susan B. Anthony certainly is our nation's great emancipator of womanhood. Ever has she been foremost on the firing line of the vast army that believes that she who rocks the cradle should be counted at the ballot box in the ruling of the world. Where the home is hit hardest—where it meets in deadly conflict the saloon—there Miss Anthony ever fought the bravest. Her presence has ever been like a Joan of Arc to the great hosts she so nobly and for half-a-century has so heroically led on. She felt, and perhaps has made us all feel more keenly than any of her day, that

woman suffers because she has not been allowed to register her great heart protest where her father, husband and brother register theirs. So for woman suffrage she gave her life—every drop of its blue blood.”

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The papers published by the Women's Christian Temperance Union in all parts of the world gave long and appreciative sketches and editorials. *The White Ribbon*, of Christchurch, New Zealand, devoted two pages (with portrait) to this purpose. *The Union Signal*, (Chicago), issued a memorial franchise number of sixteen pages, with portraits, giving uncontrovertible testimony as to the favorable results of woman suffrage in the four States where it prevails. The Minnesota *White Ribbon*, (edited by Mrs. Julia B. Nelson), had a large picture and an editorial saying in part:

“When a man was needed to lead three millions of people from Egyptian bondage, the Lord raised up Moses who thought himself slow of speech but undertook the great work with the understanding that Aaron would do the public speaking. When the hour had come for African slavery on American soil to die, there was not wanting a Lincoln to hit it hard. “When with tears of His daughters God's bottles were full,” Susan B. Anthony came into the world's arena with a spirit as dauntless as ever animated soldier or martyr and led the most forlorn hope in human history to a success unparalleled by the greatest achievements of any military hero.

“Mary Wollstonecraft, who in 1792, in London, published a fiery appeal entitled ‘The Rights of Women,’ was the Lief Ericson who sighted a new world for women. Susan B. Anthony was the indomitable Columbus who, in spite of opposition and ridicule, sailed on and on till the eyes of faint-hearted friends were gladdened by the sight of the good green isles adjacent to a grand continent which surpassed all their expectations.”

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The *Suffrage Newsletter*, official organ of the New York State Association sent out a fine memorial number of seventy-six pages entirely devoted to matters connected with Miss Anthony's life, work and death.

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From a large number of poems the following have been selected :

If you love her, tell her so.  
Do not wait till she is dead, for the things you might have said.  
Must your tardy meed of praise linger on beyond her days  
That are passing, ah, so fast? Do not wait until the last.  
If you love her, tell her so.

If you trust her, tell her so.  
Long has been her upward road, far too great the heavy load.  
Did your words sweet comfort bring? Did your voice of triumph sing,  
When the world with scornful eye, on the “other side” passed by?  
If you trust her, tell her so.

If you love her, tell her so.  
 She has blazed the trackless way, where your weaker feet may stray,  
 After all its thorns are gone, after night has changed to dawn,  
 'Neath the glorious rising sun, ere her work is wholly done,  
 If you love her, tell her so.

LOUISE LAWRENCE FITCH, (Written in 1904).

Story and song shall hallow thy dear name,  
 Thou beautiful Aunt Susan who art dead,  
 And all the world bind laurel round thy head  
 And lift thy praises in one glorious strain.  
 But those who saw thee nearer than the rest,  
 Who heard thy dear voice speak to near home-friends,  
 Saw homely, humble tasks employ thy hands,  
 With truer knowledge of thy life are blest.  
 Thou hadst the universal mother-heart;  
 Though not a mother in the ties of blood,  
 Full many a child has known thy mother-love  
 And blessed thee as one sainted and apart.  
 If I may know thee only from one side,  
 I choose thy woman's home-life, glorified.

ANNA ANTHONY BACON.

No dead march beating on the air, no roll of muffled drum,  
 As we our faithful captain bear unto her final home;  
 Yet hath she fought as brave a fight as ever soldier won,  
 Who held the tented field at night or manned the mounted gun.  
 Her weapons were of soul and brain, her white flag lettered Peace;  
 Her own heart bled, and yet again and on without surcease  
 She charged the ranks of foemen strong, forever in the van,  
 And by winning Right for woman, she hath won it too for man.

EUFINA C. TOMKINS.

No ministering angel, she,  
 To bind up wounds or cool the fevered brow  
 With the soft hands of pity.  
 She was of that sterner stuff  
 Whereof God makes his heroes.  
 Stalwart, stark—yet pitiful withal,  
 With tearless tenderness that found expression  
 In deeds of battle for the cause of right.  
 Hers was the warrior soul  
 Locked in a woman's breast.  
 Predestined to do battle,  
 Nobly she strove, yet sacrificed no whit  
 Of that true womanhood  
 Which was her high ideal.

A lady valiant, she,  
Semiramis of suffrage, who enlarged  
The boundaries that spaciouly enclose  
Her sex's empire.

Great were her labors, great her victories,  
As liberty attests. The bays be hers.  
Yet this her greatest glory—  
That though opposing and opposed thereby  
To stale conventions by the world esteemed,  
She overthrew them; yet at last still held  
The love of women and respect of men.

*St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*

The rose lies withered—  
And is her beauty gone?

Near the highway,  
In the far-off spring time,  
A little bud was formed  
Under the shelter of green leaves.  
The strong green leaves rustled:  
"We will guard this lovely thing  
So the fierce sun shall not strike it  
Nor the dust of traffic mar."

But the tender bud with heart of gold  
Said: "Brothers, nay!  
Give me room among you, for I must unfold."

Sadly and reluctantly  
The strong green leaves turned aside:  
"Now is she begrimed."

Then came the rain—  
The rain of tears from sister flowers—  
Tears garnered up since those primeval days  
When blossoms first appeared—  
And the rose shone out resplendent,  
A thing of beauty and for all eternity a joy.

And now the rose lies withered—  
But with her still  
Is the beauty that is truth;  
And around her lingers a fragrance  
Sweeter than the bloom of youth is fair;  
For her heart was pure.

*Trigg's Magazine, (Chicago).*

A towering mountain, round whose crest  
 The storm winds circle, sweep and beat,  
 Bears in its heart the eagle's nest,  
 And many a wilding's shy retreat.

The pine that stands so tough and strong,  
 Defying tempests fierce and wild,  
 Hears the shy woodland thrush's song  
 And whispers to the cotter's child.

So thou who hadst the heart to feel  
 The courage of some warrior old,  
 Who never shrank at keenest steel,  
 At failure only grew more bold;

So thou, courageous, strong and brave,  
 Had nature womanly and sweet.  
 Only the tenderest hearted have  
 Friendships and loves so all complete.

The world shall give its tardy praise,  
 Time thy far-sighted wisdom prove;  
 Amid the laurels these shall raise  
 I lay the tribute of my love.

EDITH WILLIS LINN.

Under palms and laurel wreaths her dust is laid to rest,  
 And the hands that wrought so faithfully are folded on her breast;  
 Now the grave has closed above our strongest and our best;  
 But her cause is marching on.

She had borne the heat and burden of a long and weary day;  
 She had broken through the wilderness a hard and toilsome way;  
 Then died when fair before her eyes the Land of Promise lay;  
 But her cause is marching on.

All the wrongs of womanhood were aching in her breast;  
 She has fought the fight of freedom for the lowly and oppressed;  
 And the unborn generations shall rise up and call her blessed,  
 As her cause goes marching on.

We will carry on the standard that her failing strength let fall;  
 Still her spirit goes before us and we follow at her call;  
 "Failure cannot be," she signals—Greatheart, leader of us all;  
 Her cause is marching on.

"He who gives his life shall save it," runneth still the old decree;  
 What she spent in utmost service must be hers eternally,  
 And among the bright immortals shall her name forever be,  
 As her cause goes marching on.

FLORENCE WHITMAN WILE.

God's witness to His Truth she stood  
 Amid a world of hate and wrong;  
 Gentle and sweet yet wondrous strong;  
 The highest type of Womanhood.

Her prayer no pleading of the lip,  
 No servile bending of the knee,  
 But work for Justice, Liberty,  
 And noble, loving Fellowship.

An uncrowned Queen by Nature's grace,  
 To pomp and pride she paid no heed,  
 Nor caviled at the name of creed;  
 Her children were the human race.

She is not dead but more alive  
 Than in her fairest earthly days;  
 Her work has brightened all our ways.  
 Rejoice! She need no longer strive.

From holy heights our Saint shall see  
 The fruits of toil and sacrifice,  
 And happier be in Paradise  
 For Freedom's unstained victory.

ELIZABETH LOWE WATSON.

Lo, even until the outgoing reflux tide  
 Wrapt her great soul away,  
 With backward, wistful look toward earth and life,  
 Her purpose still held sway.

She dreamed her dreams—not visions of romance  
 Embalmed in tale and song;  
 And with unprecedented valor waged  
 Her battle against wrong.

Womanhood's woman, tender, lofty, leal,  
 With faith and hope imbued;  
 "A maiden knight" whom fear could not assail,  
 Undaunted, unsubdued.

She planned great things, great things did she achieve,  
 That won the world's acclaim;  
 Laden with years, laden with works she went,  
 And with undying fame.

But not for glory—grander, gladder, higher,  
 The tasks at which she wrought.  
 Her glorious work shall not be left undone,  
 Her greatness unforgot.

The same is kept of God, who taketh heed  
 That nothing perishes,  
 Until it touch and teach the world's deep heart  
 To help and heal and bless.

The half-read prophecies of all the years  
 Shall find fulfilment soon;  
 The long and half-discordant chimes of life  
 Peal forth in perfect tune.

ROSALINE E. JONES.

Long years and years ago, one February morn,  
 Within a Quaker home, a little child was born;  
 And strangest words were heard, from forms that were unseen:  
 "This humble little child shall be a crowned queen,  
 Shall be a crowned queen."

Oh, surely Fate had mocked her obscure birth,  
 In speaking thus to welcome her to earth!  
 "A crowned queen!" Too strange a destiny!  
 And all unnoted fell the prophecy.

How can it be that for this girl doth wait  
 A royal realm? A crown? The common fate  
 Of care and pain, a woman's joys and tears,  
 And daily work—what else could come with years?

But ever as the girl to woman grew,  
 One steadfast purpose did she keep in view;  
 Whate'er the cost might be, to do her best  
 To right the wrong and lift up the oppressed.

For years and years she taught and toiled and schemed,  
 To help in every way the ones she deemed  
 In greatest need of help—all womankind.  
 In her no woman ever failed a friend to find.





Now tender hearts are wakening everywhere,  
 And brave souls giving honor to the brave,  
 And loving words accost her here and there,  
 In this land and beyond the ocean wave.  
 Thus has she won some answer to her toil,  
 Some earnest that foretells the final price,  
 Seeing in native and in foreign soil  
 Some fruitage of her lifelong sacrifice.

So let no woman turn aside from God,  
 But take God ever with her in her task,  
 Knowing whatever lonely ways are trod,  
 His purposes can answer all we ask,  
 In garnering priceless riches to the soul,  
 In holding up before reflective youth,  
 Amid the strife for pleasure and for gold,  
 One fearless spirit consecrate to truth.

Nor call her childless who has risen above  
 The human passions, with their narrow reach,  
 And in a God-like, universal love  
 Stretched helpful hands to elevate and teach.  
 The children of a nobler age will call  
 This queenly woman "Mother" without slur,  
 Who had no children of her own, for all  
 Alike were sons and daughters unto her.

GRACE BESWICK.

Crowned is she and sainted  
 In heavenly halls above  
 Who freely gave for her sisters  
 A life of boundless love.

I saw a strange rich vision,  
 I heard strange music ring,  
 As I dreamed o'er my well-loved poets  
 On a night in the early spring.  
 I mused o'er the great-souled Wordsworth,  
 (To me he is half divine!)  
 And I found once again in his pages  
 The song with the beautiful line  
 That tells of the Perfect Woman  
 In whose spirit blithe and bright  
 There shines like a consecration  
 A gleam of angelic light.

And I seemed to behold in my vision  
The sorrows of all the years ;  
I heard the women pleading,  
Pleading with soft, warm tears ;  
And ever above the praying,  
Above the sorrowful song,  
And the tender, wistful grieving  
For the long, long years of wrong,  
I heard them speak of the leader  
In whose spirit rare and bright  
Should shine like a consecration  
A gleam of angelic light.

I saw the nation toiling  
In grief and darkness lost,  
Like a ship on the pathless ocean  
O'erwhelmed and tempest tossed.  
There was need of of a faithful pilot,  
There was need of a God-sent hand,  
To guide o'er the pathless ocean,  
To guide to the longed-for land ;  
And O, there was need of the Woman  
In whose spirit sweet and bright  
Should shine like a benediction  
A gleam of angelic light.

Like pilgrims wandering the woodlands  
In a country wild and strange,  
Who daily front new dangers  
And sigh for the blessed change  
Of kind and friendly faces,  
Of dreamed-of comrades dear,  
The comfort of friendly firesides  
And pleasant household cheer ;  
So sighed the toiling people  
For her in whose spirit bright  
Should shine like a consecration  
A gleam of angelic light.

And then I saw in my vision  
How the mighty of earth grew proud ;  
They scorned their humbler brethren,  
They laughed at the lowly crowd.  
Ah me, to think of the folly  
And fashion that fill our days !  
Ah me, to think of our scorning  
Our fathers' simpler ways !

Ah me, to think of the greedy  
 And godless kings of the mart,  
 And then to think of our hunger  
 For one great human heart!

The land was weak and helpless,  
 It lacked the leader true  
 Who should cure it of its blindness,  
 Who should break a pathway through  
 The wall of outward tradition  
 That still around us stands  
 Ready to yield and crumble  
 At the touch of heroic hands—  
 The hands of noble heroes  
 Fearless and great and strong,  
 Who shall heal the old-time evils  
 And the centuries of wrong.  
 In my vision I saw those heroes,  
 And there by the men of might  
 Stood their sisters consecrated,  
 With eyes of angelic light.

And was one sister foremost  
 Among those women there?  
 And who was she whose bearing  
 Made her seem so queenly fair?  
 Was it highsouled Mary Lyon  
 Uplifting her sisters' lot?  
 Was it the saintly Quaker,  
 Our own Lucretia Mott?  
 Was it noble Frances Willard  
 Who strove as angels may?  
 Was it the loved and lost one  
 Whose passing we mourn today?

Nay, none of any was foremost,  
 But hand in blessed hand  
 They stood as Olympian women  
 On old Greek friezes stand.  
 All shared a common glory,  
 All were linked by the fate  
 That gave them names undying  
 In the annals of the State.  
 But the newest comer among them  
 Gazed round and serenely smiled  
 As her sisters turned to greet her  
 With heavenly motions mild.

And then my vision faded,  
And a lordly melody rolled,  
As down celestial vistas  
The saintly company strolled.  
But the face of that latest comer  
I longest kept in sight—  
So ardent with consecration,  
So lit with angelic light.  
And I woke from my wondrous vision,  
And O, my heart beat strong!  
I had seen the Perfect Woman  
Of Wordsworth's beautiful song.

Crowned is she and sainted  
In heavenly halls above  
Who freely gave for her sisters  
A life of boundless love.

JOHN RUSSELL HAYES,  
In memory of Susan B. Anthony.

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*Gazette*, 1541; Erie Co., *Independent*, 1542; Johnstown, *Democrat*, 1541; Le Roy, *News*, 1542;—New York City, *Commercial*, 1528; *Daily News*, 1527; *Evening Journal*, 1529, 1536; *Evening Post*, 1397, 1526; *Evening Telegram*, 1351; *German Herald*, 1529; *Globe*, 1529; *Herald*, 1124, 1352; *Mail*, 1529; *Press*, 1351; *Sun*, 1123, 1168, 1175, 1268, 1271, 1308, 1525, 1535; *Laffan Bureau*, 1327; *Staats-Zeitung*, 1530; *Times*, 1527; *Transcript*, 1528; *Tribune*, 1174, 1525; *World*, 1126, 1139, 1151, 1410, 1531; *Searchlight*, 1531; *Worker*, 1531; Poughkeepsie, *News*, 1542; Rochester, *Democrat and Chronicle*, 1117, 1131, 1225, 1239, 1286, 1336, 1347, 1424, 1446, 1468, 1510, 1519; *Evening Times*, 1347, 1424, 1425, 1509, 1524; *Herald*, 1424, 1521; *North Star*, 1150; *Post-Express*, 1146, 1285, 1343, 1346, 1424, 1425, 1430, 1510, 1524; *Union and Advertiser*, 1347, 1373, 1424, 1501, 1523;—Rome, *Sentinel*, 1542; Syracuse, *Herald*, 1540; Troy, *Press*, 1540; *Times*, 1540; Utica, *Press*, 1541; Wyoming, *Reporter*, 1221.—NORTH CAROLINA, Charlotte, *News*, 1593; Raleigh, *News-Observer*, 1594.—OHIO, Cincinnati, *Commercial-Tribune*, 1561; *Post*, 1561; Cleveland, *Leader*, 1190; *News*, 1563; Columbus, *Journal*, 1562; *Post*, 1562; Springfield, *Sun*, 1563; Toledo, *Blade*, 1563.—OREGON, Pendleton, *East Oregonian*, 1585; Portland, *Evening Telegram*, 1503, 1585; *Journal*, 1363, 1584;—PENNSYLVANIA, Chester, *Republican*, 1554; Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 1552; *Press*, 1138, 1353, 1473, 1553; *Public Ledger*, 1295; *Record*, 1553; *Telegraph*, 1553; Pittsburg, *Post*, 1554; *Press*, 1554; Scranton, *Tribune*, 1555; Wilkesbarre, *Record*, 1555; York, *Dispatch*, 1555.—RHODE ISLAND, Providence, *Tribune*, 1551.—SOUTH CAROLINA, Greenville, *News*, 1593.—TENNESSEE, Chattanooga, *News*, 1596; Memphis, *Scimitar*, 1124; Nashville, *Banner*, 1596.—UTAH, Logan City, *Journal*, 1581; Salt Lake, *Goodwin's Weekly*, 1581; *Herald*, 1580; *News*, 1581; *Telegram*, 1581.—VIRGINIA, Danville, *Bee*, 1594; Lynchburg, *News*, 1594; Roanoke, *Times*, 1595; *World*, 1595.—WASHINGTON, Olympia, *Recorder*, 1586; Seattle, *Mail and Herald*, 1585.—WEST VIRGINIA, Parkersburg, *Dispatch-News*, 1595; Wheeling, *Register*, 1596.—WISCONSIN, Milwaukee, *Sentinel*, 1571.

WEEKLY PAPERS. *Anti-Slavery Standard, Liberator*, 1283. RELIGIOUS PAPERS, 1596-1599. TEMPERANCE PAPERS, 1600;

*Union Signal*, 1118. WOMEN'S PAPERS, *Revolution*, 1119, 1146, 1164, 1201, 1283, 1413. *Suffrage Newsletter*, 1600. *Woman's Journal*, 1120, 1283, 1306, 1352, 1547. *Woman's Tribune*, 1180, 1283, 1583. *Ballot Box and Citizen*, *Lily, Una*, 1283.

OTHER COUNTRIES, CANADA, Montreal, *Daily Herald*, 1243.—GREAT BRITAIN, London, *Daily Chronicle*, 1143; *Daily News*, 1139; *Times*, 1142; *Methodist Times*, 1139; *Sunday Times*, 1137, 1139.—GERMANY, Berlin, *Die Frau*, 1281; *Frauenbewegung*, 1281.—AUSTRALIA, Melbourne, *Woman's Sphere*, 1258. See Associated Press, Magazines, McClure's Syndicate.

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- RESOLUTIONS**, on Miss Anthony's death, N. Y. Legislature, Roch. Bd. of Education, 1446; Grand Jury Monroe Co., 1447; of many bodies, 1454-1459.
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