The Revolution and its Treatment of Women's Rights Themes

Dorothy J. Cline

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THE REVOLUTION AND ITS TREATMENT OF
WOMEN'S RIGHTS THEMES

BY
DOROTHY J. CLINE

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Science, Major in
Journalism, South Dakota
State University

1975

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[Signature]

Thesis Adviser

Date

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Head, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

Date
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DJC
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with The Revolution, a weekly newspaper, published for four years in New York City in the second half of the nineteenth century. For the first two and a half years, under the management of Susan B. Anthony, the newspaper was a vehicle for the many causes of women's rights and for women's suffrage. After Miss Anthony sold the paper, it became a literary and society journal. A year and a half later it was taken over by the New York Christian Enquirer.

The time covered by this study is January 1, 1868, through May 22, 1870, the period in which the newspaper was managed by Miss Anthony. The study includes the first through the seventy-second issues.

Procedure

To fully explore the topic described and to insure originality of research, these publications were surveyed to determine if any previous inquiries had been made relating to The Revolution:


The above search revealed one master's thesis applicable to the topic. This study was "A History of Feminist Periodicals," by Anne Dudley Mather, University of Georgia, 1973. This thesis was reviewed and the determination made that it did not contain an in-depth history of The Revolution nor of the content of The Revolution.

Methodology

To give this report historical perspective, the women's rights movement in America was studied from the settlement of New England to and including the year in which The Revolution started publication. The history of the founding of The Revolution and the newspaper's experiences during Miss Anthony's proprietorship were also studied, and against this background The Revolution was examined for evidence of editorial treatment of the basic themes of the women's rights movement.

All issues of The Revolution during the period between January 8, 1868, and May 22, 1970, were examined for the purpose of identifying
women's rights themes and exemplifying treatment of such themes in *The Revolution*. In selecting representative articles and quotations, particular, although not exclusive, attention was given to editorial comment.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Early American women did not exist officially under the law. A woman was expected to show deference for and obedience to her husband; his authority was absolute. She was his slave, if that was what he wished, and if he treated her equally, it was by choice, not by legal dictate.

The law, literally interpreted and untempered by equity, gave them [husbands] almost unlimited power over the persons of their wives and daughters. . . .\(^1\)

With women in a position of servitude to men, it was inevitable that a woman would question the fairness of her subjugation and challenge her oppressors. Since early Americans left their homeland to escape religious persecution, it is ironic that the first protest in America against women's inferior position came as a religious protest.

Religion

The question of equal status for women was first raised in the earliest days of the founding of New England, when Anne Hutchinson challenged the Puritan theocracy of Boston, not only in the field of religious dogma, but also in its assumption that no woman could have a voice in church affairs.\(^2\)

Anne Hutchinson was saying that the church (and the State as well, as there was no separation between them) did not have the only

---


direct line to God. In maintaining that she could "commune directly with God," she declared herself equal to man, to church, and to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.\(^3\)

For the first time on this continent, the place assigned to women was questioned publicly—and, by a woman. The threat was met by a merciless inquisition followed by excommunication of the woman who dared to challenge church and state.\(^4\)

Anne Hutchinson, sentenced as a leper; Mary Dyer, a Quaker convert, hanged for preaching; 25 women executed as witches in New England, primarily for opposition to the local minister, gave ample evidence that colonial men were not prepared to accept the equality of women in religion.\(^5\)

**Education**

The situation was not much different in education. The mental capacities of women were considered inferior to those of men.\(^6\)

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3 Flexner, p. 11.

4 Flexner, p. 12.

5 Sinclair, pp. 23-24. It was also pointed out by Sinclair that religious intolerance was less violent outside New England and that Quakers in Pennsylvania first gave women the chance for religious equality and liberty.

The first attack on male mental superiority came from the seaport town of Gloucester, Massachusetts, a village where women frequently took on men's jobs and responsibilities while their husbands were at sea.

Judith Sargent Murray, the daughter of a prosperous merchant and sea captain, pondered the inequality of educational opportunities open to men and women in an essay published in 1790, but written during the Revolutionary War. Questioning the mental superiority of men, a superiority seemingly unchallenged publicly to this point, Miss Murray set an early pattern for later feminists, who sometimes as proponents of equality for women, slipped past the point of equality to a claim of superiority for women. She wrote:

... Yet it may be questioned, from what source doth this superiority, in this determining faculty of the soul (the judgment) proceed? May we not trace its source in the difference of education and continued advantages? Will it be said that the judgment of a male two years old, is more sage than that of a female's of the same age? I believe the reverse is generally observed to be true. But from that period what partiality! How is the one exalted and the other depressed, by the contrary modes of education that are adopted! The one is taught to aspire, the other is early confined and limited. ...

Almost 30 years elapsed with little progress in dispelling the idea that woman's brain was smaller in capacity and inferior in quality to that of man. Then in 1818, "Observations on the Real Rights of Women," a tract by Hanna Mather Crocker, a granddaughter of Cotton

7 Flexner, pp. 15-16.
Mather, was published. Mrs. Crocker wrote:

There can be no doubt that there is as much difference in the powers of each individual of the male sex as there is of the female; and if they received the same mode of education, their improvement would be fully equal. 8

The first schools for women. A year later, Mrs. Emma Willard, a teacher in Vermont, pleaded with the Governor of New York and the legislature to grant her a charter for a women's seminary whose curriculum would include natural and domestic sciences. She got the charter and raised funds for the first endowed institution for the education of girls. Already an innovative teacher, she introduced the subject of physiology at a time when "any mention of the human body by ladies was considered the height of indelicacy." 9

Mrs. Willard's school was Oberlin, the first institution to admit all comers, regardless of race, color, or sex. It prepared students to be better mothers and wives. Catherine Beecher's school in Hartford, Connecticut, trained women to teach or to do some form of domestic work.

Mary Lyon, the founder of Mount Holyoke, took education for women a step further. Her students entering Mount Holyoke in 1837 had to pass an entrance examination. Those who passed and were accepted faced courses covering the same subject matter as that covered by

8 Flexner, p. 25, quoting Hannah Mother Crocker in "Observations on the Real Rights of Women" (Boston, 1818), p. 41.

their male counterparts--geography, history, botany, chemistry, rhetoric, and philosophy. Calisthenics, music, and French were also required.\textsuperscript{10}

Between 1865 and 1870, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe, and Bryn Mawr--all colleges for women--were established.\textsuperscript{11}

Women were on the move in education. Flexner wrote, "It was becoming clear, to the dismay and regret of some, that there was no telling where it would all end."\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Schools for Negro women.} As bad as the position of women was in the 1800's, the position of the colored female was far worse than that of the white female. Even in states where slavery had been abolished, colored children were barred from the common schools in many places.

Inevitably, the Negro girl suffered more deprivation than her brothers. If a white woman was supposed to be mentally incapable of receiving the same education as a man, and Negroes were inferior to whites, it followed that the Negro girl had the least possible potential for mental growth.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1833-1834, Prudence Crandall, a Connecticut Quaker, accepted a Negro student in her exclusive school in Canterbury. In the storm that broke over her head, Miss Crandall closed her school rather than

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} Flexner, pp. 29-36.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Flexner, p. 36.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Flexner, p. 37.
\end{itemize}
oust her Negro pupil. Then she enlisted abolitionist leaders in the cause. Her advertisements in the Liberator, the abolitionist paper of William Lloyd Garrison, urging Negro parents to send their daughters to her for instruction, were fruitful, and she opened another school with 17 Negro girls. For a year and a half she kept her school running under extreme harrassment from the citizens of Canterbury. Finally, with the safety of the girls in jeopardy, she closed the doors.\textsuperscript{14}

The efforts of Prudence Crandall linked education for females with the issue of slavery, an issue that was soon to absorb the time and effort of any woman willing to venture outside her home for such a cause.

\textbf{Public Speaking}

The abolition movement was a training ground for the early women's movement. It taught women to organize, to hold public meetings, to conduct petition campaigns, to speak in public—knowledge that was invaluable to the women's movement.\textsuperscript{15}

Although a number of women orators preceded them, the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, were among the first to speak publicly.\textsuperscript{16} They were harrassed and frequently reminded that public speaking was

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Flexner, p. 39.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Flexner, p. 41.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Hole and Levine, p. 2.
\end{itemize}
indecorous for females and contrary to the teachings of the New Testament. The Grimkes were invited by the American Anti-Slavery Society to speak at small parlor gatherings of women in New York. From the first, the response was surprising. More than 300 women appeared for their first abolitionist speech. This number increased at succeeding speeches, and before long Angelina was speaking to large, mixed audiences, and Sarah was writing articles for the *New England Spectator*. Both women faced the opposition of the church and the public. They fought back, and in doing so, linked slavery to the position of women.

Flexner quotes Angelina Grimke in a letter to the man she later married:

> We cannot push Abolitionism forward with all our might unless we take up the stumbling block out of the road. ... If we surrender the right to speak in public this year, we must surrender the right to petition next year, and the right to write the year after, and so on. What then can woman do for the slave, when she herself is under the feet of a man and shamed into silence?17

Flexner described those early anti-slavery efforts this way:

> The women who took part in it were taking a long stride ahead. Not only were they engaging in a political act, now on behalf of others, but they were also securing a right which they would use later in their own interest. They were the first detachment in the army of ordinary rank-and-file women who were to struggle for more than three quarters of a century for equality. It took the same kind of courage as that displayed by the Grimke sisters for the average housewife, mother, or daughter to overstep the limits of decorum, disregard the frowns, or jeers, or outright commands of her menfolk and go to her first public meeting, or take her first petition and walk

17 Flexner, p. 48.
down an unfamiliar street, knocking on doors and asking for signatures to an unpopular plea. Not only would she be going out unattended by husband or brother; but she usually encountered hostility, if not outright abuse for her unwomanly behavior.18

Throughout the history of the women's rights movement, feminists who were the proponents of change had to face the ridicule and hostility of other women. While fighting the foe—man and his privileged status—they were forced also to educate their sisters and to convince the unconvinced that their rights were, in fact, infringed upon.

The great courage of women who were forerunners to the organized Woman's Movement of the nineteenth century is recognized only in perspective of the times. The abuse heaped on early feminists came not only from men, but from women—and there were many—who were satisfied with their child's role in society and had no desire to come out from under the protective arms of their father, husband, or brothers. Still, the number of women carrying petitions against slavery grew.19

Economics

Giving additional impetus to the Woman's Rights Movement in the first half of the nineteenth century was the increasing number of women in industrial positions. At first their work was done piecemeal in the home, but with the industrial revolution, the demand for women in textile mills developed.

18 Flexner, p. 51.
19 Flexner, p. 86.
Women's disadvantages in the labor market—longer hours, less pay than men—gradually fostered the idea of joint action of women to better their conditions. Only modest and isolated success was realized, however, from their efforts. In 1837, Sarah Grimke commented on women's position of inferiority:

... [It] bears with tremendous effect on the laboring classes, and indeed on almost all who are obliged to earn a sustenance, whether it be by mental or physical exertion—I allude to the disproportionate value set on the time and labor of men and women. This I know is the case in boarding and other schools with which I have been acquainted, and it is so in every occupation in which the sexes engage indiscriminately. As for example, in tailoring, a man has twice or three times as much for making a waistcoat or pantaloons as a woman, although the work done by each may be equally good. In those employments which are peculiar to women, their time is estimated at half the value of that of men. A woman who goes out to wash, works as hard in proportion as a wood sawyer or a coal heaver, but she is not generally able to make more than half as much by a day's work. 20

It was not enough that women worked longer hours and made less than men; there was no certainty that a husband would not demand that his wife hand over to him everything she made.

A working woman could be compelled to hand over every penny of her wages to a drunkard husband, even if she was left with nothing for her own subsistence or the maintenance of her children... 21

Early trade organizations. Actually, little progress was made toward equal rights for laboring women until almost midway in the century. Sporadic protests were recorded in the 1830's, but it was

20 Flexner, pp. 53-54, quoting Sarah Grimke, The Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women (Boston, 1838), pp. 50-51.

21 Flexner, p. 63.
1845 before any effective organization of laboring women developed. The Lowell Female Labor Reform Association, led from 1845 to 1846 by Sarah Bagley, the first woman trade unionist of note in this country, scored a few modest victories in shorter workdays for women.22

Two national unions admitted women to their memberships—the cigarmakers in 1867 and the printers in 1869—and women formed independent unions within specific industries. The Working Woman's Association, which took in any and all women who worked for their living, and the Protective Association, which dealt with welfare problems, were organized in many cities.23

In 1868, when Susan B. Anthony started her weekly newspaper, The Revolution, the policy statement on page one of the first issue included "Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work; Eight Hours Labor."24 Miss Anthony backed her statement with considerable time and effort devoted to helping women organize, especially during the latter part of 1868.

Typical of items in The Revolution were:

A meeting of ladies was held on September 17 at noon in the offices of The Revolution newspaper, 37 Park Row, for the purpose of organizing an association of working-women, which might act for the interests of its members, in the same manner as the associations of working-men now regulate the wages, etc., of those belonging to them.25

22 Flexner, p. 56.
23 Flexner, p. 132.
Prejudices and inequalities. Although the number of women employed in industry grew steadily, many positions were still closed to women. The concept of the inferiority of women barred them from training for more skilled work and therefore from entering other occupations; it also prevented their receiving the same pay as a man for similar work.

The Supreme Court of Illinois, in 1869, denied an application of Myra Bradwell, a married woman, for a license to follow the profession of attorney-at-law. The opinion of the court denying the application, read

That God designed the sexes to occupy different spheres of action, and that it belonged to men to make, apply, and execute the laws, was regarded as an almost axiomatic truth.

We are certainly warranted in saying, that when the Legislature gave to this court the power of granting licenses to practice law, it was with not the slightest expectation that this privilege would be extended equally to men and women.

Neither has there been any legislation since that period which would justify in presuming a change in the legislative intent. Our laws to-day in regard to women, are substantially what they have always been, except in the change wrought by the acts of 1861 and 1869, giving to married women the right to control their own property and earnings.

On every front, women were fighting inequalities. Medicine, law and many other professions and occupations were virtually closed to women.

26 Flexner, p. 131. The census rose from 225,922 in 1850 to 270,987 by 1860, and to 323,370 by 1870.

Social and Legal Status

A concise list of legal inequalities is contained in the wedding pact read aloud by Lucy Stone, a famous orator in the anti-slavery cause and a proponent of woman's rights. She and Henry Blackwell, also an anti-slavery leader, at their marriage in 1855 signed a protest as part of their wedding ceremony:

While acknowledging our mutual affection by publicly assuming the relationship of husband and wife, . . . this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess. We protest especially against the laws which give the husband:

1. The custody of the wife's person.
2. The exclusive control and guardianship of their children.
3. The sole ownership of her personal and use of her real estate, unless previously settled upon her, or placed in the hands of trustees, as in the case of minors, lunatics and idiots.
4. The absolute right to the product of her industry.
5. Also against laws which give to the widower so much larger and more permanent an interest in the property of his deceased wife than they give to the widow in that of the deceased husband.
6. Finally, against the whole system by which 'the legal existence of the wife is suspended during marriage' so that, in most States, she neither has a legal part in the choice of her residence, nor can she make a will, nor sue or be sued in her own name, nor inherit property.28

Denied rights of citizenship; denied right to work; taxed without representation; ranked in the constitutions of all States with idiots, lunatics, criminals and paupers; denied the right of petition;

defranchised--this was a partial description of the status of women in 1868 when the first issue of *The Revolution* appeared.29

**Politics**

On the issue of suffrage, women were having equally difficult times. By 1848 some progress had been made, yet it was minimal in terms of the inequalities that reformers recognized. But 1848 was to be the year from which the inception of the Woman's Rights Movement in the United States is commonly dated.

**Seneca Falls Convention.** In July of that year, the Seneca (New York) Convention--"a convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious rights of woman" drew about 300 persons. Despite the fact that the first day of the convention had been publicized in the *Seneca County Courier* as exclusively for women, about 40 men appeared and were admitted.

The initiators of the convention were two women whose names were to become synonymous with the Woman's Rights Movement. The first was Lucretia Mott.

Like Judith Sargent Murray before her, Mrs. Mott was the daughter of a seaman. Her mother ran a store and carried on the family affairs in the tradition of the wives of seaman. Lucretia Mott became an active abolitionist and the founder of the first Female Anti-Slavery Society.

29 *The Revolution*, January 8, 1868, pp. 9-10.
The second woman was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the young wife of an abolitionist leader and the daughter of a New York judge. She was destined to play an important role in the Woman's Movement, speaking and writing on women's rights for 50 years.

Both women had been delegates to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840 and had been incensed when the convention ruled that only men could be seated. The idea of a meeting in America dedicated to the rights of women was born in London, fed by the discontent of the two women at being rejected as delegates.

It was 1848 before Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton joined three Quaker women to plan the Woman's Rights Convention that became known as The Seneca Falls Convention. 30

Elizabeth Stanton made her maiden speech in behalf of women's rights at the opening of the convention. As she addressed her audience, she could not guess that it would take 72 long years of effort and pleading by women before a women's suffrage amendment would be written into the Constitution of the United States.

Reading the "Declaration of Sentiments," which drew on the powerful passages of Thomas Jefferson, Mrs. Stanton opened with, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men and women are created equal . . . "; then she enumerated the grievances of women. Women were

deprived of the ballot, of rights to property, of the right to their persons, and of rights over their children. Married women were civilly dead; single women were taxed without representation. Women were deprived of educational and occupational opportunities. And finally, a double standard of morality and the assumption of superiority by males made women's degradation complete.\textsuperscript{31}

The Declaration of Sentiments was approved by those assembled, and resolutions supporting it were passed, including one declaring the right of women to the elective franchise. The franchise resolution, proposed and supported by Mrs. Stanton, carried by a narrow margin. It was the first formal public demand for women's suffrage in the United States.\textsuperscript{32}

**Women's Rights Conventions.** Following that first meeting, a second convention was held two weeks later in Rochester, New York. A year and a half passed before another was called. Then in 1850, the first national women's rights convention was held in Worcester, Massachusetts. From that time through 1861 national women's rights conventions were held every year except 1857.

The last women's rights convention before the Civil War was held in Albany in 1861.\textsuperscript{33} After that, all women's rights activities came to a halt. Advocates were urged to drop their cause and support the war

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} Lutz, \textit{Created Equal}, p. 48.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Lutz, \textit{Created Equal}, p. 49.
\item \textsuperscript{33} \textit{The History of Woman Suffrage}, Vol. 1, p. 745.
\end{itemize}
effort, and most did. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were among those who did not.

**Time of struggle.** For women activists, this was a period of trying to gain support for their cause and trying to agree on what they wanted to achieve. Gradually, the tone of the press, which had been hostile, became less negative. In general, however, there was little editorial support for women's causes. To take up some of the void, a succession of journals published by women for women appeared. One of these, the Lily, was edited by Amelia Bloomer, whose name was given to a dress style introduced to protest the tight-fitting, clinched waists and the stays and voluminous petticoats of the day.

Women's rights advocates became known as "bloomers" and the movement for equal rights as well as the individual women were [sic] subjected to increasing ridicule.34

Mrs. Stanton with Miss Anthony, a relative newcomer to the women's rights scene, adopted the costume. Later they gave it up, not because they had changed their minds about its practicality or propriety, but because they decided its controversial effect detracted from the women's rights messages they were trying to convey.

**Fourteenth Amendment.** After the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, abolitionists began to support passage of the Fourteenth Amendment to secure the rights of citizens. It was this amendment that fractured the association of abolitionists and women activists and split the women's right movement.

34 Hole and Levine, p. 9.
The Fourteenth Amendment introduced a sex distinction, the word "male," to specify voting privileges for citizens. Enraged, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton, and others organized an extensive campaign to fight the amendment. But the opposition was formidable. Their old abolitionist allies were determined to separate women's rights from Negroes' rights. "This is the Negroes' hour," the women were told repeatedly. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton sent out petitions for a constitutional amendment to prohibit the states from disfranchising any of their citizens on the ground of sex, and almost 10,000 petitions were presented to congress in one session.35 Predictably, however, the Fourteenth Amendment was passed on July 28, 1868—without deletion of the word "male.

Split in Woman's Suffrage Association. While passage of the amendment seemed to crystallize and focus the goal of the women's movement on suffrage, it also resulted in broad differences in opinion as to ways of achieving this goal. As a result of these differences, the Woman's Movement, then aligned with the Equal Rights Association, split into two major factions in 1869. The first of these, The National Woman's Suffrage Association (NWSA), was organized by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The second was the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone. The two organizations coexisted for more than 20 years.

Both organizations assumed as their first priority the drive for women's suffrage. While they used many of the same tactics, AWSA advocated state-by-state action to achieve the goal. NWSA advocated, in addition to state-by-state action, a women's suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. NWSA embraced broad causes of women's rights and looked on the vote as a means of achieving those rights. AWSA, far more conservative, limited itself to women's suffrage and avoided controversial subjects.36

*Mouthpiece for women's rights.* It was in this atmosphere that the weekly journal, *The Revolution*, appeared. Founded by the organizers and leaders of NWSA--Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton--it was inevitable that it would focus on women's suffrage. It was equally certain that it would examine the broad causes of women's rights.

The first issue of the newspaper began January, 1868. The publication took as its motto, "Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less."37

From the first, nothing seemed sacred to *The Revolution*. The editors examined prostitution, criminal cases involving women, the double standard for men and women, dress for women, and all the inequalities they noted in the country's institutions.

36 Hole and Levine, pp. 10-11.

37 *The Revolution*, January 15, 1868.
CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

While Susan B. Anthony's women's rights efforts in New York State were at their height, appeals for help reached her from Kansas, where amendments would be voted on enfranchising women and Negroes. Drawing what she called "almost my last hundred to go," Miss Anthony left with Mrs. Stanton for Kansas. There the two women started a speaking tour.38

The Revolution Conceived

It was in Kansas in 1867 that The Revolution was conceived and named, not by the women who guided its course, but by George Francis Train, "financier, speculator, opponent of 'sound money', a Democrat, and, allegedly, a former Copperhead."39

Train, invited by the St. Louis Suffrage Association to assist women in Kansas, telegraphed his willingness to come to Kansas at his own expense, and Miss Anthony welcomed his help. Lutz described him:

A tall handsome man with curly brown hair and keen gray eyes, flashily dressed in a blue coat with brass buttons, white vest, black trousers, patent-leather boots, and lavender kid gloves, he was a sight worth driving miles to see, and he gave his audience the best entertainment they had had in many


39 Flexner, p. 150.
a day, shouting jingles at them in the midst of his speeches and mercilessly ridiculing the Republicans. 40

Together, Miss Anthony and Mr. Train undertook a speaking tour to the remotest areas of Kansas. It was the beginning of a firm friendship between the two.

The reaction of the abolitionists, the Equal Rights Association, and women activitists to Miss Anthony's association with Train was far from favorable. Train was said to be an eccentric, a self-made millionaire, a Democrat, and a Negro-hater--a combination which was bound to alienate abolitionists, Republicans, and feminists. Most of Miss Anthony's friends found it difficult to understand why she and Mrs. Stanton could align themselves with someone of such questionable character. But the two women needed help, and Mr. Train was willing to give it. Mrs. Stanton was quoted as saying she would "say amen to the Devil" if he offered money for a newspaper. 41

On one of the last days of the Kansas campaign, Train asked Miss Anthony why there was no woman's suffrage paper. When she replied that there was no money, Train replied, "Well, I think I shall have to give you the money myself." 42

40 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 131.
41 Sinclair, p. 189.
42 Dorr, p. 196.
At that evening's suffrage meeting, much to the surprise of Miss Anthony, Train announced that she would be starting a woman's suffrage paper when she returned to New York:

Its name is to be The Revolution... This paper is to be a weekly, price two dollars a year; its editors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury; its proprietor, Susan B. Anthony. Let everybody subscribe for it.43

So, despite the protests of their associates, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton accepted Train's offer to finance a paper in which they could freely express their views on women's rights. By aligning themselves with Train, they lost many friends, but they were already at odds with abolitionists and with women activists who put the Negro's right to vote ahead of women's suffrage. The name of the paper was shocking to many and it was "received with horror by conservatives."44

The Revolution Launched

One month after the return of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton to New York, the first issue of The Revolution, dated January 8, 1868, was out. Ten thousand copies of the 16-page weekly were sent to all parts of the country under the frank of a Democratic Congressman from New York.

David Melliss, financial editor of the New York World, joined Train as backer of the paper. And, as promised by Train in Kansas, Parker Pillsbury, formerly with the Antislavery Standard, and Mrs. Stanton were editors. Miss Anthony was the business manager.

43 Dorr, p. 197.
44 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 157.
The Revolution offices were established in the former headquarters of the Equal Rights Association (ERA) on the fourth floor of the New York World building. Miss Anthony had been paying the rent for ERA and despite some objection from ERA members decided she had the right to use the offices. The printer was several blocks away.

Susan B. Anthony had been conditioned to hard work. Hers was seldom the glamorous side of the causes she espoused. She usually had the responsibilities of organizing meetings, arranging for meeting places, posting bills, raising funds—the leg work. It was more of the same with The Revolution. Mrs. Stanton and Mr. Pillsbury turned out copy, but getting the paper produced, carrying copy up five flights of stairs to the printer, and keeping things rolling were Miss Anthony's responsibility.

**Finances**

In addition, Miss Anthony had all the financial burdens of the paper, and they were immense. Her financial "angel," Train, left for England at the time the first issue was published. There he was arrested and jailed because of his Irish sympathies. His editorial contributions to The Revolution arrived from prison, but financial support did not. The $600 he gave Miss Anthony before he left and the financial assistance she received from Melliss were soon exhausted.45 Circulation was small, and advertising was difficult to get, especially

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45 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 139.
since The Revolution's policy--carefully outlined in the newspaper--was not to accept advertisements of patent medicines and questionable products.46

Subscription efforts. A lively account of Miss Anthony's efforts to solicit subscriptions from the President and members of Congress in Washington appears in the first issue of The Revolution. It is part of a report of a "spicy speech" by Miss Anthony at Rahway, New Jersey:

I waited two hours in the ante-room among the huge half bushel measure spittoons, and terrible filth of the outer chambers, where the smell of tobacco and whiskey was powerful, and I could but mentally enquire if the ante-room of the Empress at the Tuilleries in Paris, or Queen Victoria, two women rulers (applause), were as condescending to their guests as to put up placards at the entrance of Buckingham Palace and the Tuilleries--Gentlemen, Please use the spittoons. (Laughter.) Johnson stood at his desk. Said "No," had a thousand such applications every day; more papers than he could read. I told him he was mistaken. That he never had such an application in his life. You recognize, I said, Mr. Johnson, that Mrs. Stanton and myself, for two years, have boldly told the Republican party that they must give ballots to women as well as Negroes, and by means of The Revolution we are bound to drive the party to logical conclusions, or break it into a thousand pieces as was the old Whig party, unless we get our rights. (Applause.) That brought him to his pocket book, and he signed his name Andrew Johnson, with a bold hand, as much as to say, anything to get rid of this woman and break the radical party. (Loud applause and laughter.)47

The Revolution's circulation problems were apparent almost from the first. Every effort was made to sell subscriptions. The first

47 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 4.
issue noted that Congressmen and the President of the United States were among subscribers,\textsuperscript{48} and immodestly proclaimed:

Fifty-two \textit{Revolutions} will make a splendid volume. As all the papers are cut and stitched, all you have to do is to read them and lay them aside to bind at the end of the year. \textit{The Revolution} will be an important book of reference.\textsuperscript{49}

The optimistic note on which the paper was launched held through the early issues while frantic efforts were made by Miss Anthony to sell subscriptions. The opinion leaders of the country—the President, Congress, influential politicians—received personal calls or communication from the publisher. Miss Anthony's efforts at selling subscriptions in the nation's capitol were reported in \textit{The Revolution} and reprinted in United States and foreign newspapers. Readers were promised that the newspaper would be the "Great Organ of the Age"; they were told subscriptions were payable in advance and that 10 names entitled the sender to one free copy.\textsuperscript{50} Ten thousand copies of the first issue were printed. A later issue set a goal of 100,000 subscribers—nothing short of this would ensure success, Miss Anthony wrote.\textsuperscript{51}

The price of the publication, $2 a year, appeared in the dateline of the first issue, along with the volume number, date, and city. By the fourth issue, the single copy price of 10 cents had been added.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{The Revolution}, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{The Revolution}, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{The Revolution}, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{The Revolution}, April 9, 1868, p. 209.
By the seventh issue, the price had been moved from the datelines to the mast, and "New York City Subscriptions, $2.50," had been added.

In succeeding issues, Miss Anthony increased her efforts to sell subscriptions. The Revolution carefully explained how to send checks, money orders, and registered letters for subscriptions. By mid-year of 1868, premiums were announced for subscriptions. One hundred subscribers earned the reader a hunting case gold watch; three new subscribers, a copy of REBECCA: OR, A WOMAN'S SECRET, by Mrs. Caroline Fairfield Corbin; three new subscribers, a steel engraving of Elizabeth Gady Stanton, Anna E. Dickinson, or Susan B. Anthony.52 As time went on, additional books and more watches were added as premiums; the number of subscriptions required for premiums was reduced; photos of other women's rights leaders were added to the list; gold sleeve buttons were offered; and Empire sewing machines became the top premium--a plain model for anyone who obtained 50 subscriptions, a fancy machine for 100 subscriptions. Premium offers finally disappeared, but before they did, the list was filling the entire first column of every issue.

Other resources. On July 15, 1869, the price of The Revolution changed from $2 yearly to $3 yearly, and from $2.50 in New York City to $3.20. In an announcement defending the increase, the publisher

52 The Revolution, September 17, 1868, p. 161.
stressed the value and quality of the publication:

We are happy to inform our readers that the success of The Revolution has been such as to warrant us in enlisting among our corps of contributors many of the best writers of the country, whose names will shortly appear, and to put our papers on the basis of a first-class literary, as well as reformatory journal. Under these circumstances, we trust that our friends will recognize the necessity of our henceforth advancing the price of The Revolution from two to three dollars a year, which, with these added advantages, and its superior paper, typographical execution and presswork, we still have it the cheapest journal in the country. 53

Despite the prodigious efforts of Miss Anthony, subscriptions never rose beyond 3,000. Only the generosity of friends and family met the pressing day-by-day financial demands of the paper.

Her sister, Mary, lent all her savings and worked in The Revolution office during her summer vacation in 1869, freeing Susan to attend woman suffrage conventions and to try to build subscriptions for her paper. A wealthy Quaker cousin, Anson Lapham, came to her aid a number of times. All were stop-gap measures, and none solved the financial problems of the paper. For a time a stock company seemed possible, but it did not materialize.

Editorial Content

Editorially, the paper was vigorous and fearless in its coverage of women's rights issues. On the lively opinion pages, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury discussed suffrage, irrespective of sex or color; equal pay for women for equal work; open schools, colleges

53 The Revolution, June 24, 1869, p. 385.
and professions; injustices to women; labor problems; eight-hour working days; political developments; the impeachment trial of President Johnson; and in succession, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Amendments. They backed off from nothing, including defense of women they considered victims of the double moral and legal standards. Every encouraging bit of news for women's rights, as well as each discouraging piece that came their way, appeared in The Revolution.

Some of the best-known women writers of the day added their efforts to those of Mrs. Stanton and Mr. Pillsbury. Among these were Alice and Phoebe Cary, Anna Dickinson, Laura C. Bullard, Lillie Devereux Blake, Paulina Wright Davis, Eleanor Kirk, Olive Logan, Mary Clemmer, and Matilda Joslyn Gage.

Press Reaction

Miss Anthony obviously took great pride in the newspaper, and Lutz described her feelings:

She was proud of her paper, proud of its typography, which was far more readable than the average news sheets of the day with their miserably small print. The larger type and less crowded pages were inviting, the articles stimulating.54

But Miss Anthony was very concerned about the reaction of the press to The Revolution. Comments about The Revolution by other editors were picked up and reprinted in the newspaper under the heading, "What the Press Says of Us," or "What the Press Is Saying About Us."

54 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 165.
Detroit Michigan Daily Union - Women are safe. Miss Anthony's baby is born--good looking, bright, intelligent.

Boston Daily and Weekly Voice - "The Revolution."--We welcome with much pleasure the appearance of the first number of this new journal of reform. It is a neatly-printed sixteen-page paper. . . . Its articles are able, radical, timely, varied, and interesting, striking a telling blow upon old error and wrong. . . . Its appearance is an encouraging sign of the time.

Machias (Maine) Republican - . . . handsomely gotten up. It is essentially a woman's rights affair; . . .55

While not all comments were complimentary, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton felt compelled to react to the favorable references to their newspaper. Under the heading "What the Press Is Saying About Us," appeared this comment:

The press on all sides is becoming so very complimentary, that we feel more like hiding our faces behind our fans than commenting on their praises of us. So we make a low bow to all these appreciative editors, and beg them, in whatever they write hereafter on this question of Woman's Rights, to be spicy, common-sense and argumentative; for as, we are expected to answer all that is said on this subject, we should like to have meat on the bone given us to pick.56

Nevertheless, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton smarted under the neglect of any editor to note the existence of The Revolution. Particularly galling was the continuing snub from Horace Greeley's New York Tribune. In the February 5, 1868, issue of The Revolution they

55 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 66.

56 The Revolution, p. 66.
noted, "The World takes the lead in an admirable article which we publish with comments. Where is Mr. Greeley?" 57

Mounting Problems

In 1869, Miss Anthony moved The Revolution to the first floor of the Women's Bureau at 49 East Twenty-third Street, near Fifth Avenue. George Francis Train had voluntarily severed all connections with The Revolution, and in its new, fashionable setting, Miss Anthony's hopes were high that the newspaper would prosper. 58

In addition to all her responsibilities with her newspaper, the indefatigable Miss Anthony had continued to work for the National Woman Suffrage Association, travel all over the country to speak on woman suffrage, make trips to Washington to confer with Congressmen, promote women's labor unions, and endlessly circulate petitions against and for Constitutional Amendments. Isabella Beecher Hooker, writing to a friend, said of Miss Anthony, "... her energy and executive ability are bounded only by her physical power, which is something immense." 59

But all of Miss Anthony's energies were not enough to save a sinking newspaper. The debts mounted; and compounding her problems was the announcement of a rival newspaper, the Woman's Journal, to be issued in Boston in January 1870 under the editorship of Lucy Stone,

57 The Revolution, p. 66.
leader of the more conservative faction of woman's suffrage and the woman Miss Anthony blamed for the split in the woman's movement. The Agitator, which had planned to merge with The Revolution, joined instead with the Woman's Journal. The wealthy, influential Republicans backing the new paper assured its financial success. The new journal was a blow to Miss Anthony, but she increased her efforts to keep The Revolution alive.

The Revolution editors' inclination to take up the cause of women who were victims of injustices contributed to its reputation as a radical newspaper and may have destroyed the newspaper's best chance for survival.

Harriet Beecher Stowe and her sister, Isabella Beecher Hooker, were about to join the staff as associate editors. Miss Anthony had refused their request to change the name of the paper, but negotiations were continuing. They were terminated, however, because The Revolution editorialized on a scandal which touched the Beecher family.

In her biography of Miss Anthony, Dorr wrote:

Anything Hattie Stowe engaged in, anything she wrote, carried a tremendous prestige, and her new novel, which she promised to publish serially in The Revolution, would unquestionably have saved its life.60

"Death Warrant"

With the conservative Woman's Journal gaining in popularity, The Revolution debts mounting, Mr. Pillsbury departing from the staff, and

60 Dorr, p. 224.
Mrs. Stanton out on the lecture circuit, the future of The Revolution looked bleak.

Mrs. Stanton had been urging Miss Anthony to give up the newspaper and turn to lecturing. But it was not until Miss Anthony was pushed into lecturing in Pennsylvania by Mrs. Stanton's illness, that the proprietor of The Revolution could see herself as a lecturer. Her fee of $75 for each lecture in Pennsylvania and later fees, which were increased to $150 in Illinois, paid off $1,300 of The Revolution's debt. But Parker Pillsbury's help in the office while she lectured was only temporary, and by the time she returned to New York she had decided that she could not continue to carry the excessive financial burden of The Revolution.61

On May 22, 1870, "for the consideration of one dollar," she turned the paper over to Clara Burtis Bullard, wealthy heiress of the Dr. Winslow's Soothing Syrup fortune.62

"It was like signing my own death warrant," she wrote in her diary, and to a friend she wrote, "I feel a great calm sadness like that of a mother binding out a dear child that she could not support."63

Miss Anthony's "child" had taken her deeply into debt. She signed notes for $10,000, and thousands of words later--from the

61 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, pp. 177-178.
62 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 191.
lecture platform in behalf of women's suffrage—and six years to the
month, she recorded in her diary on May 1, 1876, "The day of Jubilee
for me has come. I have paid the last dollar of The Revolution
debt." 64

As for The Revolution, it stayed alive for one year under the
editorship of Mrs. Bullard and Theodore Tilton, and was taken over
then by the Christian Enquirer. It was a different newspaper,
"... dealing with pleasant topics which offended no one." 65 Mrs.
Bullard approached Miss Anthony before the paper died about taking it
back. But the ex-proprietor of The Revolution knew that she was no
closer than ever to supporting the child she had reluctantly given up.

64 Harper in Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 225.
65 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 179.
CHAPTER IV

FORMAT OF THE REVOLUTION

With the exception of type size, The Revolution would be labeled a neat, readable publication even by today's standards. Certainly in comparison with many of the nineteenth century newspapers with their smudged type, fine print, and absence of leading between lines, The Revolution, set in readable, clean type, generously leaded, was a far superior publication. Its attractive appearance was recognized by many contemporary editors, and their complimentary comments were duly noted in The Revolution.

"Neat and attractive in appearance," said the Sunday News; "neatly printed," said the Carlinville, Illinois, Democrat and the Boston Daily and Weekly Voice; "handsomely gotten up," said the Machias Maine, Republican.66

"...we must give Mrs. [sic] Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, not forgetting Parker Pillsbury, and the celebrated G. F. Train, credit for issuing a paper editorially and typographically the smartest sheet we have seen for a long time."67

The typographical accuracy of The Revolution added to its pleasing appearance. The newspaper was almost error-free in typography. The typesetting, and presumably the proofreading, were done by women employees. It was apparent that Miss Anthony intended to prove with

66 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 66.
67 The Revolution, March 12, 1868, p. 147.
her paper that women typesetters were equal to men and equally capable of producing an attractive newspaper.

Since errors were rare, it was surprising to find that in the dateline of the fourth volume, the volume and issue numbers were reversed. The issue which should have read Volume 4, Number 1, read instead, Volume 1, Number 4.\^{68} The mistake would not be surprising in today's newspaper, but it was a rare and unusual error for The Revolution to make.

**Page Makeup**

The size of the newspaper, approximately 12 by 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, was smaller than modern-day tabloids. The nameplate, plain and uncluttered, contained only the word "The Revolution." After the first issue, the motto, "Principle, Not Policy: Justice, Not Favors.--Men, Their Rights and Nothing More: Women, Their Rights and Nothing Less" appeared below the nameplate.

The Revolution was consistently a 16-page publication. Each page was arranged in a three-column format, 14 picas to a column, each column divided by a column rule. Editorials and stories were not crowded on the page. Many of the editorials were lengthy, but the content of most was identified by a simple headline, approximately

\^{68} The Revolution, p. 1.
12-point in size. These heads ranged from a single word such as "Kansas"\(^69\) to provocative labels like "Petticoats and Pantaloons, Principles and Prejudices."\(^70\) Extremely long columns of type were sometimes relieved by subheads, but it was not unusual to find two or three pages of solid type. A number of short articles were printed without headlines. Generous spacing and cutoff rules separated these.

While the format of the paper varied from time to time, usually the first column of the first page of each issue contained the mast, sometimes the policy statement, usually information about the cost of the newspaper and premiums for subscriptions, and sometimes information about advertising rates. Significant stories about woman's suffrage or editorials appeared in the second and third columns. Occasionally, however, the lead story started in the first column, with the mast using only three to four inches at the top of the column. In later issues, this condensed masthead pattern was commonly followed.

There were three sections of each issue of The Revolution: The first dealt primarily with women's rights issues and news, the second with business and finance, and the third contained advertising. The content of each was delineated in the policy statement which appeared in the first issue.

Policy

The Revolution was labeled in the mast, "The organ of the National Party of New America." The editorial policies that the paper

\(^69\) The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

\(^70\) The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 395.
advocated were concisely expressed in the first issue:

The Revolution will advocate: 1. IN POLITICS--Educated Suffrage, Irrespective of Sex or Color; Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work; Eight Hours Labor; Abolition of Standing Armies and Party Despotisms. Down with Politicians--Up with the people! 2. IN RELIGION--Deeper Thought; Broader Idea; Science not Superstition; Personal Purity; Love to Man as well as God. 3. IN SOCIAL LIFE--Morality and Reform; Practical Education, not Theoretical; Facts not Fiction; Virtue not Vice; Cold Water not Alcoholic Drinks or Medicines. It will indulge in no Gross Personalities and Insert no Quack or Immoral Advertisements, so common even in Religious Newspapers. 71

The financial policy of the paper was listed as a fourth point in the policy of the newspaper. It reflected the philosophy and the wordy style of George Francis Train:

The Revolution proposes a new Commercial and Financial Policy. America no longer led by Europe. Gold like our Cotton and Corn for sale. Greenbacks for money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Foreign Manufactures Prohibited. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for American bottoms. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor; and if Congress Vote One Hundred and Twenty-five Millions for a Standing Army and Freedman's Bureau, cannot they spare One Million to Educate Europe and to keep bright the chain of acquaintance and friendship between those millions and their fatherland? 72

71 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.
72 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.
Editorial and News Coverage

Editorials were not consistently identified by author. The initials "E.C.S." (Elizabeth Cady Stanton), "P.P." (Parker Pillsbury) and occasionally "S.B.A." (Susan B. Anthony) appeared at the end of some editorials. Other editorials were sometimes initialed by the contributor, but full identification of the author was seldom included. Brief editorial comments about stories in other papers or about women's rights were rarely identified.

News stories were not always the objective accounts of events that today's standards encourage. Editorial comment was, however, easy to identify as the opinion of The Revolution editors. These two examples demonstrate this point:

Mrs. F. E. W. Harper, the eloquent and ladylike, but slightly colored, speaker, of Boston, was put out of the street cars in Richmond, Va., the other night in a severe rain. The dragon of colorphobia dies hard. 73

A day or two after Mr. Greeley delivered his report against Woman's Suffrage in the New York Constitutional Convention, Mrs. Greeley sent up a petition headed by herself, from the ladies of her town, demanding the ballot. How un gallant you were, Mr. Greeley, not only to your wife, but to the thousands of other fair ladies that followed her example. 74

Informational stories in The Revolution covered a broad area. There was a series on women as inventors, farmers, physicians, jurors, and machinists. Others dealt with women's health, exercises, clothing, and the care of babies. Another series, glorying in women's

73 The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 172.
74 The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 172.
accomplishments, reported what women were doing in the United States and abroad.

Temperance, the use of tobacco, and profanity were topics for articles. News of all workingwomen's associations as well as the working and living conditions of workingwomen was published. Inequality in teachers' pay was frequently the subject of news items. News of women's clubs was regularly reported.

Women's suffrage meetings in every state in which they occurred as well as women's suffrage news from abroad appeared in *The Revolution*. A Washington newsletter informing readers of what was happening in the nation's capital appeared regularly. Additional articles identified and eulogized candidates who supported women's rights and castigated those who did not.

No matter how significant or insignificant the topic, the editors of *The Revolution* succeeded in giving stories a slant that related them to women's suffrage or women's rights. If nothing else, they commented that injustices and sordid behavior—at least what they saw as injustices and sordid behavior—would disappear once women had the ballot.

Until relations with George Francis Train were severed, his letters, editorials, and news contributions appeared frequently, both in the editorial section of the newspaper and in his own domain, the financial section. *The Revolution* also faithfully reported Train's whereabouts and activities.
Some frivolous topics also received attention in The Revolution. Chewing gum, pet names, wife swapping, double beds, cooperative housekeeping, and orange marmalade were among these.

A feature added to The Revolution by the end of the first year was the serialization of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Women. This was followed by Eleanor Kirk's Up Broadway and Alice Cary's Born Thrall or Woman's Life and Experience.

From the first, poetry occasionally appeared in the newspaper, and in the last volume one or two pages of poetry appeared in most issues.

A literary column contained book and magazine reviews, frequently with encouragement for readers to purchase or subscribe.

Among the most lively of the paper's editorial coverage were the sections entitled "What the Press Says of Us" and "What the People Say to Us." The Revolution looked for favorable notices in the press, but it was also alert to those which ridiculed women's rights or women's suffrage. One, two, or three pages of each issue were devoted to press notices of The Revolution, many of which were followed by The Revolution's reaction to the notice.

"What the People Say to Us" was an open forum section which printed letters from readers. Many of these criticized The Revolution for being too radical, for treating the sacredness of marriage too lightly, and for not placing women's suffrage second to the Negroes' enfranchisement. Far more were favorable than critical. Many were unsigned. One writer commented that thoughts should have admission
anywhere without name attached, and commended The Revolution for not demanding the name of correspondents.

The status of women in the nineteenth century makes Miss Anthony's reasons for not demanding signatures quite obvious. Many women were not sufficiently liberated to have the courage to--or they dared not--criticize their husband openly, and especially for print.

The Revolution, as has been noted, jumped fearlessly into the controversy over two celebrated criminal cases of the day, both involving women. There was no question as to their editorial position in these cases (see pp. 67-70). For the most part, however, "hard" news stories and day-to-day news events were not reported in the newspaper.

Financial Section

Everything promised in the policy statement of The Revolution under financial and commercial categories was delivered in a colorful, extreme style.

Provocative titles drew the reader into many of the articles written by George Francis Train and David M. Melliss of the New York World. "How the British Credit System Swindles America,"75 "Stealing As a 'Fine Art'--Congressional Land Jobs,"76 and "High Art Swindling of the Wall Street Cliques"77 were typical headlines.

75 The Revolution, May 29, 1868, p. 331.
76 The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 396.
Melliss' column "Talk Among the Brokers in Wall Street" was a gossip column. Much of its content would be considered libelous today. Typical is this excerpt in the style in which it was printed:

The talk among the brokers is that . . .

HENRY KEEP
is going to give
A MILLION DOLLARS
to found an institution for the poor
of New York city, providing that
HE CAN MAKE FIVE MILLION
by sticking all his friends and the public
with the
NORTHWEST SHARES AT HIGH PRICES.78

Legal tender paper money, penny ocean postage, the purchase of American goods only, the encouragement of immigration to settle the country, and the establishment of the French financing systems to develop our mines and railroads were among the favorite topics of Train and Melliss.

Advertising Section

Usually the last two or three pages of The Revolution contained advertisements. Occasionally, advertising dropped to one page or even one column of a page--occasions which were undoubtedly agonizing for a publisher who was having financial difficulties. The strict standards Miss Anthony imposed on The Revolution advertisers and the limited circulation of the newspaper affected the amount of advertisements in the newspaper. Only advertisements of products Miss Anthony could recommend were accepted. Patent medicines and other questionable

78 The Revolution, August 13, 1868, p. 88.
products were ruled out. Silverwares, watches, books, stationery, musical instruments, household furniture, scissors, and sewing machines were among the acceptable products. Although Miss Anthony advocated more freedom in women's clothing styles, she did accept advertising of current fashions from women's dress suppliers and pattern companies. A full-page ad for Butterick patterns appearing in an 1859 issue was unusual from the standpoint of size and number of illustrations. Most ads were one to four or five inches; a few were full column or more than half a column. Most were without any kind of illustration. Advertising, compared with that of many of the publications of that time, was restrained, dignified, and in refined taste.

Newspaper Carriers

The New York edition of The Revolution was carried by girls "dressed in red and green caps and skirts, a costume furnished by Madame Demorest at twenty-five dollars the suit," according to the Brooklyn Daily Times of that day. The Times, quoted in The Revolution, added that the "Revolutionists" were "strong-minded" and insisted on these uniforms. "That's the woman of it," they commented. The sharp response from The Revolution editors followed:

That is the humanity of it! It would be well for all the city journals to follow our example. Manifest some interest in the ragged, dirty, half-starved boys who sell your papers daily. Have them washed, hair cut, well shod, gaily dressed, you will add to their self-respect, ornament our streets and increase the sale of your papers. We have heard enough of dirty streets, dirty boys, dirty curs, "the man of it" everywhere, and now comes The Revolution."79

79 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 183.
CHAPTER V

THEMES OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS TREATED IN THE REVOLUTION

The two women involved with The Revolution were early feminists whose concern was with the status of women in America and in all of society.

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were part of a group of reformers who objected to the inequalities women encountered in every facet of their lives. They advocated equal opportunities for women in education and employment; equal rights under the law; equal social and moral codes. While they joined abolitionists speaking and writing for the end of slavery, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton--unlike many of their feminist friends--refused during and following the Civil War to lay aside their demands for women and to place the black man's rights of citizenship and suffrage ahead of women's rights.

By the time the two were given the opportunity to start The Revolution, their thinking on women's rights had crystallized. They were convinced that the way to achieve equality for women was through the ballot. Their interest in women's rights was as keen as ever, but they were firmly convinced that suffrage was the key. The Revolution provided a perfect vehicle for their dual advocacy of women's rights and women's suffrage. 80

80 Miss Anthony carried this conviction to the grave, but Mrs. Stanton came to believe that religious fear and superstition kept women subservient. She wrote Clara Colby "... I cannot work in the old
The male editor, Parker Pillsbury, a staunch supporter of both the women's movement and the antislavery movement, had resigned his post as editor of the *Antislavery Standard* in protest of the publication's opposition to women's suffrage. He was one of only a handful of men in the antislavery ranks who, at that time, were willing to support Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton in their campaign for the ballot.

Most abolitionists felt that women should step into the background and wait quietly for their turn in the suffrage "grab bag," a turn that would come after the black man's enfranchisement.

The first issue of *The Revolution*, January 8, 1868, carried the policy statement of the paper, and in the opening editorial and news articles established the overriding theme of the newspaper--women's suffrage.

In the first article, Elizabeth Cady Stanton hailed Kansas for recording 9,000 votes, one-third of the entire vote, in favor of women's suffrage. She lavishly praised the state as a leader in legislation for women on questions of property, education, wages, marriage, and divorce. She took the opportunity, too, to chide those who she thought had failed to support the cause of women's suffrage--eastern journalists who were silent on the question, abolitionists who feared the demand for women's suffrage would defeat Negro suffrage, and black men who were stumping the state against women's suffrage.

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ruts any longer. I have said all I have to say on the subject of suffrage" (Lutz, *Created Equal*, p. 297). In 1895 she published Volume 1 of *The Woman's Bible*, written to make women question theological doctrines derogatory to them.
The second article on the first page under the heading "The Ballot--Bread, Virtue, Power" expressed what Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony planned for The Revolution.

The Revolution will contain a series of articles, beginning next week, to prove the power of the ballot in elevating the character and condition of woman. We shall show that the ballot will secure for woman equal place and equal wages in the world of work; that it will open to her the schools, colleges, professions and all the opportunities and advantages of life; that in her hand it will be a moral power to stay the tide of vice and crime and misery on every side.

... Thus, too, shall we purge our constitutions and statute laws from all invidious, distinctions among the citizens of the States, and secure the same civil and moral code for man and woman. We will show the hundred thousand female teachers, and the millions of laboring women, that their complaints, petitions, strikes and protective unions are of no avail until they hold the ballot in their own hands; for it is the first step toward social, religious and political equality.81

While The Revolution advocated woman's suffrage as a cure for all inequalities women experienced, it did a great deal more.

Religious Rights

Mrs. Stanton attacked the subject of religion with gusto in an early issue. Replying to a letter from a reader asking if the editors felt that the Sixteenth verse of Genesis, Third Chapter ("And thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.") was properly translated, she replied:

Remember man translated the Bible in harmony with his own ideas. As we read that best of Books, it is in favor of the most enlarged freedom from Genesis to Revelation. We shall give the whole Bible argument in favor of Woman's Equality soon, in a series of articles, in which we shall show that it

is wholly on our side of the question. When women and lions write history, we shall have a new version of man's true position and exploits.\textsuperscript{82}

One of the arguments used by anti-feminists was that subjugation of women was divinely ordained by the Bible. Mrs. Stanton challenged this in \textit{The Revolution} as she had when she read the Declaration of Sentiments at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, listing among the "usurpations on the part of man toward woman":

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.\textsuperscript{83}

George Francis Train commented on the question of religion in one of his letters from Dublin, Ireland, printed in \textit{The Revolution}.

"Why should we not pray to our mother who art in heaven, as well, as to our father?" he asked.\textsuperscript{84}

Miss Anthony's religious convictions were not as strong as those of Mrs. Stanton. Lutz, in her biography of Mrs. Stanton, suggested a reason for this.

Religion presented no problem to Susan. Brought up as a liberal Quaker, she had little to unlearn when she began to test her religious beliefs with her intelligence. Her church more than any other accorded women equal rights, an opportunity to preach, and a voice in the government. The shadow of theological dogma had not fallen across her life.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{82} \textit{The Revolution}, February 5, 1868, p. 67.

\textsuperscript{83} \textit{History of Woman Suffrage}, Vol. 1, p. 71.

\textsuperscript{84} \textit{The Revolution}, December 3, 1868.

\textsuperscript{85} Lutz, \textit{Created Equal}, p. 296.
Fallacies. Mrs. Stanton, distressed by the religious persecution of women, was eager to present the case for women and in the February 26, 1868, issue of The Revolution, wrote what presumably was the first of the articles she had promised her readers. Under the title, "Strong-minded Women of the Bible," she pointed out that there were many examples of women "called to fill positions involving large responsibilities both in civil and ecclesiastical history." Her editorial was probably intended as a refutation of the teaching of the church that women were inferior beings.86

In the February 5, 1868, issue, the ordination of a woman as pastor of a Massachusetts Universalist church was noted:

The Universalists are espousing the cause of Woman's Rights and Wrongs with great apparent good will. One season [sic] may be that they have already a number of talented and excellent women enrolled in their ministry, who are practically demonstrating the question of their fitness to hold any place assigned to moral and intelligent beings.87

In the March 19, 1868, issue, under the title "Church Suffrage for Women," Parker Pillsbury wrote:

The religious press is reporting the tempest of discussion in the churches and among the clergy, as to the right of woman to any voice in church affairs. In the Congregational Church even, the tendency is still towards despotism. Christ and the New Testament were tolerably explicit on the question of human distinctions. But it was a great while ago. There were to be no "Greeks nor Jews, bond nor free, male nor female, but all

86 In the last decade of her life, Mrs. Stanton dropped out of the campaign for woman suffrage. Her efforts were devoted to the two volumes of The Woman's Bible, in which she intended to free women from the man-made fallacies in religion in regard to the inferior position of women (Lutz, Created Equal, pp. 295-307).

87 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 75.
"Somehow the church now-a-days don't [sic] see it. The pulpit don't [sic] see it. One or two churches have abolished the distinction between male and female, and the rest are quite by the ears about it."

**Gains.** Typical of the not so subtle attack in *The Revolution* pages on women's subservient position in the church is the account of a Methodist minister whose daughter noted a reference in the Bible to four women who preached. *The Revolution* account said that the minister tried to correct his daughter, but, perceiving his error when the daughter pointed out that the word "preach" had been mistranslated from Greek as "prophecy [sic]," declared, "I shall never speak against women's preaching any more."

Referring to a story taken from the Boston *Christian Register*, *The Revolution* noted that a ministers' convention had congratulated a woman on her ordination to the ministry; but *The Revolution* offered this reassurance from a church spokesman:

"We have no fear of a revolution in the delicate characteristics of woman's nature by education and advancement to positions now occupied by men. By her sudden elevation to higher privileges and more public duties, our race has thus far lost nothing in numbers and vigor, our country nothing in order and well-being, our homes nothing of domestic beauty and sanctity. Woman will always prefer to work in the less conspicuous office of the Christian ministry. She will never lose her femininity. But whenever and wherever she shall exhibit such qualifications as shall not render her ministrations acceptable but create a demand for them, we shall welcome her to the pulpit. And to this end we hope that the obstacles of prejudice and regulations will be removed, so that she may freely enjoy the educational privileges of our theological..."

88 *The Revolution*, March 19, 1868, p. 162.

89 *The Revolution*, March 19, 1868, p. 166.
schools. The ordination of Mrs. Hanaford is but the beginning of a new movement, the end of which will be the opening of the pulpit doors to female preachers.90

The Revolution also noted that the Universalist pastor, Olympia Brown, had been offered $1,000 and expenses to devote a year to lecturing upon the enfranchisement of women. The editorial comment was, "She has done a good work in Weymouth, and proved that a woman can be successful as a minister."91

The reasoning behind some of the items in The Revolution was somewhat obscure. This example appeared in an early issue.

Rev. Miss Chapin--Another lady Divine is reported. A writer from Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, tells a pleasant story of a lady minister there, Rev. Miss Chapin, formerly of Michigan. He says she is about 28 years of age, medium height, has a large development of chest, round throat, florid complexion. Her head is large, and eminently developed in the anterior and coronal. In a clear and well modulated voice she read the hymn. Her prayer was short and earnest. She discoursed on the immorality of the soul. She was logical, and a more finished elocution and grace of diction I have not heard in any western church.92

In the April 9, 1868, issue, The Revolution exulted in the Methodist Church's giving the right to vote to women in all church affairs, and reported on an election for three trustees at a New York church. "The ladies claim a great victory," the article reported, "as Mr. Reed [the defeated candidate] was the champion of the opponents of female suffrage . . ."93

90 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 186.
91 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 188.
92 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 189.
93 The Revolution, April 9, 1868, p. 209.
Small and large victories continued to be noted—a Congregational church of Harlem opening all offices to women, a female preacher drawing crowds in Wisconsin, the continued success of the Rev. Mrs. Hanaford as a preacher, the suggestion by deacons of Plymouth Church that some deaconesses might be installed, and a notice that five deaconesses had been ordained in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

The philosophy of the newspaper was neatly expressed in a July 9, 1868, article on women's suffrage in the church: "... we lose no opportunity of registering in The Revolution every sign of advance, however slight, in the right direction."94 And so the editors did and continued to do as long as they edited The Revolution.

**Educational Rights**

The policy statement of The Revolution included Educated Suffrage, but the matter of equality in educational opportunities was not specifically enumerated; and it was not treated as elaborately as many other rights by The Revolution editors.

Short items about equal education were printed sporadically in The Revolution, sometimes followed by editorial comment. In the October 15, 1868, issue, a short account of hazing as practiced in New England colleges was printed. Following it was a typical comment,

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94 *The Revolution, July 9, 1868, p. 11.*
"When young women are permitted a place in the colleges, the end of such brutalities will cease."  

In the same issue, the president of the University of Michigan, supporting admission of women to the University, was reported as saying:

I have come to this conclusion slowly--The standard of education would not be changed. The habits of study would not be affected. The honor of the University would be rather increased than diminished.  

A Williams College professor supported coeducation, The Revolution reported, but a Cornell professor was quoted as uncertain that the association of the sexes in education would be an advantage either to society or the country at large.

Mrs. Stanton devoted an editorial to equality in education in the August 13, 1868, issue. Referring to a discussion at The Revolution on the advantage of educating the sexes together, she mentioned that the Agricultural College in Kansas was open to boys and girls alike and suggested that the New York legislature consider opening Cornell to girls. In the editorial she shrewdly answered objections to coeducation:

The two stereotyped objections of most of our opponents are: 1st. Boys are too coarse and too vulgar in college life for the association of girls. 2d. Girls are so fascinating that boys could not study in their company. To the first objection we say,

95 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 236.
96 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 236.
97 The Revolution, August 27, 1868, p. 314; November 19, 1868, p. 314.
that if such be the condition of our colleges, it is all im-
portant that every boy should take his sister with him as a
means of protection from such gross associations. When in
California and Oregon, society being chiefly male, was rapidly
tending to savageism, ship-loads of women went out, and order
and decency were restored to life. Remember, the young men
who crowd these colleges are to be the companions, the future
husbands of our pure, refined daughters.

If your daughters cannot stand by the dissecting-table with
young men to study the wonders of the nervous system and the
circulation of the blood, without danger of rude comments, how
can they marry such men without danger of being dragged down
into their material atmosphere?.

As to the second objection. If the sexes were educated
together we should have the healthy, moral and intellectual
stimulus of sex ever quickening and refining all the faculties,
without the undue excitement of sense that results from novelty
in the present system of isolation.

Fussing at the London *Times* on the subject of education in the
September 24, 1868, issue, Mrs. Stanton wrote:

But the *Times* is especially troubled at the idea of edu-
cating the sexes together! One would suppose, Mr. Editor,
you had passed your days in Turkey or China, where women are
shut up in palaces and harems, never permitted to talk, walk,
or dance, with men, nor to see them even, without masks and
veils. The danger of the sexes reading Greek together, or
meeting at the black-board to solve a geometrical [sic] problem,
might be startling in those countries, but in America and
England, where men and women meet everywhere, at the balls, the
operas, and the church, on Broadway and Regent street, in our
parks, railroads, steamboats, on the throne, in the halls
of legislation, in "The British Association for the Advancement
of Science," in political meetings, both as speakers and
hearers, it is no great step to open all the school and col-
leges in the land to girls.

The Revolution serialized Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Rights of
Women*. Miss Wollstonecraft dwelt at great length on inequality in edu-
cational opportunities as a cause of the subordination of women.

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99 *The Revolution*, September 24, 1868, p. 177.
In later issues more space was given to coeducation in colleges, but aside from this, rights in regard to equal education were mentioned incidentally, usually in articles supporting other rights and as a basic premise of women's rights.

**Working Rights**

"Equal pay to women for equal work; eight hours labor" were advocated in the policy statement of *The Revolution*.100 These rights were dear to the editors of *The Revolution*, and particularly to the proprietor, Susan B. Anthony. A report in the August 20, 1868, issue placed women's working rights above all others in *The Revolution*.

The New York Atlas said, last week, that there are 30,000 women in this city who labor night and day for a pittance upon which no tenderhearted philanthropist would attempt to support a favorite cat; yet in all the progressive movements of the day, and all the revolutionary agitations touching the so-called rights of women, no one attempts to ameliorate the condition of these poor slaves of the needle. The Atlas, with the very best of intentions no doubt, could not have been more mistaken. *The Revolution* was instituted pre-eminently for that very object. It exists for the one specific purpose, more than any other, of ameliorating the condition of working women.101

**Organization of workingwomen.** Miss Anthony viewed the ballot as the answer to women's low wages, long hours, miserable working conditions, and narrow job opportunities. Considerable space in *The Revolution* was given to announcements of upcoming workingwomen's meetings or reports of meetings which had occurred. Some of these

100 *The Revolution*, January 8, 1868, p. 1.
reports revealed, however, the reluctance of workingwomen to embrace women's suffrage. Much in the manner of the abolitionists, some members of the Workingwomen's Association rejected women's suffrage because they believed the unpopularity of the issue would reflect unfavorably on the demands for equal rights in labor.

In an early issue, Miss Anthony called a group of workingwomen together to form a workingwomen's association. The women, primarily members of the printing trade, elected Miss Anthony their delegate to the National Labor Congress meeting in New York. She also persuaded the women in the sewing trade to organize in time for the National Labor Congress.

The Revolution's account of the National Labor Congress contained this resolution:

Resolved, that the low wages, long hours and damaging service to which workingwomen are doomed, destroy health, imperil virtue, and are a standing reproach to civilization—that we urge them to learn trades, engage in business, join our labor unions, or form protective unions of their own, secure the ballot, and use every other honorable means to persuade or force employers to do justice to women by paying them equal wages for equal work.102

The Revolution story went on to say that when one of the delegates objected to the phrase "secure the ballot," Miss Anthony strongly defended it. Still it was stricken from the resolution. During discussion, one delegate was quoted (in The Revolution account) as saying:

I know when I was sent here it was not to indorse the Woman's Suffrage question. How can I go back to my society

102 The Revolution, October 1, 1868, p. 199.
and tell them I voted for Woman's Suffrage. None of the dele-
gates can go back and be sustained in such action.103

Education of working women. Miss Anthony realized that not all
women were prepared for the "equality" she wanted for them. Lutz,
reflecting on the newspaper's efforts to upgrade women, said, "The
Revolution continually spurred women on to improve themselves, to learn
new skills, and actually to do equal work if they expected equal
pay."104 Typical is this exhortation in the February 11, 1869, issue,
initialled "S.B.A."

One word to women who propose to learn type-setting. It
now looks as if the employers of the city would open their
offices to the education of young women. If they should, it
will of course do away with the necessity of the "Training
School for Girls." The four things indispensable to a com-
positor, are quickness of movement, good spelling, correct
punctuation, and brains enough to take in the idea of the
article to be set up. Therefore, let no young women think
of learning the trade until she is assured of these requi-
sites. Without these first elements there will be nothing but
hard work and small pay. Yes, and another thing, make up your
mind to take the "lean" with the "fat," and be early and late
at the case precisely as the men are. If you allow yourselves
to be "petted" you must content yourselves with half pay. I
do not demand equal pay for any women save those who do equal
work in value. Scorn to be "petted" by your employers; make
them understand you are in their service as workers not as
WOMEN; and that you will accept nothing less nor more because
of your sex.105

The training school for type-setting and other schools to pre-
pare women for jobs were frequently referred to and encouraged by The
Revolution. And—as in every other area of women's rights—The

103 The Revolution, October 1, 1868, p. 200.
104 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 152.
105 The Revolution, February 11, 1869, p. 90.
Revolution reported minor victories in achieving equal pay or opportunity for women. A story on the Working Women's Association noted:

From the best evidence your committee has been able to gather, the number of rag-pickers in New York City is about 1,200 of all grades, a little more than half being women. This is the only business, we believe, where women have equal opportunities with men.\textsuperscript{106}

Another article reported:

The workingmen of Boston had a grand demonstration recently in Faneuil Hall, at which among other resolutions the following was adopted: Resolved that \ldots city government shall pay women employees as much as men for the same quality and quantity of service. \ldots \textsuperscript{107}

Press reaction. Although the editors of The Revolution welcomed the support of other publications in regard to women's rights, they bristled at the backhand compliment of the New York Herald when it commended Miss Anthony and Miss Anna Dickinson on their efforts for workingwomen.

Miss Susan B. Anthony and Miss Anna Dickinson may have found their true mission--after long pilgrimages through Women's Rights absurdities, hunting after Female Suffrage--in taking up the cause of woman's rights to obtain a fair recognition of her labor and the extension of those various classes of employment for which women can be made useful. Such objects are not only legitimate, but commendable, and it is to be hoped that the Working Women's Central Association will put all women's rights spouting conventions into the background.\textsuperscript{108}

The sharp reply following the above article read:

The proscribed classes, at least in this country, have the right of moral agitation and free discussion, which they do not

\textsuperscript{106} The Revolution, December 31, 1868, p. 406.
\textsuperscript{107} The Revolution, December 31, 1868, p. 411.
\textsuperscript{108} The Revolution, November 12, 1868, p. 299.
propose to surrender at the behest of newspaper Editors--or any other department of the white male citizenship.\(^{109}\)

In answer to an article appearing in the New York Times, stating, "The proper condition for a woman in all civilized countries is undoubtedly that of dependence upon somebody else for support [men]." The Revolution responded:

The New York Times has got so far. Really it is not a great advance to have made late in the afternoon of the nineteenth century. Woman can hardly feel complimented or honored by such a presentation of her "natural" feebleness, helplessness and worthlessness.\(^{110}\)

Inequality in the pay of men and women was frequently noted, as in the following story:

New Hampshire is not behind her sister states in magnanimity, but the amount of school money raised by taxation last year was $282,606, an average of $3.60 per scholar. The monthly wages of men teachers average $34, and those of women $16, which would be a disgrace to any state, and is to her.\(^{111}\)

There is ample evidence in the pages of The Revolution that few opportunities were missed by the editors or the publisher to "sell" themselves. Every compliment that reached the ears of those involved or was contributed must have been shared with readers.

"Back Patting." The Revolution, reporting the New England labor convention as a "glorious success from the first hour to the

\(^{109}\) The Revolution; November 12, 1868, p. 299.

\(^{110}\) The Revolution, February 25, 1869, p. 120.

\(^{111}\) The Revolution, February 18, 1869, p. 108.
The Revolution, February 11, 1869, p. 84.

113 The Revolution, November 26, 1868, p. 326.

114 The Resolution, October 15, 1868, p. 231.
woman's history in the United States you are placed, and by your own efforts, on a level with men, as far as possible, to obtain wages for your labor. I need not say that you have taken a great, a momentous step forward in the path to success. Keep at it now girls, and you will achieve full and plenteous success. (Applause.)

With a blend of wheedling, pushing, and praise, Miss Anthony brought "her girls" along. On the first page of the October 29, 1868 issue she wrote:

It is no longer a doubt as to whether women are competent to learn and carry on the business of printing. They not only set type admirably, as in our own office, but they perform all the work of publishing, editing and printing newspapers and other important works. Who shall say that this one success is not worth all the woman's rights enterprise has hitherto cost! And yet this is but one of many, and not one of the most important either. The Revolution itself is alone a triumph.

Social and Legal Rights

"Whatsoever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do," Sarah Grimke wrote in 1838.

Lucy Stone in her 1855 marriage to Henry Blackwell drew considerable attention by retaining her own name and by signing a pact with her husband which gave her certain equal rights which the law did not provide.

115 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 231.
116 The Revolution, October 29, 1868, p. 257.
117 Sinclair, p. 45. Quoted from "The Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women" (Boston, 1838), a pamphlet containing articles which originally appeared as a series in the New England Spectator, p. 122.
Marriage and divorce. Marriage and divorce were major concerns of feminists and they received frequent editorial treatment in The Revolution, usually from the pen of Mrs. Stanton or Eleanor Kirk.

Writing in June of 1868 Eleanor Kirk had "A Word To Abused Wives":

Let the marriage question alone, did you say, and wait for female suffrage to unsnar the skein . . . ? Why is it that from the very commencement, so much more has been required of women than men? Who can tell? Who ordained that man can violate every marriage obligation--drink, abuse, and then be obeyed?

. . . Suppose, for a moment, that in some place, could be gathered the wretched life above described, and Miss Anthony were called upon to address them, would not her eyes fill with tears, and her sympathetic heart throb painfully at the sight before her? Think you she would say "wait?" No; I know better, "Deliver yourselves from your oppressors; show that you have the ability and courage to leave such barbarians to their own darkness and infamy!" That's the way she would put it, I know; and "wait" would be as far from her tongue as double dealing is from her soul.

Wake up! don't wait for anybody or anything, for any new movement or philanthropic action on the part of society. Remember: "Each for herself: and justice for all!"118

Also from Eleanor Kirk these two excerpts from editorials:

Marriage is for life . . . , when circumstances do not render it a sin to live together as husband and wife. If a woman finds she has made a mistake in her marital relations and instead of the man she supposes she has wedded, finds a brute and a rascal, it then becomes her bounden duty to make tracks just as fast as she can.119

. . . What do you think of a man, who will not allow his wife to read The Revolution, or any other book or journal he does not approve? A man who is looked up to by a certain

118 The Revolution, June 18, 1868, pp. 381-382.
119 The Revolution, August 27, 1868, p. 117.
set as an exponent of principles, a rabid churchman, and a strict disciplinarian!120

In three consecutive issues in October, 1868, Mrs. Stanton gave marriage and divorce lengthy attention.

Under the heading, "Marriages and Mistresses," she discussed the marriage contract:

With the following summary of the laws on marriage and divorce, we have no doubt, the women of the republic, will be equally shocked, and all will readily see that whatever the "social position" of a "mistress" may be, the "legal position" of a wife is more dependent and degrading than any other condition of womanhood can possibly be. Why a contract for the mutual happiness of two parties should be made so hopeless and insulting to one is difficult to discover.121

With feminist logic and her customary zeal, Mrs. Stanton continued, "It must strike every careful thinker that an immense difference rests in the fact, that man has made the laws." Man gave up nothing, while the legal existence of woman was suspended, she said. Woman was "nameless, purseless, childless: though a woman, an heiress, and a mother."

As for divorce, the law was "as unequal as those on marriage; yes, far more so. The advantages seem to be all on one side, and the penalties on the other."122

120 The Revolution, October 29, 1868, p. 261.
121 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 233.
122 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 233.
An editorial by Mrs. Stanton, on October 22, 1868, contained this dramatic plea:

Fathers! do you say, let your daughters pay a life-long penalty for one unfortunate step? ... How could they foresee that the young man, to-day, so noble, so generous, would, in a few short years, be transformed into a cowardly, mean tyrant, or a foul-mouthed, bloated drunkard?123

Referring to the "man-marriage," under the title "Marriage and Divorce," Mrs. Stanton wrote in the October 29, 1868, issue:

Why is it that all contracts, covenants, agreements and partnerships are left wholly at the discretion of the parties, except that which, of all others, is considered most holy and important, both for the individual and the race? But, say some, what a condition we should soon have in social life, with no restrictive laws. We ask you, what have we now? Separation and divorce cases in all our courts; men disposing of their wives in every possible way; by neglect, cruelty, tyranny, excess, poison, and imprisonment in insane asylums. We would give the parties greater latitude, rather than drive either to extreme measures, or crime. ... Woman loses infinitely more than she gains by the kind of protection now imposed. ... In this state are over forty thousand drunkards' wives, ... Thousands of sad mothers, ... They ask nothing, but a quit-claim deed to themselves.

Thus far, we have had the man-marriage, and nothing more. From the beginning, man has had the whole and sole regulation of the matter. He has spoken in Scripture and he has spoken in law. As an individual, he has decided the time and cause for putting away a wife; and as a judge and legislator, he still holds the entire control. In all history, sacred and profane, woman is regarded and spoken of, simply, as the toy of man. She is taken or put away, given or received, bought or sold, just as the interests of the parties might dictate. ... The right of woman to put away a husband, be he ever so impure, is never hinted at, even in sacred history.124

123 The Revolution, October 22, 1868, p. 250.
124 The Revolution, October 29, 1868, pp. 264-265.
Working mothers. Occasionally The Revolution, pointing out that the children of "strong-minded" women were well cared for, discussed the working mother. An article by Julia Crouch, one of the contributors to the newspaper, reflects the editorial stance of The Revolution:

Was there ever anything that so stuck in the throats of the enemies of Woman's Rights as the Babies? "But the babies! who'll take care of the babies? what will be done with the babies?" is repeated by them over and over again with distended nostrils and eyes wild with apprehension. Don't be frightened, my poor deluded, but answer me. Who took care of Queen Victoria's babies of whom there were quite a number? ... I don't see but the babies of Harriet B. Stowe, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth C. Stanton and Frances D. Gage have fared as well as any babies, and they surely have cause to be proud of their mothers. Why, babies are not at all in the way of Woman Suffrage, but rather their existence is a great reason why their mothers should have a right to assist in making the laws that these little ones must grow up under and obey. ... Now, my conservative friends, don't let the babies frighten you. What they most need are noble mothers with cultivated minds of their own, and the ballot in their hands, then the dainty creatures will grow into noble men and women.125

Infanticide and prostitution. Infanticide was a subject which also received considerable attention in The Revolution. The celebrated case of Hester Vaughn, a young Englishwoman, was taken up by the editors of the paper. This account, followed by Mrs. Stanton's comment, appeared after the trial:

Judge Ludlow, of Philadelphia, in pronouncing a death sentence on a poor, ignorant, friendless and forlorn girl who had killed her newborn child because she knew not what else to do with it, addressed her thus:

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ......
whence she came, and that she be there hanged by the neck until she is dead. And may God have mercy upon her soul.

If that poor child of sorrow is hung, it will be deliberate, downright murder. Her death will be a far more horrible infanticide than was the killing of her child. She is the child of our society and civilization, begotten and born of it, seduced by it, by the judge who pronounced her sentence, by the bar and jury, by the legislature that enacted the law (in which, because a woman, she had no vote or voice), by the church and the pulpit that sanctify the law and the deeds, of all these will her blood, yea and her virtue too, be required! All these were the joint seducer, and now see if by hanging her, they will also become her murderer.126

Mrs. Stanton continued to editorialize on the Hester Vaughn case.

She reported a visit to the Governor of Pennsylvania and to the prison cell of the doomed woman. This was followed by a lengthy account of Working Women's Association petition for the pardon and release of Hester Vaughn and their visit to the Governor and to the prisoner. Parker Pillsbury editorialized on the subject, taking Horace Greeley to account for Mr. Greeley's editorial position.127 Eleanor Kirk impatiently attacked Governor Greary:

Hester Vaughan [sic] still looks out between the bars of Moyamensing; ... and Gov. Geary sits calmly in his Gubernatorial chair, running his white fingers through his royal beard, calculating the chances of a second term. A vision of Hester Vaughan [sic], alone, with rats and roaches, may occasionally obtrude itself, but then Pennsylvania says it's all right, and Pennsylvania is his mistress just about this time, and Hester is only a woman.128

126 The Revolution, August 6, 1868, p. 74.
127 The Revolution, December 10, 1868, p. 361.
128 The Revolution, January 21, 1869, p. 35.
The Governor finally pardoned Hester Vaughn. It is probable that The Revolution played a role in the eventual pardon—how great would be difficult to judge, but it was obvious that the editorial treatment of the case strengthened The Revolution's reputation as a radical newspaper.

The Revolution took the opportunity afforded by the Hester Vaughn case to point out the double standard of justice for men and women. They contrasted a case involving a "man who deliberately, intentionally, and in cold blood, shot his wife's seducer" and was acquitted on the ground of insanity with the case of Hester Vaughn, who was convicted "upon the weakest of circumstantial evidence, of murder in the first degree."¹²⁹

The case was the most sensational of the infanticide reports in The Revolution, but the editorial approach was typical—give women the ballot and infanticide would be a thing of the past.

Prostitution was often linked with infanticide in editorial coverage; both were viewed as the natural harvest of man's degradation of women. An unusual appeal was made to husbands and fathers in an editorial by Mrs. Stanton, following an account of the number of houses of prostitution and assignation and the number of prostitutes in New York and Brooklyn:

Scarce a day passes but some of our daily journals take note of the fearful ravages on the race, made through the crimes of Infanticide and Prostitution.

For a quarter of a century sober, thinking women have warned this nation of these thick coming dangers, and pointed to the only remedy, the education and enfranchisement of woman; but men have laughed them to scorn.

So long as the Bible, through the ignorance of its expounders, makes maternity a curse, and women, through ignorance of the science of life and health find it so, we need not wonder at the multiplication of these fearful statistics. Let every thinking man make himself to-day a missionary in his own house. Regulate the diet, dress, exercise, health of your wives and daughters. Send them to Mrs. Plumb's gymnasium, Dio Lewis's school, or Dr. Taylor's Swedish movement cure, to develop their muscular system, and to Kuczkowski to have the rhubarb, the sulphur, the mercury and "the sins of their fathers" (Exodus 20:5) soaked out of their brains.

A bill introduced in the New York legislature, which The Revolution saw as a plan to legalize prostitution, was soundly attacked; and once again Mrs. Stanton asked for the ballot to raise woman from the "depths of her degradation" and thus suppress prostitution.

Double standards. The injustice of double standards of morality was addressed repeatedly by The Revolution. A second sensational occurrence, the McFarland-Richardson murder case, got full editorial treatment. In contrast, The Revolution's rival, the Woman's Journal refrained from comment on the case. As a result, the Journal's reputation as a conservative, respectable women's rights newspaper was enhanced, and by comparison, The Revolution's reputation as the radical women's rights paper was reinforced.

130 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 65.
131 The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 168.
132 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 191; Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, pp. 174-175; Door, p. 223.
Daniel McFarland, after a trial which attracted nationwide interest, was acquitted on the plea of insanity of the shooting of Albert Richardson, a well-known journalist. According to the Lutz account, Richardson had befriended Mrs. McFarland after her divorce. At the time McFarland was acquitted, he was given custody of his child. "Such an insult to a woman, Elizabeth and Susan could not allow to go unchallenged," Lutz wrote. In the December 24, 1869, issue of *The Revolution* Mrs. Stanton expressed her views on the matter:

You ask what I think of the Richardson affair. I rejoice over every slave that escapes from a discordant marriage. . . . One would really suppose that a man owned his wife as the master the slave, and that this was simply an affair between Richardson and McFarland, fighting like two dogs over one bone. . . . This wholesale shooting of wives' paramours should be stopped. . . . Suppose women should decide to shoot their husbands' mistresses, what a wholesale slaughter of innocents we should have of it! I wonder how long justice would halt in our courts in their case, and how long public sentiment would sustain such action?

If I had a word to say in regard to Mr. McFarland, I should put him in some safe asylum, or prison, where he could never deceive another woman, nor take the life of another man.134

**Women's dress.** Nowhere was the double standard under greater attack in *The Revolution* than in the matter of dress for women. Until they sadly concluded that wearing bloomers or shorter dresses was counteractive to their efforts in obtaining women's rights, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton reveled in their release from the burden of current women's fashion, and they strongly encouraged other women

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133 Lutz, *Created Equal*, p. 190.
to adopt the more convenient style. Typical of the arguments in support of bloomers was this:

Rev. Dr. Todd would have us believe that all women who dare to wear a convenient, healthful, physiological dress are "semi-men." Dr. Todd can know nothing of the motives and principles that govern most of the women that wear "bloomers," or else he cannot appreciate true womanhood. Hundreds of women to-day owe their health—aye, their lives—to the change from long, tight dresses to "bloomers," "American costume" or the "gymnastic dress." Thousands of women are sinking to early graves from painful diseases contracted by the contracting, fettering long robes that Dr. Todd tells us are the only suitable dress for women to wear. Very many of these sufferers are fully conscious that their dress causes much of their suffering, but had rather suffer and die than face the sarcasm and ridicule that a healthful dress would extort from such men as Rev. Dr. Todd. Give such women mental freedom—full equality before the law—and their fear of ridicule would soon vanish.

If any man thinks woman's dress is what it should be, let him array his own body in the most approved style of any "fashionable dressmaker" for only one week—meantime attending to daily duties—then give his views on paper. They would read in this wise: My dress is so tight at the shoulders that I can hardly lift my arm to my head; so tight around the lungs that I suffer terribly all the time, can't exercise for want of breath: can't press through a crowd with long, full skirts without great effort, and the sensations of being pulled apart where the skirts fasten around the body; cannot walk against the wind without double the strength required in man's dress; am constantly making missteps caused by stepping on the dress; no use to think of carrying anything upstairs, for both hands are needed to keep the skirts from under foot; elastics so tight that circulation nearly stops; feet cold all the time of course.

Temperance. Temperance was another issue that received frequent editorial attention in The Revolution. A short article in the February, 1869, issue conveys the paper's editorial stand:

A large Temperance Convention was held last week in Trenton, New Jersey. The discussions were animated and able; but the following resolutions, after long and earnest consideration,
were most inappropriately laid on the table:

Resolved, That the denial to woman of her political rights in this state has been disastrous to the temperance cause, and that the restoration of those rights would tend to hasten the success of prohibition by infusing into our state politics a large amount of virtue and honesty. Resolved, That this convention would therefore hail with gladness the extension to woman of the right of suffrage of which she has been so long and unjustly despoiled.

New Jersey is coming through, and will soon be a power for all such little mistakes as this.136

The Revolution never backed off from sermonizing. Tea, coffee, and liquor were considered stimulating drinks. Tea and coffee "should never be used except as medicines," one article stated. And another intoned:

Fathers and mothers of America! Would you have your children rise up and call you blessed? Give them water to drink and they will live to bless you to the latest day of their lives. Let no stimulant taint their pure bodies, and heaven will be the home of their pure souls, and anthems of praise will they sing to God in your names, while age after age of eternity rolls.137

An account of the "drunken debauchery" of congressmen and "muddled Senators and boozy Congressmen" enacting laws for a "Bourbon President to vote" was reprinted from the New York Tribune, followed by this editorial directed at Horace Greeley:

Republicans and Democrats all admit Gen. Grant drinks, and many reliable persons assert that they have seen him drunk in the streets of Washington. Yet, with the above words from thy pen and these facts known unto thee, darest thou, O Horace, say that thou wilt support such a man if he runneth? O Horace, Horace, wilt thou be a hypocrite?138

136 The Revolution, February 11, 1869, p. 90.
137 The Revolution, March 5, 1868, p. 132.
138 The Revolution, March 5, 1868, p. 137.
Progress in women's rights. The right of women to serve as jurors, to control their own property, and to engage in all social and legal activities open to men were topics which received frequent news and editorial coverage in The Revolution. Progress of women in their struggle for equality, whether in America or abroad, was cause for rejoicing; instances of inequalities were occasions for lamenting.

Advice. Always within the pages of The Revolution were the crusading efforts of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and their friends in the women's rights movement. Coaxing, praising, shaming, cajoling, and sometimes antagonizing their female readers, they struggled to help women gain equality and to prepare them for their liberation. Recognizing, however, that not all women wanted equality, they considered it part of their responsibility to enlighten their "backward sisters."

Enlightenment frequently consisted of advice about ways for women to improve themselves mentally and physically. By today's standards, some of the tips for better health are amusing. Typical was this statement taken from an article recommending looser wearing apparel:

The "tight lacing" pushes the abdominal organs down towards the pelvis and displaces the viscera in the latter cavity, thereby occasioning many of the most troublesome maladies peculiar to women. 139

A caution against "sleeping together" appeared in the same issue:

SLEEPING TOGETHER.—The Laws of Life says [sic]: "More quarrels arise between brothers, between sisters, between

139 The Revolution, June 17, 1869, p. 370.
hired girls, between apprentices in machine shops, between clerks in stores, between hired men, between husbands and wives, owing to electrical changes through which their nervous systems go by lodging together night after night under the same bedclothes than by almost any other disturbing cause. There is nothing that will so derange the nervous system of a person who is eliminative in nervous force as to lie all night in bed with another person who is absorbent in nervous force. The absorber will go to sleep and rest all night, while eliminator will be tumbling and tossing, restless and nervous, and wake in the morning fretful, peevish, fault-finding and discouraged. No two persons, no matter who they are, should habitually sleep together. One will thrive and the other will lose. This is the law, and in married life it is defined almost universally.

Here is a great physical law that all would do well to obey. Every man, woman and child should have a bed to him or herself. Let those just going to housekeeping buy no double beds, and never allow a baby to sleep with a servant. Cribs, cots and single beds for health and happiness.140

Noble goals. While The Revolution was laced with wit, humor, and biting sarcasm, there was never a question of its serious intent. In a pitch for subscriptions, signed jointly by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the following objectives of the paper were expressed:

Our object has been not so much to make a popular paper, as to educate and elevate the people to higher, nobler views of justice and truth.141

Politics

When the first issue of The Revolution was published, the advocates of suffrage for women had just chalked up what they considered a remarkable victory--9,000 votes for the enfranchisement of women in the

140 The Revolution, June 17, 1869, p. 379.
141 The Revolution, December 24, 1868, p. 328.
state of Kansas. It was a heady note on which to start their publication; they were extremely optimistic. Mrs. Stanton, in that first issue, gave credit for the Kansas victory to George Train for arousing the Democrats to a favorable vote and to the other suffragists who stumped the state:

All praise to Olympia Brown, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Henry Blackwell, and Judge Wood, who welcomes, for an idea, the hardships of travelling in a new State, fording streams, scaling rocky brinks, sleeping on the ground and eating hard tack, with the fatigue of constant speaking, in school-houses, barns, mills, depots and the open air; ... Having shared with them the hardships, with them I rejoice in our success.142

Mrs. Stanton's editorial on the front page of the first issue was one of hundreds to follow on the subject of women's suffrage. In another article, she vowed that the men of the state of New York would have no rest until the word "male" was removed from the Constitution.143 Readers of The Revolution soon learned that she spoke in earnest. The editors were indeed radical about the enfranchisement of women.

Editorials in The Revolution were usually lengthy, often continuing through two or three columns. Again and again, women's grievances were enumerated. In an editorial in April of the first year of publication, Parker Pillsbury, linking the grievances to women's rights, actually set what might be called an editorial pattern for The Revolution. Woman, he said, was degraded by man because of her sex.

If the right of liberty and the pursuit of happiness be the gift and endowment of the Creator, then surely is the right to

142 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.
the ballot; the only possible or conceivable assurance and guaranty of it in republican governments. And on this ground the claim of woman is no less than that of man. But base and degrading as has been the position of the negro in the government, that of woman is far lower. At no price within human power to pay, can she arrive at equality in the government she is compelled to support and obey. In the making or executing of no law, however deeply her womanly interest or happiness may be involved, can she bear a part. She is found guilty, not of a crime, not of a color, but of a sex; and all her appeals to courts or communities, for equality and justice, are in vain, even in this democratic and Christian republic. She is a native, free-born citizen, a property-holder, tax-payer, loyal and patriotic. She supports herself, and in proportionate part, the schools, colleges, universities, churches, poor-houses, jails, prisons, the army, the navy, the whole machinery of government; and yet she has no vote at the polls, no voice in the national councils. She has guided great movements of philanthropy and charity; has founded and sustained churches; established missions; edited journals; written and published invaluable treatises on history and economy, political, social and moral; and on philosophy in all its departments; filled honorably professors' chairs; governed nations; led armies; commanded ships; discovered and described new plants; practiced creditably in the liberal professions; and patiently explored the whole realm of scientific research; and yet, because in life's allotment, she is female, not male, woman, not man, the curse of inferiority cleaves to her through all her generations.144

The Revolution would be instrumental in awakening man to injustices to women, Pillsbury said, and would convince the nation of the basic right of women to suffrage. It would also convince women--those who were not already convinced--that indeed they needed the ballot to free themselves from men's oppression.

In The Revolution it is determined to prosecute an agitation which shall wake the nation to new consciousness of the injustice long inflicted and still suffered through prescriptive distinctions on account of sex and complexion. To the industrial, hard-toiling, property-producing, family-supporting women, our

144 The Revolution, April 23, 1868, p. 248.
appeal is made to come to the rescue of their own long lost rights.145

With women's suffrage the dominant theme, the range covered by Pillsbury in this one editorial was the range into which most Revolution articles fell throughout Susan B. Anthony's control of the paper. Material for the newspaper was written or selected to show that women were treated unfairly and inequitably; women were equal (or even superior) to men; women had to recognize that they were equal to men and insist on enfranchisement; and women had to prepare themselves to exercise intelligently the right of enfranchisement once it was achieved. Whether expressed or implied, the ballot for women was intrinsic to almost every story in the newspaper.

Friends and foes. A common practice of The Revolution was to identify individuals, organizations, or institutions whose views were in direct accord with or in direct opposition to those of the editors. The supporter was lavishly commended; the offender was sharply reprehended. One of the first segments of society to feel the blast of Revolution rhetoric was the press of the day, especially the New York and Eastern newspapers. Many of the editorial comments by the editors were printed in a section called "What the Press Says of Us." The comments followed a reprint of what a particular newspaper had to say about The Revolution or its content. Most reprints dealt with suffrage; obviously, women's suffrage and The Revolution were synonymous in the view of the press and the public. An editorial from the

145 The Revolution, April 23, 1868, p. 248.
Providence Press reprinted in *The Revolution* said the new paper was "exciting the country by its stirring advocacy of woman's rights."

The response of *The Revolution* editors to the item indicated that they agreed:

Yes, we are stirring the country. Everybody either hates or loves us; none are indifferent. All our letters are positive; some breathe threatenings and wrath, others blessings and good will. We know we are right, and so move on.146

Susan B. Anthony and her editors were never shaken in the conviction that their cause was just and right. Responding to other publications which did not share their views, their comments were sometimes caustic. Following are excerpts from an article in *The Revolution* reprinted from the New York Citizen:

Quite equal in its baleful effects on marital and social obligations is the passion for enfranchisement, at present animating the breasts of certain ladies with masculine proclivities. It seems almost incredible that as a matter of choice any woman should prefer the luxury of wielding a ballot to that of nursing a baby. . . . It is of infinitely more importance that the ladies should have brains and babies than that they should flaunt bonnets and ballots. What say those talented and progressive ladies, including Parker Pillsbury, who edit *The Revolution?"147

This sharp reply by *The Revolution* editors followed:

Now, Miles, pray do not mix things up in this unaccountable way. The strong and weakminded have each their idiosyncrasies. To clear up your vision on this question, let us analyze and arrange for you the facts of life. On one side behold ballots, brains and babies. On the other, bonnets, balls, brocades, buchu and barrenness. The women who demand the ballot are those who have brains and babies, who believe in one husband; in clean, comfortable, well-ordered homes; in healthy, happy children, and in the dignity and self-respect of those who


serve the household—women who do not follow fashion or frivolity, but spend their leisure hours in works of charity and reform—in reading, writing, and healthy exercise. 148

Under the heading "Petticoats and Pantaloons, Principles and Prejudices," The Revolution printed a letter in which the writer said:

Nature has decreed that Madame E. C. Stanton, of The Revolution of New York should wear petticoats, and, as says Punch, that she should stay at home and make the pot boil. But Madame Stanton believes that pantaloons and petticoats should hang on the same hook, without one having the right to surpass the others. That is good logic and we congratulate the lady "blue stocking." For ourselves, the question whether women shall have the suffrage is not a question of right; in fact the governed should have something to say about the legislation which governs them.... Therefore, we cannot question the right of women to vote; but we must look at it from another point of view, and ask if it be proper, necessary and logical that she should vote. We reply in the negative. To mix the attributes of the two sexes would be contrary to the law of nature. It is in fact nature that created for them separate and distinct spheres, a separation which manners and laws have sanctioned and perpetuated for centuries, before the wars of Greece and Rome, before Christianity, before "the grass was wet with dew of the first morning." We should be misunderstood if any one were to suppose that we pretend to refuse women the right to vote. We argue simply whether it would be expedient and logical to accord it to her. ***[sic] Madame Stanton should be content with petticoats. Nature has destined her to wear them, and her efforts to slip into a pair of breeches are pitiable to witness. 149

A full column of editorial rebuttal followed. These statements were part of that rebuttal:

Seeing, Messieur, that you are somewhat befogged on the comparative merits of petticoats and pantaloons, as well as the behests of Custom and Nature, we would suggest to you, that there is no real antagonism between suffrage and petticoats, nor necessary connection between the art of governing

149 The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 395.
and pantaloons. . . . We might say with equal propriety to Les Libre and Punch, lay down your pens, and with axe and hoe hie you to your appropriate sphere, to the fields and forests, to cut down trees and cultivate the corn.150

In contrast, The Revolution praised any newspaper that pleased. These comments are typical:

That journal [the New York World] always has the best reports and reviews of any paper in the city, and publishes more in one week on the Woman's Rights question than all our radical daily papers do in a year.151

The Liberal Christian had a good article last week on the duty of acting in the government for its elevation and purification. The course of argument led to the question of woman's right of suffrage, on which the editor spoke . . . wisely and well. . . .152

Suffrage activities. Reports of women's suffrage meetings, speeches regarding women's suffrage, and federal and state activities in regard to women's suffrage appeared in every issue of the paper. Susan B. Anthony's letter to the Democratic Convention in July of 1868, urging the convention to base its platform on universal suffrage, was printed in its entirety.153

The political parties frequently received attention in the newspaper and The Revolution's endorsement of the Democratic Party was reflected both in news coverage and editorially. Neither party, on the other hand, got much credit from the editors on the subject of women's

150 The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 395.
151 The Revolution, October 1, 1868, p. 201.
152 The Revolution, August 13, 1868, p. 90.
153 The Revolution, July 9, 1868, p. 1.
suffrage. An editorial by Parker Pillsbury following the Democratic National Convention proclaimed:

The democrats are again in the field, unterrified as ever, united vigorous, defiant as before the war. . . . And with characteristic honesty and boldness they have indicated their policy and purpose when they shall have again come to the throne. . . .

On the most vital question, that of suffrage and personal liberty, both platforms are simply odious. The states can disfranchise their citizens at pleasure.154

In the same issue, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had this to say:

The republicans make themselves quite merry over the fact that the democrats laughed when the letter from the Woman's Suffrage Association was read in their Convention. Now, inasmuch as Miss Anthony's letter was about the best word spoken in the Convention, and as Woman's Suffrage is becoming familiarized to the male mind, we have no reason to suppose that our chivalrous democratic brethren laughed at the idea of Woman's Suffrage, but rather at the crude legislation of the dominant party, as set forth in the letter.

Seeing that laughter is not an expression of mirth peculiar to man alone, if he laughs we can laugh too. Surely the nonsense and twaddle these "white males" have written and uttered, from Rousseau and Father Gregory down to the Timothy Titcombs of our day, will furnish us with food for laughter as long as we remain in this sphere of action. Sooner or later they must come to "Woman's Suffrage," and sit down in their national councils with both women and black men. So let them laugh on for the good time of "equal rights to all" is close at hand.155

Letters from women and men who were traveling throughout the country to lecture on women's suffrage appeared in The Revolution. So did reports on the progress or lack of progress towards women's suffrage in every state in the union—and abroad. The briefest

155 The Revolution, July 16, 1868, p. 18.
of articles denoting even miniscule progress were reprinted and received editorial comment. A one-paragraph story, datelined Schenectady, May 10, 1868, read:

The taxpayers of this city voted to-day on a plan for the introduction of water works in this city. Out of 745 votes cast 622 were against the plan. Women voted.156

The comment following this item was:

This is the third time within a month that women have voted--in Sturgis, Mich., Passaic, N.J., and Schenectady, N.Y. Will Horace Greeley still insist in the face of this that women do not want to vote? Let the women who are large property holders in this city, who pay half the taxes, now insist on their right to vote on all school questions at least. The wholesale murder of the innocents in our crowded schools calls loudly for woman's attention.157

Constitutional Amendments. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Amendments to the Constitution received consecutive coverage in The Revolution.

The Fourteenth Amendment was dramatically attacked in an editorial by Parker Pillsbury following its ratification. The editorial forcefully expressed The Revolution's opposition to the Amendment, first because it gave the right to vote only to "male" inhabitants of the states and secondly because it permitted states to deny that right if they so chose. Pillsbury wrote:

The history of that amendment [the 14th Amendment] should not be forgotten. It was conceived in sin in the first place, and shaped in iniquity; and its fruits will be only evil, and that continually. . . .

Despised, degraded, imbruted, the negro yet ranks politically, even in Connecticut, with the Sigourneys, the Catherine Beechers, the Harriet Beecher Stowes, and all the many eminent women that state ever boasted. It is "women and niggers" wherever we go. . . . And a republican Congress, to win the forfeited favor and friendship of tyrants, traitors and rebels, clinched this diabolical logic by inserting the word male in that very amendment to the Constitution under which the white men of the south hope and confidently expect to degrade and disfranchise their colored citizens for ever more. And thus southern slaveholders and northern republicans answer together, NO, SO HELP US GOD, WE WILL NOT LET "WOMEN AND NIGGERS VOTE!" 158

In January 1869 Susan B. Anthony called together the first women's suffrage convention ever held in Washington. Earlier the form for a petition asking for an Amendment to the Constitution (to be the Fifteenth Amendment) was printed in The Revolution. Readers were urged to circulate it for signatures and return it to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, which was, of course, the address of The Revolution. The following statement was part of the appeal that accompanied the petition form:

In behalf of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, we publish to-day in The Revolution, and issue on sheets for circulation and signature, a Form of Petition to Congress in behalf of Equal Suffrage throughout the country for men and women.

It will be remembered that in August last we made similar appeal, limited at that time to the District of Columbia.

We are now assured that at the opening of Congress next month, a vigorous movement will be made "for a Constitutional Amendment, providing for Universal Manhood Suffrage, in all the States." We now wish to press our demand that womanhood also be recognized in the proposed enlargement of suffrage and citizenship.

158 The Revolution, August 13, 1868, p. 88-89.
We therefore present to-day with confidence as well as hope, this earnest appeal. We shall distribute the Form of Petition as widely as possible. Any persons wishing for it, but who do not receive it immediately, are earnestly desired to copy from *The Revolution* or send to our Headquarters for a supply.

Let no time be lost. Let every man, woman, child even, old enough to co-operate, and whose heart is in the cause, lend a helping hand in circulating these petitions. ... 159

In the December 10, 1868, issue *The Revolution* rejoiced in Senator Pomeroy's resolution that suffrage should be the right of all citizens without distinction of race, color, or sex. 160 Their hopes rose again when Congressman Julian proposed a similar resolution. 161 But once again *The Revolution* was forced to accept defeat—indignantly, of course. The Fifteenth Amendment submitted to the states for ratification did not limit the elective franchise to males, but neither did it extend it to females. *The Revolution* printed a comment from the New York Times.

With the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, we may fairly look upon the Suffrage agitation as at an end, for the present political generation at all events:—and that consideration, of itself, affords a very powerful argument in favor of its adoption. 162

Parker Pillsbury responded:

Such is the conclusion of the N.Y. Times. It is, too, the belief, hope and intention of a large number of party leaders, both republican and democrat. But such reckon without their host. They seem to have no idea with whom they have to deal. Woman may not achieve her rights next year; may not vote for

159 *The Revolution*, November 19, 1868, p. 305.
161 *The Revolution*, December 17, 1869, p. 369.
President in 1872. But if President Grant means by "let us have peace," an end to the struggle for Woman Suffrage, he must pray to some other than the God of heaven, or the politicians of his party and country: for the latter can't [sic] stop the agitation, and the former won't.163

The Revolution continued its opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment until it was ratified in 1870, then started agitating for a Sixteenth Amendment.

The convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association was held in Washington in January 1870, and Susan B. Anthony submitted a resolution for a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the disfranchisement of any citizen on account of sex. The account in The Revolution described Miss Anthony's accompanying remarks:

She was tired of this continual talk about Female Suffrage. She had been speech making now twenty years, and was tired of it. She wanted action now, and would not be satisfied until Congress had acted in their behalf.164

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton campaigned for the Sixteenth Amendment at Woman's Suffrage Conventions throughout the country, and The Revolution noted their remarks on behalf of the Amendment.

Presidential criticism. The Revolution, with its customary forthrightness, expressed its view on the President of the United States. They had no respect for President Johnson, but they did not advocate impeachment, claiming instead that the impeachment trial was

163 The Revolution, March 11, 1869, p. 155.
164 The Revolution, January 27, 1870, p. 52.
a ploy of the Republicans to confuse people. Convinced, however, that impeachment was inevitable, Mrs. Stanton wrote:

As we write, we assume that Andrew Johnson will be impeached by the House of Representatives. We presume that this step has been deliberately taken, and therefore that his conviction and removal from office are sure to follow. Perhaps it is well that the crisis has come, for we have long seen that it is utterly impossible for the President and Congress to work together, and these constant quarrels keep the country in such a turmoil, that one or the other must needs be put out of the way, and as the President cannot remove Congress, but Congress can the President, his deposition from office seems the only road out of the difficulty. So let him slide. We are sorry to see a paying subscriber of The Revolution come to grief, but we will try to make our columns as consoling as possible to him in his retirement. (Will Mr. Johnson please inform us, if not to the White House, where we shall direct The Revolution hereafter.)

General Grant fared no better in The Revolution, partly because he had a reputation for intemperance. Mrs. Stanton commented:

Now that Johnson will be soon out of the way, let the nation rejoice that his legal successor is an honest and a sober man. . . . Let leading temperance men make it their business to inquire into these rumors of Gen. Grant's habits, and see the people face to face who can testify what they have witnessed. Gen. Grant's antecedents are against him. He left the army once because of his intemperance. Can a man who has this appetite in his blood and who drinks his wine daily, be trusted with a nation's welfare? Let the temperance hosts speak in unmistakable language to our Republican politicians, and tell them, if they ask your votes, to nominate sober men for high places.

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165 The Revolution, February 26, 1868, p. 121.
166 The Revolution, March 5, 1868, p. 138.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The Revolution, born of chance and kept alive by the determination of its publisher, Susan B. Anthony, had a tenuous beginning. Miss Anthony, a woman of sound judgment in business matters, started her newspaper on a promise and little more. Her estranged abolitionist friend, Wendell Phillips, sounded an early warning in the Antislavery Standard, which he edited. It was reprinted in The Revolution, without editorial response, under the heading "What the Press Says of Us":

From the Antislavery Standard.

Have you lived so long and not learned that a journal should have $100,000 capital and its editor $50,000 private fortune before he can afford to tell what he thinks? --Brooklyn speech, Dec. 26.

Wendell Phillips, Editor.168

If Miss Anthony had any reservations about George Francis Train's generous offer to back a women's suffrage newspaper, they did not surface in the pages of The Revolution. It is possible, however, that an obsession which transcended reason, common sense, or caution may have impaired her judgment. That obsession was women's suffrage. Miss Anthony was dedicated to the enfranchisement of women, and a study of her life indicates that many of her contemporaries considered her extreme, sometimes radical, and frequently lacking in judgment on the

168 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 66.
subject of women's rights and suffrage. She saw *The Revolution* as a mouthpiece for women's suffrage, as a catalyst for action, and as an essential vehicle to exhort women to seek and prepare themselves for equality. She expressed these goals in early issues.

Conclusions

*The Revolution* did not become a spokesman for the women's movement. While it was accepted by some of the leaders in the movement as an official organ, it was rejected by many as too extreme. On the other hand, there is ample evidence in *The Revolution* that the newspaper was not ignored by lawmakers or opinion leaders. Their reactions to the newspaper and to Miss Anthony's suffrage efforts appeared in *The Revolution*, frequently reprinted verbatim from the press of that period.

*Flexner* in *Century of Struggle* credited *The Revolution* with significant impact on women's causes:

> The weekly sixteen-page paper, smaller than today's tabloids, made a contribution to the women's cause out of all proportion to either its size, brief lifespan, or modest circulation. . . . It was a lively mirror of the status and struggles of women on many fronts. Here was news not to be found elsewhere—of the organization of women typesetters, tailoresses, and laundry workers, of the first women's clubs, of pioneers in the professions, of women abroad.

> But *The Revolution* did more than just carry news, or set a new standard of professionalism for papers edited by and for women. It gave their movement a forum, focus, and direction. It pointed, it led, and it fought, with vigor and vehemence.169

169 Flexner, *Century of Progress*, p. 151.
Flexner's commentary was made almost a century after the publication of *The Revolution* and it reflects the perspective of time. But, during the two and a half years that the newspaper was published by Miss Anthony, defeats for *The Revolution* outnumbered victories:

The newspaper was not popular. Circulation did not approach the announced goal of 100,000; at the highest, it was 3,000.

Advertising did not increase and could not provide the financial stability the paper required.

Additional financial support promised by George Francis Train did not materialize.

Editors Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury, while they did not abandon Miss Anthony, devoted less and less time to the newspaper.

The major causes which *The Revolution* advocated went down in defeat—the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, opposed by *The Revolution*, were approved, and no discernible progress was made in achieving women's suffrage.

During the time it was published, *The Revolution* gloried in a few victories, but they were minor or of a doubtful nature. Among these:

Hester Vaughn, whose pardon *The Revolution* advocated, was released and returned to England.

*The Revolution*'s editorials were frequently quoted in the contemporary press, and the publication's appearance and content were generally commended by the press.
Letters from readers of The Revolution indicated that the newspaper struck a responsive chord in many women readers, releasing them from the derogatory concept they held of themselves as women and offering them a new direction in their lives.

All in all, The Revolution was an impressive publication during the time Susan B. Anthony guided its course. It was attractive in appearance and its editorials were provocative, witty, and stylishly written. It was consistent in its editorial stance and uncompromising on women's rights issues. It was liberal, informative, frequently amusing and seldom, if ever, dull.

Above all, The Revolution captured the throbbing intensity of the two women suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

That the publication did not achieve the goals envisioned by its editors nor the results implied by its controversial name can hardly be blamed on Miss Anthony or Mrs. Stanton. After all, the women's suffrage cause they espoused was 50 years ahead of accomplishment. It was 1920 before women were enfranchised in the United States. When enfranchisement came, the two early feminists who worked most of their lifetimes for suffrage and were the first to use their own newspaper to advance the cause were not alive to rejoice in the victory.

Further Study

A number of possibilities for further research were suggested by this study of The Revolution.
The financial and advertising sections of the newspaper, barely touched in this thesis, provide ample material for research.

A study of The Revolution and the successful Woman's Journal, established as a rival women's rights newspaper in competition with The Revolution, could compare or contrast the treatment of women's rights themes by the popular Woman's Journal, which stayed alive for 12 years, and the less successful Revolution.

The striking similarity in the present Women's Movement as viewed by women editors of Ms. and the nineteenth century Woman's Movement as viewed by the women editors of The Revolution also suggests the possibility of comparing and contrasting the publications and the women's rights themes espoused by both.
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APPENDIX
The Revolution;

THE ORGAN OF THE

NATIONAL PARTY OF NEW AMERICA.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.

THE REVOLUTION WILL ADVOCATE:

1. In Politics—Educated Suffrages, irrespective of Sex or Color; Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work; Eight Hours Labor; Abolition of Standing Armies and Fortifications; Union with Politicians Up with the People!

2. In Religion—Deeper Thought; Broader Idea: Science not Supposition; Practical Piety; Love to Man as well as God.

3. In Social Law—Morality and Reform; Practical Education, not Theoretical; Peace not Passion; Victory not Vain; Cold Water and Alcohol Drinks or Medicines. It will lodge in no Grave Personalities and let people speak or write advertisements, so common sense in Religious Newspapers.

4. The Revolution proposes a new Commercial and Financial Policy. America no longer led by European ideas but Colton and Corn for sale. Greenshanks for money. An American system of Founces, American Products and Labor Fairs. Foreign Manufactures Prohibited. Open doors to Arizans and Immigrants; Spanish and Pacific Oceans for American Shipment and Shipping; all American goods in American bottoms. New York the Financial Center of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or Smart man's Cash for American Bills. The Credit Provider and Credit Mobiliar System, or Capital Monumented to Rebuild the South and our Missing Interests, and to Propose to the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Maine to San Francisco. More generous Labor, more Colton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to self-sufficiency of the higher prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Coltons Demand a Free Portage Portage, to strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor. And if Congress Vote One Hundred and Twenty-five Millions for a Standing Army and Prussianism's Banners, cannot they spare One Million to Educate Europe and to keep bright the chain of acquaintanceships and friendships between those Millions and their America?

Send in your subscriptions. The Revolution, published weekly, will be the Great Organ of the Age.

Terms.—Two dollars a year, in advance. Ten names of subscribers will secure the number to one copy from

ELIZABETH Cady Stanton, Esq.
FARRER PILLIBURY.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
Post Office and Market,
14 Ferren St., New York City,
To whom address all Communication.

KANSAS

The question of the disfranchisement of women has already passed the point of moral discussion, and is now fairly headed into the arena of politics, where it must remain a fixed element of debate, until party necessity shall compel its success.

With 9,000 votes in Kansas, on the entire vote, every politician must see that the friends of "women's suffrage" hold the balance of power in that State today. And those 9,000 votes represent a principle deep in the hearts of the people, for this triumph was secured without money, without a press, without a party. With their instrumentalities now that coming to us on all sides, the victory in Kansas is but the herald of greater victories in every State of the Union. Kansas already holds the world in her legislation for women on questions of property, education, wages, marriage and divorce. Her best universities are open alike to boys and girls. In fact women have a voice in the legislation of that State. She uses all school questions and is eligible in the office of trustee. She has a voice in temperance law; no license is granted without the consent of a majority of the adult citizens, male and female, black and white. The consequence is, some school boards are voted up in every part of the State, and run voted down into the streets. Many of the ablest men in that State are champions of women's cause. Governors, judges, lawyers and clergymen. Two-thirds of the power and influence advocate the idea, in spite of the opposition of politicians. The first Governor of Kansas, twice chosen to that office, Charles Robinson, went all through the State, speaking every day for two years in favor of woman's suffrage. In the organization of the State government, he proposed that the words "male" should not be inserted in the Kansas constitution. All this shows that giving political rights to women is a new idea in that State. Who that has listened with tearful eyes to the deep experiences of those Kansas women, through the darkest hours of their history, does not feel that such bravery and self-sacrifice as they have shown alike in war and peace, have richly earned for them the crown of citizenship.

Opposed to this moral sentiment of the liberal minds of the State, many adverse influences were brought to bear through the entire campaign.

The action of the New York Constitutional Convention; the silence of eastern journals on the question; the avowal of abolitionists; the demand for women's suffrage should defeat men's suffrage; the hostility everywhere of black men themselves; wise men stamping the State against woman's suffrage; the official acts of both the leading parties in their conventions in Lawrence against the proposition, with every organized Republican influ-
The Revolution.

The First Woman's Vote.

Edward Broad. A woman has won in regular form and law; and the British ranks murmur that the Queen and Lord Halden's Attorney-General have already a case of law to answer to in the House of Commons. Under the provisions of the Reform Act of 1832, women are now entitled to vote in local elections, and the following report:

The context for the representation of Manchester has been well known, and the case of the woman who has won in regular form and law is now before the House of Commons.

While some people think, others think, or while a great deal of money is being thrown away, there are no signs as to whether women, who pay taxes, shall have the right to vote as in so small a number of cases. Mrs. J. M. B. is now in the House of Commons.

The true legislation for the nation is the administration, not the constitution, of such marriage laws.

Letter by Lucy Stone.

Mrs. Stone's letter, which is printed, was read in the House of Commons, and published. She has made this clear to us that she is not a woman of property, as she has not been in this case to claim her right under the constitution; but, when they asserted that they are a part of the people in which political power inheres, when they assert that they have a right to vote as in so small a number of cases, and when it is a clear case to which the constitution of the country is applicable, they have a right to vote as in so small a number of cases.

But when women come to claim their rights under the constitution, they are told that they are not a part of the people in which political power inheres, and that they have no right to vote as in so small a number of cases.

More women will then be able to vote than have ever been able to vote before.

The letter was then read in the House of Commons, and was followed by a motion to read the letter in the House of Lords.

The letter was then read in the House of Lords, and the motion to read it in the House of Commons was carried.

The following letter from Miss Jordan, the ability of the House of Commons, was read in the House of Commons.

Miss Jordan: Will you permit me to say that the Woman's Suffrage Society of Manchester is not responsible for the able and eloquent speech of Mr. J. M. B., who has been in the House of Commons for some time.

We are perfectly sure that a woman legislature might be well affected by the statements of such a person.

When a woman has the vote, she has the power to make laws, and she may hold office under the constitution to which the laws are applicable.

In the letter to the House of Commons, Miss Jordan stated that she was not the first woman to vote in the House of Commons, as Mrs. J. M. B. had already done so.

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The Revolution.

As a denial of the Republicans' cry for women's rights, the 7th Cong. conquered rebels to complete the overthrow of the government.

WOMAN'S SUPREMACY AT RAYNHAM, N. J.

SENECA R. ANTHONY AMONG THE SENATORS—WHAT THE POLITICIANS THINK OF WOMEN—A SPEECH AT RAYNHAM, NEW JERSEY.

Monday night George Francis Train and Susan B. Anthony were invited to address the people at Raynham, New Jersey, by the Athenæum society, on the Enfranchisement of Women. A splendid audience greeted the reformers, and Mr. Train spoke for two hours for the glorious cause. Miss Anthony having just returned from Washington, where she had been introducing her new journal, The Revolution, Mr. Train interpreted her by talking about the capital. The following sketch describes a scene that the citizens of Raynham will not soon forget:

Train—What woman did you see at the capital?

Anthony—Every woman here.

Train—What did everybody say to you?

Anthony—They said as revolutions never go backward, they would all subscribe for the next of the age.

Train—Did you see Bex Wode?

Anthony—Yes; he was the Senate subscriptor; he is a royal old fellow. Go ahead; he said; push on; noble cause, and was right; we are too busy now to take it up, but it has got to come; but it is more and two dollars, and thank you too.

Train—What did Senator say?

Anthony—Did not see him. You have to go to his house; he never answers cattle and sent in to the Senate; but I saw Wilson. He was very gruff; said that Mrs. Stanton and myself, during the last two years, had done more to blacken construction than all others in the land. But he subscribed nevertheless, for he said, "I shall want to know what you say to us." (Applause.) Bex Wode brushed me off for the Kansas matter, though he is a good fellow and has subscribed for the cause, and paid two dollars in gold, saying, "You have seen my compliments paper."

Ex-Gov. Root of Kansas being present, said, "You did a good work in Kansas, Miss Anthony, but you should not charge the Republican party with opposing woman's suffrage. It was only individual Republicans."

Miss Anthony—The result of that is tops. It was only individuals who helped us. Your State Central Committees declared themselves neutral, and then sent out, as agents, the prominent anti-suffrage women, and one nominated advocate of the cause in the whole state.

Train—Who do we see?

Anthony—Senators-past, present, the two men who are going to round out the man who did not believe in ministers, and yet sent for one to bury his wife. "I thought," said the minister, "you did not believe in last week's Democrats, and the day after the death of the other, "and I called in so as near the nearest to that, possible." Both parties seem reduced to a pitiful appearance. Anthony—What do you want in the woods? What a bulwark when on the stormiest sea that ever shook its leers in the face of the storm, and what a safeguard at a great battle against the blast of the winds. What a bulwark when on the stormiest sea that ever shook its leers in the face of the storm, and what a safeguard at a great battle against the blast of the winds.

Train—Did Senator Anthony, Howe, Henderson, Nye and Drake were very friendly, and Senator Fowler said we must go into Tennessee. He would write to Nashville and Memphis to have your women vote. But didn't they all establish the measure as soon as they could afford it. (Applause.)

Train—Senator Surprise subscribes.

Anthony—How do you do? I said I had received you, and such a notice as I could give. It was a notice to be taken up, and to express their feeling that if they did not see him, the other party will; and if their other party conquered too all the while by the Republican, as a denial to getting with the 7th Cong. conquered rebels to complete the overthrow of the government.

Train—Did you see our Nebraska Senator?

Anthony—Yes, Senator Thayer doesn't believe in woman's suffrage, but what he said was this: "Are we to have a gyno question in Kansas and hope we would not go into Nebraska; and refused to subscribe. I can only say it was his bill. His Senator Trout is another style of man; he paid his money. Said Revolution is a splendid name. You are all right. The name is glorious. He seemed disappointed that Thayer did not subscribe. Senator Grimes so was we. I remarked that Theodore Dulin said Iowa would first give us woman suffrage. Yes, replied the Senator, we shall be close upon the heels of the first State if not the first. Senator Commons, Patterson, and Senator Hendricks are too far behind the age to believe in it. California should be more advanced, but I am not surprised at Indiana and Tennessee. (Laughter and applause.) Senator Chandler said No to me with an emphasis. Michigan is more wide awake than her Senator. He seems to forget that his own State Convention recently gave nineteen votes for women and that that small balance of power may, some day, throw him out of the Senate. (Applause.) The audience were much entertained by Miss Anthony's prompt reply and Mr. Train's persistent pumping to find out what the Congress had to say. Miss Anthony had a long list of the leading of the country's men for the Revolution in two days, and said that some of the Senators sold her to come back after holidays and get the rest of them.

Train—How about the coffee?

Anthony—You see put down his name and paid in money like a man; (Laughter) but Johnson was the first to man, and he told me that when he saw the name of Parker Pulmonary in the Prospectus as an Editor, he felt that we had made a wise selection; for, of all the old abductors he considered him the most prophetic, and at the same time one of the most able of that eminent class of reformers. Elliot said if we raise the wages of the school teaches we shall lose all our daughters. It might be said Mr. Elliott's daughter has a thousand dollar position in the Normal school. (Applause), where the Principal, Miss Brockot, gets two thousand, the highest salary paid among the one hundred thousand of the women in America who look to The Revolution as the organ of woman's enfranchisement. (Applause.) Mr. Pijf, of Missouri, was so fondly (General Banks), who had to be a general of your, Mr. Train, and said the only trouble with Mr. Train he has too much brain, and the politicians have to call him crazy to get rid of him. (Loud laughter and applause.)

Train—If I thought I was as sane as most of our politicians who are rooting the country, I would jump overboard, or follow Cato's plan, fall on my sword. (Loud laughter.)

Anthony—Baker of Illinois, and Lawrence of Ohio, were both advocates. Lawrence first said we don't need The Revolution. Baker said we do and asked Lawrence where there was a paper that would be equal for the cause of men without a woman? Lawrence admitted it was. The only argument men had was sarcasm, or an insult. (That's we.) The most formidable man I met was Jim Ainsley, who said Train told him all about us and our paper in New York. He doesn't believe in women's voting, but I think he wouldn't mind a Representative than himself. (Laughter.)

Train—Did you see Fortmy?

Anthony—Oh, you, Fortmy said, just the thing. The Revolution—supposed name I just the thing.
The Resolution.

The old Whig party, minus us, got out our majority of the small election, and pocket-book, and armed him some notes-what Johnson, with a suit of clothes, as much as to say, anything not of that kind and with the radical party. Lord Melbourne and Livingston.

A VOICE FROM THE GRANT.

The New York Tribune publishes the following from a correspondent, which, if true, is an intimate topic with them, Grant, and who had a free interview with him:

"Speaking of the structure of the New York Tribune on his return, Grant said, if there be in those complaints any assertions of fact which Grant know to be erroneous, I renounce. If there be in those papers any statements which I believe to be falsely drawn, I will not now and here argue against them. If there be in them any serious objections which I expect to be promptly suppressed, I will now and here come to them. If there be in their papers any points which I believe to be promptly touched on, I will now and come to them. If there be in them any question which I believe to be promptly discussed, I will now and here come to them. If there be in them any assertion which I believe to be promptly suppressed, I will now and here come to them. If there be in them any statement which I believe to be promptly discussed, I will now and here come to them. If there be in them any assertion which I believe to be promptly suppressed, I will now and here come to them."

The President and other journals that report in the wisdom displayed in the above, may advise it even now when they have serious errors in the following remarkable and not wholly forgotten letter, dated:

"EXECUTIVE MESSRS.,

"NEW YORK, AUGUST 24, 1809.

"HON. HENRY FULTON.—Sir: I have read your letter of the 12th addressed to myself, through the New York Tribune. If there be in it any inaccuracies or assertions of fact which I may have to correct, I do not now and here come to them. If there be in it any figure which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here come to them. If there be in it any assertion which I believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here come to them. If there be in it any statement which I believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here come to them."

MILES OF BELLE—CALLING THE EAGLES.

From the New York Times.

George Francis Train, one of the most brilliant and certainly one of the ablest and most intelligent of our time, is now running for President, on a track of his own laying down, at the highest rate of speed ever attained by any political locomotive. He has been multiplied in every instance unnecessary for the officer to which he aspire, and some of the issues on which he has taken his stand are of the most involved character. He is in his own right, with all their intricacy, and by his eloquence on the stump in the last Knows elections counted seven thousand votes to by far in favor of admitting women to the right of suffrage. The speech has a general character of business from all accident to which, at once sends under his banner the combative, the intellectually balanced Temperance Sotan from Maine to California. Lastly, last fall, of his leading causes—Mr. Train is warmly and powerfully identified with the Irish cause, and has made some of the most striking and epigrammatic speeches ever uttered on that side of the question, and who can have forgotten how nobly Train backed in England for the cause of our National government, during the earlier and darker days of the late war? He then carried the war over Africa and kept John Bull so well occupied in defending himself, that said John had but little time or inclination for further advances upon Uncle Sam. Train is about thirty-five or thirty-eight years of age, well-built, broad-shouldered, with awry and regular features, an immense shock of iron-grey hair, almost so coarse as to suggest African blood, but clean-shaven, a voice trained in all the most sciences of oratory, and a modality of expression in his face such as few professional actors have attained. Add to this that he is in—be one of the bearer real estate proprietors in Omaha, as well as all along the main line of the Pacific Railroad, and one can fairly call him a Mr. Grant.

Vilas. We wish that he did create a new 23rd ward. It is a ward, which, if true, represents about the same state of mind as the others, and the same use of the word "Vilas, low browed ward," and I know that the people will have learned it in a sense or semblance of the old bid.
GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN CHALLENGES WENDELL PHILLIPS.

HE ACCEPTS AN INVITATION TO SPEAK AGAIN—TRAVELS TO PHILADELPHIA—MORE PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.


Jas. Gordon Bennett, Esq., Editor of the Herald:—

"Train who is the chief engineer of this woman's rights campaign, all the way from Kansas, ought to give another blast after Tuesday last. Please, Herald, publish!"

All right; give me the same chance the newspaper bosses have, and I will take off the English (as he has and will again the American) draw larger audiences, entertain them better, and give them more for their money.

Walker—Fifth avenue Toews to England—American Citizens in English Jails—Educated Suffrage for Women as well as Men—Towns with Gold and up with firebacks. Same kind of talk you'd hear on a Walker and M-Collins Eskimo steamboat. I mean about the influence and power of the English and who's got what better business in the city. Leaves the poor man out, small, homely subjects, single men, soap manufacturers, Richard T. Williams, who's got a better business in the city.

We will sell out the town in this city.

Richards commissary with American Red.

We're going to sell out the town in this city.

The rich men laugh and the poor men cry.

Newspapers are good for our husbands and our men.

Women's rights not good for "all-American." It's a National debt that was made by tradition. By tradition can only be paid by the nation,

Henry and Stuyvesant's grave is set in the bed.

I will tell you how it is that foreign bankers rule New York and Congress—why Johnson and McCullough are in English hands and why the New York Herald is the only paper that's read in America—they're in England for to-day and to-morrow, they will be in to-morrow.

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The Revolution.

Flail Grand Union, free, with all Boston at its head, was a failure. As an example of a true in the United States, the 1840s were the most turbulent period of American history. The political climate was charged with unprecedented and unbridled passions. The nation was on the brink of war, and the threat of secession from the Union loomed large.

Volunteer Restrains, in revealing the moral principles and political ideas of the time, presents a vivid picture of the conflict between the North and South.

This section of the document discusses the American Revolution and its impact on American society. It highlights the key events and figures of the war, as well as the lasting effects of the conflict on American politics and culture. The text explores the themes of liberty, independence, and the struggle for freedom, and it provides a detailed analysis of the causes and consequences of the American Revolution.
The Revolution.

been the only advocate to volunteer his services to Kansas and before the Convention, it is with his vote, when the only argument advanced by our chivalrous friends in a mover, a seamer, or an inault, that Mr. Train's defense of women's suffrage was received by the Convention by local and repeated applauses. The following was the resolution passed unanimously offering the hall:

STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED;

December 11, 1857.

On motion of Mr. BALLARD:

Resolved, That the use of the Assembly Chamber be granted to Hon. Francis Train, Esq., of this city, by order.

Luther Caldwell, Secretary.

When it comes to pass that Mr. Train's financial view, no one as expressed in his Gold-room speech of last March to be reprinted in next week's paper, becomes the property of the country, newspapers may possibly be more entertaining, and the associated press be more inclined to give actual news that the fancied articles of a few politicians in a ring.

WOMEN SUFFRAGE IN WISCONSIN.

The women of Wisconsin have decided to take the word "male" from their constitution.

From the report of a recent convention held in Janesville, we find the leading men and women have formed a State Imperial suffrage organization, and are ready to make all their citizens equal before the law. Able addresses were made by the Rev. S. Harrington, Rev. Summer Ellis, and a ringing appeal to the women of the State, signed by Hon. J. T. Dow, G. H. Bieber, Mrs. J. H. Stillman, Joseph Baker and Mrs. Farris Redd.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN BOSTON.—The Banner of Light reports Maria Hall well filled on Monday evening, December 3th, to listen to remarks from George Francis Train, Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Stanton, and Miss Susan B. Anthony, on female suffrage. Mr. Train was very severe on politicians of all parties. He announced himself, as an independent candidate for presidential. In the course of his three speeches he told many plain truths, and made a good argument in favor of the right of suffrage for women.

Mrs. Stanton is a fine-looking, dignified, intelligent lady, well advanced in years, and a good speaker. She gave a brief account of their recent labors in Kansas, where the cause of female suffrage received the vote thousand voices, which she considered a great triumph— for herself, she said, no party can succeed in that State without affiliation with the new element which has arisen in their midst, thus securing the success of the women question in a very short time.

Miss Anthony is a pleasant and guest speaker. Both ladies made strong and convincing arguments in favor of the right of female suffrage.

A HYDROSTATIC INSTITUTE NEAR CENTRAL PARK.—A thousand drug stores—ten thousand Alkali—five thousand forty-four—fourty-five hundred—five hundred medical colleges but no Hydrostatic Institute in the city numbering a million of souls! Yet, D. M. True, the President of American, and Dr. North, no longer a long with Schiller Becker, are making curios at their establishment, 46 Bond st., where Mr. Train spoke and praised his friend.

At what we used in a splashed Lenticula, and we are glad to learn that several wealthy Hydrostatics interested erecting such a building.

THE OFFICIAL VOTE OF KANSAS.

9,670 FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Just as we go to press, we receive from the editor of the Leavenworth (Kansas) the official vote of Kansas. The vote for women's suffrage is larger than the most sanguine of us had hoped, being 9,670 for, and 10,671 against it. The black base, with all the machination of the Republican party in their favor, only just 436 votes ahead of the women! Hurrah for Kansas!

The following is a statement of the official vote on the various propositions to amend the Constitution of Kansas, as canvassed by the State Board of Canvassers, December 16th, A.D., 1857:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Suffrage</td>
<td>9670</td>
<td>10671</td>
<td>901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Grand Jury</td>
<td>11919</td>
<td>11919</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. trial of all men</td>
<td>11919</td>
<td>11919</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Four terms</td>
<td>11686</td>
<td>11686</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Voting for state officers</td>
<td>11764</td>
<td>11764</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Second term to be the first of the two</td>
<td>11686</td>
<td>11686</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Declaration of war</td>
<td>11764</td>
<td>11764</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Speech from the Governor</td>
<td>11764</td>
<td>11764</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Colorado and Wall Street.

Train is waking up Wall Street to the importance of backing Colorado's new railroad enterprise. When the railroad is under way, and the greenback age is at a fast, hurrah for our gold mines again. See now the New York World's financial article, says December 3:

"The prospects of a railroad being completed to Denver during the summer is encouraging to all connected with the mining interests of Colorado, as both roads to the Pacific coastal are holding for the mining business. Last year, twenty-three million dollars were spent in making up the Pacific railroad from Marysville, only 119 miles, the distance for Denver; and 184 million dollars are to be spent in making a railroad from Denver to the Eastern plains, a distance of 300 miles, to connect Denver with this great mining center. On the question of the term of the road would have been four ten millions in a hurry, but that of the railroad, is not yet determined. The completion of these roads will revolutionize the gold and silver mining centers, and is likely to render this part of Colorado, that of the mining states of 1847, only on a sound and profitable basis, which it lacked then."

That's so. We can turn out one hundred millions as well as twenty every year. We want more currency, more money. Legal tender will do for money; and we will sell our gold as we would our corn, as yet for sale. George Francis Train's speeches are falling on Congress. Already McCulloch has stopped composition. About time, when sixty thousand laborers are out of work. Rocky Mountain News, December 11.

The murder of a mulatto family at Purdico Station, Alabama, has been interpreted by four drunk men armed with shot guns, who charged the family with stealing. The negroes first murdered the mulatto girl, then her wife, then his mother, aged 80, and lastly a sleeping baby. They finished by firing the house, but after their departure the flames were extinguished by a young girl who had concealed herself. Four men have been arrested on suspicion, but murders are of so common occurrence there, that criminal law would have to be in perpetual session to try the cases, and as for the most part, they are emotionally negated.

A RECENT ISSUE OF THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE SAYS:

"The largest movement, ever, aimed at any railroad transportation, is in process of settlement. The claims so far amount to $80,000,000, and when the road is completed it will be about $1,200,000. A bill passed in Congress yesterday is said to be almost certain of the advancement, and trains will run by 1862,"—Baltimore Commercial Advertiser.

The Lawrence Tribune says that the shape of the Union Pacific Railroad, now building at that place, will for everyone, in magnitude and completeness, anything which has yet been built west of the Mississippi.
The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,  |  Editors.
PARKER PILLARY.

SHEAR B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 8, 1868.

SALUTATORY.

A new paper is the promise of a new thought; of something better or different, at least, from what has gone before.

With the highest idea of the dignity and power of the press, this journal is to represent no party, sect, or organization, but individual opinion; editors and correspondents alike, all writing, from their own stand point, and over their own names. The enfranchisement of woman is one of the leading ideas that calls this journal into existence. Seeing, in its realization, the many necessary changes in our modes of life, we think "The Revolution" a fitting name for a paper that will advocate so radical a reform as this involves in our political, religious and social world.

With both man and woman in the editorial department, we shall not have masculine and feminine ideas alone, but united thought on all questions of national and individual interest.

But we do not premise the millennium in journalism, from this experiment, or in politics, from the enfranchisement of woman, only a new, and, we hope, a better phase of existence, which, to those who are tired of the old grooves in which the world has run so long, is something to be welcomed in the future. With the moral chaos that surrounds us on every side, the corruption in the State, the dissensions in the church, the jealously in the home, what thinking mind does not feel that we need something new and revolutionary in every department of life. Determined to do our part in pushing on the car of progress we begin with the new year, a new life work, hoping the world will be the better for the birth of "The Revolution."

THE PRESS—RETROSPECTIVE.

Purposiveness tell us the Circle is the symbol of all nature and art. Mr. Emerson says the eye is the first circle; the horizon it described the second. And throughout nature this primary figure is ever repeated; the highest emblem in the sphere of the world.

In the Old Hispanicity, the circle represented Eternity. An ancient name and sage described the Infinite Omniscience as a circle whose center was everywhere, and whose circumference was nowhere.

Action too is circular; and around every great and good deed, a glory and better may be drawn. Children are puzzled to know how four living sheep can be fitted in five paws at the same time. They draw the four with a sheep in each and there step, till the boy or girl in the center, draws a large loop enclosing in it the other four, and solves the mystery.

Outside our little Solar System sweeps another as a vast wave in the inimitable sea of space, and beyond that a second, and the same process, it may be, is to take, that first, our sun and its suite of attendant planets do to the eye-ball of the astronomer who beholds and describes them. An mind outward and outward through space as measureless as duration in earths.

And should not also the same law measure man's thought? We laugh at the story of the tailor who denied that the earth was round and revolving, because that, he said, would spoil his mill pond like water from an overturned bowl; and yet why laugh? Sceptics to the divinity of human nature, have ever declared and with too much reason, that human history but repeats itself. That the moral and spiritual world completes its regular revolutions, and only comes back now, as it spake there, zero. That the title of human thought and progress has its imperishable high water mark; and like the rolling wave, as solid on side only at the expense of the only ns. As the "Lost Arts" lecture by Wendell Phillips is a sad if not satirical comment on the present, and half explains the secret of his wondrous prophetic mind.

It is said that no man can quite emancipate himself from his age and surroundings; that the politician, muses, education and even religion of his time must have some share in his work. But the tendency of our time is wholly toward the past. Our artists are great only as they imitate the old models. An estate that should promise restoration of all the ancient altars, must summon them to a judgment day, would, to our schools of art, our in with importance the whole theological dogma of restoration of the body, and future rewards and punishments besides. The sparrow, forty centuries ago, built as well in the reeds of Lebanon, and in the pediments of the temple on Mount Zion, as in the groves and gardens of to day. So the Acropolis and Parthenon mock all the architecture of the boasting nineteenth century. As the great salt is he who best imitates the Nazarene model of eighteen hundred years ago, so our best poet must be made to believe, that could be but touch the stem of Homer's garden, and would thereafter glow with inspirations unknown to him before. Our politics and religion too, do but revolve in circles, tending ever inward活动中，as into monstrosities and the bottomless pit. And yet what are these but the sublime sciences which treat of the conditions of the human race, here and hereafter? A painter of the Patrons of the Mississippi river said he was surprised one bright evening, when drifting down the stream, at the similarity of the houses he passed; and, on closer inspection in every one, there seemed to be exactly the same dancing, music and merrymaking. At length he discovered that he had floated into a whirlpool, not known there, and was only sweeping round and round by the same house. Much like this, in the intellectual and spiritual navigation of nations and governments, churches and religions. Persecution chased the Pilgrims red Puritans from one hemisphere to become themselves fiery persecutors in the other. Our revolutionaries have changed their garb once in forty years, only to begin another themselves, a thousand and more acutely then that out of which they fed. Even in Boston, the same newspapers that first gloried with the Purchases of Indian

prizes, groaned also with advertisements for the sale of Chas slaves, and the recapture of another who had run away, with generous reward offered. Even President George Washington located the American Potomacc to the Pocahontas, intersecting the navigation, which should bound her back to her whapping-post unless it should seem to wake the public citizen.

To prolong such a slavery and union with its tyrants we have, was the bloodiest war of all the ages. In the name of a Republican, Democratic and Christian Constitutional, and a Union with slaveholders, we have offered more human victims than have bled on all the brethren altars of the world in a thousand years! And though the terrible system has gone down in the fiery storm, at least in name, every hour is revealing more and more how nearly our whole nationality was involved in the fall, and how far we yet are from the end of the conflict. And with it a Newspaper Press in the country numbering six or seven thousand, the most terrible truths do not get told. The people are stumbling in more than the storied darkness of Egypt, innumerable

In the hope of aiding to rescue our beloved country from still impending dangers, and to bring a peace based on Justice and Equality, and a prosperity that shall add all the noble wilds of mountains and valleys, our plains and prairies with grime and glory unknown before among the nations, we today unfurl our banner to a promising and expectant world.

THE REVOLUTION.—The name speaks its purpose. It is to revolutionize. It is radicalism practical, not theoretical. It is to effect changes through aboliptions, corrections, reforms and

More than slavery is to be abolished. More than slavery is to be abolished. More than slavery is to be abolished. More than slavery is to be abolished. More than slavery is to be abolished. More than slavery is to be abolished. More than slavery is to be abolis...
Julian, Banks, and others; also the President of the United States. Read this and see if it be not worth your effort to extend it everywhere.

REVOLUTION.

"EVANGELISTS," says Godwin Smith, "is a pretty evil. They debase the spirit of the times. They corrupt and bewitch men who rose into power under Charles II. The moral elements in the French revolution were lost in the chemistry of Napoleon and Tyler-ness. But the prime movers of revolution are not the passion of progress, but the blind and intemperate opposers of progress, men who argue to reach the impossible past, with no sense of inviolate future, who chain to burn, by damming up its course, the stream that would otherwise flow on tranquilly within its banks."

The true statesman is the true reformer; he who brings himself into line with the immovable laws of change, through the natural steps of progress and thus secures individual and national growth rather than vice and revolution. Men speak of revolutions as moral power. essay, our leaders a higher plane, if it has been added to them by all the solemn, homilies and text-books which moralists and theologians can invent; but they have been also influenced by Sir James Mackintosh, certainly one of the clearest and yet profoundest philosophers of the last two centuries, denies the possibility of their advance, and boldly maintains that morality admits of no discoveries. It is stationary, and must ever remain so.

In the latter opinion both these eminent writers agree; and the world is generally prone to propose, that not only can there be no new discovery in the science of morals, but that their rules and laws admit of no new applications. Mackintosh further says that more than three hundred years have elapsed since the composition of the Paganathet, and then challenges any man to show in what important respect the rule of life has been varied since that period. The Institution of Men lead to the same conclusion, and the doctrine of Confucius, Pythagoras, or Zoroaster will not change it. And so slavery and war, capital punishment, intemperance, infanticide, and the degradation of women, may continue throughout all ages and all nations. If in forty centuries not one of these evils has been arrested and banished from the world, when will their end be? The parameters of Julians and Christianity have been as powerless against them as the so-called false religions that abound in every age. No day, no civilized nation ever witnessed more drunkenness than ours; none surely with such diabolical determination to continue the curse, despite all laws, human and divine. Greek and Latin, Hebrew, and the American Congress cannot check the volcanic force of our legion of distillers. Slavery we only abolished as a "Military Necessity," to save ourselves, not the slaves. It was to conquer the rebels. And to accommodate them, we have by Constitutional Amendment again placed them back almost as completely in their power as before, by making possible their perpetual disfranchisement.

And now we are laboring to rebuild our national ruins. To all appearances, however, we are getting worse and worse. A year ago last autumn, Congress appealed to the people to decide the coming between the King and the President as a question of reconstruction. Immediately the transfer of National Republican victories shook the whole council of states. In the contest from ocean to ocean, not a single state in the United States has yet been passed out of the control of the Republicans, and it is predicted that in the coming states, especially in the South, the voice of the people will be heard, and the rights of citizenship, lost without representation, crowned out of the world of work, driven to protestation or starvation, ranked in the conscience of the States with little if any attempt to be restored or recovered—by demands ignored by neither pretension and refinement—

THE REVOLUTION.

A few years since Mr. Burke startled the world with some comparisons on the relative importance of moral and intellectual culture in the development and elevation of human nature. He declared truly just there was nothing in the world that has undergone so little change as the great moral dogmas of which religions and philanthropic institutions are composed. And though they have been known for thousands of years, not one jot or title has been added to them by all the solemn, homilies and text-books which moralists and theologians can invent; but they have been also influenced by Sir James Mackintosh, certainly one of the clearest and yet profoundest philosophers of the last two centuries, denies the possibility of their advance, and boldly maintains that morality admits of no discoveries. It is stationary, and must ever remain so.

In the latter opinion both these eminent writers agree; and the world is generally prone to propose, that not only can there be no new discovery in the science of morals, but that their rules and laws admit of no new applications. Mackintosh further says that more than three hundred years have elapsed since the composition of the Paganathet, and then challenges any man to show in what important respect the rule of life has been varied since that period. The Institution of Men lead to the same conclusion, and the doctrine of Confucius, Pythagoras, or Zoroaster will not change it. And so slavery and war, capital punishment, intemperance, infanticide, and the degradation of women, may continue throughout all ages and all nations. If in forty centuries not one of these evils has been arrested and banished from the world, when will their end be? The parameters of Julians and Christianity have been as powerless against them as the so-called false religions that abound in every age. No day, no civilized nation ever witnessed more drunkenness than ours; none surely with such diabolical determination to continue the curse, despite all laws, human and divine. Greek and Latin, Hebrew, and the American Congress cannot check the volcanic force of our legion of distillers. Slavery we only abolished as a "Military Necessity," to save ourselves, not the slaves. It was to conquer the rebels. And to accommodate them, we have by Constitutional Amendment again placed them back almost as completely in their power as before, by making possible their perpetual disfranchisement.

And now we are laboring to rebuild our national ruins. To all appearances, however, we are getting worse and worse. A year ago last autumn, Congress appealed to the people to decide the coming between the King and the President as a question of reconstruction. Immediately the transfer of National Republican victories shook the whole council of states. In the contest from ocean to ocean, not a single state in the United States has yet been passed out of the control of the Republicans, and it is predicted that in the coming states, especially in the South, the voice of the people will be heard, and the rights of citizenship, lost without representation, crowned out of the world of work, driven to protestation or starvation, ranked in the conscience of the States with little if any attempt to be restored or recovered—by demands ignored by neither pretension and refinement—

THE PRESS—PROSPECTIVE.

"Tis thirty-fourth national self-slayery subscription anniversary to be held in Boston on the 23d of January, 1868."
The Revolution.

NEW PARTY.

We are told in well-informed quarters, that a portion of the Republicans contemplate a new organization at the next presididual election. They entered the party solely to carry out their ideas respecting a strengthening of the administration, and accomplished, and the work of reorganization being on the era of consummation, they expect nothing more from the party, and are unwilling to remain with it merely to aid its leaders in obtaining the spoils of office. They propose to take a fresh start, a new point of departure, throw off the whole old ideas and policies of the past, and striking out for the great future. We are further informed that the names mentioned for their elucidates are such as Simon Vade, or Gen. Butler, or Gen. Logan, for the presidency, with Frederick Douglass for the vice-presidency. It is contemplated that Mr. Du Pont shall stump the South, and the leaders in the movement believe they can carry the entire negro vote, while at the North they expect to break up existing parties and secure to themselves an important share of the electorate of all. Such a party will stand too good a chance to win to be treated with contempt at even the outset.

Halt! Draw the South, Black and White Alk!—Start, then, makes men mad. There is fierce hatred in the minds of men. The South impovetshed, is fettered, Mrs. black and white use fire arms. Poor Dick Russted is shot, and negro ministrals with white faces and black hearts, and black faces and white hearts, kill each other in Front of the Fifth Avenue. Chief-Justice Douglas, of N.C. Mexico, has just been assassinated. The government should at once disarm the South and black and white as a Gaucho line massacre is in the Southern air.

Mr. J. G. Holland, "the American Tupper," who has written and spoken more nonsense on the subject of woman for the last ten years than he can alone for should he talk wisely the rest of his life, is now delivering a lecture through the country to prove that the ballot would degrade woman and disturb the family relation. With sixteen hundred divorced cases in one year Mr. Holland should think the family relation was already somewhat disturbed even at the Hub, and while woman in that state has no right to the joint earnings of the marriage partnership, and is ranked in the constitution with idiots, idles, minors, paupers and criminals, she is already as degraded politically as she well can be.

Mr. Speaker Colfax writes a friend, "You need not fear that Congress will take any backward steps in reconstruction.

Benjan's Pilgrim comforted himself that, "He that is down, need fear no fall.

Mrs. Brce asks, "Are we a Nation?" He seems to think that all we need to make a nation, is a black boy, in the Federal family—forgetting that it is not in the hands of any man to make a nation. Is not educated womanism a more rational basis of accommodation than ignorant manhood?

A CHERUBINE PRESENT—The editor of the New York Independent announces last week that "he should hang up his stocking on Christmas eve, and look for a gift." On Christmas morning he reported with high spirits, having not only written a new journal article, but the old journal added to the family casket.
The Revolution.

NO. I.

TOWNSERVANTS AT WASHINGTON FROM THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION.

"The people never revolt from fecklessness, or the mere desire of change. It is the inimitation of suffering which alone has this effect." We commend this maxim of one of the greatest of French statesmen to our representatives at Washington. Sixty thousand people out of employment in New York and two hundred thousand in all the United States—a million mouths short of food in a country which was groaning with abundance until the collapse of the rebellion! These are all the perilous conditions of the capital and enterprises of the most active, enterprising, money-making nations on the face of the globe. The people's suffering means Revolution.

THE PEOPLE'S SUFFERING.

Our money-making machines are idle. Our shipping is swept from the face of every Ocean, and our manufacturers are working short time at a ruinous loss. The Southern States are estimated with object poverty and misery, and our cotton growers are maddened by the exterminating fire of foreign competition and that congressional monopoly of ignorance, the cotton tax. Legitimate trade is languishing, and under the fascinating and ruinous policy of necessary McCulloch, it is the rare road to ruin, while the most safe and profitable business in the country is speculation and gambling.

Whenever, then, this highbrowed people that abused the freedom and plenty they enjoyed above all peoples of the earth now enjoy the soil from heaven and labor from man, but where are the "greenbacks" to do all this? We are a nation of 20,000,000,000 of people which broke out in 1788, and expanded in 1816, to break out again with Jackson, with Lincoln, and is now sporting under the imperial regaled of a Don Juan, rare at the present moment working and existing among the most of the people in the United States. The American people are beginning to feel the first twitches of the iron grip and to suffer from the evils of a divided industry, while at the same moment they are exasperated by the oppression of privileged classes rising in ill-gotten wealth, wrong from their hands by brutal laws. This is no fancy sketch, but the living picture of the people at this moment. A state is "a man whose body is the soil and the fruits of it the property of the earth." ARE WE NOT SLAVES?

Is not our "body soil and the fruits of it the property of another?" Is not every surplus dollar of our earnings, every cent which keeps soul and body together, .required in advance to pay the insipid swelling of a corrupt revenue system? WHO ARE THE THIEVES?

Cotton claim agents and their local representatives at Washington, honorable Congressmen and accomplished patriotic belittlers; the Stewart-Thomson Weed gent, and their organized swindling business with the Japanese Government statesmen; their land purchase swindlers of Alabama, St. Thomas, Lower California and any other spot on the face of the globe that their genius can devise as an excuse for handicapping the people's money; the Strenton-Thompson War Department secret trust; the Navy Department costless thieves; the Freedman's Bureau thieves; the Indian Bureau thieves; the Collector's assistants, with their organized ring of swindlers for black-mailing the merchants; the Collectors of Internal Revenue, with their organized gang of thieves, robbing the people right and left; the whiskey ring; the tobacco ring; and the thousand and one other rings stealing from the people's earnings everywhere, in every hole and corner of the land, from the New York city ring, with its twenty millions per annum tax swindle, to the petty bawery and hons small town; the railway and ship monopoly corporate body swindlers; from the gigantic stock-jobbery of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the Consolidated Express Company, the Western Union Telegraph Company, the gold speculating-associates press cable-telegram swindlers, down to the Ergonomic stealing of the mining and petroleum stock-jobbers. These are a few of the thieves that lives in luxury by stealing from the people's earnings, to whom "our body soil and the fruits of it are mortgaged." WHO ARE THE SLAVE-OWNERS?

The Chase-McCulloch-National Bank men, who absorb the profits of the merchants' community into their extravagant dividends of 20 to 30 per cent, per annum. The government bondholders who control legislation at Washington, and make about 350,000,000 per annum on the public debt. These slaveholders number about four hundred thousand, and own "the lucky land and the fruits thereof," of the forty millions of American men outside of the privileged aristocratic and commercial classes of National Bank bondholders. ARE WE THE FREEPEOPLE OF THE FACE OF THE EARTH?

Are we? We are the only free to raise the bull; cotton and the gold crop in the world. We have
people or they were pen. Since the rebellion ended you have acted as if you owned them. You were wont to manage as the owners of the people. "For popery, our de! has become, in your keeping, the scoff and the scorn of the age. You have made legislative halls the scenes for disgraceful debaucheries. Personal and political plundering, the people, without one redeeming feature for two years.

The Political Creation Revolution.

Your sub-government—a government of claim agents—has brought us the Irish impression of liberty," which the French statesmen, bulky, described as the forerunner of a people's revolution. If you are wise you will listen and take warning. We mean at once to have a revolutionary change. We mean to longer have our capital lying idle, waiting upon the ball and bow stock jobbing reports and letters of a gold gambling, stock-jobbing tool of European bond-holders, called Secretary of the Treasury. We will no longer have our surplus cramped by oppressive laws. We call upon you, our agents at Washington, to cooperate with us by postal, just and wise legislation in starting and giving force to that rich tide of prosperity which is waiting to well up and overflow the land.

What the People Want—Greenbacks.

In order to do this we want more money, more greenbacks, to give residence and facilities to commerce, agriculture, and cotton-growing in the Southern States. We want Secretary Mc Culloch and his British policy of specie payment and greenback circulation restored.

But the "High Art Swindling" to be stopped.

We want the "High Art Swindling" of the national banking system put to stop. We want the $300,000,000 of national bank notes which cost the people over $200,000,000 per annum changed into $300,000,000 of greenbacks, which cost only the paper and printing. We want a stop put to the "High Art Swindling" of the internal revenue system, with its horde of corrupt officials that oppress and rob the people.

Before the Revenue System.

We want a thorough change and reform in our revenue system. We want a stop put to the frauds of the whiskey ring which rob the people of two hundred millions dollars, and the toad-suckers, which swallow for a year a making a total which would pay the whole national debt in about six years.

Tax Direct on Property and Labor Free.

We want a revenue system which shall be levied directly on property and industry, and not on the labor manufacturing and producing interests of the country—our money-making machinery must work free of taxation.

Cotton to be Emancipated.

We want the cotton tax taken off so that our cotton growers may have a fair chance to compete with the world, and regain our old supremacy in the market of the world.

Economy in Government Expenditures.

We want the expense of government reduced from his hundred millions a year to at least one-third of that sum.

The Bankruptcy Bill.

The "High Art Swindling," which your Washington legislators have cruized and feathered money under the sight of your congress in Congress, which shall know you who we are.

The Revolution has begun. Our cause is just. It is not to see the sword of freedom, which is aswirl with the mighty force of destiny, to make this modern the greatest, freest, most prosperous and most happy on the face of the globe, then our minimum is ended, and the people must, to make forty per cent, profit in gold for bondholders and National bank men. Mr. Mc Culloch's-Salmon P. Chase-policy of greenback construction has cost the country since he has been in office the space of two years, more money than the whole National debt, from the enormous losses in the panization of our capital, enterprise and progress, and the enormous abundance of values, splinted into the air for nobody's gain.

Down with the Chase-McCulloch Gang.

The first step towards individual and National improvement is to get rid of Mc Culloch and his British policy of finance. The people, and every friend of civilization, say "Down with Mc Culloch and up with American progress.

Greenbacks and freedom, progress and civilization, are the destiny of the American Nation.

The People.

The Revolution is Rolling—Prepare for No. 2.

Brown Brothers & Co., and Pacific Mail.

We have received some interesting communications in regard to the inside management of this Company, and its connection with Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., the eminent Anglo-American banking firm, and the Novelty Iron Works, also details of the recent legislation for the election of directors, and the machinery of legal injunctions used therein by the factions contending for the control of this great National enterprise. Our writer furnishes a list of names, Brown Brothers & Co.'s specifications, written in forms of condemnation scarcely justifiable, commenting on the asking out of their dry goods businesses to Messrs. Adams, Lewis & Co., and their affair with the auctioneers Haggerty & Co., respecting the merchandise on which Amory, Lewis & Co. obtained the charter, shortly before their disastrous failure, continuing down to the management of the Collins line of steamships, the Thompsville Carpet Company again in connection with auctioneers affairs, Haggerty and others, and the Cumberland Coal Company affair, winding up with the Novelty Iron Works, which he states by having refrained virtually to the Messrs. Brown. A stockholder asks the rather pertinent question, "Why do Brown Brothers & Company and the public employ the Novelty Iron Works, or Pacific Mail, to run the Novelty Iron Works, instead of selling the property to the public, or a portion thereof?" Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., with their enormous capital, and transacting the business of giving their 60 day sight bills for American cash, ought to be the leaders themselves to the Novelty Iron Works, and not borrowers of the funds of a company of which they are directors and managers. "Stockholder" states that Messrs. Brown Brothers & Company have the reputation of selling about $2,000,000 per week of their 60 days sight bills, and that this operation ought to give them the permanent use of $27,000,000 of American cash capital in addition to their own large amount. The fact is, the Novelty Iron Works borrowing $50,000 from Pacific Mail and being guaranteed by James Brown, Esq. appearing partner of Messrs. Brown Brothers & Company is considered by "stockholders" a curious circumstance, inconceivable with the enormous cash capital of Messrs. Brown Brothers & Company, and with the use of all the time, and with that sense of honor which ought to characterize the legal title of the cash of a
The Revolution.

In the economic climate of the 20th century, corporations were often energized by the prospect of new markets. The recent discovery of higher grade ores, the demand to remit the January dividends. The banks to which the importers are left in, and commercial bills are held to be payable, but the settlements on maturities, letters of credit are considerable and shows the surplus of bills. The quotations are: Prime bankers 60 days, 11½% to 12½%; and eight, 1½% to 1¾%; Prime Commercial, 10½% to 11½%; Prime bankers on February 1st, 11½% to 12½%; and eight, 1½% to 1¾%; and others, 1½% to 1¾%.

UNITED STATES SITUATIONS are active and strong from a steady investment demand from savings banks and others, and private capitalists. The leading dealers have bought for some time past all that were offered at a fraction under the ceiling quotations. In expectation of a much higher range of prices in the month of January, when about $20,000,000 in currency will be disbursed by government for interest. The bulk of this amount will be redeemed in government securities. The 4½% bonds of 1925 and 1928 are also here in demand and are scarce for delivery. The banks said them in expectation of a large return of these bonds from Europe, which, however, has not taken places. Premiums for the 6% bond are more than $300 in excess of $2,000,000, bonds, 1½% to 1¾%.

The clearance for the year (five business days) shows an increase of $6,000,000, but the market has been very active throughout the week, ranging between 13½% and 13½% as the extreme. The following is a table of the weekly fluctuations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Open</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 1</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 3</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 4</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
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<td>13 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gold market has been steadier in the recent weeks, in anticipation of the credit disbursements about $4,000,000, and the rates paid for borrowing gold have ranged from 1½% to 1¾% per day. This week, the price of gold has been $2,000,000, and the rates paid for borrowing gold have ranged from 1½% to 1¾% per day. This week, the price of gold has been $2,000,000, and the rates paid for borrowing gold have ranged from 1½% to 1¾% per day. This week, the price of gold has been $2,000,000, and the rates paid for borrowing gold have ranged from 1½% to 1¾% per day. This week, the price of gold has been $2,000,000, and the rates paid for borrowing gold have ranged from 1½% to 1¾% per day.

The following table gives the amount of bonds reported and held by the principal foreign banks, the gold bond market (gold prices dated on the following date) and it is matter for regret that Secretary McCulloch conceals the amount of gold in the Treasury Department, which would add materially to the values of the table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 30</td>
<td>$10,500,000</td>
<td>$10,500,000</td>
<td>$10,500,000</td>
<td>$10,500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 31</td>
<td>$11,500,000</td>
<td>$11,500,000</td>
<td>$11,500,000</td>
<td>$11,500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>$12,500,000</td>
<td>$12,500,000</td>
<td>$12,500,000</td>
<td>$12,500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 2</td>
<td>$13,500,000</td>
<td>$13,500,000</td>
<td>$13,500,000</td>
<td>$13,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3</td>
<td>$14,500,000</td>
<td>$14,500,000</td>
<td>$14,500,000</td>
<td>$14,500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 4</td>
<td>$15,500,000</td>
<td>$15,500,000</td>
<td>$15,500,000</td>
<td>$15,500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 5</td>
<td>$16,500,000</td>
<td>$16,500,000</td>
<td>$16,500,000</td>
<td>$16,500,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 6</td>
<td>$17,500,000</td>
<td>$17,500,000</td>
<td>$17,500,000</td>
<td>$17,500,000</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The preceding table shows on June 6th, the highest amount of specie held by the banks of $16,000,000 during the year November 30th, when they had called about $16,000,000 on October 26th, after the government took control of the gold during the November 30th, when we shall appear about $16,000,000 on specie, and the bank statement for this week shows a decrease in the gold held by the banks of $16,000,000. This will commence disbaring about $16,000,000 in gold, and as the country is not a subscriber to the gold standard, a strong and domestic amount, the stock of gold on the market will be materially increased. Observers differ widely as to the effect of these heavy disbursements on the price of gold, many arguing that the short note has done more for the American gold price than the buying of the specie is likely to advance its price, coupled with the export demand for specie which has formed a few per cent. In view of $36,000,000 of gold being placed on the market, and the probability of a new round of specie and gold for export and other purposes during January and February, the natural course of the gold market is certainly not upward, but the continued advance in the current of the foreign market is not certain. The foreign market for gold is in a condition to support the American gold market.
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Charles Manchester, (First National Bank, Columbus.)
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The Revolution.

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The Revolution.
THE REVOLUTION AND ITS TREATMENT OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS THEMES

BY

DOROTHY J. CLINE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Science, Major in Journalism, South Dakota State University

1975
themselves for equality. The Revolution bristled with wit, humor, and indignation, and it drew the attention of the leading political figures of the day. It was less successful in attracting in number the women readers it sought.

This study of The Revolution includes the publication's history, its format, and its content in regard to women's rights. All issues of The Revolution published during the time Miss Anthony was proprietor were examined for editorial treatment of the basic themes of the women's rights movement.