

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Huma Abedin to WAVES re list of guests for WW tour (partial) (1 page)	07/11/1998	P6/b(6)
002. list	Seneca Falls signatories (partial) (3 pages)	nd	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17210

FOLDER TITLE:

Millennium Council Projects:Preservation/History

2012-0869-S

kc920

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TREKLES
TOD STUFF

—

420 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10018

**GIRL SCOUTS OF
THE U.S.A.**

Fax

To: Mike O'Mary

From: Claudia Davis

Fax: 202-456-6244

Pages: 6

Phone:

Date: 7/14/98

Re: Remarks

CC:

☐ **Urgent** ☐ **For Review** ☐ **Please Comment** ☐ **Please Reply** ☐ **Please Recycle**

• **Comments:**

Mike,

Attached are the remarks that our National Executive Director, Marty Evans will make tomorrow.

Thanks.

**Elinor Ferdon
White House Millennium Council Event
Talking Points
M'Clintock House
Waterloo, NY
July 15, 1998**

- **I am honored to join First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton -- Girl Scouting's National Honorary President -- and all of you, as we come together at the historic M'Clintock House to celebrate the birth of the women's rights movement in this country.**
- **Girl Scouts are thrilled and honored to participate in the White House Millennium Council's initiative, "Honor the Past - Imagine the Future," in partnership with the National Trust for Historic Preservation.**

- **"Honor the Past - Imagine the Future" is a familiar theme in Girl Scouting. In fact, since Girl Scouting was founded in 1912 by Juliette Gordon Low, we have always encouraged girls to honor their shared past, while keeping their sights firmly set on tomorrow.**
- **The same vision that guided the women's rights pioneers we honor today, also sparked Girl Scouting's founder to create an organization dedicated to serving all the girls of America. That was a radical idea in 1912. Just as it was revolutionary 150 years ago for women to vote. But Mary Ann M'Clintock, and Juliette Gordon Low were visionaries. They were harbingers of change, advocating new ways of thinking. Their vision continues to have an enormous impact on the changing American landscape.**

- **Today, girls have nearly unlimited options and opportunities; they can be whatever they want to be -- the CEO of a multinational firm, an astronaut, an engineer, a stay-at-home mom, even President of the United States. These options exist because of the work of pioneers like Mary Ann M'Clintock and Juliette Gordon Low.**
- **And thanks to Juliette Low's clear and bold vision, Girl Scouting has not only survived over the past 86 years, it has thrived. Today, Girl Scouting is a household term, with three and a half million members in the United States and over 10-million Girl Guides and Girl Scouts throughout the world.**

- Girl Scouts of all ages have always had ample opportunity to learn about local community history and to preserve their neighborhood treasures. Junior Girl Scouts, for example, can collect and store items of community significance in a time capsule. When the capsule is opened in the future, it will reveal something of what life was like in our time. Or, girls might collect information about the ethnic groups that have inhabited a particular area of a city or town.
- Older Girl Scouts might compare contemporary passports, birth certificates, and driver's licenses with those of 50 years ago, to learn what such documents can disclose about changing habits and lifestyles. Or they can plan and host a community-wide event to raise awareness about the preservation of history properties.

- Here in this area, I know that girls from the Seven Lakes Girl Scout Council will be actively involved in the preservation of this historic landmark -- the M'Clintock House.
- When girls complete activities like these, they can earn a very high honor -- a special "Honor the Past, Imagine the Future" patch, featuring the inspiring White House Millennium Council logo.
- Girl Scouts' participation in the White House Millennium Council's "Honor the Past - Imagine the Future" partnership is one of the many ways that contemporary Girl Scouting is working hard to prepare girls for the world of change they will face in the years ahead. And this is how we in Girl Scouting can best prepare girls and young women to embrace all of the opportunities that will be theirs in the 21st century.

CROWNE PLAZA®
ROCHESTER

DATE: 7.10.98
TO: Huma / Mike O'Mary
COMPANY: First Lady's Office
FAX NUMBER: 202/456-6244

Number of Pages Including this Page

FROM: Ashley Bell rm 514

TELEPHONE: (716) 546-3450 (800) 243-7760

SALES FAX: (716) 546-8714

To ensure prompt delivery of faxes to guests or meeting participants, please use our GUEST FAX at (716) 546-8712

REMARKS: I'm sending the following:
1. Acknowledgements (please cc: to Mike O'Mary)
2. Program
3. Info about "Friends" — I marked the
paragraphs that I think are relevant. I
wrote the contact info. on ~~the~~ bottom of page.
4. General Directions (if needed)

can be
shortened

To Mike: All background info. is on Web page (will forward more specific info.).

Acknowledgements for Ganondagan State Historic Site:

A. (Main Contacts at Site)

- Peter Jamison ("GEM E SON"), site manager
- Jeanette Miller, wife of Peter Jamison, staff member of the Friends of Ganondagan.
- John Clancy, Regional Director, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation

B. (Roundtable Discussion)

- Clan Mothers (Names TBD)

C. (Cultural Presentation)

- The Young and Little Spirit Dancers
- The Silver Cloud Singers
- TBD, speaker from Park Service

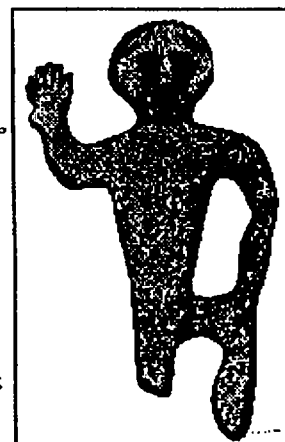
D. Others

The Friends of Ganondagan (all-volunteer group responsible for all the programs and activities at the site)

Program at Granondagan State Historic Site:

- Roundtable discussion with Clan Mothers (names TBD)
of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy
- Cultural Presentation
Performance by the Young and Little Spirit Dancers
and the Silver Cloud Singers
- Tour of the Bark Longhouse

The Friends of Ganondagan



The Friends of Ganondagan was formed in 1989 to lend physical, spiritual, and financial support to Ganondagan State Historic Site, Victor, NY. The Friends are Indians and non-Indians who share a common understanding of the significance of the past at the site.



Ganondagan State Historic Site is dedicated to the *Message of Peace*. The Friends of Ganondagan believe in preserving and promoting that Message by fostering an informed interest in Native American history and culture -- in particular, the Seneca relation to the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy. Ganondagan was home to the woman known as the *Mother of Nations*. She was the first person to accept the message of unity that the *Peacemaker* brought to each nation, and helped to form the Confederacy.



The Friends also share the realization that today they help the site move towards an important future. With your help, Ganondagan can become a center for cultural understanding and a beacon for the *Message of Peace*, a message which Seneca elders have said is the most important lesson for the site to convey. Your contributions help us to sponsor Cultural Events and allow us to continue to invite guest speakers and Iroquois craftspeople, naturalists, dancers, and storytellers several times a year.

For many years there has been talk about building a bark longhouse at Ganondagan. Now, at last, construction of the bark longhouse has begun. You may help in this effort by contributing to the Campaign of the Heart. Once again, the hearts of the Haudenosaunee will beat strongly on the hill at Ganondagan.



The Friends of Ganondagan is an all-volunteer group responsible for all the Programs and Activities at the site. You are cordially invited to become a member of The Friends of Ganondagan! Membership gives you a chance to join us and help support our programming. We appreciate your support!

Benefits of Membership:

- A quarterly newsletter
- 10% discount on all Gift Shop merchandise
- Priority registration and discounts for workshops
- Special events reminders

Membership categories:

- Patron = \$50
- Family = \$20
- Individual = \$10
- Senior (age 62+) and Student = \$5

Contributions may still be made to either the Campaign of the Heart (to help build the Bark Longhouse) or to the Bark Longhouse Summer Campaign (to film the building of the longhouse and to furnish its interior). Contributions to either or both campaigns are tax-deductible to the fullest extent of the law.

Please make checks payable to: **Friends of Ganondagan, Inc.** and mail to:

Friends of Ganondagan, Inc.

P.O. Box 239

Victor, NY 14564

Please indicate on your check whether your contribution is for the Campaign of the Heart or the Bark Longhouse Summer Campaign.

[Back to the Friends page](#)

[Back to the Main Ganondagan page](#)



*Page created and maintained for the Friends of Ganondagan
by Frank Sadowski, franks@frontiernet.net
to whom comments and questions about this page should be addressed.*

Last updated: April 19, 1998

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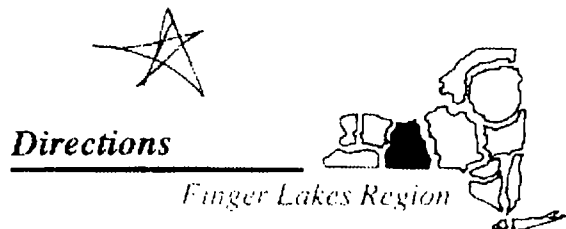
<http://www.ggw.org/ganondagan/longhouse.htm>

*Friends of Ganondagan, Inc.
P.O. Box 239
1488 Victor-Holcomb Road
Victor, New York 14564-0239*

Telephone: 716/924-5848

Internet Address:

<http://www.ggw.org/ganondagan>

**From the east:**

Thruway exit 44. Rt. 332 south to second traffic light. Right on County Road 41, which becomes Boughton Hill Road. At top of hill (flashing red light), cross intersection. Visitor parking in second driveway on the right.

From the west:

Thruway exit 45. Proceed to Victor on Rt. 96 to third stoplight, Maple Avenue, which becomes County Rt. 3. Turn right and proceed south to Boughton Hill Road (flashing red light), turn right. Visitor parking in second driveway on the right.

HOURS OF OPERATION:

Visitor Center open Wednesday through Sunday 9-5, mid-May through first week of November. Trails open year-round, 8AM to sunset, weather permitting. Groups by reservation two weeks in advance.

ADMISSION:

\$1 per person for group tours.

ACCESS:

Visitor Center is fully accessible to people with mobility limitations.

ACTIVITIES:

Marked Trails: Earth Is Our Mother Trail and Trail of Peace on Boughton Hill, Granary Trail on Fort Hill. Clan exhibit, audiovisual program, and reconstructed longhouse. Special Seasonal Events. Call site for specific hours.

Ganondagan State Historic Site
P.O. Box 239
1488 Victor-Holcomb Road
Victor, NY 14564-0239
(716) 924-5848

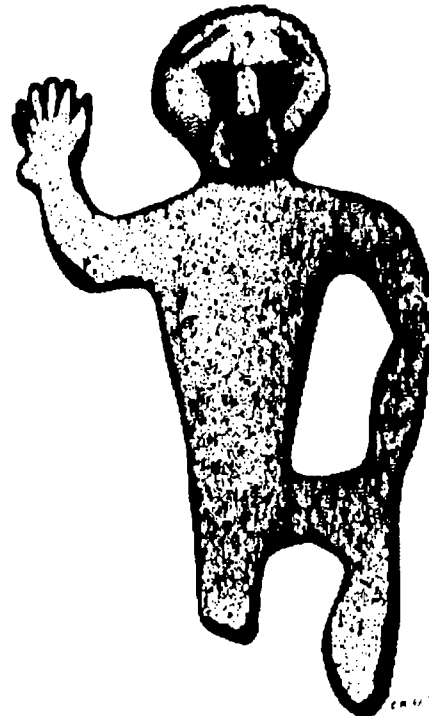


3/98 5M

GANONDAGAN

State Historic Site

Victor, New York



Finger Lakes Region



State of New York

George E. Pataki, Governor

**Office of Parks,
Recreation and Historic Preservation**
Bernadette Castro, Commissioner

An Equal Opportunity / Affirmative Action Agency

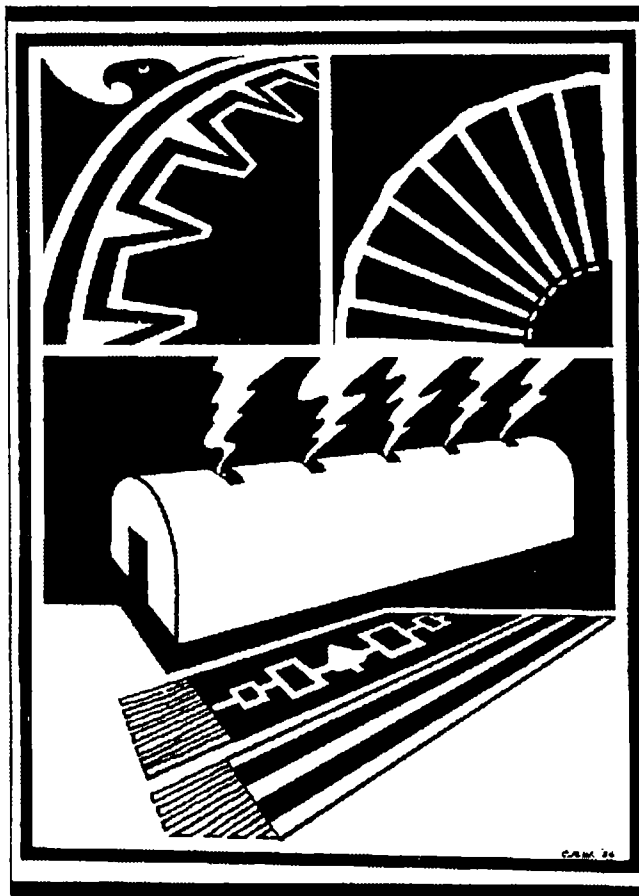
Historical Significance of Ganondagan

"Ganondagan, a city or village of bark, situate at the top of a mountain of earth, to which one rises by three terraces. It appeared to us, from a distance, to be crowned with round towers..."

M. L'Abbe De Belmont, 1687.

Ganondagan State Historic Site is the location of a major seventeenth-century Seneca town and its palisaded granary. The town and its associated burial grounds on Boughton Hill were designated a National Historic Landmark in 1964. Fort Hill, the site of the granary, was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1966 because it was part of the French campaign of destruction in 1687. The Marquis de Denonville, Governor General of New France, led an army from Canada against the Seneca in July, 1687. It was an effort to annihilate the Seneca and eliminate them as competitors in the international fur trade.

Historians emphasize the battle between the French and the Seneca, which took place near Ganondagan over three hundred years ago. The Seneca recall a much earlier time period, when the man referred to as the Peacemaker journeyed to their territory and met a woman known as the Mother of Nations. The Seneca refer to Ganondagan as the Town of Peace and revere and protect the burial site of the Mother of Nations here.



Trails

Illustrated signs mark the three trails where visitors can learn about the significance of plant life to the Seneca, about Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) customs and beliefs, and about the features of Fort Hill (the granary) and the events that occurred there. In the Visitor Center an exhibit by Seneca artist Carson Waterman explores the importance of the clan system to the Haudenosaunee and a twenty-seven minute video program surveys the history of Ganondagan.

The Seneca

Many Indian nations occupied the North American woodlands during the early seventeenth century. The Iroquois-speaking peoples included the Huron, Cherokee, Tuscarora, Wenro, Erie and Susquehannock, as well as the political confederates known as the Five Nations Iroquois. The five nations are, from west to east, the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. The French called these nations the Iroquois, the English referred to them as the Five Nations, but they call themselves Haudenosaunee. In 1714, the Tuscarora joined the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and henceforth the English knew the Confederacy as the Six Nations.

The Seneca have the same creation story as the other nations of the Haudenosaunee. The story relates that Twins—spirits of the Sky World—created the world on the back of a great spirit turtle. Consequently, our world is a Turtle Island afloat in an endless black sea. Seneca oral history also relates that from ancient times the Seneca lived in extended families, settled under one roof in bark houses known as longhouses. The name Haudenosaunee translates to People Who Build Houses. This distinguished the Haudenosaunee from the peoples who surrounded them.

Another Seneca story relates that a people emerged from the earth at what is now called South Hill near Canandaigua Lake, about twenty miles from Ganondagan. It is an extremely significant tale, for the Seneca answer to Onondowagah, literally the People of the Great Hill. Seneca identity is strongly attached to place, and South Hill is the birthplace of the Seneca people in the distant and unmeasured past.

Seneca oral tradition also tells of a Huron man who arrived among the Mohawks speaking of peace and an ordered society. This prophet is known today as the Peacemaker. The Mohawk, Oneida, and Cayuga pledged to join his proposed confederation. Following a dramatic interlude, the Seneca agreed also. The discussion about how to bring in the Onondaga found its way into the house of the Mother of Nations. She proposed a solution which eventually brought the Onondaga into the fold. She lived in the vicinity of Ganondagan, and is buried nearby.

The Peacemaker established the Gayanesshagowa or Great Law of Peace as the Constitution of the Haudenosaunee. The foundation of the law was that thinking and negotiations can replace violence and warfare as a means of settling disputes. The nations of the Confederacy have held fast to that law since the time of the Peacemaker.



The Seneca and the Natural World

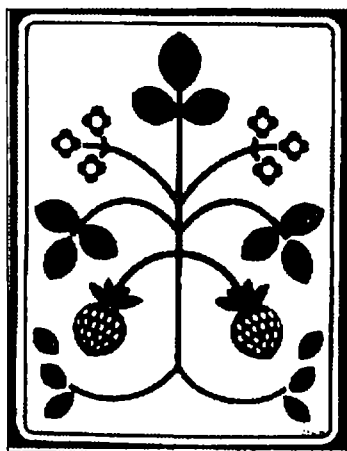
Traditional Seneca see a benevolent natural world which provides human beings with everything necessary for a healthy and spiritually satisfying life. Plants and animals are perceived as allies in life. Seneca oral tradition expresses a consciousness about the relationships between the natural world and human happiness. Today, traditional Seneca open and close every formal gathering with thanks to the

natural world for all its gifts. That speech, called the Thanksgiving Address, articulates some of the benefits derived from various grasses, herbs, and trees.

There are many Seneca uses of plants. Plants provide the materials for tools, for cere-

monial objects, for games, for clothing, for works of art. Plants, including trees, provide fuel for cooking, as well as the food itself. Plants are also a source of healing. When Seneca pick a plant for medicinal purposes, they seek not only the chemically active "agent" within the plant, but also the spiritually nurturant qualities of that plant.

The trails at Ganondagan introduce you to the Seneca's special relationship to the natural world.



Edith Wharton

R E S T O R A T I O N

FAX

DATE: _____

PAGES: _____
(Including cover)TO: *Michael O'Meara*

DEPT./CO.: _____

FAX: *456-6244*FROM: *Lynn*

DEPT.: _____

FAX: *413-637-0619**637-1899*☐ Urgent ☐ For Review ☐ Please Comment ☐ Please Reply

* Comments

EDITH WHARTON/THE MOUNT LENOX, MASS

FLOTUS ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

STEPHANIE COPELAND, PRESIDENT OF EDITH WHARTON RESTORATION (EWR)
SCOTT MARSHALL, VICE PRESIDENT AND THE MOUNT HISTORIAN (EWR)
JONAS DOVYDENAS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, EWR

Dovee Dennis

JUDITH MCCDONOUGH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, MASS. HISTORICAL COMMISSION
RICHARD MOE, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

~~SENATOR TED KENNEDY~~

~~CONGRESSMAN JOHN OLIVER~~

STATE SENATOR ANDREA NUCIFORO

STATE REPRESENTATIVE CHRIS HODGKINS

STATE SENATOR AND MRS. JOHN FITZPATRICK: Lead donor to The Mount, largest local employer,
and generous donor to local non-profits. Sponsors of the reception.

STATE SENATOR ROBERT DURAND, HEAD OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION COMMITTEE

WILLIAM GALVIN, SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH

WILLIAM SMITTY PIGNATELLI, CHAIRMAN OF THE SELECTMEN, LENOX

more to come

Jul-10-98 12:24P

P.02

**VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIRST LADY
TO
THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MONDAY, JULY 13, 1998**

EVENT: Star-Spangled Banner

DATE: Monday, July 13, 1998

TIME: 7:55 am - 9:30 am

LOCATION: National Museum of American History

ATTENDEES: The President
The First Lady
Secretary I. Michael Heyman, Smithsonian Institution
Spencer Crew, Director, National Museum of American History
Ralph Lauren, Polo Ralph Lauren Company
Rebecca Rimel, President and CEO, Pew Charitable Trusts
Denyce Graves, soloist
Harriet Tubman School Students
Smithsonian Summer Campers
Approximately 150 invites guests, including members of Congress,
members of the White House Millennium Council's Save America's
Treasures Committee, Smithsonian Institution Board and Staff,
representatives of veterans' organizations

PRESS: OPEN

REMARKS: The President and the First Lady give remarks.

SCENARIO:

The President and the First Lady will arrive at the National Museum of American History via motorcade. Mr. Ralph Lauren and family will travel in a VIP car in the motorcade. Upon arrival, the President and the First Lady will proceed to the Reception Room where they will be greeted by Smithsonian Institution Secretary I. Michael and Therese Heyman; Dr. Spencer Crew, Director of the National Museum of American History; Dr. Ivan and Nina Selin, Chairman of the National Museum of American History Board; Ms. Rebecca Rimel, President and CEO of the Pew Charitable Trusts, and Denyce Graves, soloist.

Jul-10-98 12:26P

P.03

Star-Spangled Banner Event**Page 2**

The President and the First Lady, Secretary Heyman, Dr. Crew, Mr. Lauren, Ms. Rimel, and Ms. Graves will proceed to Flag Hall where they will be announced on stage. After announcement, the President and the First Lady will move to a side stage for the Presentation of the Colors and the Pledge of Allegiance led by children from the Harriet Tubman School and Smithsonian Institution summer camp. Other program participants will be on the main stage in front of their seats. After the Pledge of Allegiance, the President and the First Lady will move to the main stage and be seated while Denyce Graves sings "American Anthem."

Dr. Crew will then welcome guests and introduce Secretary Heyman. Secretary Heyman will give remarks, followed by Dr. Crew's remarks in which he will thank the donors. Dr. Crew will introduce the First Lady. Following the First Lady's remarks, she will introduce the President. Following the President's remarks, Ms. Graves will sing the Star-Spangled Banner. Upon completion of the National Anthem, the President and the First Lady will work the ropeline and exit Flag Hall.

The President and the First Lady will proceed to the Reception Room where they greet approximately 30 members of the First Lady's Treasures Tour traveling party. Upon completion of the meet and greet, the President and the First Lady will return to the White House via motorcade.

JUL-10-1998 09:54

EDISON NHS

1 201 736 8496

P.02

**THE VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
THOMAS EDISON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
WEST ORANGE, NJ
TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1998**

EVENT: Tour of the Thomas Edison National Historic Site and Remarks to New Jersey community leaders in hi-tech industries, preservationists, and historians

DATE: TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1998

TIME: 7:30 am to 10:40 am

LOCATION: Building No. 5, Courtyard Thomas Edison National Historic Site

ATTENDEES: THE FIRST LADY

Dick Moe, National Trust for Historic Preservation
Robert Stanton, Director National Park Service
Marie Rust, Northeast Regional Director National Park Service
Jack Welch, CEO General Electric
John McKeon, Mayor of West Orange
Board Members of National Park Foundation
Millennium Council Members
National Park Staff
Community leaders
Lucent Technologies
Carol Wiener, AT&T
Mary McMannis, Lucent Technologies
Representative from NJ/Pa Council Office of American Electronics Assoc.

PRESS: OPEN/Tour for traveling press, local pool

REMARKS: Live broadcast of the NBC Today Show; Interactive discussion with a GE Distant learning center; Remarks to invited guests

SCENARIO:

The First Lady will arrive by motorcade at the main gate of the Edison Historic Site. The First Lady will be greeted by Maryanne Gerbauckas, Superintendent of the Edison National Historic Site and Maria Shriver, NBC Today Show. The First Lady and Maria Shriver will commence a tour of Building No. 5. (NOTE: This tour will be broadcast live on NBC.) Upon conclusion of the broadcast, there will be some time before the guided Park Service tour will begin. The First Lady accompanied by Robert Stanton, Jack Welch, and Maryanne Gerbauckas will tour the facility beginning in the Library. The tour will pause in the Machine Shop where The First Lady will be joined by students of West Orange High School and Seton Hall Prep for an interactive discussion with the GE Distant Learning Center in Schenectady, NY. The tour will continue to the Chemistry Lab and throughout Building 5. There will be an off-stage announcement of the First Lady to stage.

PROGRAM:

Mayor John McKeon, gives welcoming remarks and reads letter from Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ); introduces Marie Rust, NE Regional Director, NPS
Marie Rust gives brief remarks and introduces Robert Stanton
Robert Stanton gives remarks and introduces Jack Welch
Jack Welch, CEO of General Electric gives remarks
Robert Stanton introduces **THE FIRST LADY**
THE FIRST LADY gives remarks

The First Lady exits stage right and works a ropeline right to left. The First Lady departs via Buscapede en route Newburgh, NY.

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
FORT McHENRY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
MONDAY, JULY 13, 1998**

EVENT: Tour Ft. McHenry and Press Roundtable

DATE: Monday, July 13, 1998

TIME: 2:10 pm - 3:40 pm

LOCATION: Visitor's Center, Ft. McHenry National Monument

ATTENDEES: The First Lady
Dick Moe
Mary Kelley, Professor of History, Dartmouth University
Ellen Lovell, Millenium Project
12 Mcmbers of the traveling press corps

PRESS: CLOSED/Traveling Press only

REMARKS: Brief Remarks/Roundtable discussion

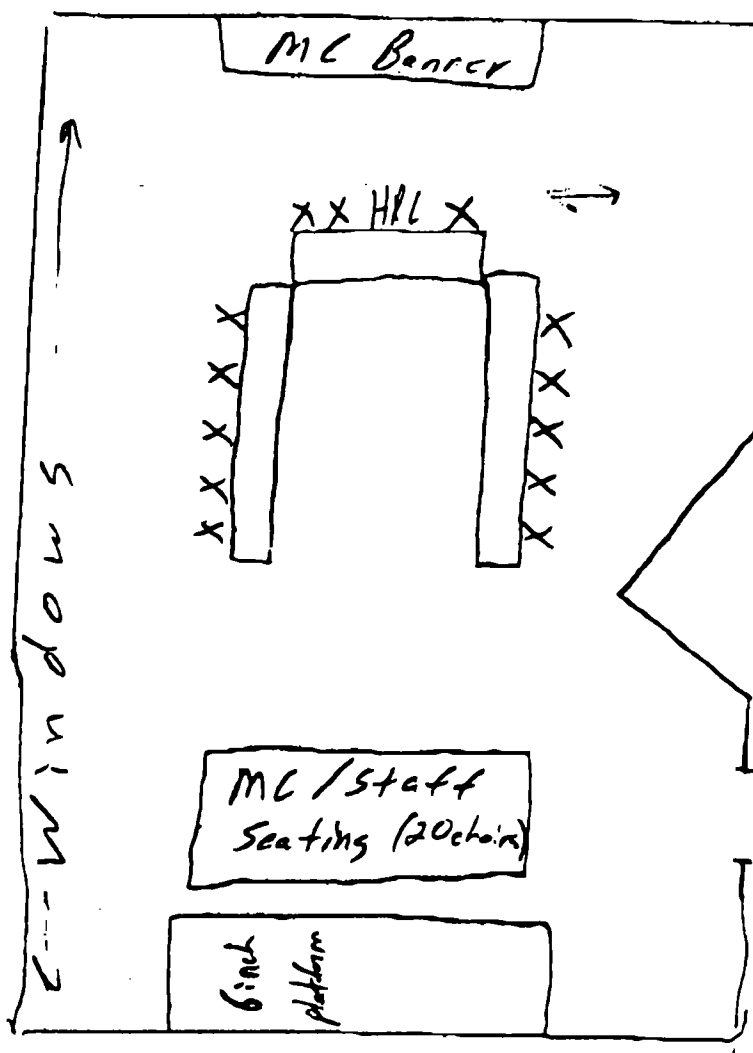
SCENARIO:

The First Lady will arrive Fort McHenry Visitor's Center via motorcade. The First Lady will be met curbside by Ms. Kayci Cook, Supcrintendent, Fort McHenry National Monument. Kayci Cook will escort The First Lady on a 15 minute tour of the Fort McHenry grounds. Following a brief tour, The First Lady and Kayci Cook will proceed to the visitor's center auditorium. In the auditorium, the First Lady sits with assembled members of the traveling press corps, Dick Moe, Mary Kelley and Ellen Lovell for a Roundtable Discussion/Press Briefing. The First Lady will open with brief remarks and introduce Dick Moe who will make brief remarks and introduce Mary Kelley. Mary Kelley will also make brief remarks and field questions from the traveling press corps. Following the Roundtable, the First Lady departs Fort McHenry Visitor's Center via motorcade.

Draft #3

Fort McHenry Press Roundtable
Monday, July 13, 1998
2:30 pm - 4:30 pm
Baltimore, Maryland

Fort
McHenry



Rest
Rooms

Hold

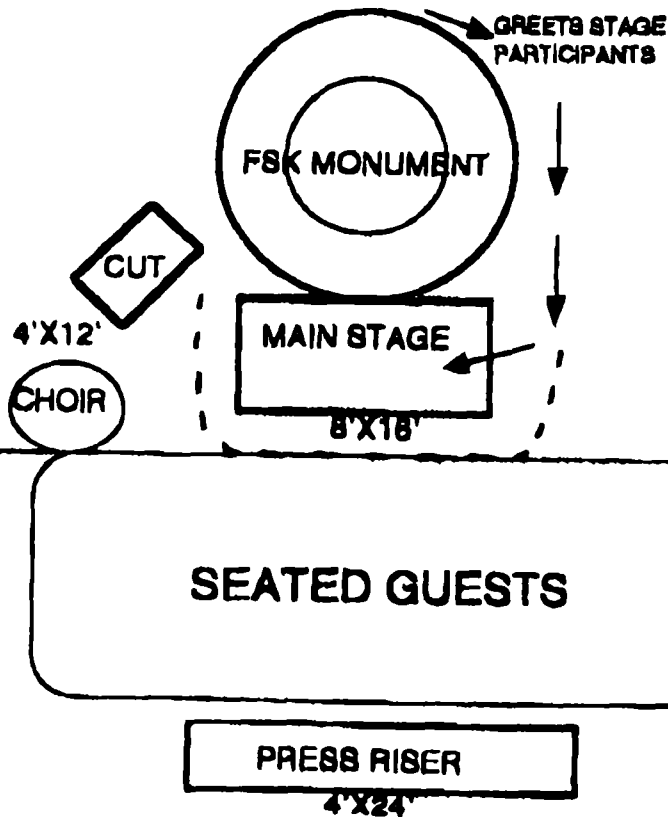
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FROM : TSELDES

PHONE NO. : 2023632605

Jul. 10 1998 01:57AM P3

**Trip of The First Lady
Baltimore, MD
Millennium Council's "Save America's Treasures" Tour
Francis Scott Key Monument Event
Monday, July 13, 1998**

EUTAW STREET**EUTAW STREET****MOTORCADE****STANDING
GUESTS****PUBLIC/PRESS
ENTRANCE****=FLOTUS**

**Trip of The First Lady
To
Pittsfield, Massachusetts
July 14, 1998**

EVENT: Colonial Theatre Tour/Remarks to the people of Pittsfield

PLACE: Historic Colonial Theatre

TIME: 3:45 p.m.-5:10 p.m.

DATE: Tuesday, July 14, 1998

HOLD: TBD

GREETERS: Gerald Doyle, Mayor of Pittsfield
Bob Boland, Historian for the Colonial Theatre
Stephan Miller, Owner of the theatre building
John Olver, U.S. Congressman, District 1

PRESS: Pool inside the theatre/Open outside the theatre

PARTICIPANTS: **The First Lady**
Congressman John Olver
Mayor Gerald Doyle
Bob Boland, Historian
Approx. 1500 invited ticketed people outside

SCENARIO:

The First Lady arrives the Colonial Theatre and is greeted by United States Congressman, John Olver; Gerald Doyle, Mayor, City of Pittsfield; Bob Boland, Historian for the Colonial Theatre; Stephan Miller, owner of the Colonial Theatre building.

The First Lady, accompanied by Congressman Olver, Mayor Doyle, Mr. Boland and Mr. Miller proceed inside the building for a guided tour of the first floor. Upon conclusion of the tour **The First Lady**, led by Mayor Doyle, Mr. Boland, and Mr. Miller proceeds upstairs for a tour of the main theatre area.

Upon arrival to the second floor, **The First Lady**, is escorted by Mayor Doyle, Mr. Boland, and Mr. Miller up a flight of stairs to a viewing box. Upon arrival to the viewing box, **The First Lady** is introduced to Ms. Alla Zernitskaya, director of the Berkshire Fiddlers, who will then introduce her 12 member orchestra. Ms. Zernitskaya will then introduce the two pieces that will be performed. Upon conclusion of the two pieces, **The First Lady** will descend from the viewing box and proceed directly to the outdoor event.

Upon arrival to the outside event, **The First Lady**, accompanied by United States Congressman Olver, Mayor Doyle, Mr. Boland, Judith McDonnah and Mr. Miller, proceeds directly

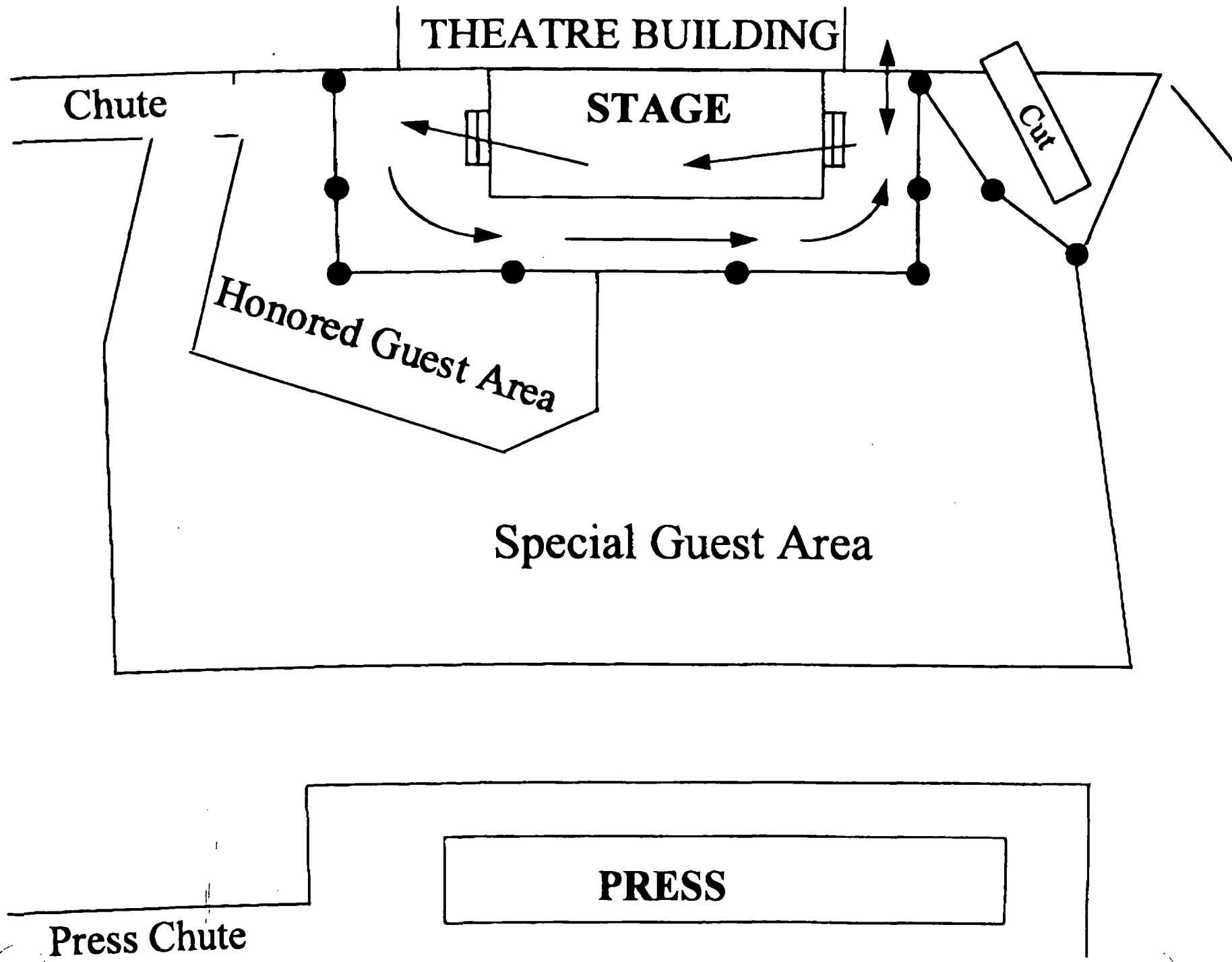
Donough

to the stage. Bob Boland makes brief introduction remarks and introduces Congressman Olver. Congressman Olver makes brief remarks, then introduces Mayor Doyle. Mayor Doyle makes brief remarks then introduces The First Lady. The First Lady makes remarks. Upon conclusion of remarks, The First Lady will exit stage right and work a ropeline right to left. Upon conclusion of the ropeline, The First Lady will proceed directly to the motorcade.

Staff Note: Upon arrival to the theatre all staff should either proceed directly to the outside event or should pre position in the up stairs area of the theatre.

All Millennium Council staff who are not apart of the downstairs tour should proceed directly to the upstairs event, due to the limited space available downstairs.

The Berkshire Fiddlers are made up of 5th, 7th and 8th grade public school children.



**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
THE KATE MULLANY HOUSE
TROY, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1998**

EVENT: Plaque Presentation Ceremony

DATE: Wednesday, July 15, 1998

TIME: 9:30 AM - 10:30 AM

LOCATION: The Kate Mullany House
350 8TH Street
Troy, New York

ATTENDEES: Approximately 700 ticketed guests

PARTICIPANTS: The First Lady
Congressman Mike McNulty
Mayor Mark Pattison
Josephine Sano, Albany Central Labor Council
Mullany descendent, TBD
Governor Pataki or representative, TBD
~~State Senator Joe Bruno (R, Troy), TBD~~
Kate Mullany actress, TBD

PRESS: Open

REMARKS: Speaking Program

SCENARIO:

The First Lady will arrive at the Kate Mullany House and be greeted by Congressman Mike McNulty, Mayor Mark Pattison, Josephine Sano and a Kate Mullany descendent. The First Lady and the greeting party will then proceed backstage and join other program participants and await introduction onto the stage according to the speaking program.

Upon conclusion of the program, The First Lady will be presented with an original Troy collar and then be invited to unveil a plaque commemorating the designation of the Kate Mullany House as a National Historic Landmark.

The First Lady will exit the stage (ropeline optional) and depart.

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
THE WILLIAM SEWARD HOUSE
AUBURN, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1998**

EVENT: Tour of the William H. Seward House

DATE: Wednesday, July 15, 19998

TIME: 1:50 PM - 2:05 PM

LOCATION: William Seward House
National Historic Landmark site in Auburn, New York

ATTENDEES: The First Lady
Descendants of William Seward (3)
Mayor and City Council members
12 members of the traveling press corps

PRESS: TBD

REMARKS: Brief Remarks / Presentations

SCENARIO:

The First Lady will arrive Auburn, New York via motorcade and proceed to the William Seward House Museum. The First Lady will be greeted by Betty May Lewis, curator of the museum for the last 47 years. She will be introduced to the family members and distinguished guests. Mrs. Lewis will lead a brief tour of the Seward House museum focusing on the connections between William Seward and Harriet Tubman. Seward was Secretary of State under President Lincoln and was instrumental in the Emancipation Proclamation. The tour will include the Washington room, the study, the Harriet Tubman display, the Carriage House and the "dormitory" (where the Seward's hid run away slaves), the formal dining room and living room. The First Lady will then travel by motorcade along the South Street National Register Historic District en route to the Harriet Tubman Home..

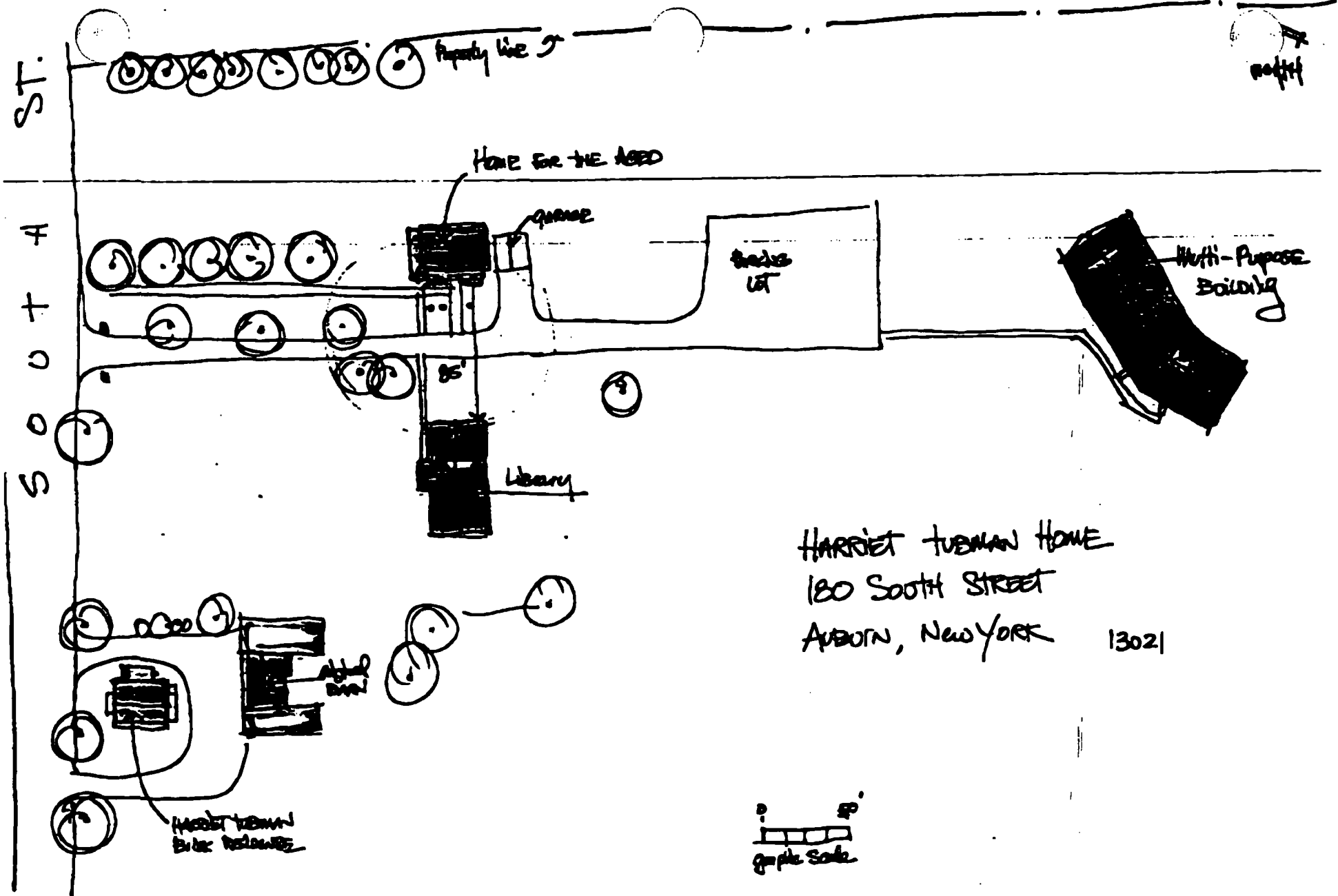
Draft 1.

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
THE HARRIET TUBMAN HOME
AUBURN, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1998**

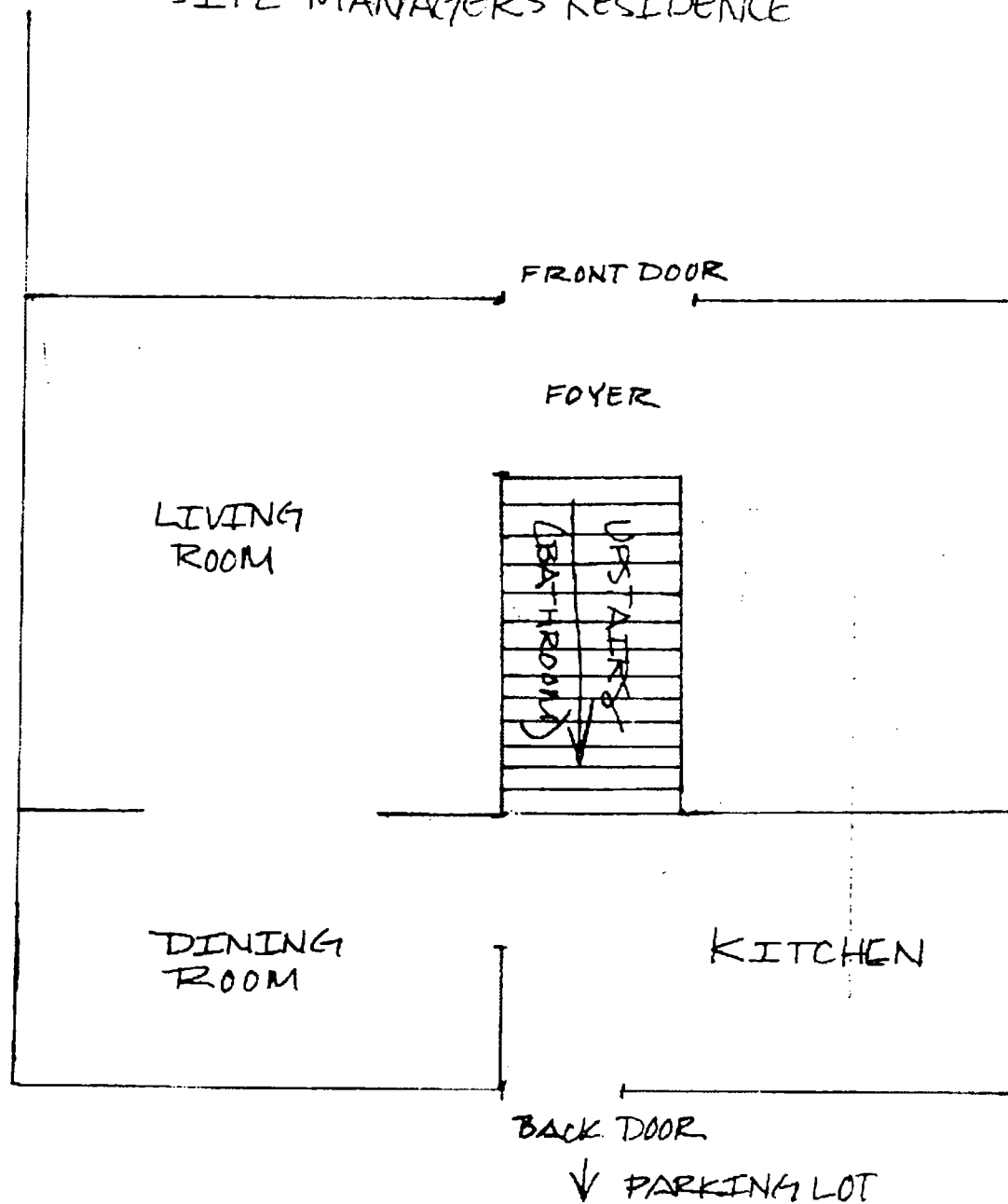
EVENT: Tour of the Harriet Tubman Residence,
DATE: Wednesday, July 15, 1998
TIME: 2:10 PM - 3:10 PM
LOCATION: Harriet Tubman property
National Historic Landmark site, Auburn, New York
ATTENDEES: The First Lady
Harriet Tubman Family members
Distinguished members of the A.M.E. Zion Church
Mayor and City Council members
12 members of the traveling press corps
PRESS: OPEN
REMARKS: Brief Remarks / Presentations
SCENARIO:

The First Lady will arrive Harriet Tubman's residence where she will be greeted by Reverend and Mrs Paul Carter. (photo opportunity). The entourage will then tour Harriet's home which is in need of restoration. The First Lady will then proceed to the Harriet Tubman "Home for the Aged". (A small stage will be set up in front of the building.) Reverend Paul G. Carter will welcome the invited guests and present the Thompson Memorial Youth Group to perform a brief play on the life and times of Harriet Tubman. Several of "Aunt Harriet's direct descendants will be included within the performance. The First Lady will then make brief remarks. The First Lady will work ropeline and proceed inside the "Home for the Aged" for a tour enroute to motorcade..

Draft 1.



THURSDAY, 15 JULY 1998
GANDAGAN STATE HISTORIC SITE, VICTOR, NEW YORK
ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION W/ CLAN MOTHERS
SITE MANAGER'S RESIDENCE



A. Bell DRATT
7.9.98

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
NEWBURGH, NY
TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1998
Draft #3**

EVENT: Tour Washington's Headquarters

DATE: July 14, 1998

TIME: 11:55 am - 12:15 pm

LOCATION: Washington's Headquarters State Historic Site

ATTENDEES: Rep. Maurice Hinchey
Mayor Audrey Carey
Harry Porr
Bob Binneweise, PIPC
PIPC Board Members

PRESS: TBD

REMARKS: None

SCENARIO:

- The First Lady is greeted by Rep. Maurice Hinchey, Mayor Audrey Carey, Harry Porr, Bob Binneweise, PIPC, and PIPC Board Members.
- The First Lady tours the Hasbrouck house guided by Tom Hughes, Bob Binneweise.
- The First Lady exits the rear of the Hasbrouck house and walks to the Tower of Victory.
- The First Lady exits the Washington Headquarters Historic Site by the North gate at Washington St. and Grand St.
- The First Lady boards the bus for Lander St.

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
NEWBURGH, NY
TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1998
Draft #3**

EVENT: Walking tour to showcase community development

DATE: July 14, 1998

TIME: 12:30 pm - 12:55 pm

LOCATION: Landers Street, South St. and Grand St.

ATTENDEES: Representative Maurice Hinchey
Arnold Moss, developer
Nancy Abraham
Allison Lee, CEO of the Kingston Newburgh Enterprise Community
Peter Smith, Architect

PRESS: TBD

REMARKS: None

SCENARIO:

- The First Lady drive via Grand St. along which significant historic buildings are pointed out by Representative Maurice Hinchey.
- The First Lady is greeted by developer Arnold Moss and his wife Nancy Abraham, Allison Lee, CEO of the Kingston Newburgh Enterprise Community who will serve as her guides, possibly will be joined by Peter Smith, Architect.
- The First Lady goes into on of the partially rehabilitated houses where she views the ongoing work.
- The First Lady walks to Grand St. via South St. accompanied by Rep. Maurice Hinchey, Audrey Carey, Harry Porr who tells her of the history, architecture, and rehabilitation plans for the buildings she will pass.

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
NEWBURGH, NY
TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1998
Draft #3**

EVENT: Remarks to the People of Newburgh, NY

DATE: July 24 th, 1998

TIME: 1:00 pm - 1:45 pm

LOCATION: Dutch Reformed Church, Newburgh, NY

ATTENDEES: Rep. Maurice Hinchey
Mayor Audrey Carey
City Manager Harry Porr
French Council General TBD
J. Winthrop Aldrich => NY State office of Parks, Recreation, and

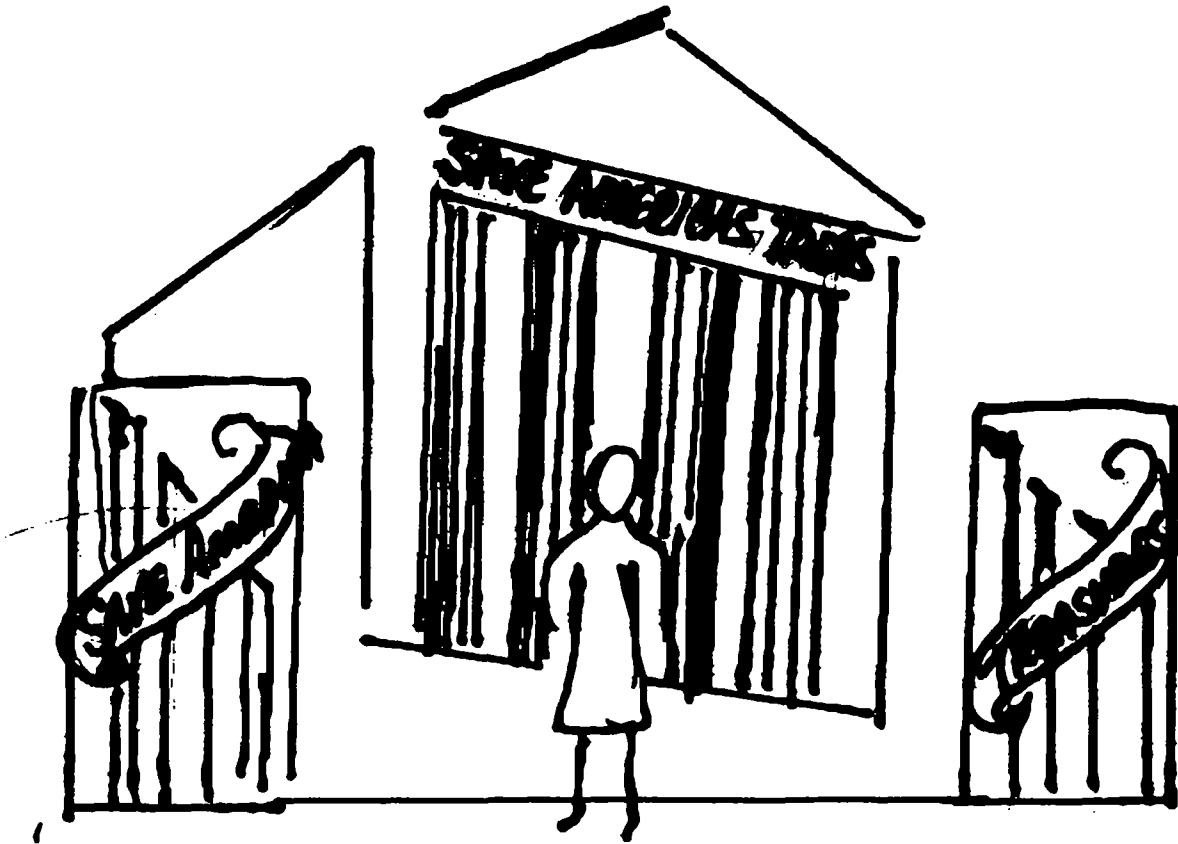
PRESS: Open

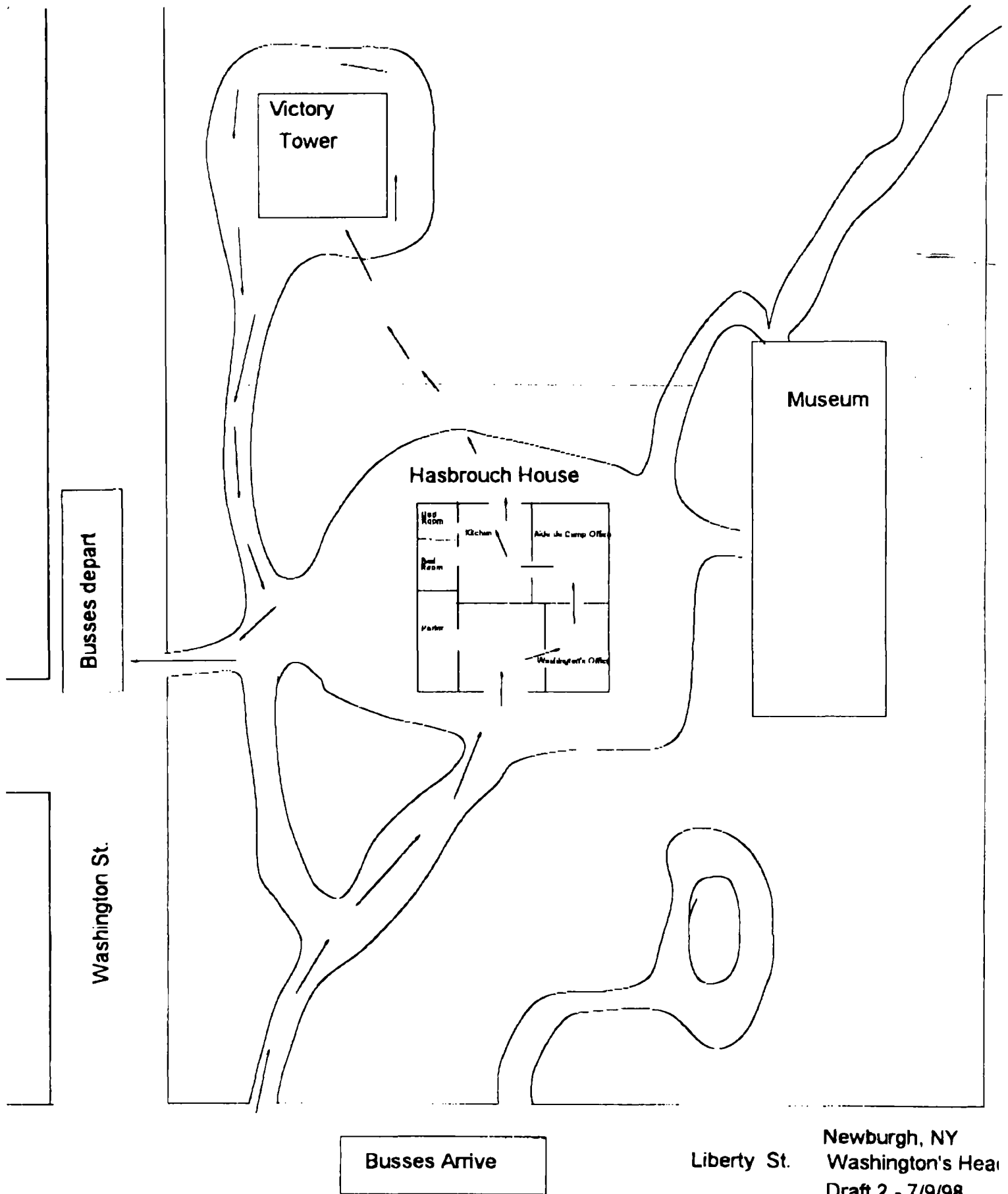
REMARKS: Speech

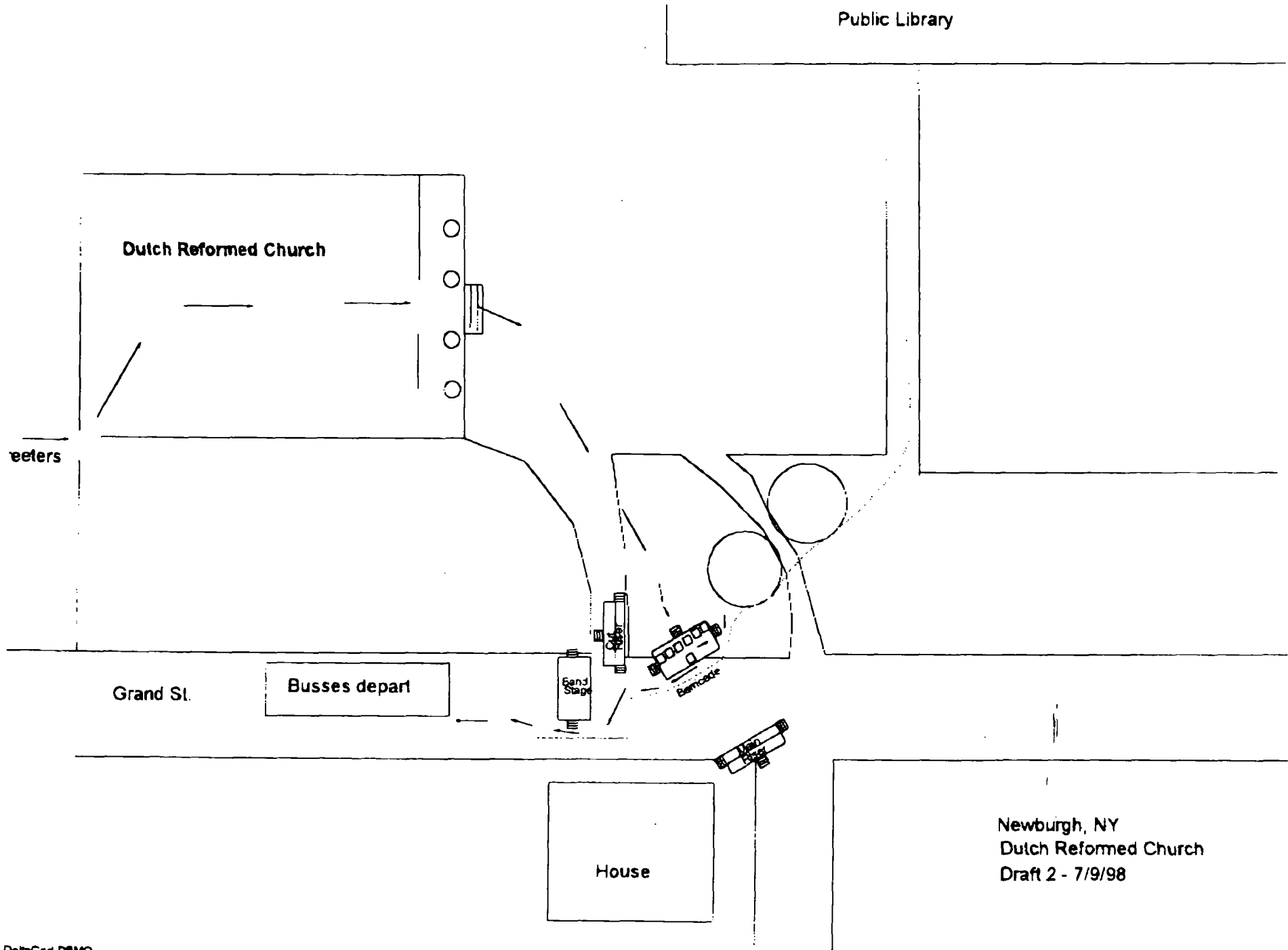
SCENARIO:

- The First Lady arrives at the rear of the church where she greets City Council members.
- The First Lady enters the church from the rear side door.
- The First Lady joined in the church by the stage party:
 - Rep. Maurice Hinchey
 - Mayor Audrey Carey
 - City Manager Harry Porr
 - French Council General TBD
 - J. Winthrop Aldrich
- The First Lady is given a brief tour of the church by Karen Heroy, Newburgh Center for the Arts.
- The First Lady and the stage party exit the front of the church and walk to the stage where they are seated.
- The speaking program begins:
 - Mayor Audrey Carey
 - J. Winthrop Aldrich
 - Rep. Maurice Hinchey
 - The First Lady
- The First Lady works a rope line.
- The First Lady returns to the bus.

*Historic Preservation
"Win" Deputy State Historic
Preservation Officer*







JUL-11-98 08:47A

JUL-10-1998 15:55

CAPITAL CAMPAIGN DFC

202 633 7366 P.02/02

P. 04

FOR PROGRAM COPY -

The flag that flew over Baltimore's Fort McHenry during the War of 1812 and inspired the words of the National Anthem will undergo three years of conservation treatment beginning this fall. A national treasure, the Star-Spangled Banner has been on exhibit almost continuously since it first came to the Smithsonian Institution in 1907. Despite receiving the best possible care, the flag is deteriorating from decades of exposure to light, pollution and temperature fluctuations.

When the three-story-high flag is removed from its current display and laid flat on a special platform in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History Flag Hall, it will be thoroughly examined and a full treatment plan will be devised. The flag will then be moved to a specially-built conservation laboratory which will allow Museum visitors to view the conservation efforts as they progress. When the Star-Spangled Banner returns to Flag Hall in 2003, it will take center stage in a completely renovated exhibition area that will allow better public viewing of the Flag, while at the same time, protecting the Flag in a controlled-environment display case. The Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum of American History are proud to join The President, The First Lady, and the American people in these historic efforts to preserve our precious heritage.

The Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum of American History wish to extend their deep appreciation to those American citizens, private foundations, and community groups who have provided support and generous grants to the Star-Spangled Banner Preservation Project. These include the dedicated Board and staff of the National Museum of American History and its Board Chairman, Ivan Selin, The Pew Charitable Trusts, The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, The Brown Foundation, The Susan and Ellhu Race Foundation, Warren Winarski and Family, The Ivan and Nina Selin Family Foundation, Montgomery Watson Americas, Robert Hemphill, The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Society of the War of 1812.

Most particularly, in response to the President's State of the Union Address and in recognition of the opportunities afforded him by the United States of America, Mr. Ralph Lauren and the Polo Ralph Lauren Company ~~has~~ made a generous grant to the Star-Spangled Banner Preservation Project. This contribution represents the single largest corporate donation ever received by the Smithsonian Institution. This gift will ensure that this great American icon will be preserved for future generations of Americans.

**Notional Schedule for the Millennium Council's
"Save America's Treasures" Tour
Monday, July 13 - Thursday, July , 1998
Draft #14**

Monday, July 13, 1998

PLEASE SEE ACTUAL SCHEDULE FOR UPDATED MONDAY JULY 13

Scenario 8:00 am- **STAR SPANGLED BANNER EVENT** w/POTUS
9:00 am American History Musuem

Format:
-Funding announcement

9:10 am **DEPART** via Presidential motorcade en route The White House
[drive time: 10 minutes]

9:20 am **ARRIVE** The White House

10:30 9:25 am- **DOWN TIME**
11:50 am

Washington partly cloudy
high 87 low 70

11:55 pm **DEPART** via motorcade en route Baltimore

12:55 pm **ARRIVE** Francis Scott Key Monument

1:00 pm **FRANCIS SCOTT KEY MONUMENT EVENT**

1:45 pm Baltimore, MD *partly cloudy*
high 86 low 67

Press Kits=>

1:50 pm **DEPART** via motorcade en route Ft. McHenry
[drive time: 20 minutes]

Scenario 2:10 pm- **PRESS BRIEFING**

3:40 pm Ft. McHenry

3:45 pm **DEPART** Ft. McHenry via motorcade en route train station
[drive time: tbd]

4:00 pm **ARRIVE** train station

4:36 pm **DEPART** via train en route Newark, NJ
[travel time: 2 hours 9 minutes]

6:45 pm **ARRIVE** Newark, NJ *light partly cloudy high 84 low 68*

7:00 pm **DEPART** Newark Train Station via tbd en route Short Hills, NJ
[drive time: 20 minutes]

7:20 pm **ARRIVE** Short Hills Hilton

OPTION:

8:00 pm **DINNER** w/Millennium Committee & other guests
Short Hills Hilton

RON Short Hills Hilton
Short Hills, NJ

Tuesday, July 14, 1998

7:05 am **DEPART** Short Hills Hilton via motorcade en route Thomas Edison
Invention Factory
[drive time: 20 minutes]

7:25 am **ARRIVE** Thomas Edison Invention Factory

7:30 am- **TOUR W/MARIA SHRIVER**
8:00 am Thomas Edison Invention Factory

Sonario 9:00 am- **THOMAS EDISON INVENTION FACTORY EVENT**

10:30 am W. Orange, NJ *partly cloudy high 84 low 67*

Elizabeth Sloan

Format:

- Tour of 2nd and 3rd floors to demonstrate needs
- tour of library, machine shop, chemistry lab
- event with children and an interactive/futuristic component
- possible funding announcement

10:40 am **DEPART** via bus en route Newburgh, NY
[drive time: 1 hour 10 minutes]

11:50 am **ARRIVE** Newburgh, NY *partly cloudy high 84 low 64*

Sonario 11:55 am **TOUR** Washington's Headquarters
12:15 pm

12:20 pm **DEPART** via bus en route Lander Street
[drive time: 5 minutes]

12:25 pm **ARRIVE** Lander Street

12:30 pm- **WALKING TOUR** to showcase community development

12:55 pm Lander Street

1:00 pm- **REMARKS TO THE COMMUNITY**

1:45 pm Dutch Reformed Church, Newburgh, NY

1:50 pm **DEPART** via bus en route Pittsfield, MA
[drive time: 2 hours]

*partly cloudy high 78
low 60*

3:50 pm **ARRIVE** Pittsfield, MA

Scenario 4:00 pm- **COLONIAL THEATER EVENT**

5:30 pm

Format:

-Tour paint store/theater

-remarks to community on the street outside the theater

5:35 pm **DEPART** via bus en route The Mount - Edith Wharton Residence
[drive time: 15 minutes]

5:50 pm **ARRIVE** The Mount - Edith Wharton Residence

5:55 pm- **TOUR/PHOTO OPS**

6:30 pm Edith Wharton

6:30 pm- **RECEPTION**

7:00 pm The Mount - Edith Wharton Residence
Lenox, MA

7:05 pm **DEPART** via bus en route Albany, NY
[drive time: 1 hour]

8:05 pm **ARRIVE** Albany, NY

RON Desmond Hotel
Albany, NY

partly cloudy high 82 low 60

Wednesday, July 15, 1998

9:00 am **DEPART** via bus en route Troy, NY
[drive time 20 minutes]

Scenario

9:20 am
9:30 am-
10:30 am

ARRIVE Troy, NY
KATE MULLANY HOUSE VISIT

Format:

-Present the National Historic Preservation Site Plaque

10:45 am

DEPART via bus en route Auburn, NY
[drive time: 3 hours]

1:45 pm

ARRIVE Auburn, NY

Scenario

1:50 pm-
2:05 pm

TOUR WILLIAM H. SEWARD HOUSE
William H. Seward House

2:10 pm-

DEPART Seward House via bus en route Tubman House
[drive time: 5 minutes]

2:15 pm

ARRIVE Harriet Tubman House

2:20 pm
2:25 pm

PHOTO OP in Harriet Tubman Home

2:30 pm-
3:00 pm

REMARKS at Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged and Infirmed

3:05 pm

DEPART via bus en route Victor, NY
[drive time: 1 hour]

4:05 pm

ARRIVE Victor, NY

4:10 pm-
5:10 pm

GANONDAGAN STATE HISTORIC SITE EVENT
Victor, NY

*Web site***Format:**

-Roundtable discussion with clan mothers
-cultural presentation

5:15 pm

DEPART via bus en route Waterloo, NY
[drive time: tbd] *45 minutes*

6:00 pm-
6:45 pm

M'CLINTOCK HOUSE EVENT

Format:*up in the air**28 states*

*Peter Janison
Nancy Colombo
-State Park*

*Park Super -> Webcam
Expert -> What/Why
Important
Girl Scout President
Girl Scout -> into HRL*

- tour
- Girl Scout Badge Announcement

7:00 pm-[T] **DROP -BY** Women's Rights Convention Decendants Reception
7:20 pm Park Visitor's Center

RON Seneca Falls area, hotel tbd

Thursday, July 16, 1998

10:00 am **REMARKS** to 150th Anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention
11:30 am Mynderse Academy High School Football Field

11:45 am- [T] **RECEPTION** w/Women's Rights Convention
12:15 pm location tbd

12:30 pm- **CLOSING LUNCHEON** w/Millennium Committee
2:00 pm Site tbd

5:00 pm [t] **HINCHEY RECEPTION**
Ithaca, NY



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Huma Abedin to WAVES re list of guests for WW tour (partial) (1 page)	07/11/1998	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17210

FOLDER TITLE:

Millennium Council Projects:Preservation/History

2012-0869-S

kc920

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

*** TX REPORT ***

TRANSMISSION OK

TX/RX NO	2699	
CONNECTION TEL		55349
CONNECTION ID		
ST. TIME	07/11 17:18	
USAGE T	00' 26	
PGS. SENT	1	
RESULT	OK	

TO: WAVES

FROM: Huma Abedin
OFL, Room 100
X66266

Please wave in the following for 6:00 pm tonight (Saturday) for a west wing tour.

(Last name first)

Sheikh, Hadeel

Klucfiski, Michelle

Sheikh, Essam

Sharbatly, Ahmed

Siraj, Abdurahman

Siraj, Huda

Karata, Sheikha

Sheikh, Mohammed

Sheikh, Amina

Ashram, Mohamed

Ashram, Ahmed

P6/(b)(6)

(U.S. citizen)

(U.S. citizen)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

(Saudi Arabian passport)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. list	Seneca Falls signatories (partial) (3 pages)	nd	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17210

FOLDER TITLE:

Millennium Council Projects:Preservation/History

2012-0869-S

kc920

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

[002]

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1817. Married Samuel, a carriagemaker, with property valued at \$600 in 1850. Four children at home in 1850. Wesleyan Methodist.

*88) Tewksbury, Betsey.

No information.

89) Tillman, Samuel D.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1812 or 1813. Lawyer. Married France H. Dixon in 1869. Died August 31, 1875.

*90) Underhill, Edward F.

No firm identification. Probably married to signer Martha and moved to Missouri by 1850.

*91) Underhill, Martha.

No firm identification. Probably married to signer Edward and moved to Missouri by 1850.

92) Vail, Mary E. (Mount).

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born between 1823 and 1828. Married Gilbert, a furnaceman, 1844. Two children at home in 1850. Daughter of signer Lydia Mount. Died December 9, 1910.

93) Van Tassel, Isaac.

Judith Wellman
History Department
State University of New York
Oswego, New York 13126

315-341-2170 (work)
P6/(b)(6) (home)

[002]

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1813. Cooper. Married Naomi. Four children at home in 1850. Expelled from Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844.

94) Whitney, Sarah.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1820. Wesleyan Methodist.

95) Wilbur, Maria E.

White female. Residence Rochester and elsewhere. Married Isaac? At least four children. Quaker.

96) Williams, Justin.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1818. Spinner. Died October 17, 1878.

*97) Woods, Sarah R.

No information.

98) Woodward (Pierce), Charlotte.

White female. Residence DeWitt, Onondaga County? and Waterloo. Born 1830 in New York State. Glovemaking. Died after 1922.

99) Woodworth, S(tephen) E.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1816. Merchant, with property worth \$4000 in 1850. Married Ann E. Gilbert or Mary Gilber. One child at home in 1850. Member of Baptist Church.

Judith Wellman
History Department
State University of New York
Oswego, New York 13126

315-341-2170 (work)
P6/(b)(6) (home)

[002]

100) Wright, Martha C(offin).

White female. Residence Auburn. Born 1806. Married David Wright, lawyer. Property valued at \$20,000 in 1850. Five children at home in 1850. Quaker. Died August 24, 1875.

Judith Wellman
History Department
State University of New York
Oswego, New York 13126

315-341-2170 (work)
P6/(b)(6) (home)

contribution box for money, and the committee made arrangements with Frederick Douglass to have the North Star press print the minutes.⁶⁵

So ended the first women's rights convention. They had met for two full days, continuing far into the night. Stanton was elated and somewhat surprised by the success of the meeting. The meeting had been "a grand success." "The deepest interest was manifested to its close." "The house was crowded at every session, the speaking good, and a religious earnestness dignified all the proceedings," Stanton remembered. Frederick Douglass confirmed this impression. "Their whole proceedings were characterized by marked ability and dignity," he noted. "No one present. . . will fail to give them credit for brilliant talent and excellent dispositions. . . . There were frequent differences of opinion and animated discussion; but in no case was there the slightest absence of good feeling and decorum."⁶⁶

No one has ever found Mary Ann M'Clintock's manuscript minutes from the Seneca Falls convention. Presumably they went with Frederick Douglass to Rochester to be printed shortly by the North Star press as a small (3" x 5"), twelve-page booklet, with a light blue cover. These printed minutes contained the names of one hundred people (sixty-eight women and thirty-two men) who had signed the Declaration of Sentiments. Forty years later, Frederick Douglass, himself one of the signers, would reflect on the composition of this group. "Then who were we," he asked, "for I count myself in, who did this thing? We were few in numbers, moderate in resources, and very little known in the world. The most that we had to commend us, was a firm conviction that we were in the right, and a firm faith that the right must ultimately prevail."⁶⁷

Of these signers, only four--Douglass, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, and Stanton herself--would achieve national recognition. The others remained virtually unknown beyond their own families and communities. We know, however, that most of them came from either Seneca Falls or Waterloo, with a few more from Rochester or from small villages near Syracuse. (So many lived in Waterloo, in fact, that the Buffalo Morning Express referred to the meeting as the Waterloo Female Convention.) Most were mature adults (in their thirties or forties), more likely than their neighbors to have come from families who migrated from New England.⁶⁸

In terms of work and wealth, most came from families which were affiliated in some way with the emerging market economy, whose main

income came from work in the law, manufacturing, commercial farming, or retail sales. Most of them owned at least some property. Not all of them, however, were well-to-do, and some of them (George and Margaret Pryor, for example) were downright poor. Statistical analysis of property assessments from the 1850 census for Seneca Falls and Waterloo and for assessment records from Seneca Falls suggests no relationship between property ownership and signing the Declaration of Sentiments.⁶⁹

If wealth was not a good predictor of which people would sign the Declaration of Sentiments, family styles did reflect a difference between signers and non-signers. Signers tended to incorporate non-related members within their households. In 1850, for example, the M'Clintocks counted two black girls as household members.

Almost all families in Seneca Falls and Waterloo were nuclear families, defined by the relationships between husbands and wives. Signers, however, clearly viewed their nuclear families in a larger context. While they lived in nuclear households, they settled in close proximity to parents and siblings. In particular, they valued relationships between brothers and sisters. Unlike conjugal relationships, connections between siblings were inherently egalitarian. They also bridged the physical space between nuclear households. For these signers, families were not an escape from the world. Rather, they formed the very basis of community life. Many women who signed the Declaration of Sentiments had strong identities as sisters as well as wives. They were used to relationships of respect, relative equality, and community responsibility. Reflecting the importance of extended family networks, almost seventy percent of known signers came with one or more family members--parents came with children (including adult children), husbands with wives, brothers with sisters. Stanton came with her sister, Harriet Eaton, for example. Rachel Dell Bonnel came with her uncle, Richard Dell, and her cousin, William Dell. Four M'Clintocks signed the Declaration, both parents and two adult daughters. Elisha and Euncie Newton Foote, husband and wife, signed together. And so the list continued.

In terms of community institutions, religious affiliation certainly played an important role in attracting people to the convention. Most signers from Seneca Falls and the immediate area were either Methodist (including Wesleyan Methodist) or (perhaps reflecting Stanton's connections with this

church) Episcopalian. Signers who came from outside Seneca Falls, except Frederick Douglass himself, were almost all Quakers.

Some of the signers were certainly influenced, as was Stanton herself, by debates over the Married Women's Property Act. Signers were more likely, for example, to have daughters in the household or to be female heads of households themselves than were non-signers.

Most importantly, however, the majority of signers can be linked directly to one of two egalitarian networks: either the Free Soil Party in Seneca Falls or the Congregational Friends of Waterloo and Rochester. Both groups had broken traditional ties--either with political parties or with the Society of Friends--in June 1848. And both had come to the women's rights convention as a way to explore the meaning of their newly-articulated commitment to equality, not only in terms of race or religion but also in terms of gender. Stanton, with ties to leaders among both Free Soilers in Seneca Falls and Congregational Friends in Waterloo, acted as what network theorists would call a broker, bringing the two groups together to form an entirely new movement.⁷⁰

In the Seneca County Courier, Nathan Milliken summed up local response to the women's rights convention. The meeting was "novel in its character," he explained to his readers, "and the doctrines broached in it are startling to those who are wedded to the present usages and laws of society. The resolutions are of the kind called radical." Like Douglass, Milliken emphasized that, in spite of the radicalism, "some of the speeches were very able--all the exercises were marked by great order and decorum." As for the Declaration of Sentiments and resolutions themselves, Milliken predicted that "they will provoke much remark," ranging from curiosity to respect to "disapprobation and contempt." Little did anyone realize just how accurate his predictions really were. Local in its origins, the Seneca Falls convention would touch off an immediate public debate about the role of women in a democratic republic, a debate which would continue into the late twentieth century.⁷¹

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²Theodore Tilton, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton," in Laura Curtis Bullard, ed., Our Famous Women, 613.

³HWS, I, 69 mentions "several volumes of the Statutes of New York." Report, [3] mention Lucretia Mott as one of the first speakers on July 19. Mary A. [Bascom] Bull, "Woman's Rights and Other 'Reforms,'" Seneca Falls Reveille, July 9, 1880 describes the M'Clintocks.

⁴Mary A. [Bascom] Bull, "Woman's Rights and Other 'Reforms,'" Seneca Falls Reveille, July 9, 1880. The Wesleyan Church was not old in 1848; it was, in fact, the newest church in the village. Stanton did not recall herself as being stout in 1848.

⁵HWS, I, 69; Report, 6.

⁶This version is taken from the first printing of the Declaration in Report of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Seneca Falls, N.Y., July 19th and 29th, 1848 (Rochester: John Dick at the North Star office, [1848]), 7-11.

⁷HWS, I.

⁸Philip Foner, ed., Declarations of Independence [?], Water Bucket, July 8, 1842; New York Tribune; Liberator, May 26, 1848; North Star, July ?, 1848. Fifty years later, Stanton would note that "the year 1848 when the first organized demand was made for woman's rights, was marked by many revolutionary movements, 'in the old world, as well as the new.' Rebellion was not only in the air, but in the earth beneath. In that year California startled us with her first earthquakes showing that mother earth sympathized with her daughters."

Typescript, 1898, University of Rochester, p. 1.

⁹Seneca County Courier?

¹⁰¹⁰North Star, July ?, 1848.

¹¹Seneca County Courier, July 11, 1848. This advertisement was dated April 21, 1848 and appeared in many issues of the Courier.

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¹³HWS, I, 68; International Council of Women (1888), 32-32.

¹⁴Mott to Stanton, July 16, 1848, noted that "I have just returned from a meeting with the prisoners & many others--have another appointment this evening at 6 at the Universalist Church." Lucretia Mott to Richard D. Webb, September 10, 1848, Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library noted that "it is our practice, to furnish ourselves with reform papers, whenever we go from home, (wh. is very often) & scatter them abroad. Thousands of Anti-Slavery Papers have we thus distributed. We never suffer a Moral Paper to be torn or wasted. There are Political productions enough to supply the world with waste

paper. Part of preachg. [sic] at anti=slavery mgs. [sic] is the divine mission of scattering tracts. How much have Abolitionists already done, by this means, as well as by the living agent. Had we been told that the Church and the world, would be so thoroughly aroused or agitated, in less than 20 years, we should have thanked God & taken courage; & gone on rejoicing."

¹⁵Lucretia Mott to E.Q. [Edmund Quincy], "in the absence of our loved Wm. L. Garrison," August 24, 1848, printed in the Liberator, October 6, 1848; Robin Winks.

¹⁶Mott to E.Q., August 24, 1848, in Liberator, October 6, 1848.

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¹⁸Stanton gives several different lists of those who attended this tea party. In most of them, she seems to collapse this tea party at the Hunt house, where she and others wrote the call to the convention, with the tea party at the McClintock house a few days later, where Stanton and the McClintocks worked on the Declaration of Sentiments and resolutions. For the tea party at the Hunt house, Stanton in HWS, I, 67, lists four women--Lucretia Mott, Martha C.

Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock--as authors of the call. In her obituary for Elizabeth McClintock Phillips in Woman's Journal, vol. 27, no. 47, p. 373 (November 21, 1896), Stanton seems to have collapsed the two tea parties into one and to have added several names to the organizing process. She noted that "the discussions as to the wisdom of calling a convention took place at their home. The historic table round which the moving spirits, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, Mary Ann McClintock, Jane Hunt, James Mott, Thomas McClintock, Richard Hunt, the two daughters and myself drew up the declaration and resolutions, is still in possession of the family." By 1898, in Eighty Years (148-9), Stanton included five women, the four she had mentioned in HWS plus Jane Hunt. "The call," she wrote, "was inserted without signatures. . .but the chief movers and managers were Lucretia Mott, Mary Ann McClintock, Jane Hunt, Martha C. Wright, and myself." In "Mrs "Stanton's Letter to the Suffrage Convention. Held in Washington, D.C., in 1898," (Scrapbook 3, Stanton Papers, Vassar College), she noted that "the seven women who inaugurated this movement, were Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Martha C. Wright, Jane Hunt, Mary Ann McClintock and her two daughters," presumably Elizabeth and Mary Ann, Jr. (A typescript which seems to be a version of this letter is now at the

University of Rochester.) In an undated "Reminiscences" at the Minnesota Historical Society, Stanton noted that "this committee consisted of five quakeresses and myself."

¹⁹ Fluted Doric columns replaced the original small porch in the 1920s. fn.

²⁰ When Richard P. Hunt died in 1856, an inventory listed all of these articles in the hall and parlor, including a center table and a sofa in the parlor. (Probate File #572, Surrogate's Court, Seneca County Courthouse, Waterloo, New York, December 8, 1856) After Jane's death in 1889, a second inventory mentioned "1 Table, square, marble top in parlor" and "1 Sofa, red velvet in parlor," and these may have been the same ones listed in 1856. (Probate File #2214, Surrogate's Court, Seneca County Courthouse, Waterloo, New York, February 7, 1890)

²¹ The 1850 census listed three other members of the household, George Hunter, a 30-year-old Irish laborer; Ann McClelland [?], twenty-five years old, also born in Ireland; and Eliz. Kinnard [?] thirteen, born in New York State. Weltha Bacon Woodward, Bacon-Woodward Pedigree of Paternal Branch, Vol. I, Series VI, unpublished typescript (1968), 430, Waterloo Library, noted that baby Jane M. Hunt had been born on June 23, 1848. If Jane Hunt retired to rest for part of the afternoon, she may not have been in the room when the idea of a convention first surfaced. This might explain why ECS (in HWS) omitted Jane Hunt's name from the list of those who planned the convention. When Stanton published her autobiography, however, she included Hunt's name (Eighty Years, 148), noting that "the chief movers and managers were Lucretia Mott, Mary Ann McClintock, Jane Hunt, Martha C. Wright, and myself." Later, Stanton added that two more women had also attended the meeting. . . .

²² Eighty Years, 147-8.

²³ Hunt's grandson, also named Richard P. Hunt, told the story as it had been told to him by his father. "The ladies were indignant," the grandson recalled in an interview with John Becker, March 19, 1948, quoted in Becker, History of Waterloo (Waterloo: Library and Historical Society, 1949), "and very much excited about the wrongs being borne by women, when my grandfather came into the room. They explained their ideas to him. Grandfather Hunt was a Quaker, but a Quaker who thought, 'Faith without works, is dead.' His reply was, 'Why don't you do something about it?' They thereupon resolved upon

action with a fixed intention to obtain a change in laws and customs governing women, and to call a convention to consider steps to take in order to carry out their determination and to assert woman's rights." Richard P. Hunt, husband of Jane, was certainly sympathetic to the women's rights convention. He himself would attend it. It is unlikely, however, that he was the only one who suggested action. Certainly, the sense of the meeting emerged from the discussion of women's wrongs initiated by Stanton herself.

²⁴ HWS, I, 68; Seneca County Courier, July 11, 1848.

²⁵ Report, [3].

²⁶ Stanton noted in Eighty Years, 149, that "We wrote the call that evening and published it in the Seneca County Courier the next day, the 14th of July, 1848, giving only five days' notice, as the convention was to be held on the 19th and 20th." The first notice, however, clearly appeared in the Courier on July 11.

²⁷ Mott to Stanton, July 16, 1848, Stanton Papers, Library of Congress; ECS to Elizabeth M'Clintock, Grassmere, Friday morning [July 14, 1848], Women's Rights National Historical Park. Special thanks to Park staff, especially to Vivien Rose, Historian, and to descendants of the M'Clintock family for preserving both this letter and the letter from Frederick Douglass to Elizabeth M'Clintock on July 14, 1848. Stanton, "In Memoriam," [obituary for Elizabeth M'Clintock Phillips], in Woman's Journal, Vol. 27, No. 47: 373 (November 21, 1896). Stanton never gave a "great speech" at Seneca Falls, so Mott's note probably refers to what would become a draft of the declaration itself.

²⁸ Mary Bascom Bull, July 9, 1880. Mott to Stanton, July 16, 1848, Stanton Papers, LC. The Report list four places where Stanton may have given this speech. On the morning of the first day, right after the selection of Mary Ann M'Clintock as secretary, the Report noted that "the object of the meeting was then stated by Elizabeth C. Stanton." When the meeting met again at 2:30 p.m. on the first day, "E.C. Stanton then addressed the meeting." On Thursday morning, Stanton's name appeared in a list of those who "freely discussed" the Declaration. And on the evening of the second day, "E.C. Stanton volunteered an address" I have placed this on the first day instead of the second partly because internal evidence suggests that the audience for this speech was made up of women. Stanton refers, for example, to "our husbands" and to the right to vote as "ours" (31, 32), although she also refers to "women themselves" and to "woman . . . her," (33). She also uses the future tense: "None of these points. .

.will be touched in this Convention" It seems likely that she gave this speech in the afternoon of July 19, when the Report state that she "addressed the meeting," rather than in the morning, when she merely stated "the object of the meeting."

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³⁰ ECS to Elizabeth M'Clintock, Grassmere, Friday morning [July 14, 1848].

Frederick Douglass to ECS, Rochester, July 14, [1848], Women's Rights National Historical Park.

³¹ Mott to ECS, July 16, 1848, Stanton Papers, Library of Congress.

³² This tea table was in the possession of the McClintock family in 1881 (HWS, I, 68); in 1888 (Report of the International Council of Women (1888), 323; and in 1896 (Woman's Journal, vol. 27, no. 47, p. 373 (November 21, 1896). In 1898, a photograph of the table was on display at the woman suffrage convention in Washington, D.C. (ECS, typescript, 1898, University of Rochester, 4). Sarah J. McClintock gave it to Stanton shortly thereafter. Stanton presented it to Susan B. Anthony on her eightieth birthday, February 15, 1900. After Anthony's death, the table went to her niece, Lucy Anthony, and Anna Howard Shaw, both active in the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. On February 11, 1920, the NAWSA gave it to the Smithsonian Institution. See letter from the Smithsonian to Mrs. David St. George, copied "for our files" December 11, 1973, Seneca Falls Historical Society.

"On Sunday morning," Stanton recalled in HWS, I, 68, "they met in Mrs. McClintock's parlor to write their declaration and resolutions and to consider subjects for speeches." But who else sat with her? Stanton implied in HWS that her companions were the same women who had written the original call for the convention. In later writings, however, she added to the list. In her obituary for Elizabeth M'Clintock, in the Woman's Journal, vol. 27, no. 47, p. 373 (November 21, 1896), she noted that "the historic table round which the moving spirits, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, Mary Ann McClintock, Jane Hunt, James Mott, Thomas McClintock, Richard Hunt, and the two daughters and myself drew up the declaration and resolutions, is still in possession of the family." Yet we know that neither Martha Wright nor Lucretia and James Mott drank tea at the McClintock house that day, for Mott wrote to Stanton from Auburn, dating the letter Sunday, July 16, saying that James was sick. In fact, it was Stanton and the McClintocks alone who attended this second meeting and

who did the real organizing for the convention. Both Lucretia Mott and Martha Wright later confirmed this. In 1855, Mott recorded some of her recollections to aid Stanton in a proposed history of the women's rights movement. "In thy coming work," Mott advised, "thou must do thyself justice. Remember, the first convention originated with thee. . . .I have never liked the undeserved praise in the Report of that meeting's proceedings, of being 'the moving spirit of that occasion,' when to thyself belongs the honor, aided so efficiently by the McClintocks." (Mott to Stanton, March 16, 1855). Martha Wright agreed. In 1856, she recounted the story of Henry B. Stanton's visit to her house in Auburn. "He was laughing," she wrote to Mott, "at the meeting of Mrs. Stanton & the McClintocks previous to the first W.R. [sic] Convention, when they had such hard work, as he averred, to get up grievances enough for their Declaration." (Wright to Mott, January 6, 1856, Garrison Papers, Smith College). Sarah J. McClintock was probably present, though she did not participate actively in the convention, for she later recorded, in connection with the tea table, that "I do remember all about the time the Declaration was written upon it in our own parlor." Copy of a letter [from the Smithsonian] to Mrs. David St. George, SFHS.

³³HWS, I, 68.

³⁴ECS, Revolution, Vol. 2, No. 11 (September 17, 1868): 161-162 noted "What a time we had writing it!" and that "some one suggested our Fathers of 1776. After a careful reading, it was pronounced by all to be just the thing." ECS did not mention the meeting at the M'Clintock house or the writing of the Declaration in Eighty Years. Stanton never took personal credit for the idea of using the Declaration of Independence as a model. She emphasized instead the group nature of that decision. "One of the circle" (of herself and the McClintock family) was the closest she ever came to identifying a specific person. This is consistent with a note from Stanton's daughter, Harriet Stanton Blatch, to Alma Lutz. "In all probability," wrote Blatch, who was anxious that her mother be given as much credit as possible for organizing the Seneca Falls convention, "my mother had the idea of using the Declaration of Independence as the superstructure and twisting the words of the fathers. But I never heard her speak with any pride of originality or of authorship." Blatch to Lutz, August 11, 1933, Lutz Papers, Vassar College.

³⁵HWS, I, 68; Stanton, Revolution, Vol. 2, No. 11 (September 17, 1868): 161-162.

In HWS, I, 67-8, Stanton reported that "Knowing that women must have more to complain of than men under any circumstances possibly could, and seeing the Fathers had eighteen grievances, a protracted search was made through statute books, church usages, and the customs of society to find that exact number. Several well-disposed men assisted in collecting the grievances, until, with the announcement of the eighteenth, the women felt they had enough to go before the world with a good case." Ann Gordon in Selected Papers, 86, suggested that Elisha Hurlbut, Essays on Human Rights, and Their Political Guaranties (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1848) was a particularly important influence on the authors of the Declaration, who "followed Hurlbut in all their examples."

³⁶HWS, I: 67?; Martha Wright noted that "Elizabeth [M'Clintock] is really engaged, David [Wright] thinks, to Mr. Mumford a young lawyer who appeared on very easy terms. I dont [sic] know whether there was any other evidence--"; Wright to Mott, [fall 1848], Garrison Papers, Smith College; HWS, I, 69 mentions "one youthful lord;" Revolution, Vol. 2, No. 11 (September 17, 1868): 161-162 makes it clear that this was Charles McClintock, "a son of Mrs. McClintock. . . .now the father of a family, smoothing the wheels of fortune mid the oils [sic] wells of Pennsylvania."; Charles McClintock was born on November 29, 1829, Ora B. Kearns, "McClintock Family Records, 2 vols, mss. (Syracuse, 1985), Syracuse Public Library; Laura Curtis Bullard, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton," Our Famous Women, 613-614; Martha Wright to Lucretia Mott, 1856, noted Henry Stanton's account of the attempt to Elizabeth and the McClintocks to find "grievances enough for their Declaration."

³⁷Bullard, "ECS," Our Famous Women, 612, noted, wrongly, that this was "the earliest recorded public demand made for woman suffrage within the memory of persons now living." Stanton herself claimed credit many times for introducing this point at the convention. "I stood alone in the demand for the right of suffrage," she wrote in 1898, typescript draft of letter to 50th anniversary meeting, University of Rochester. "Declaration of Sentiments," Report, 8, 5. In later years, as suffrage organizations narrowed the broad-based women's movement initiated at Seneca Falls, it would become increasingly important to Stanton's children to claim credit for their mother's introduction of the voting rights issue at Seneca Falls.

³⁸ Theodore Tilton, "ECS," in Bullard, ed., Our Famous Women, 613-614. Tilton quotes Henry Stanton as saying "You will turn the proceedings into a farce; I wash my hands of the whole business; I shall not enter the chapel during the session." Tilton also reported Lucretia Mott's reaction: "Lizzie, thou wilt make the convention ridiculous." Neither of these quotations, from Henry Stanton or from Lucretia Mott, appeared anywhere else until Stanton and Blatch incorporated them into their 1922 revision of Eighty Years. As Margaret Hope Bacon, Mott's most recent biographer, noted in conversation with the author, Mott's comment contradicts what we otherwise know of her openness to new ideas. I am inclined to admit tentatively that at least the spirit of these quotations is genuine, however, because Tilton noted in the same paragraph that he talked personally to Stanton ("she has unheroically confessed to me.") While Stanton's propensity for telling a good story may have dramatized these statements, I have accepted them as general indications, though probably not exact quotations, of Henry Stanton's and Mott's reactions. The two words, "farce" and "ridiculous" sound unstereotypical enough perhaps to be genuine. Given Mott's lifelong work with non-voting abolitionists as well as with non-voting Quakers, her sudden confrontation with this idea, at the very time it was to be presented to the whole convention, might truly have shocked her. New York Tribune, July 19, 1848, reported that Henry lectured in Canadaigua on July ?

³⁹ Interview with Charlotte Woodward Pierce, quoted in Rheta Childe Dorr, Susan B. Anthony: The Woman Who Changed the Mind of a Nation (New York: AMS Press,), 47-49. "Oldest Suffragist Hits Woman's Party," newspaper article, Philadelphia, June 2, [1921?], NAWSA Papers, Library of Congress, notes that Charlotte Woodward "was born 25 miles from Albany and later lived in Waterloo, New York. She has lived in Philadelphia for 60 years." Charlotte Woodward Pierce's recollection about Stanton may have been hindsight. Seneca County Courier, July 18, 1848.

⁴⁰ Dorr notes that Charlotte "sat in a back seat, a silent but delighted spectator," 47. HWS, I, 69, includes the story of "an embryo Professor of Yale College" unlocking the door. Daniel Cady Eaton, Stanton's 10-year-old? nephew, later became a Professor of ? at Yale. Dorr suggested that the door of the Chapel may have been locked "because the minister had repented his hospitality to such a gathering." In fact, the minister, Saron Philips, added his own name to the list

of supporters of the Declaration of Sentiments. Stanton, "In Memoriam," Woman's Journal v. 27, no. 47, p. 373 (November 21, 1896) notes that the McClintocks acted as ushers. It is possible, as with the tea party, that these accounts of this convention have collapsed both days into one.

⁴¹Charlotte Woodward Pierce noted the presence of about fifty men in Dorr, 4. Bull, "Woman's Rights and Other 'Reforms,'" Seneca Falls Reveille (1880), noted that an "embryo professor of Yale" was boosted through the widow and that he then "attended every session." HWS, I, 69, noted that James Mott took the chair on the first day: "It had been decided to have no men present, but as they were already on the spot, and as the women who must take the responsibility of organizing the meeting, and leading the discussions, shrank from doing either, it was decided, in a hasty council round the altar, that this was an occasion when men might make themselves pre-eminently useful. It was agreed they should remain, and take the laboring oar through the Convention. James Mott, tall and dignified, in Quaker costume, was called to the chair." The Report, p. [3], however, clearly state that "the question was discussed throughout two entire days: the first day by women exclusively, the second day men participated in the deliberations." No men's names appear in the Report of the first day's meeting, but the Report do note (p. 6) that James Mott assumed the Chair on Thursday morning.

⁴²Bullard, "ECS," , Our Famous Women, 613-614. Bullard quotes Henry Stanton as saying "You will turn the proceedings into a farce; I wash my hands of the whole business; I shall not enter the chapel during the session." Bullard also reported Lucretia Mott's reaction: "Lizzie, thou wilt make the convention ridiculous." Neither of these quotations, from Henry Stanton or from Lucretia Mott, appeared anywhere else until Stanton and Blatch incorporated them into their 1922 revision of Eighty Years. As Margaret Hope Bacon, Mott's most recent biographer, noted in conversation with the author, Mott's comment contradicts what we otherwise know of her openness to new ideas. I am inclined to admit tentatively that at least the spirit of these quotations is genuine, however, because Bullard noted in the same paragraph that she talked personally to Stanton ("she has unheroically confessed to me.") While Stanton's propensity for telling a good story may have dramatized these statements, I have accepted them as general indications, though probably not exact quotations, of Henry Stanton's and Mott's reactions. The two words,

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Report, [3].

⁴³Report, [3-4].

⁴⁴"Bullard, Elizabeth Cady Stanton," Our Famous Women, 614, noted Stanton's surprise "that her tongue was loosed, and that she could rise and reply to objections with happy success."

⁴⁵Report, 4.

⁴⁶Report, 4-6. Capron, National Reformer, August 3, 1848, quoted in Gordon, Selected Papers, 87.

⁴⁷Report, 6; HWS, I, 69, noted that Martha Wright herself "read some satirical articles she had published in the daily papers answering the diatribes on woman's sphere." No copy of Wright's articles has been found. Mary Bascom Bull, July 9, 1880; Wright to Mott, October 1, 1848, Garrison Papers, Smith College.

⁴⁸Seneca County Courier, July 21, 1848; Mott to Stanton, July 16, 1848; Capron, National Reformer, August 3, 1848, quoted in Gordon, Selected Papers, 84.

⁴⁹Seneca County Courier, July 21, 1848. North Star masthead, check.

⁵⁰HWS, I, 69; Eighty Years, _ ; Rhoda Palmer in Geneva Daily Times [1916?]; Mary A. [Bascom] Bull, "Woman's Rights and Other 'Reforms,'" Seneca Falls Reveille, July 9, 1880.

⁵¹The Declaration of Sentiments, including these grievances, was first printed in the Report, 7-11. As printed, the grievances fall into sixteen paragraphs, rather than the eighteen that the women aimed for. Some of these points, however, might be divided into two, as perhaps they were originally conceived. "He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration," for example, might have originally been two points. So might the next grievance: "He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known." Possibly the grievance about women being excluded both from the ministry and from public participation in church affairs might be considered two points, as well. If so, the fourth

paragraph of grievances ("Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.") might have been thought of as a paragraph of summary and transition, rather than as a separate grievance. Or possibly, one or more grievances simply got lost between its original creation and publication of the Declaration.

⁵²Stanton was wrong about one detail in these indictments. In New York State, since the Married Women's Property Act had passed in April, 1848, married women could own property. By the time of the convention, however, the implications of this law were still not clear. And the law itself said nothing about wages. Women still were not legally entitled to the wages they earned.

⁵³Report, 6-7; HWS, I, 69.

⁵⁴Eighty Years, 149; Report, 6-7.

⁵⁵Seneca County Courier, July 21, 1848, noted that the Declaration was read and opted Thursday morning, and "it was then signed by many persons present." Report, 10-11. Thanks to Mary Kelly Black, who first brought to my attention the fact that men were not recorded as signers of the Declaration itself but were listed as "gentlemen present in favor of the movement." Mary Kelly Black first confronted this question while giving a tour of Women's Rights National Historical Park to a group of students from Syracuse University student. Thanks also to that anonymous student who noticed this. It is possible that this debate reflected a split not only within the convention as a whole but, more particularly, between Stanton and Mott. While Stanton believed thoroughly in equality of rights for women and men, she several times recorded her belief that women themselves should undertake this work. In a speech given several times locally after the Seneca Falls convention, Stanton noted, for example, that "woman herself must do this work; for woman alone can understand the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of her own degradation." (Speech given to Junius Monthly Meeting, 1848.--check citation in ECS/SBA) Mott, on the other hand, offered one last resolution, on the last evening of the conference, which began, "Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women. . . ." (Report, 12)

⁵⁶Bascom, "Woman's Rights and Other 'Reforms,'" Seneca Falls Reveille, July 9, 1880, recalled that Mary Anne [sic] McClintoc [sic] attended "with four

daughters around her." It is quite likely that Charles M'Clintock attended with the rest of the family. Amelia Bloomer, "Bloomerism, the Lily, and Mrs. Stanton," July 12, 1880, printed in the Seneca Falls Reville, July 30, 1880, noted that she attended the last evening; Rhoda Palmer noted that her father, Asa, drove her to the meeting. We do not know for certain that the list as printed in the Report is in fact the whole list of people who supported the Declaration at the convention itself. In Eighty Years, 149, Stanton noted "that most of the ladies who had attended the convention and signed the declaration, one by one, withdrew their names and influence and joined our persecutors." The HWS, I, 73, suggests, however, that the total number of signers was originally one hundred. "The Declaration was signed," noted the HWS, "by one hundred men, and women, many of whom withdrew their names as soon as the storm of ridicule began to break." In the absence of other compelling evidence, I am assuming that the list as printed in the Report is the original one, before names were deleted. The Report were "Printed by John Dick at the North Star office," and I am assuming that publication occurred very shortly after the convention itself, before people in Seneca Falls would have had a chance to react to hostility from the national press. Perhaps Frederick Douglass took Mary Ann M'Clintock's manuscript Report with him when he returned to Rochester after the convention.

⁵⁷"Anniversary of Western A.S. [sic] Society--Free Soil Political Party," Liberator, September 22, 1848.

⁵⁸Mary A. [Bascom] Bull, "Woman's Rights and Other 'Reforms' in Seneca Falls," Seneca Falls Reveille, July 9, 1880.

⁵⁹Seneca County Courier, July 21, 1848. No copy of the letter from William Howitt has ever been found.

⁶⁰Report, 11.

⁶¹HWS, I, 73; ECS, International Council of Women, 323-4; Margaret Stanton Lawrence, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1815-1915," 28-19, Stanton Papers, Vassar College. Lawrence prefaced this story with the comment that "my Mother fails to relate in her Autobiography one incident that I think most significant--and which I have heard her relate many times." Then she describes the interaction with Douglass. Margaret Stanton Lawrence related a similar version of this story in "Who Was Elizabeth Cady Stanton? and Who Started Votes for Women? A Bit of Ancient History for the Girls of To-day, by Mrs.

Stanton's Daughter, Margaret Stanton Lawrence," typescript, n.d., Stanton Papers, Vassar College, 7-8. North Star, June 30, 1848. Waldo E. Martin, Jr. in The Mind of Frederick Douglass (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 147-8, argued that "no aspect of his [Douglass's] woman's rights cause meant more to him than his pivotal support of woman's right to vote at the Seneca Falls convention." "I have done very little in this world in which to glory except this one act--," Douglass recalled in 1888, "and I certainly glory in that. When I ran away from slavery, it was for myself; when I advocated emancipation, it was for my people; but when I stood up for the rights of woman, self was out of the question, and I found a little nobility in the act." in Foner, Douglass on Women's Rights, 116. (International Council of Women, 1888). Stanton's account differ as to whether the convention passed the resolution unanimously or "by a small majority."

⁶²Amelia Bloomer, July 12, 1880, printed in the Seneca Falls Reveille, July 30, 1880, noted that "I was not at the convention, nor within fifteen miles of it, until the last evening, and then was compelled on account of my late arrival, and the immense 'crowd' already congregated, to take a seat in the gallery. I can verify Mrs. Stanton's statement of a 'crowd' so far as that evening was concerned, whatever may have been the attendance at other sessions of the convention." Mott had predicted that haying might keep some farmers away. Mott to ECS, July 16, 1848.

⁶³Report, 12. HWS, I, 69, noted that "Samuel Tillman, a young student of law, read a series of the most exasperating statutes for women, from English and American jurists, all reflecting the tender mercies of men toward their wives, in taking care of their property and protecting them in their civil rights." The Report do not mention Samuel Tillman making any public speech, although his name is listed as one of the "gentlemen present in favor of the movement." (11) Instead, the Report note only that Thomas M'Clintock read these extracts.

Apparently, Stanton never did give a "great speech." A printed version of a speech that she supposedly delivered at the convention appeared in 1870, Address Delivered at Seneca Falls and Rochester, New York (New York: Robert J. Johnson Printers, 1870), portions of which were reprinted in Houston Peterson, ed., A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1954), 389-92, and in Ellen Carol DuBois, ed., The Elizabeth Cady

Stanton-Susan B. Anthony Reader, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 27-35. This is actually, however, an edited version of a speech that Stanton delivered after the Seneca Falls and Rochester conventions. A note attached to the manuscript of this speech by Harriot Stanton Blatch identifies it as "the first address made by Elizabeth Cady Stanton--after the Seneca Falls, N.Y., first convention. . . ." Susan B. Anthony endorsed this in a cover sheet: "This is the earliest address written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton--at Seneca Falls, N.Y. sometime in 1848--after the Seneca Falls & Rochester Conventions. She evidently had no written speech at either of these--or if she had--she did not preserve it." See [Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Speech, 1848], Stanton Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶⁴Report, 12.

⁶⁵Report, 12.

⁶⁶Eighty Years, 149; HWS, I, 73; Douglass,

⁶⁷After the convention, according to Stanton's report in her autobiography, "so pronounced was the popular voice against us, in the parlor, press, and pulpit, that most of the ladies who had attended the convention and signed the declaration, one by one, withdrew their names and influence and joined our persecutors." We do not know whether the list as printed in the minutes of the convention contains the names of all of the original signers, including those who later withdrew their names. I would guess that it did. It seems logical that Frederick Douglass would have printed the minutes and signatures from the notes that Mary Ann M'Clintock, Jr., secretary of the Seneca Falls convention, took at the convention, with the original list of signatures. One supposes that Douglass took all this material back to Rochester with him from the convention itself and that those who withdrew their names did so only afterwards, in response, as Stanton noted, to negative press reaction. On the other hand, when the Liberator reprinted the report of the convention excerpted from the July 21 and August 4 editions of the Seneca County Courier, it appended a note that "*More than* an hundred names were subscribed. . . ." [italics added], Liberator, 8/25/48. Report on the International Council of Women (Washington, D.C.: Rufus H. Darby, 1888), 329.

⁶⁸For a more complete description of these signers, see the appendix and Wellman, "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: A Study of Social Networks," Journal of Women's History 3 (1991): 9-37. Morning Express,

August 7, 1848, p. 4. "Ride of Women." headlined the Express. "It appears that women can rise without the aid of the Waterloo Female Convention. A barrel of yeast, upon which a woman was sitting, recently burst on board an English vessel, when the lady was thrown about 10 ft. into the air." Quoted in Laura Schmitt, "A Study: Women and the Buffalo Press in 1848," unpublished manuscript, 1972, Special Collections, Penfield Library, SUCO.

⁶⁹I worked on simple hand analysis to develop cross-tabulation charts for this material. Robert Schell helped analyze this data using the Statistical Package for the Society Sciences. John Kane used Limdep to work with the same data sets. In no case would we find correlations between wealth and signing.

⁷⁰Ronald S. Burt, "Models of Network Structures," Annual Review of Sociology 6 (1980):91, fn. 8, identifies a broker as one who is "the only connection between two subgroups of actors."

⁷¹Seneca County Courier, July 21, 1848. On August 4, 1848, the Courier printed the resolutions passed at the convention.

Like Frederick Douglass and like her own cousin, Gerrit Smith, Elizabeth Stanton was a builder of bridges. Both connected existing political divisions. Both incorporated ideas from Garrisonian-Quakers and political abolitionists. Both joined idealism with practical action. Both followed their own sense of logic and of moral right to create unique places for themselves in U.S. history. And both drew on their own personal experience to help create a public movement.

It was Stanton's gift to identify strongly with both of her parents, and through them with her own ability and desire to carry out both male and female roles, that led her to challenge existing role limitations for women.

Her traditional roles--as a daughter, cousin, wife, and friend--brought her immediate and unconditional acceptance as an equal, worthy, and respected member of movements for legal reform, non-resistant abolitionism, and political abolitionism.

Unpublished manuscript--SF
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J. Wellman
Unpublished manuscript--SF
movement.

July 11, 1998

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Victor, NY: Ganondagan State Historic Site

The Seneca

- The Seneca are among the Iroquois speaking people, which included several other people, including the political confederates known as the Five Nations Iroquois (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk). The French referred to these nations as the Iroquois; the English called them the Five Nations (later the Six Nations when the Tuscarora joined in 1714); but they refer to themselves as the Haudenosaunee--which translates to People Who Build Houses.
- The fact that they built houses distinguished the Haudenosaunee from the other peoples who lived around them.
- The Seneca built longhouses from the trees and other natural materials that surrounded them, and these houses provided shelter for an entire extended family.

Ganondagan

- For historical background and more information, see the Millennium sheets.
 - Ganondagan was previously known as Gannagaro and it was reputedly a capital of the Seneca Nation. It was the largest Iroquois settlement, and in fact rivaled any European settlement in America when it arose sometime between the 1650s and 1670s.
 - It was a prosperous and vital center of Seneca life until it was destroyed a French attack in 1687. After the attack, the Seneca built several smaller villages, but they never again constructed a center on the scale of Ganondagan.
- * See below section on myths for story about Bare Hill, a site nine miles from Ganondagan.

Stories and Myths

- The Seneca have the same creation myth as the other peoples of the Haudenosaunee. The story goes that twin spirits of the sky world created the world on the back of a great spirit turtle, meaning that our world is a turtle island in the midst of a great sea.
- This story is linked to the Seneca's great concern for the natural world. They see a benevolent natural world which provides humans with the all necessary elements for healthy and spiritually satisfying life.
- Because of their attachment to the natural world, today traditional Seneca open and close all formal gatherings with a thanks to the natural world for all its gifts, known as the Thanksgiving address.
- A popular Seneca story holds that a people emerged from the earth at Bare Hill, a site nine miles from Ganondagan and near Canandaigua Lake. The story has great significance, and, in fact, the Seneca call themselves Onondowagah, which translates to People of the Great Hill. The Seneca see Bare Hill as the birthplace of their people, and their identity is strongly attached to the site.

Women

- Women played important political and economic roles in the Seneca nation. See Millennium notes for the role of Seneca women as clan mothers who selected chiefs.
- In addition, through horticulture, the fruits of women's labor dominated the Seneca economy (see more below in Fort Hill section).
- There is also the story of Mary Jemison (see Millennium notes. We can get more on this from

Peter Jemison, a descendant who now works at Ganondagan).

Fort Hill

- The Seneca call this site Gah-a-yan-duk, while early European settlers called it Fort Hill.
- Gah-a-yan-duk served as a refuge in times of enemy attack. In addition to a fort, the site also had a spring which could provide water during a lengthy siege. To prepare for such a siege, the Seneca stockpiled dried corn in the fort. The amount of corn stored suggests, though, that Gah-a-yan-duk served as a depository which provided grain to the other towns within the Iroquois Confederacy, and perhaps other nations. The Seneca intentionally produced more grain than they needed, exporting it elsewhere. Hence, Gah-a-yan-duk highlights the complex nature of the Iroquois economy. It should also be noted that women were the primary producers of corn, and hence wielded great power as they were so integral to the Seneca economy.
- While some Seneca favored using the Gah-a-yan-duk when the French attacked, a larger number favored an ambush. The Seneca abandoned the fort and the French burned it.
- Looking south from the hill on a clear day, one can see Bare Hill, the legendary birthplace of the Seneca Nation.

Description

The State Historic Site consists of two parcels: 245 acres, Broughton Hill, the site of the Seneca town and associated burial grounds, and 33 acres, encompassing Fort Hill, the site of the fortified granary. Trails with interpretive signs throughout both parcels guide visitors throughout both parcels; a very small visitor's center with some meeting and exhibit space and gift shop; and late-19th century building that is now the residence of the site manager. Broughton Hill is a National Historic Landmark (1964); Fort Hill is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (1966).

Historical Significance

The history of this site can be traced to as long as 900 years ago, when Jikohnsaseh worked with the revered historic figure The Peacemaker, a Huron man who arrived among the Mohawks speaking of peace and an ordered society. Jikonsasch was the first person that accepted The Peacemaker's message. Jikonsaseh was an important figure because she had a cabin that was on the trail used by the warriors as they went back and forth to fight. Jikonsaseh offered them food when they came by, and it is said she relished the stories the men would tell as they came back from fighting. In effect, she was just as much a part of the evil that was happening as the ones who were carrying it out because she fed on the stories. Jikonsaseh eventually accepted The Peacemaker's message and aided him in the work of bringing five warring nations under one Great Law of Peace, the constitution of the Haudenosaunee, or the Confederated Iroquois. The Mohawk, Oneida, and Cayuga pledged to join his proposed confederation. Following a dramatic interlude, the Seneca agreed also. The discussion about how to bring in the Onondaga found its way into the house of Jikonsaseh. She proposed that the Onondagas would be the central fire of the confederacy. They would have more chiefs than any other nation and an Onondaga would be made the head man. Jikonsaseh is known as the Mother of Nations. **NOTE: The exact burial place of the Mother of Nations should remain the exclusive knowledge of traditionalist Iroquois, per information from the 1983 Master Plan.**

The Peacemaker established the Gayanesshagowa, or Great Law of Peace, as the Constitution of the Haudenosaunee. The foundation of the law was that thinking and negotiations can replace violence and warfare as a means of settling disputes. (18th-century Euro-American observers noted the Iroquois' sophisticated use of oratory, causing one to compare them to the Romans and Greeks.)

The nations of the Confederacy have held fast to that law since the time of The Peacemaker. In 1987, the Manager of the Ganondagan State Historic Site was interviewed, and the following are quotes from the interview:

At this moment, there is fighting going on in who knows how many different countries of this world....It is important to talk about the message of peace and its history in this country. And the Iroquois Confederacy and its impact on the forming of the United States-- Constitution and the minds of the men who drafted the Constitution, which formed this country on representational democracy....And that woman who lived here and whose remains are in this area, she was a part of that...

We have a set of laws, which are called the Great Law and this is what the Confederacy is founded on, the Gayanesshagowa, in the Seneca language. It's very hard to live up to that law. It is harder than the U.S. system of government, of law. But it got us here. It's why we have any land at all. And it is why we are existing at all when most of the East Coast Indians who lived here are gone and their lands taken. We have to live with it. We have to rekindle all those feelings about it. And I hope - and this is a big, big ambition, of course - that this site plays a role in that future for us.

Women had "political" roles as "Clan Mothers" who were elected by the women in their clan (extended family/communal unit) and the Clan Mothers then chose the male chief because, having been involved in raising the children, they would know which boys/men would be fit for leadership. The Clan Mothers could also remove a chief. In addition, women controlled allocations from communal stores and acted as communicators of culture between generations. This leadership role for women came out of the "Mother of Nations" role in creating Iroquois confederacy. These chiefs still hold more clout in Iroquois communities than the elected chiefs that Canada and U.S. imposed on the culture because they wouldn't recognize the non-elected (women chosen) chiefs.

Somewhere between 1650 and the 1670s, a major Haudenosaunee ("Hoe-dee-nee-sow-nee"), or Iroquois, community developed which rivaled any European settlement in North America at the time in population, commerce, production, trade, manufacture, social organization and military might. It is estimated that over 100 longhouses existed here, a number which approached the accounts of contemporary observers who counted as many as 150 dwellings. The nine-acre oval of the town area has been plotted through a test-pit survey conducted by the Rochester Museum and Science Center in 1977. This confirmed the size, location and configuration of the site which had been known to antiquarians, archeologists, and pot hunters for a century. This site was the principal town or capital of the Senecas in the 17th century and the largest 17th century Seneca town known to exist. The town included houses, stores, fields, crops and livestock. With its vast granaries and extensive fields of corn, Ganondagan was the "breadbasket" of the League of the Iroquois, and illustrates the organic

interdependence of all the communities which constituted the League.

On July 13, 1687, the Ganondagan community was destroyed during an attack by forces under the Marquis Denonville. These forces included French army regulars, Canadian militiamen, and Mohawk and Algonquin warriors and the attack on Ganondagan was part of the plan to destroy the villages of the Seneca in an attempt to annihilate them as a people, and, therefore, as competitors in the lucrative international fur trade. The battle between the Seneca youths and the French took place within view of Ganondagan's longhouses on Boughton Hill.

Sally Roesch Wagner, PhD, has written about the influence of Iroquois women on the feminists of the day (largely those involved with Seneca Falls) ("The Untold Story of the Iroquois Influence on Early Feminists"). In particular, the vision of suffrage leaders such as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Matilda Joselyn Gage were shaped by knowing Iroquois women who practiced rights, such as owning property, wearing comfortable clothing, being food producers, being revered and not physically abused, and were able to "divorce," of which they could only dream.

After the War for Independence, the site was used for agricultural purposes. In the 1930s, Tonawanda Seneca Chief Freeman Johnson began work to protect the site from the theft of sacred Indian artifacts and against development that threatened its historical remains. J. Sheldon Fisher, an amateur archeologist and founder and President of the Gannagaro (sic) Association has also worked to preserve and promote the site as a National Historic Landmark. It became a State Historic Site (NY State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation) in 1987.

Current programs at the site include working with inner city Rochester youth (650 annually) to bring them to the site for "Elders Gatherings" where youth are taught to listen and learn from elders and respect them. They've also started the Young Spirit Dancers and the Spirit Dancers. There are special seasonal events. A major population served by Ganondagan is families, school children and educators, including over 130 schools. Visitation in 1997 was over 31,000. Further, Ganondagan is the only entity bringing on-going cultural and educational family programming to non-reservation Native families and youth in the Greater Monroe region: a dispersed community, some fighting the effects of alcoholism, isolation, and poverty that erodes family well-being. For them, Ganondagan creates a sense of belonging, pride in their heritage, and restores family and community relationships amongst Native participants.

Preservation Needs

Based on a conversation between NY SHPO staff and the Site Manager Pete Jemison, Ganondagan State Historic Site, the most critical need is the lack of an adequate year-round interpretive center to orient and educate the public to the history and culture of this site. An interpretive center in which to display artifacts and hold interpretive programs is critical to an archeological site in that there is no longer any standing structure for the public to view and experience. In addition, the center can display artifacts of the Ganondagan, which provides evidence of their social order, spiritual values and history.

The present center is only open 6 months a year, can only display a portion of their artifacts, and only seats 25 (which means that school groups visiting the site, which average between 50 and 60 children, cannot learn about the site in a coherent or efficient manner). The site's Native American artifacts, including a recently-acquired private collection associated with the Ganondagan, is being temporarily stored at the Rochester Museum & Science Center until an adequate, on-site interpretive center and museum can be constructed.

The site is currently in the midst of reconstructing a longhouse, based on oral, archeological, and historical records. This will be nearing completion by mid-July. (Dedication ceremony planned for July 25, during Ganondagan's 2-day "Native American Dance and Music Festival.") The longhouse project has 3 components: construction; documentation (two Native American produced and directed video documentaries: 1 designed for 4th graders and 1 designed for the general public); and internal furnishings (replicated artifacts and period pieces from overseas trade; installed after completion of longhouse). The total project has an estimated cost of \$456,700 of which \$155,000 is still needed.

Another critical need is protecting the agrarian viewshed from Fort Hill, the site of the Seneca community's fortified granary. The site's surrounding natural and agricultural landscape is experiencing increasing development pressure as the town of Victor grows from a sparsely developed farming community to a desirable suburb within easy community distance of the city of Rochester. If the viewshed is not protected, the site's agricultural and natural setting, which is so important to its interpretation, will be significantly impacted and eventually lost.

The Friends of Ganondagan, a 501(c)(3) corporation, was formed in 1989 as a private educational partner to the State Historic Site. The Friends have raised over \$300,000 for the reconstruction of the longhouse, the accompanying video, and the furnishings.

Link to the Future

Decisions made by the Iroquois Nation today are evaluated as to their impact for generations to come. As explained by Carol Jacobs, Cayuga Bear Clan Mother (in Presentation to the United Nations, pp. 116-117), "In making any law, the chiefs must always consider three things: the effect of their decision on peace; the effect on the natural world; and the effect on seven generations in the future. We believe that all lawmakers should be required to think this way, that all constitutions should contain these rules....We are a powerful people. We are the carriers of knowledge and ideas that the world needs today. We know how to live with this land: we have done so for thousands of years and have not suffered many of the changes of the Industrial Revolution, though we are being beffeted by the waves of its collapse. Our families are beyond the small, isolated nuclear families that are so convenient to big industry and big government and so damanging to communities."

Contact

Peter Jemison and Jeanette Miller (married). Mr. Jemison is Site Manager. Ms. Miller is only staff of the Friends of Ganondagan and works with a Title IX Indian Education Program. Jemison

FAX

DATE: Saturday, July 11, 1998

TO: Laura Schiller, Hillary Clinton's Office

FAX: 202 456-6244

FROM: Mark Malo-Wellman

PAGES: 2

MEMO

July 11, 1998

TO: Laura Schiller

FROM: Judy Wellman

RE: Seneca Falls stuff

Hi Laura! I have faxed the following documents:

- 1) brief biographies of several interesting signers.
- 2) "Declaring Women's Rights," one of the chapters from my book manuscript The Road to Seneca Falls. It deals with preparations for the convention and the convention itself, including the Charlotte Woodward story.
- 3) a list of all the signers, with brief descriptions of each.
- 4) an article entitled "Elizabeth Cady Stanton: The Personal Is the Political" that gives some background about Stanton herself.
- 5) a transcript of the Declaration of Sentiments.

On Monday, I will fax a short biography of the M'Clintock family. If you do not receive any of this, let me know. I can be reached either by phone or by e-mail later today.

I hope this helps. I am honored to have you and Mrs. Clinton interested in this material. Best wishes. See you in Seneca Falls!

Cordially,

Judy Wellman
315-598-4387
wellman@oswego.edu

FAX

DATE: Saturday, July 11, 1998

TO: Laura Schiller, Hillary Clinton's Office

FAX: 202 456-6244

FROM: Mark Malo-Wellman

PAGES: 20

MEMO

APPENDIX II

SIGNERS OF THE SENECA FALLS DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

The following list includes brief biographical data for all known signers of the Declaration of Sentiments. Much more information exists for many of these people. Asterisks mark those whose identity is unknown or doubtful.

Most of the residence information comes from the 1850 manuscript census. For consistency, I have also noted information about children and property only from that census, even when other data exists. Religious affiliation may indicate some connection with a particular church, rather than actual membership in 1848.

1) Barker, Caroline (Cornell)

White female. Residence Walworth, Wayne County. Born 1814 or 1815 in New York State. Married William G., farmer and signer. Property valued at \$5000 in 1850. Six children (four boys and two girls) at home in 1850. Quaker. Died June 9, 1892.

*2) Barker, Eunice.

No firm identification.

3) Barker, William Gould.

White male. Residence Walworth, Wayne County. Born 1808 in Canada. Married Caroline Cornell, a signer. Farmer. Property valued at \$5000 in 1850.

Judith Wellman
History Department
State University of New York
Oswego, New York 13126

315-341-2170 (work)
315-598-4387 (home)

Six children (four boys and two girls) at home in 1850. Quaker. Died December 22, 1897.

4) Bonnel, Rachel D.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born June 30, 1827. Married Edmund W. Matchell, November 1848. Father a farmer.

5) Bunker, Joel D. (or Bonker)

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born about 1807 in New York State. Cooper. Married Hannah. Three children in 1850. Wesleyan Methodist.

6) Burroughs, William.

White male. Residence Fayette, Varick, Seneca Falls, and Waterloo. Born May 19, 1825. Farmer and lawyer. Superintendent, Town of Varick, 1855, 1857-1859. Married Lucy Ann Bochman. One child (boy) by 1850.

*7) Capron, E.W.

White male. Residence Macedon, Wayne County. Editor of The Voice of Freedom, 1843, and the Auburn National Reformer in 1848. Quaker.

8) Chamberlain, Jacob P.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1802 in Massachusetts. Farmer and miller. Married Catharine Kuney. Six children at home in 1850. Member of Methodist Episcopal Church. Died October 5, 1878.

9) Conklin, Elizabeth.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1812. Daughter of William Conklin, who was a gardner and member of Wesleyan Methodists (and later a Congregationalist).

*10) Conklin, Mary.

White female. May be sister of Elizabeth and daughter of William, in Seneca Falls, Wesleyan, or may be a Mary Conklin from Waterloo.

*11) Culvert, P.A.

Female. Perhaps a member of Rochester Monthly Meeting of Friends. No other information.

12) Davis, Cynthia.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born 1822. Married November 1839 to Niles Daves (who died before 1848?)

13) Dell, Thomas.

White male. Residence Waterloo. Born 1828. Nurseryman. Father William S., a signer. Quaker. Died 1851.

14) Dell, William S.

White male. Residence Waterloo. Born 1801, in New Jersey. Nurseryman, with property worth \$7000 in 1850. Married Charlotte Dunham. Two children at home in 1850, including Thomas, a signer. Quaker. Died 1865.

15) Doty, Elias J.

White male. Residence Macedon, Wayne County. Born July 14, 1799 in New York State. Married Susan, a signer. Five children (three boys and two girls) at home in 1850. Quaker. Farmer. Property valued at \$5000 in 1850. Died May 24, 1871.

16) Doty, Susan R.

White female. Residence Macedon, Wayne County. Born 1808 in Massachusetts. Married Elias J., a farmer and signer. Property valued at \$5000 in 1850. Five children (three boys and two girls) at home in 1850. Quaker. Died June 7, 1852.

17) Douglass, Frederick.

African-American male. Residence Rochester. Born 1817 in Maryland. Married Anna. Five children (three boys and two girls) at home in 1850. Editor of North Star. Property valued at \$6000 in 1850.

18) Drake, Julia Ann.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born 1814. Lived with Phoebe King, a signer, in 1850. Married John B. Smith in 1852.

19) Eaton, Harriet Cady.

White female. Born October 5, 1810. Married Daniel Cady Eaton. Two children. Sister of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, signer.

20) Foote, Elisha. White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1809 in Massachusetts. Lawyer and inventor. Property worth \$3000 in 1850. Married Eunice Newton, a signer. Two children at home in 1850. Died October 22, 1883.

21) Foote, Eunice Newton. White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born July 11, 1819. Married Elisha Foote, a signer. Two children at home in 1850.

*22) Frink, Mary Ann.

Female. May be white, residence Camillus, born 1823, widowed with one child in 1850. Doubtful identification. May also be from Rochester.

23) Fuller, Cynthia.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born about 1795. Withdrew from Methodists in 1843. Died January 8, 1870. Sons were a machinist and a laborer. (Is this the mother of Ansel Fuller and grandmother of signer Cynthia Davis?)

24) Gibbs, Experience Porter.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born about 1820. Married Ansel Gibbs, a miller, livery stable keeper, and groceryman, with property worth \$1600 in 1850. Three children at home in 1850. Died March 17, 1899.

25) Gilbert, Mary.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Milliner. Wife or sister-in-law of S.E. Woodworth, a signer. Methodist by 1858.

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*26) Gild, Lydia.

No information.

27) Hallowell, Mary H. (Post)

White female. Residence Rochester. Born 1823 in New York State.

Married William R., a woolen manufacturer. Property valued at \$5000 in 1850.

No children. Quaker. Died c. March 1913.

28) Hallowell (Willis), Sarah (Kirby).

White female. Residence Rochester. Born January 16, 1818, in Westbury, New York. Married Jeffries Hallowell in 1838 and Edmund P. Willis in 1853. Sister of Amy Post; aunt of Mary H. Hallowell. Quaker. April 10, 1914.

29) Hatley, Henry.

White male Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1825 in New York State.

Cooper. Married Nancy. One child at home in 1850.

30) Hoffman, Sarah.

White female. Residence Junius. Born 1812. Married Lawrence A., a farmer. Four children (boys) in 1850. \$2520 worth of property in 1850. Died May 5, 1879.

31) Hoskins, Charles L.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1799. Merchant, with \$6500 worth of property in 1850. Married Sophia (1828), then Eliza Goodwin (1830), then Mary E. Woolsey (1836). Six children at home in 1850. Died July 10, 1895.

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32) Hunt, Jane C.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born June 6, 1812. Married Richard P., a signer. Five children at home in 1850. Quaker. Died November 28, 1889.

33) Hunt, Richard Pell.

White male. Residence Waterloo. Born September 2, 1797. Married Matilda Kendig, then Ann Underhill, then Sarah McClintock, then Jane C. Master. Farmer, mill owner, and real estate investor, with property worth \$40,000 in 1850. Died November 7, 1856.

*34) Jenkins, Margaret.

No information.

35) Jones, John.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born about 1801. Son of Lucy Jones, a signer. Steamboat agent. Married Alvira. Two children at home in 1850.

36) Jones, Lucy.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls (formerly of Waterloo). Born about 1785-87, in Connecticut. Married Thomas. Mother of John Jones, a signer. Joined Presbyterian Church in 1837. Died February 18, 1865. Son Walton a sash manufacturer.

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37) King, Phoebe.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born 1794, in Connecticut.

38) Latham, Hannah J.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1810. Daughter of Lovina Latham, a signer. Member Trinity Episcopal Church. Died January 25, 1859.

39) Latham, Lovina (Janes).

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born June 26, 1781, in Connecticut. Married Obadiah L. Mother of Hannah, a signer, and ten other children. Member of Trinity Episcopal Church. Died January 21, 1859.

40) Leslie, Elizabeth.

White female. Residence Fayette. Born 1826, New Jersey. Married Willard, a woolen manufacturer. No children at home in 1850. \$900 worth of property, 1850.

41) Martin, Eliza.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Married Joshua W., boatbuilder. Probably sister of signers Ann Porter and Experience Gibbs. Died February 13, 1899.

*42) Martin, Mary.

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Several possibilities, but possibly the Mary (white female) from Seneca Falls who married Joshua Martin (cooper), and died March 11, 1861.

43) Mathews, Delia.

White female. Residence Waterloo and Seneca Falls. Born about 1798. Married Jabez, a carpenter.

44) Mathews, Dorothy.

White female. Residence Tyre. Born 1804. Married William. Seven children by 1857. Died July 22, 1875.

45) Mathews, Jacob.

White male. Waterloo and Seneca Falls. Born about 1805. Married Phoebe. One child at home in 1850. Mason. Died February 2, 1874.

46) McClintock, Elizabeth W.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1821. Daughter of Thomas and Mary Ann, and sister of Mary Ann, signers. Married Burroughs Phillips in 1852. Quaker. Died November 7, 1896.

47) McClintock, Mary Ann.

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White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1799-1800, in Pennsylvania. Married Thomas, a signer. Quaker. Died May 21, 1884.

48) McClintock, Mary Ann.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1823. Daughter of Thomas and Mary Ann and sister of Elizabeth, signers. Married George Hacknell? Quaker.

49) McClintock, Thomas.

White male. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1792, in Delaware. Married Mary Ann. Druggist. Four children at home in 1850. Quaker. Died 1776.

50) Metcalf, Jonathan.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. School teacher. Married Betsey Miller. Baptist and then Methodist; dismissed from Methodists in 1844.

51) Milliken, Nathan J.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1822, in New Hampshire. Printer and editor of Seneca County Courier.

*52) Mirror, Mary S.

No information.

53) Mosher, Phoebe.

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White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1810. Married Ruben P., a farmer. Four children at home in 1850. Quaker. Died March 7, 1860.

*54) Mosher, Sarah A.

White female. Residence Junius. Born 1807 or 1808. Married Israel? Quaker. Died August 5, 1875. She may have been a teacher in Waterloo. (There are dozens of Sarah Moshers in central New York. This is the best identification to date.)

55) Mott, James.

White male. Residence Philadelphia. Born Married Lucretia Coffin. Wool manufacturer. Quaker.

56) Mott, Lucretia (Coffin).

White female. Residence Philadelphia. Born January 3, 1793, on Nantucket Island. Married James Mott, signer. Quaker. Died November 11, 1880.

57) Mount, Lydia.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1802. Married Randolph Mount, who died in 1842. Two children at home in 1850. Sister of Hannah Plant and Richard P. Hunt. Property valued at \$13,800 in 1850. Died December 23, 1862.

58) Paine, Catharine C.

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White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1829. Married Rev. David Blair, Methodist minister, and moved to Oregon in 1852. Father a candle-maker.

59) Palmer, Rhoda.

White female. Residence Phelps, Ontario County. Born June 15, 1816. Never married. Father (Asa) a farmer, with property valued at \$3500 in 1850. Died August 9, 1919.

60) Phillips, Saron.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Minister to Wesleyan Methodists in 1847-8.

*61) Pitcher, Sally.

Possibly Sally Freeland Pitcher, Seneca Falls, who became a Wesleyan Methodist in 1843 and a Methodist in 1846.

62) Plant, Hannah.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1795. Married Henry w., who died in 1843. One child. Quaker who later joined St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Sister of Lydia Mount and Richard P. Hunt.

*63) Porter, Ann.

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White female. Probably sister of signers Experience Gibbs and Eliza Martin.

64) Post, Amy (Kirby).

White female. Residence Rochester. Born 1803. Married Isaac, a druggist. Property valued at \$2500 in 1850. Three children (all boys) at home in 1850. Quaker. Died January 29, 1889.

65) Pryor, George W.

White male. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1780, in Pennsylvania. Married Margaret, a signer. Farmer. Quaker.

66) Pryor, Margaret.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1785, in Pennsylvania. Married George W., a signer. Quaker.

67) Quinn, Susan.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1834 to Patrick and Mary Quinn. Married William Clark (lawyer), December 9, 1855. Member Trinity Episcopal Church.

68) Race, Rebecca.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1808. Married Whiting Race (lumber dealer). Six children at home in 1850. Member Trinity Episcopal. Died July 18, 1895.

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*69) Ridley, Martha.

No information.

70) Schooley, Azaliah.

White male. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1805-1807, in Canada.

Married Mercy L., who died in 1836, then Margaret, a signer. Five children at home in 1850. Farmer, with property worth \$7500 in 1850. Quaker. Died October 24, 1855.

71) Schooley, Margaret.

White female. Residence Waterloo. Born about 1808, in New Jersey.

Married Azaliah, a signer. Five children at home in 1850. Quaker.

*72) Scott, Deborah.

No information.

*73) Segur, Antoinette E.

No information.

74) Seymour, Henry.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born January 10, 1803, in Vermont.

Married Susan. Four children at home in 1850. Pump manufacturer and later storekeeper, with property worth \$3000 in 1850. Died August 3, 1879.

75) Seymour, Henry W.

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White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1815, in Connecticut. Married Malvina, a signer. One child at home in 1850. Pump manufacturer. Member of Trinity Episcopal Church. Relationship to Henry Seymour unknown.

76) Seymour, Malvina (or Melvina).

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born about 1812. Milliner. Married Henry W., a signer. One child at home in 1850. Member of Trinity Episcopal Church.

*77) Shaw, Catharine.

May be white female from Tully, living with Joshua Smith and family. Born 1765 in New York State. No firm identification.

78) Shear, Stephen.

White male. Residence Junius. Born 1798 in New York State. Married Gertrude. Farmer. Property valued at \$12,000 in 1850. Six children (three boys and three girls) at home in 1850.

*79) Sisson, Sarah.

Two possibilities, both white females from Seneca Falls, one born about 1811 and married to Philip Sisson, carpenter, the other born about 1801 and married to Mathew Sisson, brewer.

80) Smallbridge, Robert.

White male. Residence Seneca Falls. Born 1821, in England. Cooper. Married S.A. Two children at home in 1850.

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*81) Smith, Elizabeth D.

No firm identification. Two Elizabeth Smiths lived in the area in 1850.

*82) Smith, Sarah.

No firm identification. Five Sarah Smiths lived in the area in 1850.

83) Spalding, David.

White male. Residence Spafford, Onondaga County. Born 1794. Married Lucy, a signer. Farmer. Property valued at \$4000 in 1850. Three children at home in 1850.

84) Spalding, Lucy (Fowler?).

White female. Residence Spafford, Onondaga County. Born 1796. Married David, a signer. Farmer. Property valued at \$4000 in 1850. Three children at home in 1850.

85) Stanton, Elizabeth Cady.

White female. Residence Seneca Falls. Born November 12, 1815. Married Henry B. lawyer. Three children at home in 1850. Died October 26, 1902.

86) Stebbins, Catharine F(ish).

White female. Residence Rochester, but moved by 1850. Married Giles Stebbins.

87) Taylor, Sophronia.

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be limited to those who gave up some of their own time or money for the greater good of the whole community. In this republican world-view, if women owned property and paid taxes, what logical reason remained to prevent women from voting?

Proponents of the Married Women's Property Act recognized its radical implications and rejoiced in them. One anonymous orator in Ogdensburgh, New York, argued, for example, that "ALL ARE CREATED FREE AND EQUAL." This was a "fundamental doctrine" of the United States, he asserted, and "none should ever be allowed to restrict its universality. Women, as well as men, are entitled to the full enjoyment of its practical blessings." Men deprived of representation in their government are called slaves, and "such is the degraded condition of women, in this boasted land of liberty."¹⁶

Rhetoric like this echoed in Stanton's mind, re-awakening memories of herself as a young girl, of the teasing she had received from her father's law students, of Flora Campbell, and of her father's advice to go to Albany to try to change the laws. Now she had a chance to do exactly that, and she used her father's own legal and political connections to do it. After her parents moved to Albany in 1843, she lobbied members of the legislature, both in their own offices and in social situations, to get the bill passed.

By the mid-1840s, then, Stanton had expanded her world from her parents' comfortable if conservative life-style to the more open world of her cousin, Gerrit Smith, to the active world of reform outside of her immediate family. Through her father, her cousin, her husband, and her friends, she had met key people among perfectionist abolitionists, political abolitionists,

¹⁶Lecture Delivered Befre the Ogdensburgh Lyceum, on the Political Rights of Women (Ogdensburgh, N.Y.: Tyler and James, n.d.), 2-3. Copy in the library of William Henry Seward and Frances Seward, Seward Home, Auburn, New York.

and legal reformers. In July, 1848, she would use these connections in a most unexpected way.

Act IV: Seneca Falls

In 1847 and 1848, personal and political events once more converged in Stanton's life. Stress and tragedy in her family life led Stanton to look outward once again, to see her own personal situation as part of the larger political condition of women everywhere.

Scene I: Seneca Falls, New York, a large, rambling house on the edge of town, which has been empty for the past few years. With gusto, Elizabeth is supervising the work of refurbishing what will become her new home. Ansel Bascom, a local reform lawyer, arrives for a neighborly visit. Surrounded by carpenters, paper-hangers, and painters, Stanton takes the opportunity to urge Bascom's support for the proposed Married Women's Property Act. Bascom fears he will be a "laughing stock," but Stanton persists. Undaunted in fixing up her new home, she is also undaunted in her reform efforts.

Stanton's initial enthusiasm is about to give way to exhaustion. Stanton moved to Seneca Falls in April 1847. She came alone, armed only with her wits and her father's money, to fix up a house that Daniel Cady gave to her, in her own name. Several weeks later, she brought her children to Seneca Falls. Henry, however, remained in Boston, as editor an anti-slavery paper. Elizabeth was forced to cope as a single parent with three rambunctious boys.

Elizabeth's spirits drooped. "To keep a house and grounds in good order, purchase every article for daily use, keep the wardrobes of half a dozen human beings in proper trim, take the children to dentists, shoemakers, and different schools, or find teachers at home, altogether made sufficient work to

keep one brain busy," she recalled, in a lament that any American mother, past or present, might echo.¹⁷

She felt overwhelmed. Sickness and death added to her depression. The children and servants all caught malaria. She herself probably experienced a miscarriage. And her nephew, the son of Henry's sister, Susan, died of whooping cough while on a visit to the Stanton's on his first birthday. Did the loss of her own unborn baby and of the death of this small boy re-awaken in Stanton the traumatic feelings associated with the deaths of her own brothers?

Whatever the causes, her mood was sombre in the spring and early summer of 1848. "Up to this time life had glided by with comparative ease, but now the real struggle was upon me. . . .Cleanliness, order, the love of the beautiful and artistic, all faded away in the struggle to accomplish what was absolutely necessary from hour to hour. Now I understood, as I never had before, how women could sit down and rest in the midst of general disorder."¹⁸

Motivated in part by a need to resolve her own personal distress, she turned outward toward political action in the larger world. There, three events had generated considerable debate and public support for women's rights. First, New York State finally passed a Married Women's Property Act in February 1848. As Stanton noted, passage of this act "encouraged action on the part of women. . .if the men who make the laws were ready for some onward step, surely the women themselves should express interest in legislation."¹⁹ Second, political abolitionists, including Henry B. Stanton, linked forces with business interests and farmers to form a new political party. They called it the Free Soil Party, because its prime object was to keep slavery out of the territories. And finally, Garrisonian-Quaker abolitionists in upstate New York,

¹⁷Eighty Years, 145, 147.

¹⁸Eighty Years, 147.

¹⁹History of Woman Suffrage, I, 63?

everyone of them a supporter of women's rights, found a new sense of identity and cohesion as many of them left established Quaker meetings to form their own groups of Congregational Friends.

Stanton's own personal relationships and personal experiences connected her to key people in all three movements. Daniel Cady had taught her to argue for legal rights for women and had given her credibility with legal reformers. Henry B. Stanton had taught her about the power of the vote to create social change and had given her connections among political abolitionists. Lucretia Mott strengthened her commitment to total equality for women and men and welcomed her into the company of Garrisonian-Quaker abolitionists. Thus, when Lucretia Mott came to visit Quaker abolitionists in Waterloo, just west of Seneca Falls, about July 9, 1848, the stage had already been set, over a period of many years, for the country's first women's rights convention.

Scene II: *The parlor of Jane and Richard Hunt's plain, two-story brick home in Waterloo, New York. The parlor is carpeted. A center table, a sofa, two rocking chairs, and six parlor chairs complete the main furnishings. The chairs are now probably drawn up around the center table, for Jane Hunt is having a tea party. Lucretia Mott is the honored guest. Mott's sister, Martha Wright, and a few Quaker women from Waterloo are also there. So is Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who has seen Mott only once or twice since the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Immediately, they pick up the topic that Stanton and Mott had left incomplete eight years before--the idea of a woman's rights convention. Stanton's personal frustration boils over. "I poured out, that day," she later wrote, "the torrent of my long-accumulating discontent, with such vehemence and indignation that I stirred myself, as well as the rest*

of the party, to and dare anything."²⁰ What they dared to do was to call, finally, the country's first women's rights convention.

Scene III: Wesleyan Chapel, Seneca Falls. *Stanton stands at the front of the room. She has just presented a resolution that . . . Someone in the audience objects. Stanton has anticipated this problem. Before the meeting she had tried out the idea on her own husband, who opposed her so strongly that he refused to attend the he convention. Even Lucretia Mott , who believes in "Truth for Authority, Not Authority for Truth," is doubtful. "Lizzie," she had said, "Thee will make us ridiculous."*

Yet Lizzie Stanton persists. And she has found a powerful ally-- Frederick Douglass. Not for nothing was Douglass raised in his earliest years by a loving grandmother. Not for nothing had he discussed women's rights with Stanton years before. Not for nothing does the masthead of the North Star carry the motto, "Right Is of No Sex,." Douglass speaks out against oppression wherever he finds it, and the oppression of women has become a special concern. That concern has brought him to Seneca Falls. And it brings him willingly to argue, in a "brilliant defense," that women, like African Americans, need the right to vote. His eloquence, added to Stanton's own, convinces the convention, by a slight majority, to endorse the demand for women's right to vote. One hundred people (sixty-eight women and thirty-two men) sign the Declaration of Sentiments, incorporating the demand for women's suffrage.

Out of all of the influences on her, personal and political, Stanton created a unique blend of radical goals and pragmatic means, of total commitment to equality combined with a willingness to use political power.

²⁰Eighty Years, 148.

She used her own very personal relationships to forge a base for a very public action, one whose ideas continue to affect us into our time.

Yet there is an irony here. Stanton lived during a time of deep change in the United States. People were moving from rural areas to cities, from farm work to factories, from large families to small ones, from east to west. So dramatic were these changes that even historians (normally the most cautious of observers) call them revolutions--in transportation, industrialization, and urbanization.

These changes had corollary shifts in the way that people viewed themselves. People who once had defined themselves primarily as members of a group--a family, a church, a community--now began to see themselves more as individuals, competing with other individuals in the economic marketplace. Who your parents were was becoming less important than who you were, in terms of intelligence, character, and willingness to work hard. In the older world view, most people--men and women--measured their success in life by how well they performed their responsibilities to other people. Roles were more important than personality. Now a new model was elbowing out the old one. Rights became as important as responsibilities. We can see this in a shift in world-view from what historians call "republicanism," which dominated male political action in the late eighteenth century, to "liberalism" which became popular by the mid-nineteenth century, from sacrificing one's own interests for the common good to promoting one's own interests in a competitive, individualistic world.

Just as Stanton built bridges between various reformers in the 1840s, she also built bridges from one time period to another, from an older, communal world-view to a newer ethos of individual rights. She built upon her personal, traditional roles as daughter, cousin, wife, and mother to launch

a public movement that emphasized not responsibilities but rights, not group identity but individualism.

This was Stanton's paradox at the Seneca Falls convention. She led a movement to establish women as independent, free, and equal members of the body politic. Yet her success as a leader depended not on her individual gifts alone but also on her relationships with a network of family and friends. A movement that ostensibly promoted individual rights was made possible by the connections that bound Stanton into very strong (and very traditional) family networks.

Introduction--

grab reader's attention

personal identification with characters--Stanton,

Douglass, Mott, Wright, Quakers, abolitionists, not

HBS

conflict--women's right to vote

theme--personal is the political

childhood

early marriage

balance between personal and political action

I. Girlhood

Daniel Cady and Margaret Livingston Cady

father's law office

II. Turning Points--Gerrit Smith

Harriet Powell

Harriet B. Stanton

World Anti-Slavery Convention

Lucretia Mott

III. From Home to the World

Frederick Douglass

Married Women's Property Act

Liberty Party v. Garrisonians

Life in Boston

Seneca Falls

alone for almost a year

three children, one miscarriage

Context--reform in upstate New York

Quakers

Married Women's Property Act

SF and Waterloo

Abby Kelley

Ansel Bascom

, among them Edward Bayard (newly-married to Elizabeth's oldest sister, Tryphena) and Edward's brother, Henry. Both Edward and Henry are fun-loving and affectionate companions for all the Cady girls, and Edward is a father-figure to the three youngest.

There seem no doubt that events in Elizabeth Cady Stanton's twelfth year indelibly influenced her life and subsequently the lives of many other people from her own time to the present. When she was twelve years old, she confronted the death of her only brother, a crisis in her religious experience, and a painful introduction to the power of the law. Intertwined with all these awakenings was a new awareness of the disabilities that family, church, and law imposed on her because she was a girl. When she was twelve years old, she fought against these disabilities in the best way she knew how. She would continue to fight against them, in increasingly effective ways, until she died.

Once upon a time, most historians told the stories of public events in terms of public causes. They ignored--often because they had little evidence--personal experiences in childhood and within families. Yet Elizabeth Cady Stanton's public career cannot be explained without understanding her relationships with family and friends.

MOM I LOVE YOU!

AMALIYA: I LOVE YOU, TOO!

Entering her father's office, she takes down several law books from the shelves lining the wall. Scissors in hand, she carefully opens the first volume. She scans it quickly, looking for laws that keep women from owning their own property and from taking charge of their own lives. If these laws are the problem, why not simply cut them out?

And, oh yes, when Flora Cambell died, the Cadys buried her on their own plot in the graveyard, just a few feet away from Eleazer.

Most people at the meeting were ordinary citizens who had come from Seneca Falls, Waterloo (four miles west), or Rochester, forty miles west. Two, however, were nationally-known radical reformers. Lucretia Mott was a Philadelphia Quaker minister, and Frederick Douglass, who had escaped from slavery only a decade before, was an abolitionist orator and editor of the North Star in Rochester, New York.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frederick Douglass came from very different backgrounds. Stanton had been raised in upstate New York in a wealthy, slave-owning family. Douglass had grown up in Maryland as a slave himself.

He had met Elizabeth Cady Stanton in Boston several years before, and they had found themselves kindred spirits, not only as abolitionists but also as advocates for women's rights. They agreed that supposedly free American women--both white and black-- suffered legal, political, social, and religious discrimination.

Elizabeth Cady took this advice to heart. That is exactly what did.

Elizabeth asserted her own independence clearly. She said and did what she thought was right, no matter what Henry's opinion. When she attended an anti-slavery meeting with Henry in 1841, she protested her exclusion from the separate meeting for women abolitionists. "How could I know of the existence of such meetings [when] no one told me. Had I known of them why should I have been disinclined to go? because Henry might not have wished me to do?--You do not know the extent to which I carry my rights," she told a friend. "I do in truth think & act for myself knowing that I alone am responsible for the saying & doings of E.C.S."²¹

Only brief glimpses remain, here and there, of Elizabeth's developing sense of self and society in the early 1840s. But these glimpses suggest a woman who

²¹Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Elizabeth Neall, November 26, [1841], Sidney Howard Gay Papers, Columbia University.

was gaining increasing confidence in herself and her emerging women's rights mission.

New York State law, like the laws of most states, was based on William Blackstone's eighteenth century codification of English common law. According to Blackstone, when a man and woman married, they became as one, and that one was the husband. Married women had no legal identity at all. They could not sue or be sued. Certainly they could not own property.

was a well-known abolitionist orator. He was also editor and chief fund-raiser for the North Star, an anti-slavery newspaper that Douglass had started the year before in Rochester, New York. Douglass was eloquent both in person and in print. He himself had escaped from slavery barely a decade earlier, and he spoke powerfully for abolition from his own experience.

The model first became identified with white males. In the 1820s, state after state changed their constitutions to admit all white adult males to full voting rights--universal suffrage, they called it. White adult males gained political rights to match their existing rights to own property. "Virtue" changed from a male characteristic to a female one. As males emphasized survival in a competitive world, self-sacrifice and moral training fell, in theory, into women's hands, as mothers gave of themselves to raise children who could carry out their obligations as democratic citizens.

For the rest of society--85% of the people in most communities, more in places where slavery existed--the old model of responsibilities, of deference, of group identity remained strong.

Like Frederick Douglass and like her own cousin, Gerrit Smith, Elizabeth Stanton was a builder of bridges. Both connected existing political divisions. Both incorporated ideas from Garrisonian-Quakers and political abolitionists. Both joined idealism with practical action. Both followed their own sense of logic and of moral right to create unique places for themselves in U.S. history. And both drew on their own personal experience to help create a public movement.

It was Stanton's gift to identify strongly with both of her parents, and through them with her own ability and desire to carry out both male and female roles, that led her to challenge existing role limitations for women.

Her traditional roles--as a daughter, cousin, wife, and friend--brought her immediate and unconditional acceptance as an equal, worthy, and respected member of movements for legal reform, non-resistant abolitionism, and political abolitionism.

J. Wellman
Unpublished manuscript--SF
movement.

July 11, 1998

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movement.

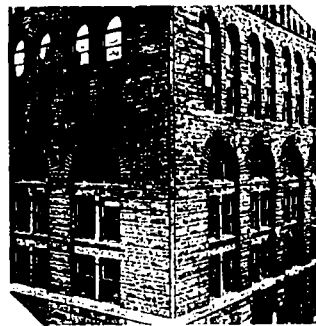
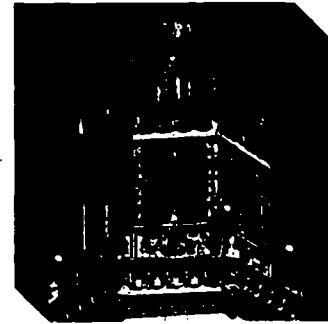
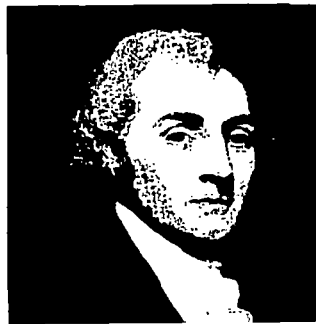
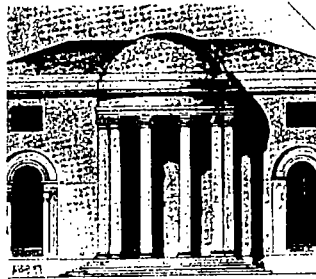
July 11, 1998

It was Stanton's gift to identify strongly with both of her parents, and through them with her own ability and desire to carry out both male and female roles, that led her to challenge existing role limitations for women.

Her traditional roles--as a daughter, cousin, wife, and friend--brought her immediate and unconditional acceptance as an equal, worthy, and respected member of movements for legal reform, non-resistant abolitionism, and political abolitionism.

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MASTER BUILDERS



A GUIDE TO FAMOUS AMERICAN ARCHITECTS

NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ALEXANDER J. DAVIS

Jane B. Davies

At the time when American romanticism was flourishing in literature and Hudson River landscape painting, Alexander J. Davis (1803–92) brought a similar spirit of romanticism to American architecture. Imaginative, original and influential, he was an innovative leader in the important styles of the middle third of the 19th century—the Greek, Tuscan and Gothic revivals, the Italianate and the bracketed. Although he never studied or even traveled abroad, he created inventive American interpretations inspired by foreign sources, designing with adept versatility some of the finest buildings of the period.

The adventurous imagination, temperament, eye and skill of an artist gave Davis's work a special quality. He began as an architectural illustrator, and his approach to architecture was always visual. He was primarily a designer, constantly experimenting, excellent in composition, proportion and detail, with a scenic sense for the harmony of building and setting and for the drama of bold features and strong contrasts. His skillful watercolors are considered among the finest architectural renderings of his generation.

Although Davis lived in New York City most of his life, his work ranged from Maine to Florida, from Detroit to New Orleans. He designed buildings in many styles and of many types—public, institutional and commercial buildings, churches and chapels, and town, suburban and country houses.

During two periods—1829–35 and 1842–43—Davis was a partner of the eminent Ithiel Town, who had the greatest architectural library in America. Most of their buildings were advanced examples of the new Greek Revival style, as seen, for instance, in the bold temple-form Indiana State Capitol (1831–35), Indianapolis, and in the typically Davis multistory windows of the Lyceum of Natural History (1835–36), New York. Throughout his career Davis continued to use his characteristic windows with neoclassical styles for most institutional and urban buildings, often favoring the wide eaves and strong features of individualistic versions of the Tuscan style, as in the Bridgeport City Hall (1853–54), Bridgeport, Conn.

Federal Hall National Memorial (U.S. Custom House) (1833–42, with Ithiel Town), New York, an American adaptation of the Parthenon. (HABS)

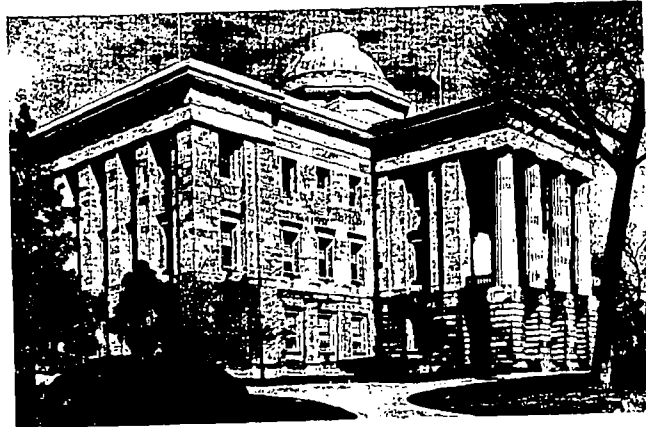


Alexander J. Davis, by George Freeman, 1852. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)

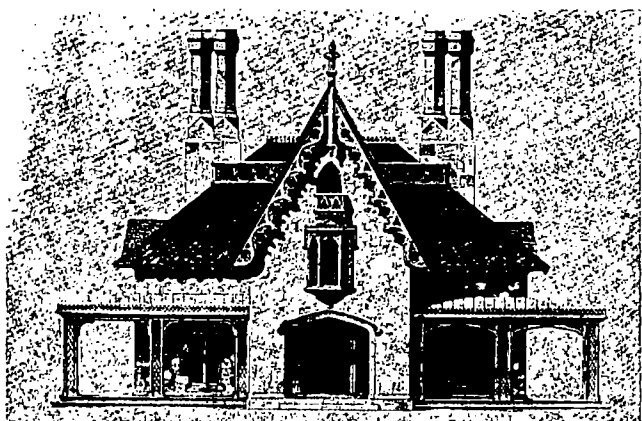
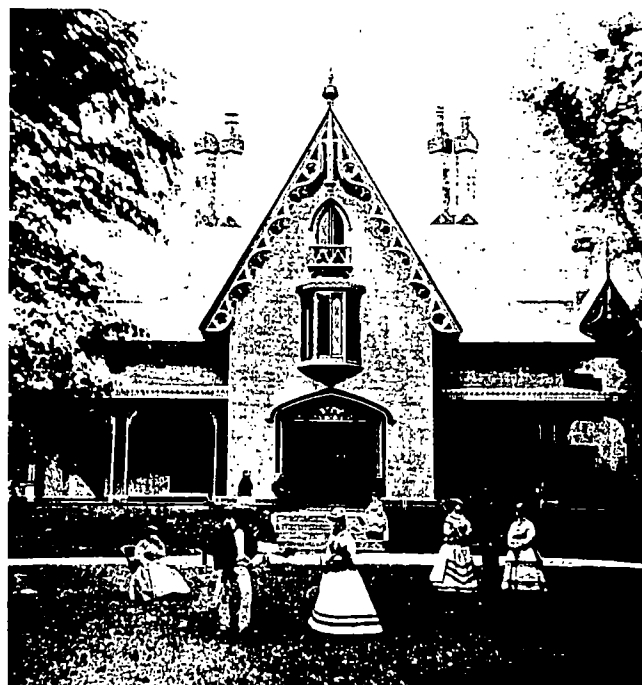
By midcentury Davis was the outstanding American architect of romantic country houses, unsurpassed in his mastery of asymmetrical massing, control of scale and delicacy of detailing. He designed many of the earliest and finest American villas and cottages in the Gothic Revival, Italianate and bracketed styles, such as Henry Delamater's charming Gothic cottage (1844), Rhinebeck, N.Y.; the enchanting Gothic villa Belmead (1845–48) for Philip St. George Cocke in Powhatan County, Va.; Llewellyn S. Haskell's handsome Italianate villa, Belmont (1850–52), near Belleville, N.J.; and the Gothic splendor of Lyndhurst (1838–42, 1865–67), Tarrytown, N.Y.

Davis's influence spread widely through his works and his book, *Rural Residences* (1838), and through his collaboration from 1839 to 1850 with the tastemaker Andrew Jackson Downing on the latter's publications, for which Davis drew most of the architectural illustrations—his own designs, a few supplied by other architects and many created jointly by Davis and Downing. The English ideas of the picturesque, which they espoused, revolutionized the American house, relating it to its setting, giving irregularity to its shape, plan and surface and freeing it from the austere rigidity of the traditional box pattern. The diversity of the new styles enriched the American scene. Many of the forms and features were imitated so much that they passed into the vernacular, and some—such as asymmetrical massing, bay windows, board-and-batten siding, wide decorated eaves and expansive verandas—became lasting contributions to American domestic architecture. ▽

North Carolina State Capitol (1833–40, with Ithiel Town et al.), Raleigh, with giant Doric columns and antae. (North Carolina Museum of History)



Below and middle: William J. Rotch House (1845-46), New Bedford, Mass., a cottage villa in the rural Gothic style, rendered by Davis. The dramatic design and intricate, elegant ornamentation give it exceptional charm. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University; Metropolitan Museum of Art)



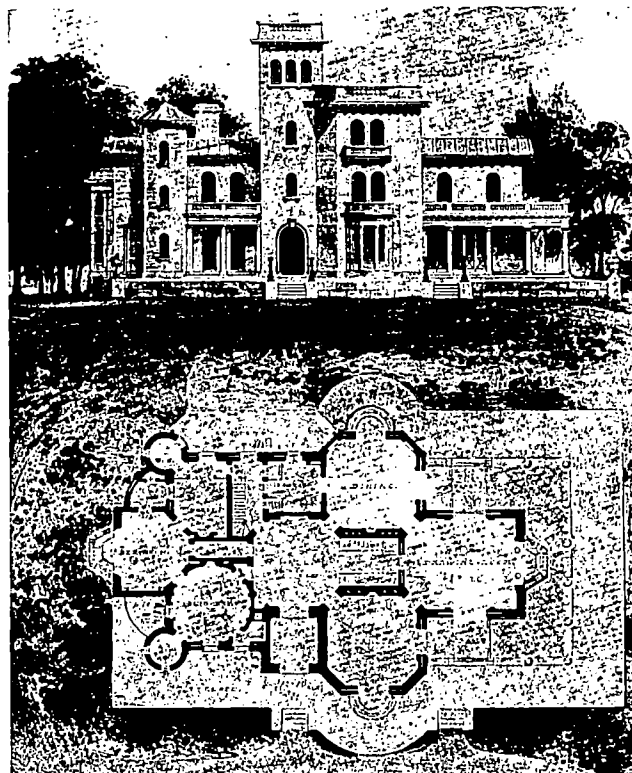
Lyndhurst (1838-42, 1865-67), Tarrytown, N.Y., the culmination of Hudson River Gothic, rendered by Davis. (Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Gatehouse at Blithewood (1836), near Barrytown, N.Y., the prototypal American Gothic cottage. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University)



Davis's design for a cottage villa in the bracketed style, featuring bracketed eaves and veranda supports and his distinctive windows, from Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences* (1842).



Davis's preliminary design for Grace Hill (1854-57), Brooklyn, N.Y., featuring a radiating, interconnected plan. (New-York Historical Society)

ANDREW JACKSON DOWNING

George B. Tatum

When she praised a number of the villas and cottages encountered on her American tour of 1849–50, the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer was advised that the architectural qualities she admired might be traced to the writings of Andrew Jackson Downing (1815–52), the popular landscape gardener from Newburgh, N.Y. "Nobody, whether he be rich or poor, builds a house or lays out a garden without consulting Downing's works," she was told.

Although Downing had contributed to the American editions of the works of several English authors and his own writings on the fruits of the United States had assured him a respected place among pomologists, it was clearly to his role as architecture critic that Bremer's informant referred. His *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America* (1841) contained a long section on rural architecture, which was also the subject of a smaller volume entitled *Cottage Residences*, published the following year. The success of both books was immediate. Together with later essays in *The Horticulturist*, the journal Downing edited from its inception in 1846 until his untimely death in a steamboat explosion in 1852, and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), Downing's third and last major work dealing with architectural subjects, these two publications did much to establish their author as a kind of arbiter of taste. Soon houses adapted from their illustrations appeared throughout the American countryside, and numerous imitators brought out a variety of pattern books based on this new approach to architectural design.

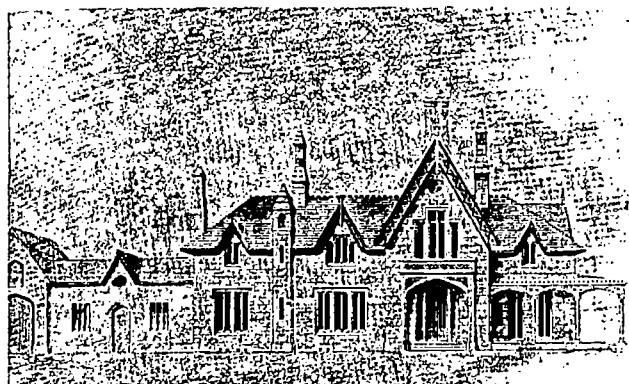
Much of Downing's practical knowledge of horticulture was gained in the Newburgh nursery he and his brother had inherited from their father, but the artistic principles he advocated were largely distilled from English sources, especially the publications of John Claudius Loudon. To illustrate his writings, Downing occasionally used the work of contemporary architects such as Richard Upjohn or John Notman, but he depended principally on Alexander J. Davis, who not only provided examples of his own work but also undertook to transform Downing's rough sketches into finished drawings suitable for engraving. Classical elements made the Italianate style appropriate for sites near towns or cities, but the irregular terrain of the countryside called for the more picturesque forms of the Gothic. And should either of these styles prove too ambitious, Downing recommended the simpler bracketed mode, derived ostensibly from Swiss and Italian sources and as near an original American style as the period was to come.

Downing advertised that for \$50 he would furnish landscape drawings by mail, and for \$20 a day he was prepared to visit the site. Plans supplied in this way were probably destroyed in use; at least, none is known to survive, and the loss or destruction of Downing's office records has deprived us of a list of his clients. Matthew Vassar was one, and contemporary views and descriptions provide a good deal of information about Springside (1850–52), the Vassar estate near Poughkeepsie, N.Y.,



Andrew Jackson Downing, from a daguerreotype made about 1850. (George B. Tatum Collection)

Unexecuted design (1847) by Alexander J. Davis in collaboration with Downing. Two years later Davis submitted a slightly modified version of this design to a client in Ohio, for whom it was built. (Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Daniel Parish House (1852), Newport, R.I., designed by Downing and Calvert Vaux in the new Renaissance style then coming into vogue in America.

only remnants of which are extant.

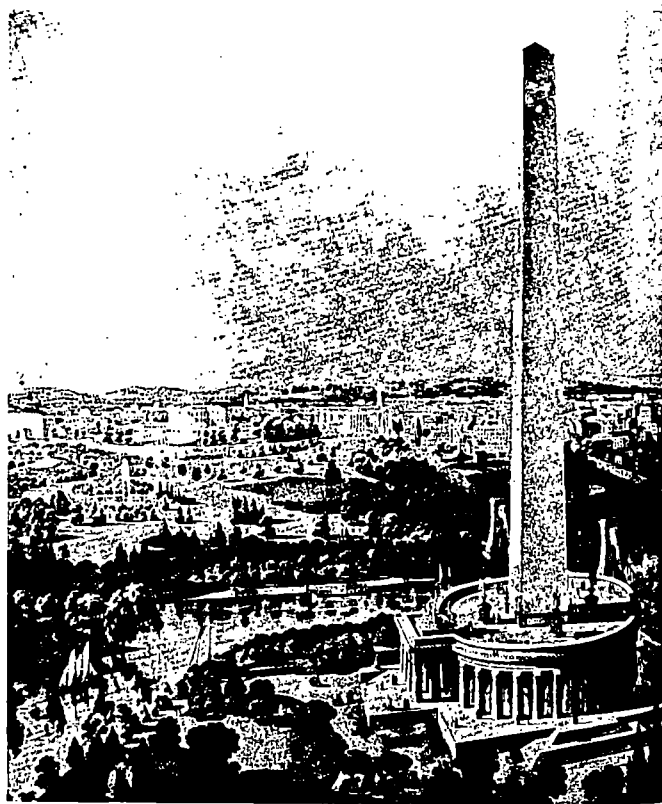
From time to time Downing served as consultant for a design drawn up in its final form by Davis, but he does not appear to have considered himself a practicing architect in his own right much before 1850. In the summer of that year, he had his first trip to England and, while there, persuaded young Calvert Vaux to immigrate to Newburgh as a member of the architectural firm he was in the process of forming. The new firm did not want for commissions, some of the most important of which were later published by Vaux in his *Villas and Cottages* (1857). Downing was the natural choice to provide a design for the public grounds in Washington, D.C., and although in 1901 the present Mall replaced the informal lines of his 1851 plan, both the early date and the success of the latter have led its designer to be counted among the originators of the public park in America. ▢

Italianate villa, from Downing's *Cottage Residences*, usually considered the first example of this popular form published in America. Downing wrote that the campanile conferred a character of boldness and dignity.

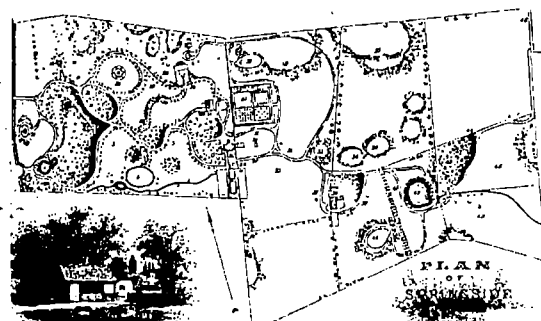
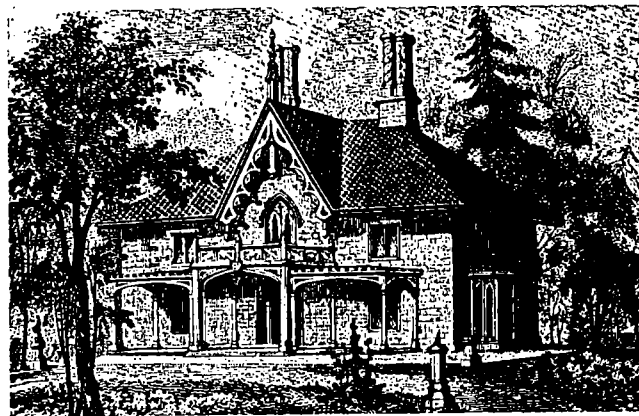


Opposite: Plan for Springside (1850-52), near Poughkeepsie, N.Y. (Benson Lossing, *Life of Matthew Vassar*, 1876)

Downing's plan for the public grounds (1851), Washington, D.C., showing Robert Mills's original design for the Washington Monument. (Smith and Jenkins, Library of Congress)



Cottage in the English, or rural Gothic, style, one of the most copied designs in *Cottage Residences* and apparently based in large part on the work of Alexander J. Davis.



FAX

DATE: Saturday, July 11, 1998

TO: Laura Schiller, Hillary Clinton's Office

FAX: 202 456-6244

FROM: Mark Malo-Wellman

PAGES: 32

MEMO

TRUE STORIES

The Personal and the Political: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention

Seneca Falls, July 20, 1848

On a hot July afternoon, thirty-two-year-old Elizabeth Cady Stanton stood at the front of the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York. She was at the beginning of what would become the most visible and publicized work of her life--the fight for total equality for women, as citizens, family members, workers, students, church members, property owners, and people, including the right of women to vote.

They had gathered to debate nothing less than a new version of the Declaration of Independence. This Declaration of Sentiments, as they called it, asserted not that "all men are created equal" but that "all men *and women* are created equal." Like the original Declaration, this one listed demands. Instead of colonial grievances against King George, however, these were the grievances of women against a patriarchal, male-dominated world.

In the eyes of the law, charged the Declaration, married women were "civilly dead," without the right to own property, keep their own wages, or be tried for crimes. Legally, marriage itself resembled slavery. As masters, husbands had the right to punish their wives and keep control of their children in case of divorce. Single women could own property and pay taxes but had no voice in determining how their taxes would be spent. Men dominated work, education, and religion, too, either excluding women entirely or keeping them subordinate. Men maintained a double moral standard. They also asserted their right to define women's place in the world, when that right

"belongs to her conscience and her God." And they tried, in every way they knew how, "to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependant [sic] and abject life." Such a list was compelling, indeed, and the audience supported it with hardly a dissenting voice.

Not so with another major set of grievances, however. Stanton had prepared these herself. She asked the convention to endorse not only "social, civil, and religious rights and duties," as the original invitation had explained, but also political rights for women, too. Specifically, she asked for women's right to vote. Men, she charged, have never permitted women to exercise their "inalienable right to the elective franchise." Many people in the audience were Quakers and radical abolitionists, who had withdrawn from political participation as a matter of conscience. Why, they wondered, should they endorse political participation for women when they themselves believed that God's will, not any human government, should determine their actions?

Nevertheless, when the convention adjourned, one hundred people (sixty-eight women and thirty-two men) had signed the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments, all of it, including the demand for women's right to vote. Most of the signers were relatively unknown citizens from Seneca Falls or the neighboring community of Waterloo. Two of them, however, were nationally-known reformers. Lucretia Mott, peace activist, anti-slavery organizer, and Quaker minister from Philadelphia came to Seneca Falls from her travels to Auburn prison, to fugitive slave settlements in Canada, and to Seneca Indians in western New York. Frederick Douglass, born into slavery in Maryland, had escaped the South only a decade before and had made his career as an eloquent abolitionist orator and editor of the North Star in Rochester, New York.

These one hundred people--Douglass, Mott, and Stanton included--created a nationwide debate about women's rights and made the Seneca Falls convention a major public event in its own time. The Declaration of Sentiments generated intense newspaper debate through the country. Most editors opposed it. The New York Evening Post reported incredulously that "the convention had seriously resolved that all men and women are created equal!" "The change is impracticable, uncalled for, and unnecessary," intoned the editor of the Mechanic's Advocate. "It would prove a monstrous injury to all mankind." Other papers endorsed the Declaration, however. "Railroad speed" to this new reform, urged one editor from Herkimer County, New York.¹

Even in our own time, the Declaration of Sentiments startles us with its clarity and contemporary relevance. Almost 150 years later, we still debate most of the same issues. Of the major demands presented at Seneca Falls, Americans have fully implemented only one--women's right to vote (guaranteed by the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, approved in 1920). In the late twentieth century, the country still struggles with questions of equality in jobs, marriage, education, politics, religion, and the law. Women still confront a double standard of sexual behavior. And they still face attacks on personal respect and personal autonomy. Recognizing the significance of the Seneca Falls convention for Americans in the late twentieth century, the National Standards for the Teaching of History (1994) mentioned Seneca Falls six times.²

How did Elizabeth Cady Stanton, daughter of a very conservative upstate New York family, find herself in the company of such radical reformers as Frederick Douglass and Lucretia Mott? How did she come to defend a

¹reprinted in History of Woman Suffrage, I, 803.

²Lynn Cheney, Wall Street Journal, citing National Standards for the Teaching of History (1994).

Declaration of Sentiments that everyone agreed was "of the kind called radical" and that Stanton, never modest about her achievements, would call the beginning of "a rebellion such as the world had never before seen, the greatest movement for human liberty recorded on the pages of history--a demand for freedom to one-half the entire [human] race."³ To answer this question is to recognize a paradox. Although the Seneca Falls convention was a highly visible public event, we can understand its origins only in the context of very personal developments in Elizabeth Cady Stanton's own life. For Stanton, the private was inextricably intertwined with the public, the personal with the political.

From her early teenage years until her marriage at twenty-five, Stanton lived surrounded by a large and dynamic family. Key personal relationships from her childhood and through her early years of marriage--especially with her father, her cousin Gerrit Smith, her husband, Henry B. Stanton, and her friend, Lucretia Mott--brought her into contact with reform movements in the larger world. At the Seneca Falls convention, Stanton would act as a catalyst, bringing together people from three major reform networks--legal reform, political abolitionism, and perfectionist abolitionism--to support the emerging movement for women's rights.⁴

Imagine that Stanton's life is a video, an imperfect movie to be sure. Most of its parts are lost in time. Enough of this tape remains, however, for us to see key scenes. Each of these illustrates the intricate interweaving of Stanton's personal relationships as daughter, cousin, wife, and friend with political issues in the larger world.

³Nathan Milliken, editorial in the Seneca County Courier; Stanton, History of Women Suffrage, I, 68.

⁴Elisabeth Griffiths, In Her Own Right, emphasizes the importance of key people in Stanton's life as

Act I: Home

Scene one: August 1826. We see a darkened room (an old-fashioned parlor), with picture frames and mirrors (for this family was wealthy enough to afford such things) draped in white, a sign of mourning. Dominating the room is a casket, also draped in white. Inside the casket is the body of a young man, twenty-one?-year-old Eleazer Cady, who has just come home, newly graduated from Union College, to die. Eleazer's parents, Daniel Cady and Margaret Livingston Cady have already given up their other sons--three in all--to death. And now Eleazer, too, is gone. Although they still have five daughters, the loss of Eleazer has left his parents devastated. Daniel Cady sits, immobile, beside Eleazer's body. His middle daughter, eleven-year-old Elizabeth, quietly enters the room and stands for a long time at her father's side. He does not notice her. Finally, she climbs on to his knee. Mechanically, he puts his arm around her. They sit in silence for a long time. Finally, sighing, Daniel Cady speaks. He has no words to comfort them both in their loss. Instead, he says, "Oh, my daughter," he said, "I wish you were a boy!"⁵

Scene Two: Daniel Cady's law office, attached to their home, late 1820s. Elizabeth is thirteen to fifteen years old. A series of vignettes.

1) Elizabeth Cady has just heard Flora Campbell, a Scotch Irish woman from a nearby farm, sobbing in Daniel Cady's office. Her husband has died, she said. Her farm has gone to her son, who has sold it out from under her. How is she to live? What is she to do? Do the best you can, Mrs. Campbell, Daniel Cady counsels and I will see that you and your children are never in want.

⁵Eighty Years, 20.

2) *It is Christmas morning. Elizabeth Cady enters her father's law office to show off her new presents to her father's law students. This Christmas, Elizabeth is especially pleased with her new coral necklace and bracelets. One of the young men sees a chance to tease Elizabeth. "If in due time you should be my wife," he declares "those ornaments would be mine. I could lock them up, and you could never wear them except with my permission. I could even exchange them for a box of cigars, and you could watch them evaporate in smoke."*

3) *It is evening. Daniel Cady sits in his office, alone with his daughter. Flora Campbell, ever loyal to Daniel Cady, has told him about his daughter's plan. Elizabeth, tired of "odious laws" that fail to protect either Flora Campbell or herself from male control, has decided to take direct action. In pencil, she has marked passages that she finds particularly offensive, and she intends to cut them out of her father's law books and get rid of them forever. Daniel Cady, without revealing that he knows about this plan, explains to his daughter that there are hundreds and thousands of law books throughout New York State. If she wants to change the laws, he tells her, she must wait until she grows up. Then she can go to Albany and ask the legislators to make a change.*

Strongly bonded to her father, Elizabeth Cady learned three lessons from him. First, only one attribute kept her from being perfect in her father's eyes: she was a girl, not a boy. Young Elizabeth tried her best to be like the boys she knew. What do boys do that girls do not? she asked herself. They read Greek and they ride horses, she decided, and that is exactly what she learned to do. She even brought home a prize in Greek, proud to show it to her father. His response? "If only you had been a boy!"

Second, being a girl was a defect not only in her father's eyes but also in terms of the law. Americans based much of their own law on British common law, as codified by William Blackstone. According to Blackstone, when a man and woman

married, they became as one, and that one was the husband. Married women were legal nonentities. Legally, they simply did not exist. They could not sue or be sued, and they certainly could not own property. Wealthy and legally sophisticated parents had sometimes managed to give property to married daughters through special trust provisions, enforced through equity courts. In 1827, however, New York State abolished equity courts, and parents could no longer securely protect property for their married daughters. Even Elizabeth Cady's new coral jewelry would not belong to her if she married.

And, finally, in spite of her gender, Daniel Cady deeply loved his daughter. She learned from him that she was intelligent, gifted, and worthy of respect. Along with frustration for being born the "wrong" sex, she also found empowerment as Daniel Cady's daughter. He had advised her to go to Albany to change the laws. When she grew up, she would do exactly that.

Act II: Peterboro

Scene One: *The Home of Gerrit Smith and Ann Fitzhugh Smith. A large white house, at one end of the village green in Peterboro, New York. The size and location of the house, together with a columned porch across the front, indicate the wealth of its owners. They do not, however, reveal the commitment to equality, simplicity, and respect for all people that Gerrit and Ann Smith have placed at the center of their lives. Here, Elizabeth Cady will find a second home. Here she will meet the man who will be her husband, and here she will discover a whole new world of egalitarian reform. Most importantly, she discovers abolitionism. Intertwined with her new political sensibilities are new personal relationships, especially with Henry B. Stanton, an abolitionist lecturer who will become her husband.*

1) *Imagine a large dining room. The furnishings are plain. Seated around the center table, and perhaps around smaller tables at the edges of the room, is a motley group of people. One visitor lists them:*

an Irish Catholic priest, a Hicksite Quakeress minister, a Calvinistic Presbyterian deacon of the Jonathan Edwards school, two abolition lecturers, a seventh-day Baptist, a shouting Methodist, a Whig pro-slavery member of Congress, a Democratic official of the 'Sam Young school,' a southern ex-slave holder and a runaway slave, Lewis Washington by name, also his wife, one or more relatives, and 'Aunt Betsy' Kelty. And he [Gerrit Smith] managed them all. Not one was neglected. He did the honors of the table, carving his meat like a gentleman bred, and to the manner [sic] born; conversing with each in such a sweet way as to disarm all criticism, and making everyone feel that, if he could be other than himself, he would rather be Gerrit Smith than any other living man.⁶

2) 1839: Gerrit Smith calls Elizabeth and her friends from the parlor to a large room on the third floor of the Smith mansion. There sits a young woman, Harriet Powell. She is almost white in complexion, and she wears a printed poplin dress, earrings, and three gold rings. Yet she has just escaped from slavery. Sold in the New Orleans slave market when she was fourteen, she worked as a ladies' maid for a Mississippi family. Although Elizabeth Cady grew up with enslaved people in the Cady household (for a time (the slave Peter was her closest adult friend), Harriet Powell is probably the first escaped slave she has ever seen. Elizabeth is becoming aware, as she has never been before, of slavery's challenge to American democracy.

3) October 1839: Elizabeth Cady, now twenty-five years old, turns her considerable charm on an anti-slavery lecturer ten years older than herself. Henry

⁶Gerrit Smith to Elizur Wright, April 20, 1840, Smith Papers, Syracuse University; Octavius Brooks Frothingham, Gerrit Smith, 140-143. [Check]

Brewster Stanton is a key staff person for the American Anti-Slavery Society and one of the most dynamic abolitionist orators in the U.S. He has come to Peterboro to give a series of anti-slavery lectures. Elizabeth finds herself enthralled, both with Henry's lectures and with Henry himself. Her political awakening to abolitionism is interwoven with her personal awakening to sexuality and love. "It seemed to me that I never had so much happiness crowded into one month," she recalled. "I had become interested in the anti-slavery and temperance questions. . . .I felt a new inspiration in life and was enthused with new ideas of individual rights and the basic principles of government, for the anti-slavery platform was the best school the American people ever had on which to learn republican principles and ethics." But the orator as well as the oratory inspires her. On bright October days, she takes horseback rides around Peterboro with Henry. She walks and talks with him on "bewitching moonlight nights", as well. Returning home on horseback after a long ride, Henry puts his hand on the horn of Elizabeth's saddle and asks her to marry him. She listens with "pleasure and astonishment," and she accepts.⁷

Elizabeth Cady's world expanded in her late teens and early twenties to include visits to her grandmother's house, east of Albany, New York; attendance at Emma Willard's Academy in Troy, New York, the best girls' school in the country; and a trip to Niagara Falls with her father and brother-in-law in 1831. She also made frequent visits to the home of her cousin and his wife, Gerrit and Ann Smith, in Peterboro, New York.

By all measures, the Smiths were wealthy. From his father, Gerrit Smith had inherited enormous tracts of land in central New York, land that once belonged to the Oneida Indians. Smith had augmented his inheritance with strategic investments elsewhere, most importantly in Oswego, New York. Gerrit Smith's wife, Ann Carol

⁷*Eighty Years*, 58-60.

Fitzhugh Smith, came from a slave-holding family in Maryland. Their marriage thus joined two wealthy families, one from the North, one from the South.

One might expect that such wealth, with southern connections added to it, would lead the Smiths to hold very conservative political ideas. Not so. Both Gerrit and Ann put spiritual values at the center of their lives. As they tried to live out their ideals of Christian love, they developed a very inclusive, egalitarian, and radical vision of the world, a vision that would lead them to work for temperance, abolitionism, and women's rights, and that would eventually lead Gerrit to give away much of his land.

At Gerrit and Ann Smith's house, Elizabeth discovered a whole new world. The Smiths offered her a model of congruity between personal values and political commitment. Every aspect of their lives reflected their beliefs in equality, simplicity, and the centrality of spiritual concerns. They used their home as a base for welcoming all kinds of people and for asserting the essential equality of each person. In such an atmosphere, Elizabeth Cady blossomed, mixing personal growth with a new level of political awareness.

So far, with the exception of her mother, Stanton's most important role models had all been men--her father, her cousin, and her husband-to-be. She measured herself against them and was pleased with what she saw. Whether in Greek language skills, riding horses, legal and philosophical debate, or witty parlor repartee, she knew she could hold her own in any company. She had more intelligence, enthusiasm, and drive for achievement than most men she knew. She thought that she was entitled to define herself in the world just as they did. Only one problem prevented her. She was female. Such personal affirmation by the most important men in her life helped turn the young Elizabeth Cady into one of the most important women's rights advocates in

American history. In the decade of the 1840s, she would find her own voice, and the country would never be the same.

Act III: From Home Into the World

After an on-again, off-again courtship, Elizabeth and Henry married in the parlor of her parents' home in Johnston on May 10, 1840. Afterwards, they left for their honeymoon. Today, most young married couples view their honeymoon as an extremely private event. They go somewhere to get away from other people. In the nineteenth century, newlyweds might have gone to visit family or friends. They might even have visited Niagara Falls. But not the Stantons. They went to London, to the World Anti-Slavery Convention. Like most couples, the Stantons used their honeymoon to solidify their connection to each other and to their families and friends. But, unlike most couples, their personal relationships intersected with a major public event. The World Anti-Slavery Convention crystallized Elizabeth's commitment to women's rights. It transformed her own personal proto-feminist rebellion into a public campaign for the rights of women everywhere. And it led her, eight years later, to the Seneca Falls women's rights convention.

Scene One: *London, Freemasons' Hall, June 12, 1840. Sitting in a "low curtained seat like a church choir," Elizabeth Cady Stanton listens for the whole first day of the convention to an impassioned debate, not over slavery, but over the right of women delegates to take their seats on the convention floor. So boisterous is the controversy--full of shouts of "order, order," "divide, divide," "No, no no, no no," "Vote, vote, vote," and "Chair, chair," notes one observer--that visitors can hardly tell what is happening. At the end of the*

day, however, the convention votes by a large majority not to admit the women.⁸

Elizabeth Cady Stanton is "humiliated," "chagrined," and contemptuous of the "shallow reasoning" and "all-sustaining conceit" of those who oppose women's rights. And she is not alone. By excluding women from the convention floor, opponents of women's equality unwittingly have done the nascent women's rights movement an enormous favor. For as the women sit together, eat together, and walk together through the streets of London, they talk of little else but the convention. "It is about time some demand was made for new liberties for women," they decide.⁹

Most important for Elizabeth Cady Stanton is her meeting with one of those excluded delegates, Lucretia Mott. Mott is a Quaker from Philadelphia, a noted public speaker, and one of the best-known American abolitionists at the convention. Mott's views on the equality of women and men open up a whole new vision for Stanton. Mott, she thinks, is a "peerless woman," with a "clear head and a warm heart." Although Stanton finds some of Mott's views to be "new and strange," she loves Mott herself and finds "great delight in her company." On her part, Mott, too, is impressed. Stanton is a "bright, open, lovely" young woman, Mott confides to a friend. "I love her now as one belonging to us." In later years, Stanton would credit Mott with a major change in her own life. She "opened to me a new world of thought," Stanton recalled, and "I embraced every opportunity to talk with her."¹⁰

⁸Eighty Years, 78-83; Maria Waring, Letter to members of the Webb family, [June 1840], in Clare Taylor, comp., British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding (Edinburgh, 1974), 96. [Check]

⁹Eighty Years, 80, 82.

¹⁰ECS to Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, June 25, 1840; Eighty Years, 83.

*What they talk about, of course, was women's rights. After the first day of the convention, Stanton recalled, she and Mrs. Mott walk home, "arm in arm." As soon as they go back to America, they decide, they will hold a convention and form a society solely to promote the rights of women.*¹¹

Interrupted by Stanton's babies and Mott's spiritual responsibilities, they waited eight years to fulfill that pledge. The result would be the Seneca Falls women's rights convention.

What Stanton had stumbled into, by virtue of her marriage to Henry B., was a rift so deep that it split both American and British abolitionists into two very hostile camps. One side, represented by Lucretia Mott herself and William Lloyd Garrison, controversial editor of the Boston-based Liberator, believed that abolitionists should stay entirely away from the existing political system. God's will alone should govern their actions. Garrison began to advocate a policy of "no human government." These perfectionist abolitionists--Garrisonians and Quakers alike--welcomed women into their ranks. Whether abolitionists were voters or non-voters, men or women mattered little to these radicals, since they eschewed established political influence in favor of agitation and non-violent resistance.

The other side, represented by Henry B. Stanton and the organizers of the new Liberty Party, believed that abolitionists who refrained from voting played directly into the hands of southern politicians and their sympathizers. Since pro-slavery politicians always controlled Congress (and usually the Presidency, too), the nation was doomed to remain half slave and half free unless abolitionists could challenge the politicians on their own ground.

This political split assumed very personal dimensions within the Stantons' marriage. Superficially, Henry and Elizabeth appeared to be on

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opposite sides. Henry supported political abolitionism. Elizabeth's sympathies were all with the Garrisonian-Quaker group, because they supported women's rights. And she made no attempt to hide her opinions. "I do in truth think & act for myself knowing that I alone am responsible for the saying & doings of E.C.S." she wrote to a friend in 1841.¹² Quote:

Yet superficial differences concealed a more complex reality. Henry supported women's rights as well as political abolitionism. On the floor of the London convention, for example, he made an impassioned speech supporting the right of women delegates to be seated. For her part, Elizabeth came to recognize the pragmatic value of voting as a way to promote social change. By 1843, she had clarified her own position as a bridge between the two political abolitionists and perfectionists. There is "a sort of connecting link between the two grand divisions composed of those who have strong sympathies with both. . . .I am one of this party," she wrote to a British friend. On the one hand, she admired Garrison tremendously. On the other hand, she "was not yet fully converted to the doctrine of no human government." "I am in favour, therefore," she concluded "of political action." It gives "a reality to antislavery principles which 'no voting' . . . cannot boast." Henry and Elizabeth incorporated their intellectual differences into their marriage. As a result, they each developed a more sophisticated world-view.¹³

Elizabeth and Henry lived first with her parents in Johnstown. Then, from 1843 to 1847, she divided her time between summers with Henry in Boston, Massachusetts, and winters with her parents in Albany. In each place, she gained invigorating reform experience, in Boston with abolitionists and in Albany with legal reformers. By the time she moved to Seneca Falls in 1847,

¹²Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Elizabeth Neall, November 26, [1841], Sidney Howard Gay Papers, Columbia University.

¹³Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Elizabeth Pease, February 12, 1842.

her period of education and incubation would be over. In these years, she solidified an intellectual and philosophical world-view (including a sophisticated melding of key ideas from both political abolitionism and the Garrisonian-Quaker branch) that would sustain her for the rest of her life, and she made her first small efforts at direct political action. Only brief glimpses remain, here and there, of Elizabeth's developing sense of self and society in the early 1840s. But these glimpses suggest a woman who was gaining increasing confidence in herself and a growing commitment to her emerging mission for women's rights.

While they lived in Johnstown, Henry studied law with Daniel Cady and Elizabeth read, wrote letters, held a Sunday School for African American children, attended temperance and anti-slavery meetings, and enjoyed the comfort of her parents' home. There she bore her first child, a son named Daniel, after her father. Two more sons would be born to them in the 1840s, Henry in 1842 and Gerrit in 1845. She also visited her older sister and brother-in-law, Tryphena and Edward Bayard, in Seneca Falls. And in Seneca Falls, she gave her first public speech.

Scene II: A temperance meeting in Seneca Falls, in the fall of 1841.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton is speaking with passion to an audience of about one hundred women committed to ending the sale of alcoholic drinks in their town. So powerful is her plea that both she and her audience find themselves in tears. She incorporates into her speech "a homoeopathic dose of woman's rights."¹⁴

When the Stantons moved to Boston in 1843, Elizabeth began a period of intense exposure to spiritual and reform ideas that would leave her with a new

¹⁴ECS to Elizabeth Neal, November 26, [1841], Sydney Howard Gay Papers, Columbia University.

sense of mission. There she visited William Lloyd Garrison himself. There she met American intellectuals such as Bronson Alcott (father of the now more famous Louisa May Alcott), Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Nathaniel Hawthorne. There she heard the sermons of the renowned minister, Theodore Parker. She was so impressed with his liberal, optimistic vision of Christian teachings that she attended his whole series of sermons twice.

And there she also met, for the first time, Frederick Douglass.

Scene III: *A Boston street., about 1842 or 1843. Two people--Frederick Douglass and Elizabeth Cady Stanton--are walking home from a social gathering with Quaker friends. Superficially, these two seem to have little in common. One is black and one white, one male and one female, one poor and one relatively well-to-do, one self-educated and one a product of the best education available to females. Yet they share a common passion for equality and respect for all people. Douglass, escaped from slavery only a few years before, now works as an abolitionist lecturer. His eloquent attacks on slavery, from one who experienced it first-hand, amazes and astounds his hearers. Stanton is just beginning to find her own voice, to apply what she has learned from the abolitionist movement to another group of Americans--women. And she turns her own considerable eloquence on Douglass, to convince him that, like African American males, women of whatever race have a right to a political voice in the United States. Douglass responds to her arguments with pleas that "custom," the "natural division of duties," the "indelicacy of woman's taking part in politics," and the idea of "woman's sphere" all justify the exclusion of women from public life. Stanton meets his objections with compelling logic of her own. A republican government can function well only when it is based on the wisdom, morality and intelligence of its people, she argues. What logical person would exclude half the population--and some*

would argue the most moral half--from a political voice? None! Douglass agrees. His own recent experience with "the lash and sting of bondage at the South, and the intense bitterness of the popular prejudice against color at the North," echo in his mind. Why should prejudice against women be any more acceptable than prejudice against people of color?

For the rest of his life, Douglass would be a "woman's rights man." When he started his newspaper, the North Star, in 1847, its masthead would read "Right is of No Sex." And years later he would maintain that "I would give woman a vote. . .precisely as I insisted upon giving the colored man the right to vote. . .I have never yet been able to find one consideration, one argument, or suggestion in favor of man's right to participate in civil government which did not equally apply to the right of woman."¹⁵

During the winters, the Cadys stayed in Albany, and there Elizabeth gained her first experience as a lobbyist. The issue? The right of married women to own property. Since 1836, the New York State legislature had debated a proposed Married Woman's Property Act. Wealthy parents who wanted to give property to their daughters, safe from profligate sons-in-law, supported the Married Women's Property Act. So did sympathizers of women's rights.

Many people feared, however, that giving married women the right to own property would lead directly to women's equality in other areas, too, especially to political equality. At the time of the American Revolution, many Americans believed that political participation itself, including voting, should

¹⁵Frederick Douglass, "Why I Became a 'Woman's Rights Man,'" in Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (Hartford, Conn., 1881), 473-82; "The Woman's Suffrage Movement," Address Before Woman Suffrage Association, April 1888, The Woman's Journal, April 14, 1888; Frederick Douglass to the Editor of the New Era, October 22, 1885. All of these are reprinted in Philip Foner, ed., Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights, 105-107, 109-115, 163.