Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism

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Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism

Criticism of the Works of Novelists, Poets, Playwrights, Short Story Writers, and Other Creative Writers Who Lived between 1900 and 1960, from the First Published Critical Appraisals to Current Evaluations

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Preface

Since its inception more than fifteen years ago, *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism* has been purchased and used by nearly 10,000 school, public, and college or university libraries. *TCLC* has covered more than 500 authors, representing 58 nationalities, and over 25,000 titles. No other reference source has surveyed the critical response to twentieth-century authors and literature as thoroughly as *TCLC*. In the words of one reviewer, "there is nothing comparable available." *TCLC* "is a gold mine of information—dates, pseudonyms, biographical information, and criticism from books and periodicals—which many libraries would have difficulty assembling on their own."

Scope of the Series

TCLC is designed to serve as an introduction to authors who died between 1900 and 1960 and to the most significant interpretations of these author's works. The great poets, novelists, short story writers, playwrights, and philosophers of this period are frequently studied in high school and college literature courses. In organizing and reprinting the vast amount of critical material written on these authors, *TCLC* helps students develop valuable insight into literary history, promotes a better understanding of the texts, and sparks ideas for papers and assignments. Each entry in *TCLC* presents a comprehensive survey of an author's career or an individual work of literature and provides the user with a multiplicity of interpretations and assessments. Such variety allows students to pursue their own interests; furthermore, it fosters an awareness that literature is dynamic and responsive to many different opinions.

Every fourth volume of *TCLC* is devoted to literary topics. These topic entries widen the focus of the series from individual authors to such broader subjects as literary movements, prominent themes in twentieth-century literature, literary reaction to political and historical events, significant eras in literary history, prominent literary anniversaries, and the literatures of cultures that are often overlooked by English-speaking readers.

TCLC is designed as a companion series to Gale's *Contemporary Literary Criticism,* which reprints commentary on authors now living or who have died since 1960. Because of the different periods under consideration, there is no duplication of material between *CLC* and *TCLC*. For additional information about *CLC* and Gale's other criticism titles, users should consult the Guide to Gale Literary Criticism Series preceding the title page in this volume.

Coverage

Each volume of *TCLC* is carefully compiled to present:

- criticism of authors, or literary topics, representing a variety of genres and nationalities
- both major and lesser-known writers and literary works of the period
- 6-12 authors or 3-6 topics per volume
- individual entries that survey critical response to each author's work or each topic in literary history, including early criticism to reflect initial reactions; later criticism to represent any rise or decline in reputation; and current retrospective analyses.

Organization of This Book

An author entry consists of the following elements: author heading, biographical and critical introduction, list of principal works, reprints of criticism (each preceded by an annotation and a bibliographic citation), and a bibliography of further reading.

- The **Author Heading** consists of the name under which the author most commonly wrote, followed by birth and death dates. If an author wrote consistently under a pseudonym, the pseudonym will be listed in the author heading and the real name given in parentheses on the first line of the biographical and critical introduction. Also located at

the beginning of the introduction to the author entry are any name variations under which an author wrote, including transliterated forms for authors whose languages use nonroman alphabets.

- The **Biographical and Critical Introduction** outlines the author's life and career, as well as the critical issues surrounding his or her work. References to past volumes of *TCLC* are provided at the beginning of the introduction. Additional sources of information in other biographical and critical reference series published by Gale, including *Short Story Criticism, Children's Literature Review, Contemporary Authors, Dictionary of Literary Biography,* and *Something about the Author,* are listed in a box at the end of the entry.

- Some *TCLC* entries include **Portraits** of the author. Entries also may contain reproductions of materials pertinent to an author's career, including manuscript pages, title pages, dust jackets, letters, and drawings, as well as photographs of important people, places, and events in an author's life.

- The **List of Principal Works** is chronological by date of first book publication and identifies the genre of each work. In the case of foreign authors with both foreign-language publications and English translations, the title and date of the first English-language edition are given in brackets. Unless otherwise indicated, dramas are dated by first performance, not first publication.

- Critical essays are prefaced by **Annotations** providing the reader with information about both the critic and the criticism that follows. Included are the critic's reputation, individual approach to literary criticism, and particular expertise in an author's works. Also noted are the relative importance of a work of criticism, the scope of the essay, and the growth of critical controversy or changes in critical trends regarding an author. In some cases, these annotations cross-reference essays by critics who discuss each other's commentary.

- A complete **Bibliographic Citation** designed to facilitate location of the original essay or book precedes each piece of criticism.

- Criticism is arranged chronologically in each author entry to provide a perspective on changes in critical evaluation over the years. All titles of works by the author featured in the entry are printed in boldface type to enable the user to easily locate discussion of particular works. Also for purposes of easier identification, the critic's name and the publication date of the essay are given at the beginning of each piece of criticism. Unsigned criticism is preceded by the title of the journal in which it appeared. Some of the essays in *TCLC* also contain translated material. Unless otherwise noted, translations in brackets are by the editors; translations in parentheses or continuous with the text are by the critic. Publication information (such as footnotes or page and line references to specific editions of works) have been deleted at the editor's discretion to provide smoother reading of the text.

- An annotated list of **Further Reading** appearing at the end of each author entry suggests secondary sources on the author. In some cases it includes essays for which the editors could not obtain reprint rights.

Cumulative Indexes

- Each volume of *TCLC* contains a cumulative **Author Index** listing all authors who have appeared in Gale's Literary Criticism Series, along with cross references to such biographical series as *Contemporary Authors* and *Dictionary of Literary Biography.* For readers' convenience, a complete list of Gale titles included appears on the first page of the author index. Useful for locating authors within the various series, this index is particularly valuable for those authors who are identified by a certain period but who, because of their death dates, are placed in another, or for those authors whose careers span two periods. For example, F. Scott Fitzgerald is found in *TCLC,* yet a writer often associated with him, Ernest Hemingway, is found in *CLC.*

- Each *TCLC* volume includes a cumulative **Nationality Index** which lists all authors who have appeared in *TCLC* volumes, arranged alphabetically under their respective nationalities, as well as Topics volume entries devoted to particular national literatures.

- Each new volume in Gale's Literary Criticism Series includes a cumulative **Topic Index,** which lists all literary topics treated in *NCLC, TCLC, LC 1400-1800,* and the *CLC* yearbook.

- Each new volume of *TCLC,* with the exception of the Topics volumes, includes a **Title Index** listing the titles of all literary works discussed in the volume. In response to numerous suggestions from librarians, Gale has also produced a **Special Paperbound Edition** of the *TCLC* title index. This annual cumulation lists all titles discussed in the series since its inception and is issued with the first volume of *TCLC* published each year. Additional copies of the index are available on request. Librarians and patrons will welcome this separate index; it saves shelf space, is easy to use, and is recyclable upon receipt of the following year's cumulation. Titles discussed in the Topics volume entries are not included *TCLC* cumulative index.

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When writing papers, students who quote directly from any volume in Gale's literary Criticism Series may use the following general forms to footnote reprinted criticism. The first example pertains to materials drawn from periodicals, the second to material reprinted from books.

[1]William H. Slavick, "Going to School to DuBose Heyward," *The Harlem Renaissance Re-examined,* (AMS Press, 1987); reprinted in *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism,* Vol. 59, ed. Jennifer Gariepy (Detroit: Gale Research, 1995), pp. 94-105.

[2]George Orwell, "Reflections on Gandhi," *Partisan Review,* 6 (Winter 1949), pp. 85-92; reprinted in *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism,* Vol. 59, ed. Jennifer Gariepy (Detroit: Gale Research, 1995), pp. 40-3.

Suggestions Are Welcome

In response to suggestions, several features have been added to *TCLC* since the series began, including annotations to critical essays, a cumulative index to authors in all Gale literary criticism series, entries devoted to criticism on a single work by a major author, more extensive illustrations, and a title index listing all literary works discussed in the series since its inception.

Readers who wish to suggest authors or topics to appear in future volumes, or who have other suggestions, are cordially invited to write the editors.

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—**Anthony, Susan B.** (seated in wicker chair at table), photograph. The Library of Congress.—**Erskine, John,** photograph by Pirie MacDonald. The Library of Congress.

Contents

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Susan B. Anthony

1820-1906

(Full name Susan Brownell Anthony) American suffragist, lecturer, and nonfiction writer.

INTRODUCTION

Anthony was one of the most influential figures in the early campaign for women's rights in the United States. Devoted to a number of social causes, including the anti-slavery movement, she spent most of her adult life delivering lectures around the country and testifying at congressional hearings on the importance of an amendment to the Constitution granting voting rights to American women. The resulting amendment, not ratified until 1920, is known as the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment."

Biographical Information

Born to Daniel Anthony and Lucy Read of Adams, Massachusetts, Anthony became impressed at any early age with the value of women's rights to property and self-government. Both of her parents believed in the causes of abolition and temperance. Her father, a devout Quaker who never permitted his wife to socialize or wear the colorful dresses she liked, speculated in the textile industry until his business failed. Deeply in debt, the family was forced to auction off all of its belongings, including her mother's personal property. This incident convinced Anthony that women should be granted the right to own property and to be financially autonomous. Anthony was first schooled at home by her father and later at the Friends' Seminary in Philadelphia, which she left in 1839 to become a teacher in Canajoharie, New York. She was active in the temperance movement through the early 1850s, and she campaigned against slavery until 1863; however, in 1853 Anthony was outraged at finding that the women at a world temperance convention were refused the right to serve as delegates or to speak openly. From then on, she applied her activism to the cause of women's rights. Around this time, Anthony was introduced to Elizabeth Cady Stanton by Amelia Bloomer, the editor of the temperance journal *Lily*. While Anthony had not yet begun to focus on women's subordinate role throughout society but instead had only touched on the abuse of women as the result of male alcoholism, Stanton was already committed to changing policy and social standards regarding women. The women forged a lifelong professional partnership and friendship. Anthony began her women's rights work by campaigning for several years for women's property rights in the state of New York; her efforts were rewarded in 1860 with the passage of a law ensuring property rights for married women. In 1868 Anthony founded with Stanton and Parker Pillsbury the *Revolution*, a feminist newspaper that by 1870 had incurred $10,000 debt; Anthony spent the next six years lecturing around the country to pay her creditors. The next year Anthony and Stanton founded the National Women's Loyal League. Anthony had been lecturing in the eastern United States for several years, and in the early 1870s she traveled to the West, where she introduced her ideas in rural communities as well as large cities. In 1872 she was arrested for voting in Rochester, New York, in the national election. The judge at her trial waived the jury's decision and found her guilty, fining her $100 and the cost of prosecution. Enraged by the injustice of her trial, Anthony ignored the judge's demand that she remain silent and delivered a spontaneous speech in which she refused to recognize all laws in the country that did not grant her basic rights of citizenship. Hoping to avoid further sensationalism and embarrassment, the judge did not enforce the penalties, and Anthony was free to leave without taking her case to a higher court. In the 1880s Anthony toured Europe and began to organize what would become the International Council of Women. The group officially convened in

1902; Anthony considered it her greatest achievement. Throughout the 1890s Anthony campaigned against suffrage initiatives designed to exclude people based on class, race, and education level. She continued to travel and lecture until her death at age eighty-six in 1906. In 1979 Anthony was the first woman to appear on a U.S. minted coin, the Susan B. Anthony dollar.

Major Works

In the 1880s Anthony realized that she and her coworkers in the women's rights movement needed to produce a written legacy detailing their work for future generations of feminists, and she did not want to leave the job to male historians. Instead, Anthony enlisted Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage to begin work on the *History of Woman Suffrage.* Anthony wrote and published the first three volumes with Stanton and Gage. The fourth she wrote with Ida Husted Harper, who also wrote, with Anthony's full cooperation, a three-volume *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony.* Two more volumes of the *History,* written after Anthony's death, were published in 1922. More than anything, Anthony was known for her rigorous lecture tours around the United States and Europe, which she continued until her death. Although she was not known as a dynamic orator, she was able to hold her audiences' attention because of the passion with which she delivered her message. It is generally to her speeches that contemporary feminists, orators, and rhetoricians turn when examining Anthony's considerable influence on modern culture and politics.

PRINCIPAL WORKS

History of Woman Suffrage [with Matilda Joslyn Gage, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Ida Husted Harper]. 4 vols. (nonfiction) 1881-1903

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches [edited by Ellen Carl Dubois] (letters, essays, and speeches) 1981; revised 1992

Failure Is Impossible: Susan B. Anthony in Her Own Words [edited by Lynne Sherr] (nonfiction) 1995

CRITICISM

Mortimer Brewster Smith (essay date 1934)

SOURCE: "Susan B. Anthony," in *Evangels of Reform,* Round Table Press, Inc., 1934, pp. 132-55.

[*In the following essay, Smith traces the history of Anthony's interest in women's rights.*]

In the vast company of agitators who preached their social and political Utopias in the America of the last half of the nineteenth century it is difficult to find one who was entirely free from some mental abberation or psychological abnormality or whose passion for reform was not merely another expression of that deep-grained Puritanism that has been the most salient feature of the American character. Susan Brownell Anthony, woman's suffrage advocate, was a happy exception. Miss Anthony possessed the fierce determination and conviction common to the reforming species but she had also a large amount of common sense and humour and a normal human outlook on life that makes her stand out as a unique figure among American reformers. What is most impressive about her half century of agitation for the political enfranchisement of women is the complete sanity of her nature and the reasonableness of her arguments and demands. Women have won such a complete victory in all fields of human endeavor it is hard to believe that only a few short years ago the moderate demands of Susan B. Anthony aroused in her countrymen an intensity of bitter feeling unequalled in the record of American reform save in the case of [William Lloyd] Garrison. The denunciation and ridicule heaped upon her head would have intimidated and discouraged a stout-hearted man. As in the case of Mary Wollstonecraft, her eighteenth century predecessor in the fight for freedom for her sex, all the vile names imaginative man could muster were applied to her, but she had besides this violent experiences that Mary never knew.

But as in the progress of all beneficent reforms this was only a temporary phase. Susan went through the usual cycle: first, calumny and ridicule; then respectful attention; finally, honor and acceptance. When she died in 1906, at the ripe old age of eighty-six, she was generally accepted as one of the great figures of her time and although the goal of all her life's work—votes for women—was not to be realized until fourteen years later, the progress toward women's freedom had made immense strides since she started to do battle.

At the time of the first woman's rights convention held at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, the legal and spiritual status of woman in society was very low indeed. Under the English common law, in force generally throughout the United States, a married woman was entirely subordinate to her husband, who, in the words of Blackstone, "may choose and govern the domicile, select her associates, separate her from her relatives, restrain her religious and personal freedom, compel her to cohabit with him, correct her faults by mild means, and, if necessary, chastise her with moderation, as though she was his apprentice or child."

Teaching and domestic service were almost the only occupations open to women; their property rights were very seriously limited; their children, in case of divorce, belonged exclusively to the father. The dogma of the inferiority of women was almost universally accepted as an irrevocable truth not only supported by

the evidence of nature but decreed by the express stipulations of Holy Scripture.

These conditions and this viewpoint changed so rapidly that two years after the death of Miss Anthony, at the sixtieth anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention, the following report of progress could be made: "When that first convention met, one college in the United States admitted women; now hundreds do so. Then there was not a single woman physician or ordained minister or lawyer; now there are 77,000 women physicians and surgeons, 3,000 ordained ministers and 1,000 lawyers. Then only a few poorly paid employments were open to women; now they are in more than three hundred occupations and comprise 80 per cent of our school teachers. . . . Then a married woman in most of our States could not control her own person, property or earnings; now in most of them these laws have been largely repealed, and it is only in regard to the ballot that the fiction of woman's perpetual minority is kept up."

Today women not only have the ballot but conditions have changed to such an extent that they own, according to a recent estimate, forty per cent of the wealth of the United States. The major part of the credit for this victory must surely go to Susan B. Anthony, who, in the face of heartbreaking discouragement and persecution, devoted all her time and tremendous energies and even her meagre personal fortune to the fight for freedom for women.

II

In the lives of most of Miss Anthony's contemporaries in the struggle for women's independence it is not difficult to surmise the psychological impulsion that thrust them into the battle. For example, Julia Ward Howe's interest in woman's suffrage during the latter part of her life was the result of resentment against the dominance over her of two men, her father and her husband, a resentment her "genteel" breeding prevented her from exhibiting while they were still alive. Anna Howard Shaw's devotion to the same cause had its basis in the bitter experiences of her childhood when her mother was forced to suffer the hardships of poverty and illness through the incompetence of a loving but thoughtless father who became the image in Anna's mind of masculine injustice. And Frances Willard's pious efforts in behalf of downtrodden womanhood can be traced in large part to her humiliating defeat at the hands of her former suitor, Mr. Fowler, which gave impetus to her determination to show the world "what a woman can do."

It is not as easy to find an underlying psychological reason for Miss Anthony's desire to achieve independence for women. Her relations with the men in her life—the men of her family, that is, for there was never a suitor for her hand whom she considered with any seriousness—were ideal and had nothing in them which could possibly have been the basis for her revolt against masculine domination. Unlike other rebellious women of her time, she had not only the respect but the hearty support of her father and brothers. The father, Daniel Anthony, a New England Quaker with astonishingly liberal ideas for a man of the time, had a passionate interest in abolition, women's rights, and other reforms of the day. The answer, then, to the question of what compelled Susan to devote her life to the fight for equality for her sex must be sought in her own nature and mental makeup. Judged by the standards of her time, if not by those of the present, she undoubtedly possessed strong masculine traits—and when those traits were confronted by the prevailing notions of how women should act and think and what their position in the world should be, the reaction was revolt and open rebellion. Her nature demanded a more satisfying self-expression than was to be found in the usual feminine round of dish-washing, mending, and housecleaning. The difference between Susan and the other women of the time who yearned for freedom was that she had the courage boldly to take her freedom in defiance of man-made traditions and convictions. And in this she possessed the first prerequisite of the reformer—the willingness to stand out against the whole world if need be for the sake of an idea.

Her first step in her program of revolt against the conventions of the period was to enter the teaching profession, which was a somewhat daring thing to do at a time when women were not expected to engage in work that actually brought remuneration in money. The Anthony family had migrated from Adams, Massachusetts, where Susan was born, to Battensville, New York, where Daniel, the father, conducted a thriving cotton manufacturing business, but by 1840 the depression of the time had seriously affected his trade and what Susan was able to contribute to the family coffers from her earnings as a teacher was welcome indeed. In 1843 she secured, through the influence of her uncle, a wealthy citizen of Canajoharie, New York, the position of head of the "female" department of the academy of that town, and here she soon established herself as a brilliant and forceful teacher, loved by her pupils and even surreptitiously respected by the male members of the community who could not quite reconcile themselves to the fact that here was a woman equal in mental stature to any man and superior to most.

At this time Susan was not a beautiful woman but she certainly was a striking one, tall and broad shouldered, with a splendid head, forceful features, and brilliant blue eyes. Her masculinity of mind did not prevent her from having a passionate desire for fine clothes or from enjoying parties and dances; and she was attractive enough to receive proposals of marriage from several of the local swains. But the prospect of domestic bliss did not seem to hold any attraction for her and before long the delights of teaching young ladies how to read and write and spell also began to pale. Feeling that she was made for sterner tasks than these she determined to find some work in which she could employ the tremendous energies she felt rising up within her soul. In despair

over the continued monotony and inaction of her life she even suggested to her father that she would like to join the men who were trekking over the continent to the newly discovered gold fields in California. She found some outlet for her desire to engage in social work in making temperance speeches but in 1849 she definitely deserted Canajoharie and the teaching profession and returned to Rochester, to which city Daniel had removed his family in 1845.

While Susan had been imparting the rudiments of knowledge to her pupils in the "female" department, momentous happenings were going on in the outside world. In July, 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott had called a "women's rights" convention at Seneca Falls and had drawn up a "declaration of sentiments" modeled on the Declaration of Independence, in which the grievances of women against man's domination were detailed at length and a clarion call made to the women to do battle for their rights and privileges as human beings. In a few weeks a second convention, attended by great throngs and stirring up much enthusiasm as well as much antagonism, was held in Rochester. Susan came home for a holiday to find the Anthony household aroused to a high pitch of excitement over this convention; her father and mother and sister Mary had all attended and signed the resolution demanding equal suffrage. Susan was impressed but was not yet convinced that the fight for woman's suffrage should take precedence over the causes of temperance and abolition of slavery. Her conversion to the cause in which she was to labor for the rest of her life came a short time later and was the result of meeting Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the organizer of the Seneca Falls Convention, and one of the great women of the nineteenth century.

The efforts of these two women—Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton—in behalf of woman's suffrage were so closely allied for over half a century it is impossible to tell the story of one without mention of the other. They were such fast friends and fought together with such unanimity of attack that for the country at large the women's rights movement was represented in their persons. In 1878 Theodore Tilton said that he knew of "no two more pertinacious incendiaries in the whole country . . . in fact, this noise-making twain are the two sticks of a drum for keeping up what Daniel Webster called the 'rub-a-dub of agitation.'" The differences between the two women were striking. Mrs. Stanton was the more cultured, having had the advantage of an education obtained at Emma Willard's famous seminary in Troy; and she had a polished and literary style of speaking and writing that was very effective. Susan's education had been less thorough and her public speaking was marked by a blunt factual presentation of her case rather than by oratorical polish. Mrs. Stanton was inclined to be lazy and not always willing to sacrifice the luxuries of life in the stern battle for reform; Susan, on the other hand, had an immense physical vitality, could endure any hardships, and would expend her energies prodigiously. During their long friendship Susan was constantly prodding Mrs. Stanton into action, on one occasion shaming her into leaving off a comfortable vacation in England to come home and make a speech at a convention, and locking her in a hotel room until the speech was written. Of the two, Mrs. Stanton was perhaps the more imaginative, Susan, the better qualified to put the plans into action. "You stir up Susan," said Mrs. Stanton's husband, "and she stirs up the world."

When Susan had once discovered what she wanted to do in the world she applied herself to the task with a vigor and force and fierce determination one would be tempted to call fanaticism if that word did not have a connotation impossible to apply to one so basically sane and realistic in her conception of how women were to attain their rights. For over half a century she worked indefatigably, traveling from coast to coast and spreading her propaganda everywhere, never taking a vacation or a salary and apparently never feeling either fatigue or discouragement. The work was chiefly that of organization and propaganda and for this sort of thing she seemed to have a perfect genius. Besides speaking, and writing thousands of letters every year by hand, she appeared before state legislatures and Congress on every possible occasion to present the claims of women, managed an equal rights journal, organized working women's clubs, and was one of the authors of a massive history of woman's suffrage in several volumes, publication of which was made possible by Miss Anthony contributing $20,000 left her as a legacy.

That all this agitation should be received with unfriendliness by a public always resentful of new ideas was inevitable; what is surprising, considered from the vantage point of the present when Miss Anthony's ideas have won such a triumphant victory, is that the resentment took such bitter and violent forms. Throughout her reforming career, especially in its earlier years, she was subjected to a degree of verbal abuse and vilification equaled today only by such patriots as the Daughters of the American Revolution when speaking of the Russian Bolsheviki. The clergy, of course, branded her "atheist"; others called her "hermaphrodite" and "unsexed monster" as well as the less violent terms of "old maid" and "hen"; the New York *World* referred to her as "lean, cadaverous, and intellectual, with the proportions of a file and the voice of a hurdy-gurdy." A newspaper of Seattle, anxious no doubt, like newspapers of today, to find some new bugaboo to expose, pounced on Susan and declared: "She is a revolutionist, aiming at nothing less than the breaking up of the very foundations of society, and the overthrow of every social institution organized for the protection of the sanctity of the altar, the family circle and the legitimacy of our offspring, recognizing no religion but self-worship, no God but human reason, no motive to action but lust."

At her public meetings Susan met with all kinds of violence and indignities. Besides the usual cat-calls and hisses, very often knives and pistols were in evidence; and if no physical violence was ever visited upon her it

was solely because she was a woman. She was, at least, burned in effigy by angry mobs on more than one occasion.

But Susan was too courageous and utterly unafraid to fear what these mobs could do to her. What saddened her was that respectable people who pretended to be champions of freedom gave her no encouragement and very often put obstacles in her way. She soon came to learn that she could expect very little help from the so-called liberals of Boston—they were polite but distinctly frigid. Wendell Phillips, one of the great liberal gods of the time and supposedly a friend of woman's suffrage, deserted the cause entirely after the Civil War on the grounds that it was the "Negro's hour" and suggested that Susan devote herself to securing the ballot for the black man before she tried to get it for women.

This insistence on the part of Phillips and other abolitionists that votes for the Negro should take precedence over votes for women aroused Susan's ire, for she and Mrs. Stanton had helped organize the Equal Rights Association, in which Phillips was a leading light, with the understanding that its aims were to agitate for complete enfranchisement, not only for the Negro but for the women of the country as well. No one save Garrison himself had worked more tirelessly for emancipation of the Negro than Susan but she felt that if there was to be a question of whether woman or the Negro should have the vote first, woman should take precedence for she was far better qualified to vote than the black man who had hardly emerged from the ignorance and superstition in which he had lived for centuries.

Susan finally succeeded in bringing about the dissolution of the Equal Rights Association and founded in its place the National Woman Suffrage Association which concentrated entirely on securing votes for women. The Boston conservatives countered this action by organizing the rival American Woman Suffrage Association with Henry Ward Beecher as president and Lucy Stone as chairman of the executive board. For twenty years the two societies went their separate ways, the National Association, headed by Mrs. Stanton and Susan, concentrating on a constitutional amendment, and the American Association under the guidance of Lucy Stone, seeking to win the vote by action of the separate states. In 1889 there was a reconciliation and the two bodies united as the National American Woman Suffrage Association which was headed by Mrs. Stanton until 1892. From that time until 1900 Miss Anthony held the presidency and was succeeded by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

It was not only the disloyalty of men that Susan had to contend with—at times even the women active in the cause seemed renegade, although the fact was that most of them had children and homes to look after to say nothing of husbands who thought they ought to stay at home. Even Mrs. Stanton, loyal as she was, could not always be depended on for she, too, had a household to care for; and even when she had the time the ease-loving Elizabeth did not relish the hardships of campaigning. Only Susan, of all the women identified with the cause, devoted her entire time to the work—and at times it seemed that she was a lone figure fighting against the whole world.

There was never an individual better equipped to wage such a battle. Not only was she free of all family encumbrances but she possessed the strength of body and determination of mind needed to endure the terrific physical strain incident to traveling in those days of the stagecoach and crude trains. In the ***History of Woman Suffrage*** she relates vividly how she slept in dirty beds in small-town hotels, sometimes kept awake all night by persistent tormentors; ate poorly-cooked food; held meetings in country schoolhouses, barns and sawmills, with boards for seats and lanterns hung around for lights; and rode half frozen in stage coaches through prairie snow storms. Through whatever hardships she kept always in mind the goal toward which she was working, and plodded on. With Garrison she could say: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard!"

III

As a reformer Miss Anthony had an unusually realistic political sense and rarely made mistakes of judgment. Even her sensational arrest and trial for illegal voting which seemed to some of the more conservative suffrage workers to be prejudicial to the cause was a carefully thought out strategic move calculated to force public interest in the claims of women. In November, 1872, Susan read in a Rochester paper that all voters should register for the coming presidential election and determined to test the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which declared any person born or naturalized in the United States a citizen. She and several other women persuaded the election inspectors to accept their registrations. On election day she cast her vote and two weeks later was arrested for illegal voting. At the trial she defended her position with vehemence but was sentenced by the judge, who had refused to permit a jury to sit in the case, to pay a fine of one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution.

"May it please your honor," declared Susan, "I will never pay a penny of your unjust penalty." It is perhaps needless to say that she never did.

Occasionally she made mistakes in her zeal for the advancement of women but most of them occurred when she was young enough to overcome them. Thus in the 1850's she tried to assert her independence by adopting the Bloomer costume invented by Elizabeth Smith Miller, cousin of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and made famous by Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, editor of the *Lily,* a reform journal of the period. Susan abandoned it after two years, unable to bear the constant ridicule and laughter it aroused when she appeared in public.

Her judgment of people was unusually keen and she rarely permitted the innumerable freaks of the reform

movements of the time to use the suffrage association for the advancement of their pet idiocies. An exception was her association with George Francis Train and Victoria Woodhull, two of the most romantic and almost mythical figures of nineteenth century America. She met Mr. Train shortly after the Civil War when she and Mrs. Stanton were campaigning for a suffrage amendment in Kansas and found unexpected support from this eccentric Irish adventurer who had managed, in his travels all over the world, to accumulate a vast fortune and a reputation for sartorial elegance. With the Hutchinson family, a famous quartet of singers and the Rev. Olympia Brown, one of the few women preachers of the day, he became a member of Miss Anthony's band; and in the prairie towns of Kansas, appearing before audiences of cowboys, ranchers, gamblers, and their wives and daughters, he was a huge sensation with his immaculate evening dress and lavender gloves, his Irish wit and royal manner. After the campaign was over he offered to finance a suffrage magazine to be known as the *Revolution* with Susan as its proprietor and Mrs. Stanton its editor. The magazine was duly launched but on the day of its first issue George Francis suddenly departed for England, assuring Susan that his mission was to secure new subscribers and contributors. A few days later she heard with dismay that he had been arrested in Dublin for aiding the Fenians and had been sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was later changed to deportation but the cause of women's rights had heard the last of the gallant Mr. Train. The magazine struggled along for two years and then folded up, leaving debts of ten thousand dollars which Susan assumed and paid, over a period of years, from the proceeds of her lectures.

When Victoria Woodhull offered her services to the cause of woman's suffrage Susan did not object but she soon learned to her sorrow that the beautiful Victoria, who had been a spiritualistic medium, a highly successful stock broker, and was to become a candidate for the presidency of the United States, aimed to use the suffrage association for the furtherance of her own ambitious plans. When Susan awoke to the real character of this wily adventuress she acted promptly, decisively, and to good effect. At a suffrage convention held in Steinway Hall in New York in 1872, Mrs. Woodhull tried to insinuate herself into the program by marching onto the platform and attempting to make a speech. Before she could say a word Susan jumped in front of her, reminded the audience that Mrs. Woodhull was not a member of the association and declared: "Nothing this person can say will be recorded in the minutes." And with that she declared the meeting adjourned, rushed from the platform and turned out the lights. As far as Susan and the cause of woman's suffrage was concerned that was the end of Victoria Woodhull although she was to bob up again in sensational fashion to lay bare the amours of the pious Henry Ward Beecher.

When Susan encountered opposition from eminent men of the day (which was practically all the time) she was more than capable of defending her position and very often cast her male opponent in a very sorry light. One of the best known of these encounters was with the redoubtable editor of the New York *Tribune,* Horace Greeley, supposedly a friend of women's rights but whose real sentiments were perhaps more adequately reflected in his famous remark regarding Margaret Fuller, that she would have been better off with a couple of bouncing babies on her knee instead of dabbling in masculine affairs.

Mr. Greeley was presiding at a suffrage meeting and became piqued at Miss Anthony's insistence that the franchise be immediately extended to include women.

"Miss Anthony," he finally asked impatiently, "you are aware that the ballot and the bullet go together? If you vote are you also prepared to fight?"

"Certainly, Mr. Greeley," replied Susan with exasperating promptness. "Just as you fought in the late war—at the point of a goose-quill."

Mr. Greeley did not soon forget Susan's little triumph and told her and Mrs. Stanton that he would have his revenge. This consisted in keeping the names of the two suffrage leaders out of the *Tribune* as much as it was possible to do so, and in ruling that Elizabeth was always to be referred to in print as Mrs. Henry B. Stanton, a rule that stayed in force for a number of years after Horace's death.

At a later period in her career she became involved in a dispute with Grover Cleveland, then ex-President, who had written an article in the *Ladies Home Journal* in which he attacked women's clubs and took a few sideswipes at woman's suffrage. Susan called it "pure folde-rol" and refused to discuss it seriously but added, somewhat maliciously, that "Grover Cleveland was about the last person to talk about the sanctity of the home and woman's sphere." Mr. Cleveland retaliated by a second attack in the same magazine to which Susan replied that "he isn't worth bothering about. 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!" The newspapers seized avidly on this incident and treated it with a facetiousness that did not add to the dignity of the portly ex-President. A widely circulated cartoon of the time depicted Mr. Cleveland on the run with a manuscript in his hand entitled, "What I Know About Women's Clubs" being pursued by Miss Anthony with raised umbrella ready to descend on his head. Out of the affair also came this bit of popular doggerel:

> Susan B.
> Anthony, she
> Took quite a fall out of Grover C.

One of the striking things about Miss Anthony was the constancy with which she devoted her efforts to woman's suffrage to the exclusion of all other reforms. She had

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