

# The Library of Susan B. Anthony

by Leonard N. Beck

The high tide and ebb of the first phase of American feminism are described by Eleanor Flexner as a century of struggle.<sup>1</sup> Succeeded first by what Kate Millett calls "the counterrevolution" of 1930-60 and now by "women's liberation," this struggle was most visibly and successfully manifested in the suffrage movement. Two special collections in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress

reflect the personalities and interests of two of the women of great energy, intellectual power, and sheer human worth most responsible for this success. The earlier acquisition was the personal library of Susan B. Anthony, given in 1903 along with her manuscripts largely because of her friendship with Ainsworth Spofford, then Librarian Emeritus. With Miss Anthony's example before her, Carrie Chapman Catt donated what



she called her "feminist library" in the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1938.

Since women's suffrage has been shown in practice to be incapable of either ruining society or saving it, the old feminists have been accused of single-minded concentration on too small a goal. It is true that, like their collectors, these books do concentrate on the ballot. However, both libraries stray from their focus sufficiently to demonstrate the collector's awareness of other factors in woman's quest for her personal and group identity. As for Miss Anthony herself, a very observant contemporary perceived that American feminists were engaged in a comprehensive revolt against the social institutions from whose making they were excluded. In 1883, before writing *The Bostonians*, Henry James asked himself what the most salient and peculiar

point of our social life was and answered "the situation of women, the decline of the sentiment of sex." Lionel Trilling points out that *The Bostonians* depicts militant feminism not as a quarrel over rights or privileges but as a movement of sexual revolution. Professor Trilling adds that a sexual revolution "is to be understood as a question which a culture puts to itself, and right down to its very roots."<sup>2</sup>

Alike in their view of life as a scene of toil and appointed work, of evils to be uprooted and great causes striven for, Mrs. Catt and Miss Anthony were persons of quite different modes of self-expression. More administrator-lobbyist than crusader, Mrs. Catt was known among her associates affectionately as "Big Boss"; Miss Anthony was called "Aunt Susan." The two collections now in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress reflect this difference. Mrs. Catt's books carry her bookplate, but the library of the "Big Boss" is impersonal, in fact literally institutional, since it was the library of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. "Aunt Susan's" is the personal library once shelved in the study of the Madison Street house in Rochester, N.Y., that Susan Anthony shared with her sister Mary.

The Anthony library is a small one—fewer than 400 items—and has no particular pretensions to rarity. Its interest lies in the glimpses it provides of "Aunt Susan," the private person overshadowed by "Susan B.," the feminist movement symbol too often stereotyped as unrelieved

*Ida Husted Harper described Susan Anthony's study in the south wing of the second floor of the Madison Street house in Rochester, N.Y., as "the most attractive room in the house . . . . It is light and sunshiny and has an open gas fire. Looking down from the walls are Benjamin Lundy, Garrison, Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Frances Wright, Ernestine L. Rose, Abby Kelly Foster, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lucy Stone, Lydia Maria Child and, either singly or in groups, many more of the great reformers of the past and present century. On one side are the book shelves, with cyclopedias, histories and other volumes of reference: on another an inviting couch, where the busy worker may drop down for a few moments' repose of mind and body." The family record, sampler, and quilt shown in the picture were made by Susan Anthony at the age of 11.*

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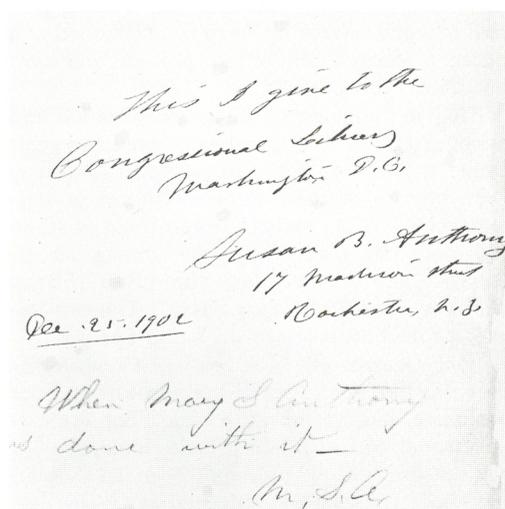
Leonard N. Beck is curator of special collections in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

American Gothic. In the winter of 1902-3, the two Anthonys and Ida Husted Harper, Susan's biographer, prepared her books for shipment to Washington. During the "sessions of sweet silent thought" induced by this last farewell, Miss Anthony sometimes further personalized her books by autographing them or indicating what they or their donors meant to her. The annotations, Miss Anthony's "remembrances of things past," seem to admit the reader into her intimacy. These notes may contribute toward a freshening of the portrait of "Aunt Susan," now dimmed by the passage of time like an old daguerreotype, by pointing first to her confidences on her contemporaries and her family and then to her response to imaginative literature in general.

In her annotations the figures of Miss Anthony's memories on occasion take on almost

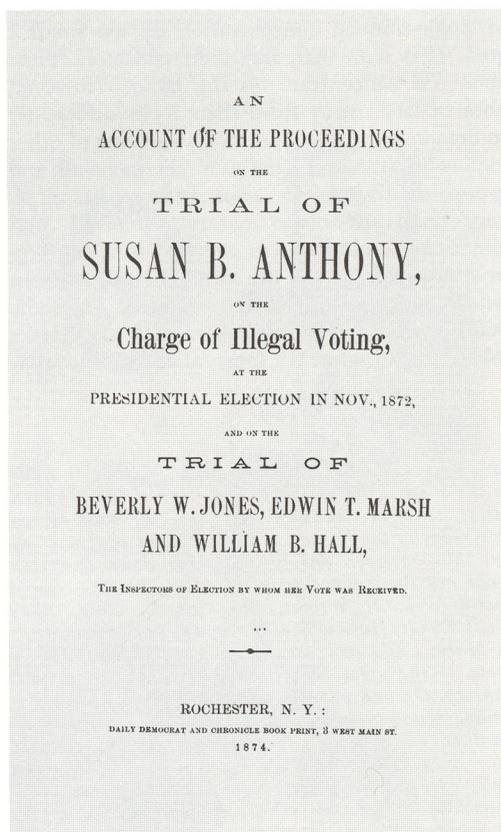
physical form. A booklet of speeches by Wendell Phillips evokes first the man himself, "the beautiful face—the fine figure," before recalling for her "the matchless orator—the true friend—the like of him we shall never see again." In another booklet a speech by George William Curtis is accompanied by two others by Henry Ward Beecher. Miss Anthony saw Curtis' person, calling him "a match almost for Wendell Phillips in exterior," before thinking to distinguish oratorical excellences: "Curtis with a manuscript and Phillips without a manuscript were without their peer in oratory."

Phillips, Curtis, and the others who had infuriated Miss Anthony after 1865 by insisting that woman suffrage had to wait on the "negro's hour" had apparently been quite forgiven by the winter of 1902-3. One wonders if Henry Ward Beecher had been as thoroughly absolved for the



This annotation is a reminder that there were two strong-minded Anthony sisters. Susan wrote, "This I give to the Congressional Library, Washington D.C." An equally strong handwriting adds, "When Mary S. Anthony is done with it" and signs "M.S.A."

This is Susan Anthony's copy of the proceedings instituted to test the legality of woman suffrage under the 14th Amendment. Together with 15 other women, Miss Anthony registered and voted in the elections of November 1872. At her trial for having violated the election laws the judge discharged the jury and imposed a \$100 fine which she never paid.



great Tilton scandal or Harriet Beecher Stowe for her support of her brother and perhaps for the caricatured feminist Audacia Dangyereyes in her *My Wife and I*. In the little volume he shares with Curtis, Henry Ward Beecher is noted only as "always ready with his powerful eloquence to speak for the slave and woman's freedom and franchise." Miss Anthony dispatched *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston: J. P. Jewett & Company, 1852) to the Library with an admonition to "generations to come" to "be thankful that the crime of slavery is done away with although we are still far from *just* to the negro" without making reference to the author. C. E. Stowe's *Life* of his mother (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1891) is completely unmarked. This silence is to be compared with Miss Anthony's outburst on a copy of F. J. Garrison's memorial of Ann Phillips (Boston: Privately printed, 1886): "This is *too precious* to go now. The Library can have it after I am gone."

One great historical personage unforgiven at the end was Daniel Webster, the "godlike Daniel" who all abolitionists knew had lost his soul in the "Seventh of March" speech in support of the Compromise of 1850. Miss Anthony wrote on the flyleaf of *The Life, Eulogy, and Great Orations of Daniel Webster* (Rochester: W. M. Hayward & Co., 1854) that "Webster was matchless in powers of oratory but lacking in principles." In another case one seems to see Miss Anthony making a conscientious effort to be what she called "fair." She had outgeneraled Paulina Davis in the parliamentary battle of the National Woman's Rights Convention of 1852 and had helped write her own *History of Woman Suffrage*. However, in one of her copies of Mrs. Davis' *A History of the National Woman's Rights Movement* (New York: Journeymen Printers' Co-operative Association, 1871) she calls the author "very fair" in her depiction of personalities and events.

Miss Anthony recalls Horace Greeley in the annotation to *The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren* (London, New York: T. Nelson and Sons, 1888), given her by a sister of John Bright, the great English reformer, who "like Horace Greeley got a crotchet in his head that he didn't believe in woman suffrage." The word "crotchet" reduces to mere querulousness Greeley's feud with Miss Anthony after his humiliation in the

verbal passage of arms over female military service. "Miss Anthony," drawled Greeley, "if you vote are you also prepared to fight?" "Certainly," she flared, "just as you fought the last war—at the point of a goose quill." Susan Anthony's ire is excusable. Greeley was one of those who most angered her by repeating that women were better than men while refusing to treat them as if they were as good.

From Susan Anthony's other contemporaries, this article will single out Moncure D. Conway, the Virginia clergyman in England, the radical nature of whose thinking is manifested by the appearance of his ex libris on a number of editions of Tom Paine now in the Rare Book Division. It was at Conway's house during her visit to England that Miss Anthony heard that Ralph Waldo Emerson, Louisa May Alcott, George Ripley and some of the others were wearying of their early ideas and returning to the old doctrines. Miss Anthony's shock at this report expresses her lack of personal experience in wrestling with the uncertainties or self-doubts that beset other mortals. Conway's *Golden Hour* (Boston: Ticknor and Field, 1862) was given her by Parker Pillsbury, a co-editor of *The Revolution*, who inscribed his *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles* (Boston: Cupples, Upham, & Co., 1884) to her "in memory of Lang Syne." On the verso of the title page of Pillsbury's *Church As It Is* (Boston: B. Marsh, 1847) is a clipping from a Charlestown, S.C., newspaper advertising a slave sale. On it appears, in Miss Anthony's distinctive handwriting: "Who could believe this was just a time ago."

The annotations suggest that the frequently proffered explanation that the feminists were motivated by their rejection of the family roles they saw played by their mothers needs expansion in Susan Anthony's case. If she did not like the self-effacement of Lucy Anthony's life style, she did seek her approval and think affectionately of her person. In a volume of her periodical publication *The Revolution*, Miss Anthony wrote: "My dear mother would have been 100 years old today. I gave her this with a great deal of pride." A volume of verse with a dated inscription from one of her admirers evokes from Miss Anthony only the comment that the date was that of her mother's birthday.

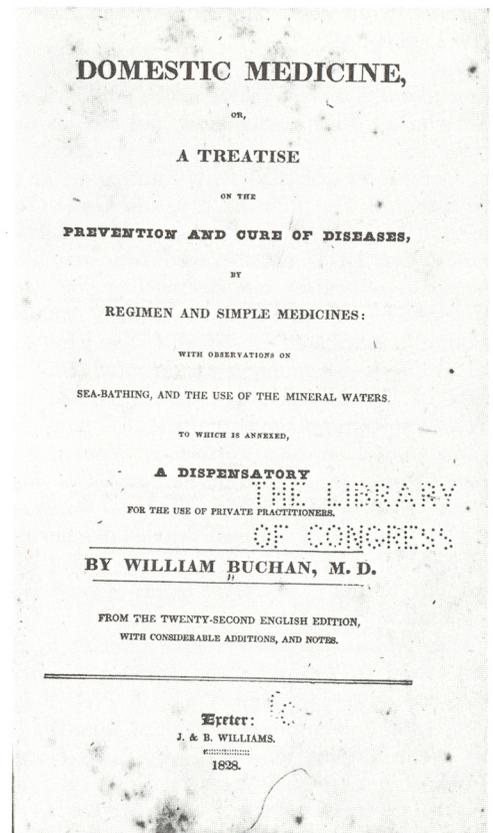
Daniel Anthony shared his daughter's values and was always supportive. But it was most often Lucy Anthony whom Susan remembered in going through her books. In two cases the names of the parents are juxtaposed. The second volume of Susan Anthony's copy of *Bleak House* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853) carries the name of both Lucy and Daniel, but Susan presented it in memory of her mother, "who for all her hard work—found time to read these volumes through and through many times." The annotation to *The Works of That Eminent Minister of the Gospel, Job Scott* (Philadelphia: J. Conley, 1831) further illustrates this difference in recall. It begins "Presented to the Library—that the reader may see the doctrines that were taught to my father's children." This sentence is immediately followed by: "My mother

used to say that she became a better Quaker—or Friend—than was my father." When Daniel's name appears alone, it is without comment. For example, noting in Lydia M. Child's *Issac T. Hopper: A True Life* (Boston: J. P. Jowett & Co., 1853) that her father greatly admired Hopper, the prison reformer and abolitionist, Susan adds only that she shared this admiration.

The copy of Lockhart's edition of *The Works of Robert Burns* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1853) given her by her brother reminded Susan not of the giver but of her mother. When Daniel senior owned the mill at Battenville the only man among the spoolers, spinners, and weavers was a Scot who read aloud with the "real dialect" and delighted Lucy with "A Man's a Man for A' That." *The Lady of the Lake* (New York: J. Lomax, 1831) recalled to Susan her mother's

*Dr. Buchan - was the  
Law & gospel of my dear  
mother - Lucy Read Asstbury  
from 1830 - she read & knew  
every thing this book contains -  
for years it was kept hidden away  
from us children - and when we  
would know its contents - she, to save  
us from a knowledge of Maternity -  
cut out the leaves from page 396 to  
page 423 - and pasted over the  
table of Contents - page xxvii - the Request of  
Petition - from John Quincy Adams -  
letter to his constituents - which must have  
been written in 1807 - when I was 17 years old -  
and then the blotting out from the Index -  
page xxvii & xi - all reference to the appropriate  
pages of the book - This bit shows how carefully  
our mother watched over us that we might not  
know of the Mysteries of life -*  
*Susan B. Anthony*  
*December 25. 1902 -*

Lucy Anthony's method of censorship.



prodigious memory, her ability to repeat the half or more of Scott's verse. In the first volume of *Bleak House* Susan wrote: "These leaves are sacred to me because worn thin with my dear mother's reading." Lucy had inserted in this volume a picture of Dickens she had found somewhere and over the years Susan took care to preserve it.

Looking back at Lucy's practice, her daughter described the Victorian conspiracy of silence around childbirth in an annotation that ought to be a *locus classicus* for the social historian. The book is William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (Exeter: J. & B. Williams, 1828). Susan Anthony wrote:

Dr. Buchan was the law and gospel of my dear mother: *Lucy Read Anthony*—from 1830—She read & knew every thing the book contains—for years it was kept hidden away from us children—and when we

would know its contents she, to save us from a knowledge of *maternity* cut out the leaves from page 396—to page 423—and pasted over the table of *Contents*—page xxxvii—"The Rights of Petition from John Quincy Adams(!) letter to his constituents"—which must have been written in 1837—when I was 17 years old and then the blotting out from the *Index*—page xxxix & xl—all reference to the expurgated pages of the book—This all shows how carefully our mother watched over us that we might not know of the *Mysteries of Life*—

After 1857, Egbert Guernsey's *Homeopathic Domestic Practice* (New York: W. Radde, 1857), written for "well-educated heads of families," took Buchan's place as the "law and gospel" for the Anthonys. Under its influence Susan rejected the bleeding, purging, and blistering of 19th-century medicine for a water cure session that greatly influenced her intellectual tastes.

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The Right of Petition.		
From Hon. John Quincy Adams' letter to his con-		
stituents.		
My respect and reverence for the right of peti-		
tion had been tried in the bone. By the law		
of nature—preceding all formation of consti-		
tutions of government—preceding even the in-		
stitution of civil society—the right of human		
weakness to implore relief from human power,		
was the text of the natural rights of man		
which, in my opinion, could be denied. The		
history of our revolutionary struggle—the in-		
jury, that the disregard and contempt of this		
right, had been the longest and bitterest of the		
reproaches with which our fathers had un-		
sheathed the sword of Independence, had in-		
vested in my affections, and mingled with every		
pulsation of my heart, the right of petition. I		
had seen it always respected in our Legislative		
Assemblies and especially in Congress. For		
three years after I became a member of the		
House of Representatives of the United States,		
every petition for the abolition of slavery in the		
District of Columbia, had been received and		
referred to some appropriate committee, and		
reported upon like other petitions. In 1834, the		
first attempt had been made to lay such peti-		
tions on the table, without reference to a com-		
mittee, and had failed. In 1835, the same at-		
tempt had been renewed and succeeded. In		
1836, the first struggle to suppress the right of		
petition upon all subjects relating to slavery		
and the slave trade occurred, and then I felt		
myself called upon, by the most indispensable		
obligations of my duty, not to support the pray-		
er of the petitions for the abolition of slavery in		
the District of Columbia, but to defend from		
practical abolition, the right of petition itself.		
This right is yet in the most imminent dan-		
ger of being suppressed. At two successive		
sessions of Congress, resolutions have been		
adopted by the House of Representatives, that		
no petition, memorial, or paper, relating to		
slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall be		
read, printed, or referred; to which have now		
been added resolutions, that nearly three mil-		
lions of native Americans, our countrymen,		
and represented by one hundred members on		
the floor of the House, have in no case with-		
ever the right of petition. These enormous		
obligations—first, of the objects which may		
be petitioned for; and secondly, of the persons		
entitled to petition—will not satisfy the slave-		
holders. They will never be satisfied till the		
House shall formally refuse to receive any		
such petition; and till every member of the		
House shall be prohibited from offering to pre-		
sent one, upon pain of expulsion.		

Winn Library  
 This matter had better manifest some wake  
 To cross ourselves in vain, and follow some  
 To find the cause to vindicate her claims  
 How shall the suffering man the fellow down  
 To fill the wounds or repair it: one with stripes  
 His quivering flesh: with hunger and with thirst  
 Waste the human frame: in cessation take  
 Exhaust his vital powers: and his living  
 In galling chains: Shall he, whose fragile form  
 Demands continual life: to support  
 In completed torture, air, and food?  
 Rejoice, at one's cry, and kindly sleep  
 And beautiful scenes, dare will impious voice  
 To ask those scenes, while his affliction arm  
 Across the general freedom of their course  
 And, granted beyond the common will,  
 Deigns another from the homogene stock!  
 HUMAN MAN.  
 By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,  
 Beside the fane of the living nature broke:  
 The fibres ending in a person's life,  
 Torn from their group, and blossoming as they part.  
 What wrong, what injuries does oppression plead,  
 To smother the cry, and smother the deed?  
 What strange offering, who aggravated end?  
 They stand convicted: a sinner's skin!  
 HUMAN MAN.  
 E'erlast Nature! with thy giant hand  
 Had benevolence, had found the trembling hand,  
 When its young strength, entering plastic clay,  
 Endued her form, and Man the lord of all!  
 Now, man, thy cry from tortured by thee,  
 To warriors of chain, and how the knee?  
 Was man not made the slave of man, to be  
 Vexed with the wiles, and fettered to the cell?  
 Was he in a tyrannic fashion with his coil?  
 No! Nature stamp'd us as a heavenly mould:  
 She bids us reach his glorious forehead,  
 Now trembling, take the measure and the sound  
 No witness lay on, on the stormy deep,  
 To call upon his country's name and weep!  
 THOMAS CA.  
 Who can, with patience, for a moment see  
 The smoky peas of prison and misery,  
 Of whip and chains, manacles and right  
 Of slavish blacks? Generous whites,  
 And all! For your own plan  
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 COLD BATHING in fresh and salt

Readers of the biographies of Susan B. Anthony perhaps need the reminder that the books they depict her as reading that quiet autumn of 1851 when she took the water cure came out of her doctor's library. Madame de Staël, George Sand, Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, Frances Wright's *A Few Days in Athens*, and Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* will not be found in the Anthony library received in the Library of Congress in 1903. There is a copy of *Jane Eyre* in the collection (London: Smith,

*The first version of this book, entitled Scenes From the Life of Harriet Tubman, was published in 1869 through the support of Elizabeth Stanton's cousin Gerrit Smith and Wendell Phillips. Its profits, like those of subsequent editions, were donated to the home for indigent aged Negroes in Auburn, N.Y. Harriet Tubman was called "Moses" for leading more than 300 Negroes over the Underground Railway from bondage into freedom. John Brown referred to her as "General Tubman."*

Elder & Co., 1882), but it is inscribed in memory of a visit to the Brontë house at Haworth in 1883. To annotate this *Jane Eyre* we might borrow from Miss Anthony's description of her visit her invocation of the "three delicate women sitting in the fireless mouldy church, listening to the old father's dry, hard theology, with their feet on the cold carpetless stones which covered their loved ones. . . . It was too horrible. . . . Then I walked over the single stone pathway through the fields to the moor, opened the same wooden gate, and was, and still continue to be, dipped into the depths of their utter loneliness and sadness, born so out of time and place." <sup>3</sup> This passage, written by a woman who said that with pen in hand she felt as clumsy as if mounted on stilts, perhaps owes its sensitivity to Susan Anthony's thought of her own sisters.

Another story that is a favorite of the Anthony biographers relates her search of the shelves for a copy of *Shirley* to give a niece upon her marriage. She found *Villette* and *Jane Eyre*, but had to

*This most wonderful  
Woman - Harriet Tubman -  
is still alive - I saw her - but  
the other day at the beautiful  
home of Eliza Wright Osborne - the  
daughter of Martha B. Wright -  
in company with Elizabeth Smith  
Miller - the only daughter of Gerrit Smith -  
Miss Emily Howland - Rev. Amos A.  
Shaw - and Mrs. Ella Wright Garrison -  
the daughter of Martha B. Wright - and the  
wife of Gen. Lloyd Garrison Jr. - all  
of us were visiting at the Osbornes - a  
real lone feast of the few that are left - and  
how came Harriet Tubman!*

*Susan B. Anthony  
Jan. 6, 1903. 17 Madison Street  
Rochester - N. Y.*

## HARRIET

### THE MOSES OF HER PEOPLE

BY

SARAH H. BRADFORD

"Farewell, old Marster, don't think hard of me,  
I'm going on to Canada, where all de slaves are free."

"Jesus, Jesus will go wid you,  
He will lead you to His throne,  
He who died has gone before you,  
Trod de wine-press all alone."

NEW YORK

PRINTED BY

J. J. LITTLE & CO.

1901

purchase *Shirley* specially for the purpose. Probably she inscribed *Shirley* with a sentence or two about the clarion call it makes to women to find work and do it. About *Villette* no conjecture is permitted this writer. Kate Millett, who says *Villette* reads like one long meditation on a prison break, also says that no man can understand it. The Brontës seem to have meant for Miss Anthony and the feminists of her generation Charlotte Brontë only. Caroline Dall's *The Colledge, the Market, and the Court*,<sup>4</sup> which Mrs. Catt thought one of the most important feminist books, says "the publication of *Jane Eyre* formed the chief era in the literature of women since that literature began." Certainly the feminists could rejoice in *Jane Eyre*'s demonstration that she had as much soul and mind as Mr. Rochester with considerably more heart. One must wonder as to their reaction to the "I am Heathcliffe" outburst of Cathy Earnshaw in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*.

Even in this summary review, it is possible to generalize that Susan Anthony read primarily for immediately practical information. In this respect she was completely unlike Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her closest associate, for whose intensely experiencing spirit books meant emotional stimulus as well as intellectual satisfaction. Miss Anthony may have been constitutionally unresponsive to belles lettres: she told the newspaperwoman Nelly Bly that she knew nothing of art and could not tell one hymn tune from another. In her copy of Sarah Josepha Hale's *Complete Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853) she confessed amusedly: "I never could learn more than one line of poetry."

Perhaps an indifference to imaginative literature was for some of the first feminists an occupational disease caused by the focus on concrete action. Her biographer says that Mrs. Catt decided "that she should restrain her reading to essentials and gave up reading for entertainment so completely that in the course of time she lost altogether her love for poetry and had little appetite for fiction."<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Mrs. Stanton's lifelong feeling for poetry was so sure that she early recognized Whitman's genius, although she reproached him for his failure to understand woman's pleasure in the "creative act" of sex. The differences possibly ought to be

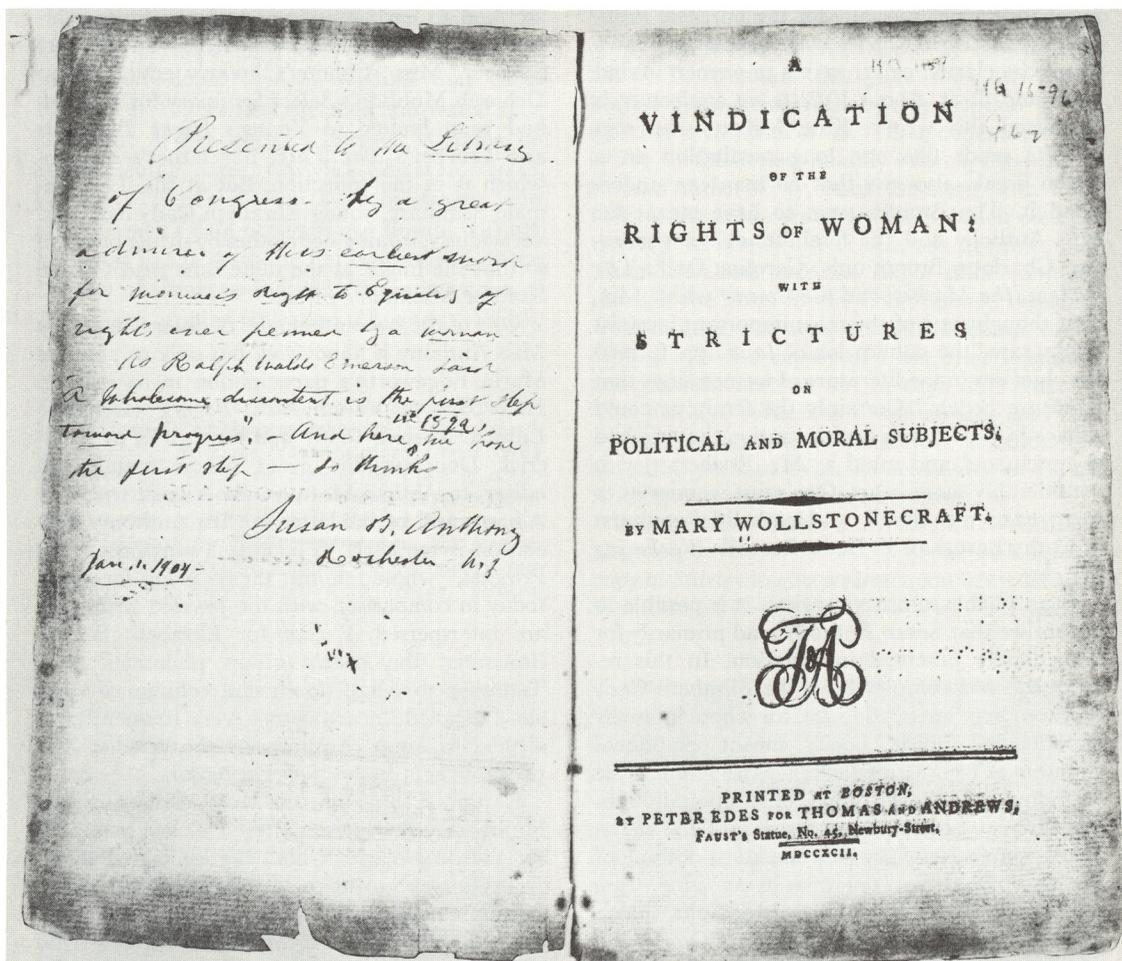
ascribed to early training. At Iowa State University Mrs. Catt had been drilled on Herbert Spencer. Miss Anthony's literary education at Deborah Moulson's Select Seminary for Females had been limited to Young's *Night Thoughts* and Cowper's *The Task*, her father's copy of which is in the collection. But at the Troy Female Seminary, young Elizabeth Cady had read voraciously, ironing her clothes by sitting on them so that she might at the same time read George Sand or Madame de Staël.

One of the two anthologies of poetry owned by Miss Anthony is annotated, but only to point to Maria Edgeworth's participation in its editing. Her copy of Tennyson's *Poems* (London: Edward Maxon, 1846) had been given by Frederick Douglass, the great Negro orator and editor, to Abigail Mott, an abolitionist friend in Albany, and by the latter to Miss Anthony. This edition is too early to include Tennyson's "The Princess," whose feminist theme seems forgotten today in comparison with the jeweled lyrics that are interspersed. Except for Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the poetry group plummets after Tennyson to a half dozen slim volumes of what can be called "near-poetry," very frequently inscribed to Susan Anthony by the versifier and probably kept by her for that reason.

Certainly some of the prose classics in her library seem to have mattered to her primarily for the people with whom she associated them. *Don Quixote* meant to Miss Anthony her niece, *Pilgrim's Progress* her sister and brother-in-law, and *Robinson Crusoe* the young nephew who died so tragically on the eve of his graduation. She is silent about Ralph Waldo Emerson, whom she knew and whose claim of innate divinity for every human being is surely one of the wellsprings of her thought. A volume of his *Essays* is unannotated although very frequently underlined; the accompanying *Representative Men* is completely unmarked.

For Miss Anthony the poet was Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the touchstone of poetry her novel in verse *Aurora Leigh*, for reasons not wholly related to poetry. It is clear that in lines in *Aurora Leigh* like:

... You forget too much  
That every creature, female as the male,  
Stands single in responsible act and thought  
As also in birth and death,



One of two American editions of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* that appeared in the same year as the first English edition.

Susan Anthony recognized her own conviction that women must develop their own potential without regard to what men wish or imagine them to be. In an entry in her diary for 1860 she recorded the comfort that reading *Aurora Leigh* gave her in moments of depression and her wish that women make the character their model. Her annotation to her copy of the first American edition (New York, Boston: C. S. Francis & Co., 1857) says: "This book was carried in my satchel for years and read and reread. The noble words of Elizabeth Barrett, as Wendell Phillips always

called her, sunk deep into my heart. I have always cherished it above all books."

The appearance of the works of Mary Wollstonecraft and Frances Wright in the Anthony Collection is a reminder of the permanent value of these first champions of the feminist ideology. Mary Wollstonecraft's picture hung on the living room wall in the Madison Street house and Susan Anthony serialized her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in *The Revolution*. In her last speech to a suffrage convention (Baltimore, 1906) Miss Anthony invoked the memory of "that great woman" and asked her listeners to continue the work she had inaugurated. Olive Schreiner later began to write a biography of Mary Wollstonecraft, and Margaret Sanger

printed a paean to her memory in the first issue of the *Woman Rebel*.

The frontispiece portrait of the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage*, prepared by Elizabeth Stanton, Susan Anthony, and Ida Husted Harper, is that of Frances ("Fanny") Wright D'Arusmont, perhaps the first "new woman" in the New World. In her defense of her Nashoba communal living experiment Fanny Wright deplored the servitude of matrimony and advocated miscegenation; with Robert Dale Owen she edited journals supporting the labor movement, universal democracy, and birth control. Hearing herself called an infidel, Elizabeth Stanton decided to look up her associates, so both Fanny Wright and Tom Paine were on her library table. Miss Anthony owned Fanny Wright's *Biography, Notes and Political Letters* in the New York (1844) and Boston (1849) editions. Her collection also includes a copy of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* (New York: G. Vale, 1850) but not *The Age of Reason*. There is a copy of Carlo Botta's *History of the War of American Independence* (New Haven: Nathan Whiting, n.d.) in the Anthony Collection. One wonders if Miss Anthony preserved it because for Fanny Wright this book had been the revelation that "there existed a country consecrated to freedom, and in which man might awake to the full knowledge and exercise of his powers."<sup>6</sup>

Most surprising is the absence from Susan Anthony's representation of the great articulations of feminism of anything by Margaret Fuller, since her familiarity with Fuller's writings can be taken for granted. Caroline Dall said that the life of Margaret Fuller was in everyone's hands and that not even "Boston women" fully realized her influence. Miss Fuller's synthesis of feminism and New England transcendentalism would have spoken to Susan Anthony more directly than Wollstonecraft's adaptation of revolutionary egalitarianism. Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Miss Fuller's precursors in the public discussion of feminism and the daughters of a slave-owning Southern family, are remembered only by Angelina's letter to the 1852 National Woman's Rights Convention. However, both Harriet and John Stuart Mill are well represented. Their combination of deep passion and high philosophy was certainly not equaled in feminist writing before Simone de Beauvoir, and probably not

then. Susan Anthony reprinted J. S. Mill's "Suffrage for Women" speech for use in the Kansas campaign of 1867 and serialized his *The Subjugation of Women* in *The Revolution*. The copy of *The Subjugation of Women* in the collection (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1869) carries the note: "This book has been the law for me since 1869."

The enumeration of some of the items that suggest the religious pattern of this library should begin with the Bible, which appears in a Kirk of Scotland version of 1789. *An Abridgement of the Book of Martyrs* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1818) is annotated: "This Book of Martyrs was read by me with bloodcurdling horror. It was among the few books in my parents' library as long ago as I can remember. Religion—what crimes are perpetrated in thy name!" John Woolman's *Journal* (Glasgow: R. Smeal, 1883) is annotated, but only to recall the names of the English friends who gave her this edition. One wishes that she had directly commented on the text—this record of the inward and outward experiences of one of the great Quakers is also a significant source of the fervor and commitment of the first American feminists. Susan Anthony's possession of the work of Job Scott, perhaps describable as a Quaker mystic, and its association with her father have already been mentioned.

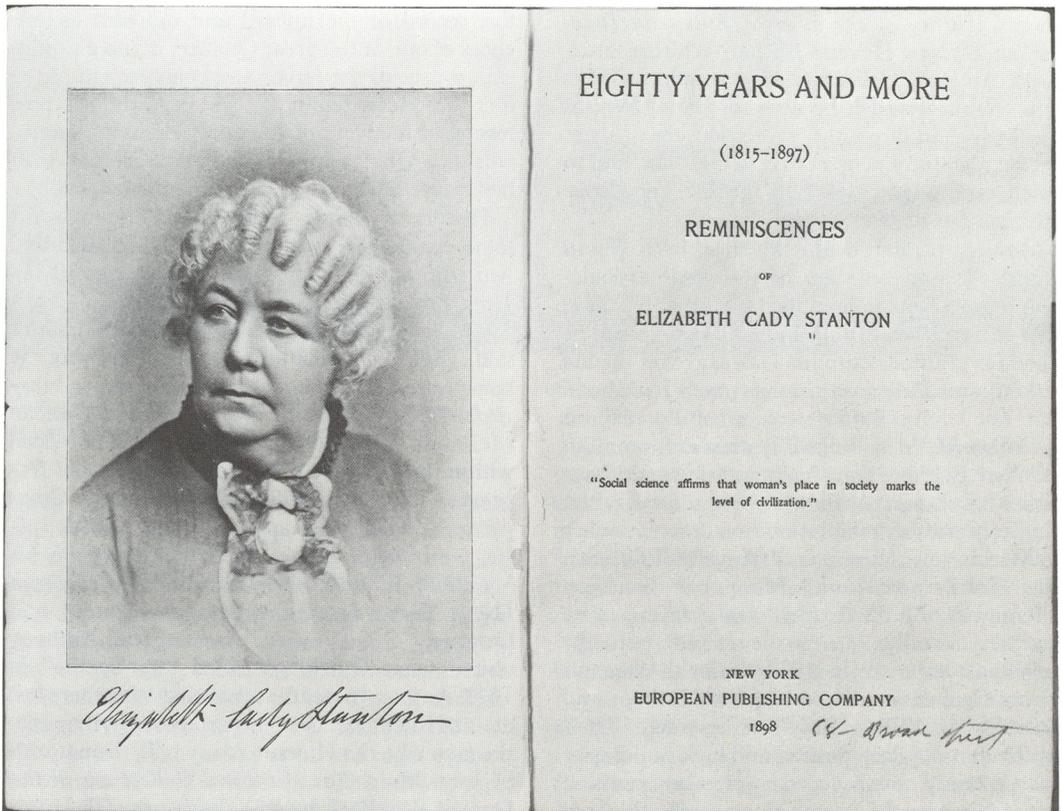
History is poorly represented, although for some reason the Anthony family had acquired two editions of Flavius Josephus' *History of the Jews*. French history is limited to biographies of Josephine and Napoleon (Lucy, her daughter said, knew Josephine and Napoleon the way she knew her ABC's), and English history to biographies of the Duke of Wellington and Duncan McLaren. Two books are mementos of travel within this country. E. E. Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1854) is associated with the Kansas suffrage campaign. James M. Hutchings gave his *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (New York, San Francisco: A. Roman and Company, 1871) when Stanton and Anthony visited what Hutchings called "Yo Semite" in 1871. Anthony notes that they slept elsewhere but ate at Hutchings' hotel, where possibly they met the man who ran Hutchings' sawmill, the naturalist John Muir. *The Historical Collections of the State of New York*, by J. W. Barber and H. Howe

(New York: S. Tuttle, 1842), is annotated to indicate the presence of an illustration showing the Troy Female Seminary.

The periodicals in the Anthony library include the *Woman's Tribune* (later *Woman's Journal*), the organ of the American Woman Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone and Henry Ward Beecher from Boston, which Susan Anthony liked to call "Boss-town." Harriot Stanton Blatch reports that the work of the Boston group was not mentioned in the *History of Woman Suffrage* until she herself repaired the omission. There are complete files of Garrison's *Liberator* and two of the other antislavery periodicals, John Collins' *Monthly Offering* and the *National Anti-Slavery Appeal*. Rochester friends of Daniel Anthony and his family—the Posts, De Garmos, and Hallowells—who continued to be Susan Anthony's friends throughout her life, had joined in purchasing this subscription to the *Liberator*. The

three-volume biography of Garrison given Miss Anthony by his children is unannotated.

Susan Anthony's own periodical, *The Revolution*, styled itself the organ of the National Party of New America and advocated specifically suffrage regardless of race or sex and generally "down with politicians and up with people." Let it be underlined that *The Revolution* was not exclusively an agitator for suffrage: Elizabeth Stanton truly described herself as being incapable, unlike Poe's raven, of croaking suffrage forevermore. The division of labor among the triumvirate of Mrs. Stanton, Parker Pillsbury, and Miss Anthony was amusingly expressed by the *New York Independent*: "Working together they will paint a canvas of the Rembrandt school—Mrs. Stanton paints the high lights and Mr. Pillsbury the darks. In fact, the real editors are hope and despair. . . . Its business management is in the hands of Miss Susan B. Anthony,



who has long been known as one of the most indefatigable, honest, cross-grained and noble-minded of the famous women of America." But when *The Revolution* went bankrupt it was Susan who singly undertook to pay off the debt, working, someone said, like a plantation of slaves. One of the volumes of *The Revolution* in the collection carries the note: "And today I look back on the hard work to carry this big load—with wonder how it was done."

In 1855, the year she went throughout New York State on her first unaccompanied lecture tour, her father wrote her: "Would it not be wise to preserve the many amusing observations by the different papers, that years hence, in your more solitary moments, you and maybe your children can look over the views of both the friends and opponents of the cause?" At this suggestion Miss Anthony began the first of the 33 scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, programs, handbills, and other memorabilia, of which a microfilm edition has recently been prepared for ready consultation. The clippings were pasted in old ledgers given by businessmen of the community

*Although quite different in many respects, Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony were lifelong friends and collaborators because of their complete agreement in thought and the exactness with which they complemented each other in the division of labor. Elizabeth Stanton wrote: "I am the better writer, she the better critic. She supplied the facts and statistics, I the philosophy and rhetoric. . . . So entirely one are we that, in all our associations, ever side by side on the same platform, not one feeling of envy or jealousy has ever shadowed our lives."*

We cement our friendship  
of half a century, with  
an exchange of auto-  
biographies.  
Elizabeth Cady Stanton  
Susan B. Anthony

and the original bookkeeping is often visible. Susan Anthony's order and method might be contrasted with the confusion of the similar scrapbooks in the National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection—also in the custody of the Library's Rare Book and Special Collections Division—in which the materials are too frequently undated or unascribed. These scrapbooks graphically illustrate the evolution of public attitudes toward Susan B. Anthony over the years, from derision to acceptance and praise, and even devotion from those who realized that she had devoted her life to humanity. Ainsworth Spofford thought the scrapbooks the best part of the Anthony library.

The Susan B. Anthony library is that of a woman whose primary interests were her family, her friends, and her cause. The other side of the coin of her pragmatic concentration on fact, her skill in seeking out means to her ends, is her relative indifference to intellectual speculation and imaginative perception. This does not say that she was hostile to or incapable of the intellectual life—no associate of Elizabeth Stanton's could be either—but that she had made a choice between doing and thinking, conscience and consciousness. Harriot Stanton Blatch perceived this and said it excellently in a letter written to Susan Anthony: "Carlyle said the end of man is an Action, not a Thought, and what a realization of that truth your life has been. You have been possessed by a moral force and you act. You are a Deed, not a Thinking."<sup>7</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> Lionel Trilling, "The Bostonians," in *The Opposing Self* (New York: Viking, 1955), p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 2 (Indianapolis and Kansas City: Bowen-Merrill Company, 1898), p. 576.

<sup>4</sup> Memorial edition (Boston, 1914), p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1944), pp. 32-33.

<sup>6</sup> Frances D'Arusmont, *Biography, Notes, and Political Letters* (New York: John Windt, 1844), p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 2, p. 544.