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Reverend Anna Howard Shaw

The Republic May Wear a Crown of True Greatness

The 1895 New York State Woman Suffrage Association Convention[1]

Shannon M. Risk

> "They have their banner flung out to the winds; they are after you; and their cry is for justice; and you can not [sic] deny it."
>
> —*Senator Edgar Cowan, Pennsylvania*[2]

> "The ballot is a symbol that stands for sovereignty, for power and patriotism, and when this crown shall be placed on the head of woman she should be willing to take it on bended knee and pledge her life to her country."
>
> —*Martha Almy, Jamestown, New York*[3]

> "The ballot is not a question of the bayonet. It is a question of brain."
>
> —Lillie Devereaux Blake, New York City[4]

When the all stars of the American woman suffrage campaign descended upon Newburgh, New York, in 1895 for the twenty-seventh annual New York State convention, their cause was just forty-seven years old. Although many events of the American woman suffrage movement took place in New York City or Albany, the state convention allowed for a more local cadre of delegates and opinion both for and against the cause of "votes for women." Planners selected Newburgh as a convention site for strategic reasons. There were very few suffrage advocates in this region, and they hoped the event might draw the interest of a wider public. Held from November 8 through 12, the convention boasted such crusaders as Susan B. Anthony; her sister, Mary Anthony, one-time treasurer of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association (NYSWSA); and her Madison Street neighbor in Rochester, Jean Brooks Greenleaf, who was also the President of the NYSWSA. Joining these prestigious leaders were ardent suffragists Carrie Chapman Catt,

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Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony

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Lucy Stone

Harriet May Mills, Lillie Devereaux Blake, and Reverend Anna Howard Shaw.[5]

The 1895 convention served as an important barometer for the health of the national movement, revealing public ambivalence, a lack of solidarity amongst the suffragists in their motivations for the ballot, and a transfer of leadership and change in management style between the generations. New York and Massachusetts led the way in producing early suffrage reformers, so the New York State suffrage conventions were always on the cutting edge of reform and featured appearances by the most well-known suffragists. The decade of the 1890s also presented a shift in American politics and identity for white men and women. The United States had begun to flex its imperial might, making forays into places like Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba. Simultaneously, Americans were rapidly becoming a consumer society, bombarded by advertisements that were often gender-coded, assuring customers that a certain product might make them a better man or, perhaps, a "new" woman. Progressivism, a socio-political movement, had taken hold of the middle and upper classes, who directed their version of social reform toward the government as well as to the downtrodden masses. Indeed, as immigration increased through Ellis Island, and Eastern and Southern Europeans poured into the United States, white elites linked growing crime to poverty and immigration in an increasingly urban world. These events

combined to produce societal and political conservativism in America. Hence, what might be considered a typical annual suffrage convention in Newburgh in 1895 was, in fact, a public reflection of a growing middle class of white, hegemonic women who sought access to the political forum through pressure politics and the ballot in order to address societal ills.[6]

The younger generation of suffragists represented at the 1895 convention were different from their predecessors. They pursued the vote to assert their assumed maternal influence on American society. Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucy Stone—the path breakers of the movement—had fought for women's equality with men, believing the ballot to be paramount to improving women's lives. In this era, the elder generation of suffragists was more radical.

Anthony and fellow crusaders Stanton and Stone had achieved some success since the first Woman's Rights Convention was held in Seneca Falls in 1848. Trained in the schools of abolition and temperance before turning their energies to woman suffrage, they were able to secure property rights for women.[7] They saw two states (Wyoming and Colorado) ratify woman suffrage for state and federal elections; many others had qualified women to vote in school elections and hold public office. Women secured higher education and entry into the professional world, first gaining access to Oberlin College in Ohio and then founding women's colleges like Vassar and Bryn Mawr. Anthony tested the law by voting in the 1872 presidential election, believing the Fourteenth Amendment entitled her to enfranchisement as a United States citizen.[8] Through the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NYSWSA), American suffragists joined with *suffragettes* in Canada and Europe for international conventions to address women's legal rights around the world. Despite their never-ending work, much remained to be done for the American suffragists. Stateside organization was the driving force of the movement.

The elder suffragists felt that through "universal suffrage" all other legal rights could be secured. To them, "attaining the ballot alone [was] itself the peacemaker, reconciler, schoolmaster and protector." These rights included the right to pursue an education, lay claim to wages, own or inherit property, possess her children, and serve on juries. These were not guaranteed by law to most women in the United States at the time. Rather, they were bestowed upon them at the mercy of husbands, fathers, brothers, or male guardians. Anthony and her fellow suffragists addressed these issues at state and national conventions.[9]

At seventy-five years of age, Anthony showed no signs of slowing down; however, she was meticulously cultivating her "lieutenants," like Catt and Shaw, to carry on the fight for the national ballot. She recognized that she might not

live to see it realized.[10] The 1895 convention demonstrated the transfer of power from "Aunt Susan" and Stanton to the younger generation of suffrage workers and the continued agitation for woman's rights. The convention took place in the immediate aftermath of the 1890 unification of two separate suffrage organizations. By 1869, Anthony and Stanton broke with Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell, disagreeing over how to secure the ballot for women. Anthony and Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association and doggedly pursued the ballot as an amendment to the United States Constitution. Stone and Blackwell created the American Woman Suffrage Association and sought the ballot state by state. They generally endorsed a more conservative political stance.[11] But the convention also was part of a turning point in the movement, with younger suffragists no longer working singly for the ballot but perfecting their professionalism, reacting to increasing immigrants with nativism, and further developing what is now recognized as lobbying techniques.

In the 1890s, Newburgh contained a reputable theater district and resident artists like Thomas Benjamin Pope, who instructed local students. Convention attendees stayed in homes up and down Grand Street and were hosted by Mrs. James N. Dickey, Mrs. Charles S. Jenkins, Mrs. Russell Headley, and Warren Delano. Most delegates registered at the Palatine Hotel, also on Grand Street. The newly built Palatine strove to emulate New York City's finest hostelries. The suffragists made the fine reception room of the Palatine their main headquarters during the convention.[12] The suffragists hoped this affluent city might prove to be a magnet for their ideals.

All public meetings for the convention were scheduled at the Newburgh Academy of Music, located at the intersection of Grand and Broadway. Convention organizers mapped out four full days of committee sessions, public addresses, debates, finance review, prayer, sermons, and song. Delegates from every sector of New York were on hand either to address the convention, lend their support, or refuel their own inspiration and courage. The delegates, representing fifteen counties (including locals from Orange, Westchester, Albany, and Greene counties), absorbed the full program of the convention so they could return to their often rural and unforgiving towns to argue for their legal rights through the ballot box. As the women arrived for the convention, they fastened yellow badges and roses on their lapels, displaying the official color of the movement.[13]

Part of the convention program allowed for public meeting, although the days of rowdy anti-suffragists and mobs interrupting proceedings had sharply declined. The convention was a cult of mutual admiration, part business and part pageantry. The organizers approached the annual meetings emphatically, and finely tuned

the program to reaffirm the ideas of the movement, attract the attention of the press, and lay out their future goals.

Coverage of the convention was both local and national, through Newburgh and Poughkeepsie newspapers as well as the *New York Times* and *The Arena*. But the convention was conspicuously left out of the *West Pointer*, the Vassar College *Miscellany*, and the *News of the Highlands*, based in nearby Highland Falls. The *Newburgh Daily News* and the *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* alternately offered ridicule and admiration for the delegates. According to the *Daily Eagle*, these shining *suffrage lights* "met and talked and resolved while Newburgh opened its mouth and wondered." The reporter chided: "None of the delegates wore bloomers or came to the convention from long distances on bicycles. Hence, we are forced to conclude that the woman suffragists are somewhat behind the times." [14]

The *Daily Eagle* continued its conservative stance and its denunciation of the woman suffrage movement by further speculating that no college women attended the convention, specifically pointing to the absence of students from Vassar.[15] But in fact, among the 100-plus delegates were noted college women. The more affirmative *Newburgh Daily Record* called the arrivals "[a] fine looking intelligent body of women." The reporter noted that the delegates were the epitome of "education, refinement, and culture." Aside from the lukewarm reception and hypothesizing by some of the local newspapers, President Jean Brooks Greenleaf felt they received fair press. She "had heard rumors that in this city the suffragists would not be welcome; that they would be looked upon as a dispensation rather to be endured than to be welcomed." [16]

The first public meeting was held at 7:45 p.m. at the Academy of Music. Admission was free, but those who wished to rent boxes could do so at Green's Store. As they arrived, curious onlookers and official delegates alike received leaflets providing responses to objections to woman suffrage. Inside, stage decorations and pageantry were displayed to the fullest. On stage, a doctored American flag showed two solid stars and two stars in outline instead of the 44 stars of the nation at the time. The solid stars represented the states that allowed women to vote; the outlined stars noted states allowing partial suffrage–Utah and Idaho. President Greenleaf opened the convention pledging to "Make our work effective." "There must be systematic organization," she continued, "Striving for the triumph of … a principle embodied in the Declaration of Independence; [and] …. pictured by Abraham Lincoln in his speech at Gettysburg of 'a government of the people by the people and for the people.' [17]"

Although at least 100 delegates had been expected to attend the convention, at times over 200 people filled the building. Local and male attendance during

the convention, however, was thin. The *Newburgh Daily Journal* noted during one public session on November 11 that men sat in the audience for this event, "probably twenty or thirty altogether." The *Newburgh Daily Register* lamented:

> It is to be regretted that the enthusiasm was confined mainly to the delegates, for the attendance of Newburgh people was small, and apparently little interest is taken in the movement here, and the public seems content to ignore the fact that these delegates represented the highest type of American womanhood; the culture, the intellectual power, the eloquence of the so-called modern woman.[18]

Four days of meetings, both private and public, exposed some of the key issues of the local and national movement. At the top of the agenda was woman suffrage in New York. President Greenleaf presented an executive committee brief detailing their success in the New York State Legislature in striking the word "male" from the existing suffrage laws. Despite this good news, however, there was trouble with New York Assembly Bill No. 637, which proposed that a state "resident" had the right to vote. The bill failed in the legislature under the argument that the word "resident" was not appropriate and would allow any non-United States citizen to vote. Instead, the word "citizen" should be proposed in a redraft of the bill the following winter. Even if approved by the legislature, bill No. 637 wouldn't be in the hands of voters until 1899.[19] A special committee was formed to see who was responsible for this error and to make a report in front of the legislative committee.

Aside from legislative work, much of the convention was devoted to public speaking, featuring well-known agitators as well as rising stars of the movement. For the public, this was a high form of entertainment, whether or not one agreed with woman suffrage. For the suffragists, it was a means of reinforcing a network that spanned the globe. To add clout, the women invited prominent male speakers to the program, like the Reverend Dr. Edward McGlynn, who said that he was in favor of woman suffrage "not in spite of his religion, but because of it."[20] Also attending was the Honorable John C. Adams, who had voted for woman suffrage three times in the New York legislature.

The female speakers were equally reputable. Susan B. Anthony spoke of the need to continue grassroots efforts by targeting town hall meetings in every town, village, and city across the state. Annie E.P. Searing from Kingston was a regular author of fiction for *The New England Magazine*. She argued for instilling suffrage values at home, starting early in a girl's life. Maud S. Humphrey, chairman of the finance committee, was a famous illustrator. She spoke on what she termed "the

Vanishing Minority," observing that "41 years ago, the minority in favor of woman suffrage consisted of one woman, Lucy Stone; today, the minority against it was confined to a few classes."[21]

Two women groomed by Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt and the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw, were given prominence on the speaking platform. Catt rose to distinction with her successful campaign for the vote in Colorado. She focused her speech on recent and victorious travels there and in Wyoming. Shaw chimed in about techniques that had worked in Wyoming, where she said the influence now of women was as great as men. Shaw recognized the common fear among men of giving women the vote—"[that] they would rob them of certain liberties which they now enjoy by advocating certain lines of temperance and religious reforms." She and Anthony also had campaigned in California during the summer prior to a suffrage vote in November.[22]

Some of the speakers tied their recent success directly to the lifelong work of the suffrage pioneers. Mary Seymour Howell, a captivating orator from Livingston, expressed their common gratitude. "When these women began their work all that woman was allowed to do was sewing and teaching school." Howell also commented on those opposed to woman suffrage. "They don't want the vote because they don't want the responsibility. That is just it." Howell concluded, "they don't want the responsibility of the saloon, of the sewing girls who make shirts at 45 cents a dozen, etc. When women have the ballot, they are going to lift these women up." Howell detailed how the suffragist petition had circulated in New York State, gathering 625,000 signatures. When the anti-suffragists passed around their own petition, they collected only 15,000 names.[23]

As with every convention, finances were reviewed. Convention leaders lamented that their movement wasn't better funded and urged those with resources to put money where their mouths were. The outgoing treasurer, Cornelia K. Hood of Brooklyn, announced receipts of $3,402.04 and expenditures of $3,048.36, with a balance of $353.68. Of this, $175 was owed to the national organization in dues.[24]

The event culminated in a hot debate between Lillie Devereaux Blake and Reverend Dr. Morgan Dix on woman suffrage. The three-and-a-half-hour discussion was titled "The Coming of Woman," and was open to the public at the Academy of Music. Dix came out against woman suffrage, arguing that women were actually superior to men. He failed to elaborate on how this gave her power. He thought legislators voted with their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters in mind and, therefore, woman did not need to sully herself with politics. In fact, if women did participate in the legislature, men's and women's "physical attraction

would count more than reason." Dix also claimed that "behind every ballot is a bayonet and man is the factor in physical force, not woman, maternity is her glory." Dix exalted the twentieth-century woman, whom he said would be the "high priestess of humanity in a good old fashioned home." "In it," he believed, "she has great powers."[25]

Blake rebutted: "Woman does not want to annihilate man, but to pull him up to the level of woman. The grand principle is that man should support woman. She often has to go out, however, to work not only for herself, but also for her husband." She responded to the idea of defending one's country in wartime to protect the ballot: "The ballot is not a question of the bayonet. It is a question of brain." After all, Blake contended, even the current president of the United States, along with many other key politicians, had hired another man to serve in his place during the Civil War.[26] Susan B. Anthony supported Blake's assertion that if women attended the legislature, the tobacco smoke and personal spittoons would disappear and legislators would be forced to act humanely. Although Blake was probably among friends during this debate, it was important for the suffragists to gauge public sentiment, as expressed by Reverend Dr. Dix.[27]

As the convention drew to a close, the organizers followed the tradition of adopting resolutions. These included wage equalization among male and female teachers, affecting change for voting rights in the state constitution, reinforcing laws allowing for police matrons, teaching the young the political principles of the suffrage movement, and a vote of thanks "to the press of Newburgh for its courtesy and its full and able reports."[28]

On the whole, the *Newburgh Daily Register* concluded on November 12, 1895:

> The convention in this city may be classed among the best and then again among the poorest ever held. The attendance of delegates was large, and the interest taken was general; the attendance of local ladies was very meager, and the collections simply beggarly. The receipts at the Academy of Music during the four days from all sources were less than $100, while the expenses will foot up over $300. The trouble seems to have been the people of Newburgh have been permitted to slumber in ignorance of the female suffrage cause, instead of keeping the subject paramount in the minds of the public for several months prior to the meeting. Next year's gathering will probably be held in the central part of the state, where the cause has many warm friends.

Despite the lack of local interest manifested in lower attendance and meager donations to the cause, there was a buzz in the air about the prestigious event

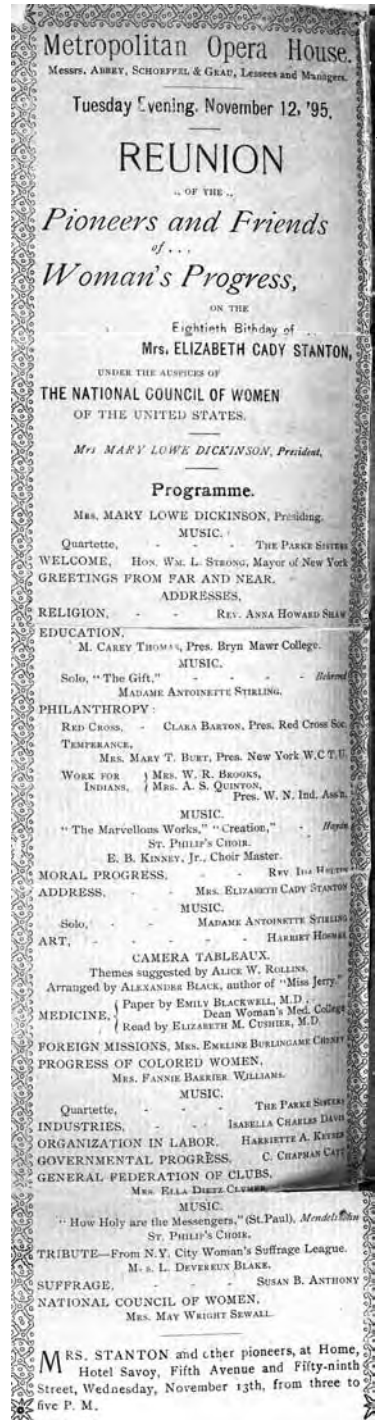
taking place that evening in New York City—a celebration of the eighteenth birthday of suffrage visionary Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The party itself was both an extension of and a conclusion to the convention, as most of its participants boarded the 12:52 p.m. West Shore Line train bound for Manhattan.

Hosted at the Metropolitan Opera House by the National Council of Women (NCW), the birthday party was a who's who of men and women of suffrage and other reform movements. NCW President Mary Lowe Dickinson wrote in the June 1895 edition of *The Arena* that:

> The celebration … aims to give recognition to all human effort without demanding uniformity of opinion as a basis of co-operation … the things that separate, shrank back into the shadows where they belong, and all … found it easy to unite in homage to a life which had known half a century of struggle to lift humanity from bondage and womanhood from shame.[29]

Susan B. Anthony lent her support to the planning of the celebration, but ultimately turned down the job as chief organizer. She left that up to members of the NCW, preferring that the younger women step up for the occasion.

Sources disagree as to the number in attendance, some noting over 3,000 people, others saying it was closer to 6,000. Birthday guests paid seventy-five cents to five dollars for their



Metropolitan Opera House.

Messrs. Abbey, Schoeffel & Grau, Lessees and Managers.

Tuesday Evening, November 12, '95.

REUNION

OF THE

Pioneers and Friends

of . . .

Woman's Progress,

ON THE

Eightieth Birthday of

Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mrs MARY LOWE DICKINSON, President,

Programme.

Mrs. MARY LOWE DICKINSON, Presiding.

MUSIC.

Quartette, - - - - The Parke Sisters

WELCOME, Hon. Wm. L. Strong, Mayor of New York

GREETINGS FROM FAR AND NEAR.

ADDRESSES.

RELIGION, - - Rev. Anna Howard Shaw

EDUCATION,

M. Carey Thomas, Pres. Bryn Mawr College.

MUSIC.

Solo, "The Gift," - - - - - *Behrend*

Madame Antoinette Stirling.

PHILANTHROPY:

Red Cross, - Clara Barton, Pres. Red Cross Soc.

Temperance,

Mrs. Mary T. Burt, Pres. New York W.C.T.U.

Work for Indians, { Mrs. W. R. Brooks, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Pres. W. N. Ind. Ass'n.

MUSIC.

"The Marvellous Works," "Creation," - *Haydn*

St. Philip's Choir.

E. B. Kinney, Jr., Choir Master.

MORAL PROGRESS, - - Rev. Ida Hulton

ADDRESS, - - Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton

MUSIC.

Solo, - - Madame Antoinette Stirling

ART, - - - - - Harriet Hosmer

CAMERA TABLEAUX.

Themes suggested by Alice W. Rollins.

Arranged by Alexander Black, author of "Miss Jerry."

MEDICINE, { Paper by Emily Blackwell, M.D., Dean Woman's Med. College. Read by Elizabeth M. Cushier, M.D.

FOREIGN MISSIONS, Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney

PROGRESS OF COLORED WOMEN,

Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams.

MUSIC.

Quartette, - - - The Parke Sisters

INDUSTRIES, - - - Isabella Charles Davis

ORGANIZATION IN LABOR. Harriette A. Keyser

GOVERNMENTAL PROGRESS. C. Chapman Catt

GENERAL FEDERATION OF CLUBS.

Mrs. Ella Dietz Clymer

MUSIC.

"How Holy are the Messengers," (St. Paul), *Mendelssohn*

St. Philip's Choir.

TRIBUTE—From N.Y. City Woman's Suffrage League.

Mrs. L. Devereux Blake.

SUFFRAGE, - - - Susan B. Anthony

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall.

MRS. STANTON and other pioneers, at Home, Hotel Savoy, Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, Wednesday, November 13th, from three to five P. M.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, MILLER NAWSA SUFFRAGE SCRAPBOOKS

Metropolitan Opera House Reunion of the Pioneers and Friends of Woman's Progress on Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Eightieth Birthday Commemorative Program

seats. The stage was designed in regal fashion. The *News of the Hudson Highlands* noted that:

> There were three chairs in the floral throne over which the name 'Stanton' stood out in white roses, and they were occupied by that witty exponent of the feminine militant, Susan B. Anthony … the stage was set with the palace scene, and beside and behind the chair of the stage sat ninety women prominent in their sex's cause, two of whom were colored.

"The great auditorium was filled from pit to topmost gallery, and the majority of the boxes on the grand tier were elaborately decorated with flowers and the insignia of the various local women's organizations," the paper continued.[30]

The basis of the event was to give praise to suffrage pioneers, but also to provide a showcase for leading women in the professions. Reverend Anna Howard Shaw was there, as was Dr. Emily Blackwell. Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, joined the ranks with Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe, the writer and transcendentalist known for her verses in "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Mary "May" Wright Sewall, a leading force in Indiana's state suffrage campaign and secretary to the International Congress of Women, and Lillie Devereaux Blake were there as well. The program also included musical performances from the likes of Madame Antoinette Sterling, the St. Philip's Choir performing pieces by Haydn and Mendelssohn, and quartets by the Parke Sisters.

Most poignant, however, was the presence of Fannie Barrier Williams, known for her dynamic lectures during the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. She represented black reformers in paying homage to Stanton for her work in the abolition and suffrage movements. However, Williams reminded the audience that the condition of the "colored" woman was still very dire in the country, making a "pathetic plea in [sic] behalf of the women of her race." Stanton later referred to Williams' remarks: "I feel very much touched by what has just been said, more particularly because Frederick Douglass was the only person in the great convention held at Seneca Falls in 1848 who supported me in my appeals for woman suffrage."[31]

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Julia Ward Howe

Mary Lowe Dickinson declared, "The great meeting was but one link in a chain," referring to the long labors of her predecessors in the suffrage movement as well as the many

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The Apotheosis of Suffrage; George Yost Coffin, 1896 depicting George Washinton flanked by Elizabeth Cody Stanton and Susan B. Anthony

brave women yet to fight for the cause in the coming century. She described the deluge of telegrams, letters, gifts, and messages in support for Mrs. Stanton on her birthday: "Hundreds of organizations and societies, both in this country and abroad, wished to have their names placed on record as in sympathy with the movement." She cited individuals and groups like the Women's Rights Society of Finland, the National Woman Suffrage Society of Scotland, and the California Suffrage Pioneers. Honorable Oscar S. Strauss, ex-minister to Turkey, sent a letter; the Shaker women of Mount Lebanon composed an ode to Mrs. Stanton; and the Women's Association of Utah sent an onyx and silver ballot box, symbolic of Anthony and Stanton's support in getting them the vote, first as a United States territory and later as a state.[32]

When Stanton entered the great hall and took her throne upon the stage, she was received by an eager audience waving white handkerchiefs and applauding, the custom of the day. After the musical performances, the speeches, and the tributes, she addressed the crowd, acknowledging the brave men in the audience

and giving an account of the progress of the woman suffrage movement in her lifetime:

> When Stanton arose to make loving remarks for 'this day's celebration that stirred her very soul', the applause was so great and prolonged that at first few could hear what she said, but as a reaction the house seemed to withdraw into a deathlike silence, so anxious was it not to lose a word. She was not able to stand on her feet longer than to say a word to the men! 'I fear you think the "new woman" is going to wipe you off the planet, but be not afraid. All who have mothers, sisters, wives or sweethearts will be well looked after.'

Stanton relied on Helen Potter to read the remainder of her statement, as her poor health did not permit her to speak at length.[33]

At the conclusion of the celebration, the women on stage gathered for a photograph with Stanton. As the audience lingered to watch, "[a] strong flash of light made every one on the stage jump and caused Mrs. Stanton to cover her face with her hands."[34] Thus ended four days of suffrage communion, pioneer worship, and the not-so-subtle changing of the guard.

In Stanton's autobiography, published in 1898, she reiterated her points from that special evening:

> We were unsparingly ridiculed in both press and pulpit both in England and America. But now how many conventions are held each year in both countries to discuss the same ideas; social customs have changed; laws have been modified; school suffrage has been granted to women in half of our States, municipal suffrage in Kansas and full suffrage in four States of the Union…

Then the eloquent orator and writer assessed the celebration itself:

> Having been accustomed for half a century to blame rather than praise, I was surprised by such a manifestation of approval… [it] was more than a beautiful pageant; more than a personal tribute. It was the dawn of a new day for the Mothers of the Race! The harmonious co-operation [sic] of so many different organizations, with diverse interests and opinions, in one grand jubilee was, indeed, a heavenly vision of peace and hope; a prophecy that with the exaltation of Womanhood would come new Life, Light, and Liberty to all mankind."[35]

The twentieth-century struggle for suffrage would bring great triumph, but not before many women endured further humiliation at the hands of the public, employers, courts, the liquor lobby, the government, and the prison system.[36]

With historical hindsight, we know women prevailed in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving all American women the right to vote.[37] But this one moment in time, the 1895 New York State Woman Suffrage Association convention and its subsequent celebration of the movement's grand dame, allows us to witness how the new torch bearers of the early twentieth century ensured the promise that "the Republic may wear a crown of true greatness."

Endnotes

1. Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, editors, *Address to Congress, adopted by the 11th National Woman's Rights Convention held in New York City, Thursday, May 10, 1866, vol. II, The History of Woman Suffrage, 1861-1878* (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), 168. The full quote is: "Do you wish to see harmony truly prevail, so that industry, society, government, [and] civilization may all prosper, and the Republic may wear a crown of true greatness? Then do not neglect the ballot." The nineteenth-century suffragists used the word "woman's" instead of "women's" when referring to their cause.
2. Anthony, Gage, and Stanton, eds., *Senate Debate on Woman Suffrage in the District of Columbus, Tuesday, December 11, 1866*, vol. II, *History of Woman Suffrage, 1861-1878*, 116.
3. "They Want to Vote: Women Are Gathering to Discuss the Suffrage Question," *Newburgh Daily Register*, 8 November 1895.
4. "Dix and Mrs. Blake: They Hold a Joint Debate on the Coming Woman," *Ibid*, 11 November 1895.
5. Harriet May Mills, Recording Secretary, *New York State Woman Suffrage Association Minutes* (New York: Columbia University, 1895) pp. 131-153, 4943-1. The original minutes are stored at Columbia University, Baker Library, Special Collections. This microfilm contains the minutes from the convention but no reflections on the speakers. For these, we must rely on the newspaper accounts; there were no African-American women listed as attendees in any known sources referring to the convention.
6. Although black women like Sojourner Truth had participated in the early woman suffrage movement, they were increasingly excluded due to overt racism of many suffragists in the south *and* the north.
7. Anthony and Stanton hailed from New York while Stone lived in Massachusetts.
8. The Married Women's Property Act of 1848 was enacted in New York State; Anthony felt there was still some hope of a "Sixteenth Amendment" after she had seen the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments passed under Grant's, and predecessor Abraham Lincoln's, stewardship. Her trial for voting in 1872 gained worldwide attention. She was fined $100 for "illegally voting," a debt she never paid.
9. Anthony, Gage, and Stanton, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. II, 168.
10. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the chief organizers of the 1848 convention, was eighty years old and in poor health. She was unable to attend the 1895 NYSWSA convention; Lucy Stone died in 1893.
11. Anthony and Stanton, however, also campaigned in individual states for the vote but held the conviction that the national ballot was the biggest goal. See the timeline at the Stanton and Anthony Papers Online project at Rutgers University at *http://ecssba.rutgers.edu/resources/timeline.html*. Stone and Blackwell, among conservative New England suffragists, felt that the ballot for the black man was a more immediate concern and that women should wait for their chance at voting until the time was ripe.

12. For more information on Newburgh in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see: Don Heron, "The Rise and Fall of the Palatine Hotel," *Middletown (New York) Times Herald-Record* 13 September 2002.

13. Heron, "Artist Used the Hudson Valley as His Canvas," *MTHR*, 3 April 2002; *NYSWSA Minutes*, pp. 138, 142-144.

14. "The New Woman at Newburgh," November 13, 1895. See *http://library.vassar.edu/research/guides/readingrooms/localhistory.html* and *http://www.poughkeepsiejournal.com/apps/pbcs.dll/frontpage* for more information about the *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, which, in various formats, had been in publication since 1785. See also *http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/nysnp/136.htm*, for the *Newburgh Daily News*, which was published between 1857-1917; In the 1850s, suffragists like Anthony, Stanton, Stone, Elizabeth Smith Miller, and Amelia Bloomer, who made the costume famous in her periodical, *The Lily*, sported bloomers, a Turkish-inspired costume that consisted of a knee-length dress and billowing trousers underneath. The suffragists stopped wearing them when they realized the bloomers were gaining more attention than their ideas; in the 1890s, Anthony endorsed the bicycle, saying it gave a woman new freedom.

15. Vassar College was notorious for advising its students to avoid the reform movements of the nineteenth century. Vassar President Raymond said in 1875: "The mission of Vassar College [is] not to reform society but to educate women." *Woman Suffrage Materials*, box 5, folder 23, Special Collections, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York; When Elizabeth Cady Stanton received a request to speak before alumnae at Vassar in 1886, she tersely wrote back: "Until the ruling principles of the institution are essentially liberalized, I should make no effort to preserve its life. It is falling behind the progress of the age, and in the nature of things cannot live." Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Laura Brownell Collier, 21 January, *Ibid*; For more information on the burgeoning suffrage movement within the ranks of Vassar College by the late 1890s, see Eva Boice, "Woman Suffrage, Vassar College, and Laura Johnson Wylie," *The Hudson River Valley Review*, Spring 2004, 36-49.

16. Carrie Chapman Catt graduated from Iowa Agricultural College—now Iowa State University—and Anna Howard Shaw received her theology and medical degrees from Boston University; "Women Suffragists: Their Convention Began Last Night," *Newburgh Daily Journal*, 9 November 1895.

17. Wyoming was admitted to the Union with woman suffrage in 1890. Colorado was the first state to pass an amendment giving women suffrage rights in 1893. Idaho and Utah followed suit in 1896. New York, on the other hand, did not grant voting rights to women until 1917.

18. "For Woman's Rights: Suffragists Are Here from All Parts of the State," November 9, 1895.

19. The error in wording was: "a resident for 90 days." The wording should have read: "a citizen for 90 days." Only a citizen for 90 days next preceding a general election may vote. "For Woman's Rights…," *NDR* 9 November 1895; Mills, *NYWSWA Minutes*, pp. 131-132; "Reminder to the Mayor: Woman Suffragists Recall a Promise Made to Them," *New York Times*, 8 November 1895; Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *The History of Woman Suffrage, 1883-1900*, vol. IV (Hollenbeck Press: Indianapolis, 1902) 859. Martha Almy worked with the state legislature to correct this error, but could not single anyone out for blame.

20. "Woman's Suffrage: Close of the Newburgh Convention," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* 11 November 1895. Reverend Dr. Edward McGlynn was pastor at St. Stephen's Church in New York City and stirred up controversy with Roman Catholics by supporting land reform in the United States. For more on this topic, see *http://www.cooperativeindividualism.org/fillebrown_mcglynn.html*; See Stephen Bell, *Rebel, Priest, Prophet, a Biography of Reverend Edward* McGlynn, (New York: The Devin Adair Company, 1937).

21. For a detailed biography about Susan B. Anthony, see Ida Husted Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* 3 vols. (1898; reprint Ayer Co.: Salem, NH, 1983); Annie E.P. Searing penned stories like "A Little Leaven," "The Midshipmate," and "Summer Was a Winsome Thing," between 1894 and 1897; *NYWSA Minutes* stated that a committee was appointed for instruction of the young,

p. 151; Maud S. Humphrey illustrated Ivory Soap children for Proctor & Gamble's advertising campaign, served on the editing staff at *The Delineator* magazine, and gave birth to future acting icon, Humphrey Bogart. See Jeffrey Meyers, *Bogart: A Life in Hollywood*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997); For more detail on these speeches, see "Woman's Suffrage: Has a Warm Friend in Reverend Dr. Edward McGlynn," *NDR* 12 November 1895.

22. "Women and Suffrage: Arguments by Fair and Talented Femininity," *NDR* 11 November 1895; The male voters of California voted against woman suffrage in 1896. Anthony's group was pitted against a fierce liquor lobby that argued convincingly that, should women have the vote, they would institute prohibition of alcohol. California women finally secured the vote in 1911.
23. "Women Suffragists…," *NDJ* 9 November 1895.
24. Mills, *NYSWSA Minutes*, p. 131.
25. "Woman and Suffrage…," *NDR* 11 November 1895.
26. Grover Cleveland was president at the time.
27. The debates between Dr. Morgan Dix and Lillie Devereux Blake were published under the title, *Woman's Place To-Day*.
28. "Woman's Suffrage: Has a Warm Friend…," *NDR*, 12 November 1895.
29. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences 1815-1897*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1971; reprint, T. Fisher Unwin, 1898) 460 (page references are to reprint edition).
30. "Mrs. Stanton's Birthday: Its Eightieth Anniversary Celebrated by 3,000 Women," *News of the Hudson Highlands*, 16 November 1895; Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 468.
31. *New York Tribune* 13 November 1895. At the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, the majority of the attendees felt that asking for woman suffrage was too bold in their early movement. Despite their reservations, Stanton and Douglass persevered and woman suffrage was included in their "Declaration of Sentiments."
32. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 462-464.
33. *New York Recorder*, 13 November 1895.
34. *Woman's Journal*, Boston: 16 November 1895. This weekly suffrage journal, with one-time editor Alice Stone Blackwell (daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell) ran from 1870 to 1917.
35. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 467-468. Nowhere is it mentioned in newspaper accounts that Stanton's controversial *Woman's Bible*, published in 1895, had gained quite a lot of opposition in the women's reform groups. Stanton would soon face ostracism by NAWSA, with only Susan B. Anthony and a handful of others to defend her actions.
36. The Fourteenth Amendment technically gave African American men the right to vote. The Jim Crow Laws set in the last quarter of the nineteenth century effectively crippled black male suffrage. For African American women and men, the vote was not fully guaranteed until the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which aimed to make illegal all forms of intimidation at the polls.
37. The legalization of the female vote did not apply to Native American women living on reservations. They could only vote if they became tax-paying, "non-status" Indians.