



ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT



WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Cover: Wesleyan Chapel, Women's Rights National Historical Park
(Courtesy of National Park Service)

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WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

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Executive Summary

The National Park Service (NPS) contracted with Historical Research Associates, Inc., (HRA) to conduct an ethnographic overview and assessment for Women's Rights National Historical Park (NHP). The park interprets the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights convention and consists of a visitor center, the remains of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel where the convention took place, and the houses of several participants in the convention and other reform activities of the time. HRA performed the research for this study in 2006 and 2007. The groups we examined and the findings we reached are as follows:

Native Americans: The groups indigenous to the Seneca Falls/Waterloo area—the Seneca and Cayuga tribes specifically, and the Iroquois or Haudenosaunee more broadly—have maintained distinct cultural identities. Their ethnic identities are not tied to or sustained by the park or its resources, although other places in the region may be culturally significant to them. While they do not have traditional associations with park resources, some Native Americans are forming new connections based on a growing perception that Iroquois gender roles influenced participants in the 1848 convention.

African Americans: African Americans are connected historically to Women's Rights NHP in a number of ways. They were residents of the Seneca Falls/Waterloo area, first as slaves and then as freed persons. Residents of some of the park-owned houses and participants in the 1848 convention assisted escaping slaves through the Underground Railroad and advocated abolition. And a notable African American, Frederick Douglass, participated in the convention and signed the Declaration of Sentiments. African Americans are almost absent from the immediate Seneca Falls/Waterloo area at present, and no African American groups from local communities or the region, as far away as Rochester, were found to have ongoing associations with the park. There are influential individuals who consider the park and its resources important, though, and seek to promote better understanding of the history that the park interprets. Their attachments are described in this report.

Religious Groups: The Quakers, Wesleyan Methodists, Unitarians/Universalists, and AME Zion congregations have important ties to the abolitionist and women's rights history that the park resources represent. Park resources are not essential to any of these denominations, as a coherent group, for exercise of their religious beliefs or identities. There are a number of individuals, however, most notably from the Farmington and Poplar Ridge Quaker meetings, and associated with Unitarian churches in Rochester and Auburn, who feel connected to the park through their denomination's role in 1840s reform movements. Some of these individuals, particularly pastors, have encouraged their fellow congregants to learn more about the 1848 Women's Rights Convention by visiting the park. In effect, they treat the park as a touchstone of their denomination's virtues and unique history, but it is not the only resource that serves this purpose for these groups.

Convention Descendants: Some descendants have maintained family-based knowledge of their ancestors' involvement in the 1848 Women's Rights convention, while others have rediscovered their families' historical ties through the park's outreach efforts and research initiatives. Individual descendants feel varying degrees of attachment to the park's resources.

Park Neighbors: Park neighbors as a category of people is composed of a number of various individuals, ethnic groups, and more formal organizations. Often park neighbors feel affiliated to

more than one grouping of people or hold memberships in various organizations. Thus every individual's allegiances are as complex and unique as the individual herself. Park neighbors do not constitute a group with cohesive cultural practices or associations related to the resources the park manages or the history it interprets. However, many individuals and more organized groups of park neighbors have sustained associations with the park's resources, for a wide variety of reasons and for varying lengths of duration. Irish and Italians comprise two of the most visible ethnic groups populating the area around the park. While one or more participants in the 1848 convention may have been Irish, the convention predates the bulk of Irish immigration and all Italian immigration to the area. Any attachment of Irish Americans or Italian Americans to the park and its resources is based on the importance of 1848 convention anniversaries and the park itself to the life of Seneca Falls.

Local organizations such as the Seneca Falls Historical Society (SFHS), extant for over 110 years, and the National Women's Hall of Fame, founded in 1969, however, feel a strong sense of attachment both to the park's resources and to the history the park interprets. Other organizations with ties to the park's resources are the Seneca Museum of Waterways and Industry, which is loosely affiliated with the SFHS, and in Waterloo, the Waterloo Library and Historical Society (founded in 1830) and associated Terwilliger Museum and National Memorial Day Museum.

Women's Historians and Feminist Groups: Seneca Falls as a place plays an important role in the narrative that women's historians teach in American women's history classes, and women's historians played key roles in the founding of Women's Rights NHP. More than any other group assessed for this study, women's historians consider the park and its resources central to their identities, both as feminists and as educators. Women's historians interviewed for this study reported feeling both a kinship with the 1848 convention organizers and attendees and a sense that the town of Seneca Falls is a kind of "Mecca" for women's historians. Not only do women's historians teach students about the historical significance of the 1848 Convention but they also visit the park individually and as part of larger groups (such as during conferences) and organize, participate in, and attend key events held at or in conjunction with the park. Similarly, various local, regional, and national feminist organizations and self-identified feminists feel a special connection to the park's resources and the history it interprets.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	i
Table of Contents	iii
List of Appendices	vi
List of Figures	vi
List of Tables	vii
Introduction	ix
Background	ix
Methodology and Fieldwork	x
Documentary Research	x
Interviews and Participant Observation	xi
Park Resources	xiv
M'Clintock House	xiv
Hunt House	xv
Village Hall	xv
Wesleyan Chapel	xv
Chamberlain House	xvii
Elizabeth Cady Stanton House	xvii
Organization of Report	xviii
Chapter 1: Native Americans	1
Introduction and Interview Methodology	1
The Iroquois Confederacy	3
Iroquois Gender Roles	4
The Iroquois Land Base	6
Quaker Interactions with the Seneca	11
Connections between the Iroquois and the Women's Rights Movement	14
Historical Connections	14
Contemporary Connections	17
Findings	19
Chapter 2: African Americans and Women's Rights NHP	20
Introduction and Methodology	20
Defining the Terms Black and African American	21
Interview Methodology	22
Nineteenth-Century African Americans in Seneca Falls and Waterloo	23
Historical African American Connections to Women's Rights NHP	25
M'Clintock House, 16 East Williams Street, Waterloo	26
Hunt House, 401 E. Main Street, Waterloo	27
Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls	28
Wesleyan Chapel, Corner of Fall and Mynderse Streets, Seneca Falls	29
Race and the Women's Rights Movement	30
Mary Church Terrell and Black Support of Women's Right to Vote	32
Race and Twentieth-Century Commemorations of the 1848 Convention	35

Contemporary Associations among Blacks in Rochester and Geneva to Women's Rights NHP.....	37
Rochester	37
Geneva	40
Contemporary Associations among Members of the AME Zion Church to Women's Rights NHP	42
African Americans in Auburn, Harriet Tubman House, and AME Zion Church of Auburn.....	45
African Americans in Twentieth-Century Waterloo and Seneca Falls	46
Findings.....	47
Chapter 3: Quakers	49
Introduction and Methodology.....	49
Defining Quaker Terms	49
Interview Methodology.....	51
Quakers and the Roots of Reform in Upstate New York.....	51
Hicksite versus Orthodox.....	54
Quakers Divide over Abolitionism	55
Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends	57
Declining Quaker Adherence over the Nineteenth Century in Western New York	62
Quakers in the Twentieth Century	64
Contemporary Quaker Associations with Women's Rights NHP	65
Contemporary Quaker Meetings in Upstate New York.....	65
Farmington Friends.....	68
Poplar Ridge Friends	70
Convinced Friends.....	71
Findings.....	72
Chapter 4: Unitarian Universalists and Wesleyans	74
Introduction and Methodology.....	74
Defining Unitarianism, Universalism, and Wesleyan Methodism	74
Interview Methodology.....	75
Unitarianism, Universalism, and the Roots of Religious and Social Reform	76
Unitarianism and Universalist Reformers in the Burned-Over District.....	79
Unitarian and Universalist Support for Women's Rights after 1848.....	85
Unitarianism and Universalism in the Twentieth Century.....	87
Wesleyan Methodism.....	87
Wesleyan Reformers in the Burned-Over District.....	87
Wesleyan Methodism after the Civil War and into the Twentieth Century.....	89
Contemporary Unitarian Universalist and Wesleyan Associations with Women's Rights NHP	89
Unitarian Universalists	89
Wesleyans	92
Findings.....	94
Chapter 5: Descendants of Participants in the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention	97
Introduction and Methodology.....	97
Defining Descendants	97
Interview Methodology.....	97

Stanton Family	98
Hunt / M'Clintock Family.....	101
Douglass Family	105
Frederick Douglass Home in Anacostia	109
Mott / Wright Family	109
Post Family	114
Wilbur Family	116
Chamberlain / Seymour Family	116
Findings.....	117
Chapter 6: Park Neighbors	119
Introduction and Methodology.....	119
Interview Methodology.....	119
Irish Americans in Seneca Falls.....	121
Early Immigration and Settlement	121
Irish American Participation in the 1848 Women's Rights Convention.....	123
Irish American Participation in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Social Reform Movements	124
Contemporary Irish American Connections to the Park	126
Italian Americans in Seneca Falls	127
Early Immigration and Settlement.....	127
Italian American Culture	129
Italian American Participation in Women's Rights Convention Commemorations and with Women's Rights NHP	131
Local Historians and Historical Organizations	132
Contemporary Park Neighbor Associations with Women's Rights NHP	133
M'Clintock and Hunt Houses.....	134
Wesleyan Chapel Block.....	135
Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Chamberlain Houses.....	137
Findings.....	138
Chapter 7: Women's Historians, Feminist Scholars, and Feminists	139
Introduction and Methodology.....	139
Defining Women's Historians and Feminists.....	139
Interview Methodology.....	141
Women's Historians and Feminist Activists' Involvement in Promoting the Park's Creation	141
U.S. Women's History and Historiography	141
Women's Historians Come to Seneca Falls: 1960s and 1970s	142
Women's Historians and the Evolution of the Women's Rights NHP	145
Contemporary Associations of Feminists and Historians to the Women's Rights NHP	146
Greater Rochester NOW and other NOW Chapters.....	147
Friends of Women's Rights	148
National Women's Hall of Fame	148
Quaker Feminist Scholars	149

Lesbians	149
Findings.....	150
Chapter 8: Recommendations	152
Native Americans.....	152
African Americans	153
Religious Groups:	154
Descendants	154
Park Neighbors.....	155
References Cited.....	156
Primary Source Collections	156
Other Materials	156

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Women's Rights National Historical Park Research Plan, Work Plan, and Outline
Appendix B: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Women's Rights National Historical Park Interview Plan
Appendix C: Interview List

List of Figures

Figure 1. Territories of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Five Nations) in 1720.	2
Figure 2. Present-day Iroquois reservation lands	8
Figure 3. "Let's Have Tea." Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass statue, by Pepsy M. Kettavong, Madison Park, Rochester, N.Y.	38
Figure 4. Susan B. Anthony gravestone, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y.	39
Figure 5. Frederick Douglass gravestone, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y.	39
Figure 6. AME Zion Minister and Bishop, Jermain Wesley Loguen.	43
Figure 7. Former Memorial AME Zion Church, constructed 1907, Favor Street, Rochester, N.Y.	44
Figure 8. "Failure is Impossible," Susan B. Anthony stained-glass window, Memorial AME Zion Church, Rochester, N.Y.	45
Figure 9. 1847 Quaker Meetings near Seneca Falls/Waterloo.....	58
Figure 10. Rhoda J. Palmer, gravestone, Junius Meeting Cemetery, Waterloo, N.Y.	65
Figure 11. Contemporary Quaker Meetings within a 60-mile radius of Seneca Falls/Waterloo	66
Figure 12. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse	68
Figure 13. Fergus Bordewich, author of <i>Bound for Canaan</i> , with Helen Kirker, Coordinator of Park Volunteers for Friends Finger Lakes Chapter, July 28, 2007, Women's Rights National Historical Park.....	69

Figure 14. Friends Church, Poplar Ridge, N.Y. [c. 1949]?	70
Figure 15. Map of Unitarian Universalist and Wesleyan Methodist locations in Western New York, Rochester, and Seneca Falls	80
Figure 16. Unitarian Minister, Samuel J. May	81
Figure 17. Hester C. Jeffrey, d. 1934.	83
Figure 18. First Unitarian Church, Rochester, first location, 1870s (?)	84
Figure 19. Wesleyan Methodist Church, Cadastral Wall Map of Seneca Falls, 1856.	88
Figure 20. Reverend Dorothy May Emerson, Rainbow Solutions.	90
Figure 21. Harriot Stanton Blatch, between 1905 and 1917.	99
Figure 22. Carol Hunt Hauf, Barbara Hunt Knight, and Peggy Hunt Van Kirk, Seneca Falls, N.Y., October 8, 2007.	103
Figure 23. Anna Murray Douglass.	106
Figure 24. Nettie Washington Douglass.	107
Figure 25. Douglass-Washington genealogy.	108
Figure 26. Lucretia Mott, c. 1860-1880.	110
Figure 27. Portrait of Anna Lord Strauss, c. 1945.	111
Figure 28. Martha Coffin Pelham Wright, ca. 1870.	112
Figure 29. Frederik "Erik" Osborne, Martha Coffin Wright descendant, "Willow Point," Auburn, N.Y., September 13, 2007.	113
Figure 30. Location map for areas addressed in this chapter	120
Figure 31. St. Patrick's Catholic Church, Seneca Falls, N.Y.	123
Figure 32. Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, Brackney, Pennsylvania.	147

List of Tables

Table 1. African Americans as a Percentage of Population, 2000/2005	20
Table 2. African American Population of Seneca County, New York, 1810-1960	23
Table 3. New York Yearly Meetings at the time of the Hicksite Split, 1828	53
Table 4. 1840s Quaker Meetings near Seneca Falls/Waterloo	59
Table 5. Quaker Meetings within 60-mile Radius of Seneca Falls, 2008	67
Table 6. Foreign-born Population and Native-born of Foreign Parentage of Seneca County, New York, 1830-1960	122

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Introduction

Background

In September 2006, the National Park Service (NPS) hired Historical Research Associates, Inc. (HRA), to complete an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Women's Rights National Historical Park (NHP) in Seneca Falls, New York. The goals of this project, as outlined in the Statement of Work, were (1) to use the ethnographic method to delineate, research, and explicate the relationships to the park of various cultural groups; and (2) to gather and analyze data about culturally specific uses of cultural and natural resources within the present park boundaries. As part of its General Management Plan revision process, Women's Rights NHP coordinated this ethnographic overview and assessment through the regional offices of the Ethnography Program, which contracts with ethnographers who carry out the research. The ethnographic overview and assessment identifies cultural groups, discovers what is known about them, points to gaps in existing knowledge, and fills at least some of those gaps through new archival research and interviewing.

NPS-28, the Park Service's *Cultural Resources Management Guidelines* notes that the ethnographic overview and assessment should focus on "review and analysis of accessible archival and documentary data on park ethnographic resources and the groups who traditionally define such cultural and natural features as significant to their ethnic heritage and cultural viability. Limited interviews and discussions occur with the traditionally associated people in order to supplement and assess the documentary evidence and identify gaps in the available data."¹ Additionally, "the overview reviews and summarizes existing ethnographic data for people and resources associated with parks; the assessment evaluates them and identifies data gaps. Information is derived primarily from existing archival and published materials and is supplemented with ethnographic interviewing of knowledgeable community consultants."²

The NPS Ethnography Program's mission is to carry out the following tasks:³

- conduct research relating to traditionally associated peoples and the ethnographic resources to which they assigned significance
- facilitate consultation with these groups in park planning, operation, and interpretation
- coordinate with other NPS professionals (for example, planners, interpreters, and natural resource specialists) to make sure that the concerns of traditionally associated groups are heard
- help formulate policy relating to the heritage of living peoples associated with ethnographic resources in parks
- manage databases that contain data gathered through ethnographic research and consultation.⁴

¹ National Park Service, *NPS-28: Cultural Resources Management Guidelines*, Chapter 2, online, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/nps28/28chap2.htm.

² *NPS-28*, Chapter 10, online, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/nps28/28chap10.htm.

³ For more information about the NPS Ethnography Program, see <http://www.cr.nps.gov/ethnography/>.

Methodology and Fieldwork

As principal investigator, Dr. Heather Lee Miller, a women's historian by training, conducted the bulk of research on the history of the 1848 convention, abolitionism, and women's rights movements. Dr. Emily Greenwald provided expert assistance to Miller concerning the Native American cultural groups and conducted informal interviews with Native Americans. Miller conducted one interview with a Native American and attended various Native American events (for example, the Canandaigua Treaty celebration in 2007), and conducted all additional interviews with African Americans, members of religious groups, members of women's rights organizations, descendants of signers and attendees at the 1848 convention, local people from the ethnic groups of interest, feminists, and women's historians. Dr. Shirley Yee, professor of Women's Studies, History, and Ethnic Studies at the University of Washington served as outside advisor on the project, most prominently during development of the research plan. For ease of reading, we use the collective "we" in this study to refer to the work we completed as a team.

Between October 2006 and November 2007, we spent seven weeks in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, Rochester, and various other towns in upstate New York and Pennsylvania conducting documentary research, fieldwork, and interviews.

Documentary Research

The research for this study began with a thorough exploration of Women's Rights NHP. We toured all of the park's resources and then began research in the research files and library, where we collected background information on the prehistory of the area and the periods of contact and European settlement of the villages of Seneca Falls and Waterloo. We gathered information on the 1848 convention and the women's rights movement it sparked, commemorations of the convention, and biographical material on the attendees and their families, as well as information about abolitionists, freedom seekers, feminists, and religious reformers who either lived in or passed through the area and had associations with the resources the park now manages. We also gathered materials pertaining to the creation of and early years of the park to try to determine who has been using park resources and why.

After completing research at the park, we spoke with archivists and conducted research (when the presence of pertinent information was confirmed) in relevant document collections at Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls Waterways Museum, University of Rochester Library, Waterloo Historical Society, Geneva Historical Society, Seymour Public Library (Auburn), Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, and Magill Library at Haverford College. We supplemented primary source research with gathering and reviewing secondary sources at the University of Washington, University of Montana, and Seattle Public libraries, as well as in various online sources, including University of Virginia's census database, Ancestry.com, Accessible Archives, Library of Congress, and the National Archives, among many others.

⁴ Quoted in Cathy Stanton, "Cultures in Flux: New Approaches to 'Traditional Association' at Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site," Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Hopewell Furnace NHS, draft report provided to HRA by Chuck Smythe, Northeast Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Boston, Massachusetts, 4-5.

Interviews and Participant Observation

Interviews

Interview Methods and Questions

For the interview and observation portion of the Women's Rights NHP ethnographic overview and assessment, HRA followed the guidelines James Spradley provided in his 1979 *The Ethnographic Interview*.⁵ As Spradley notes, an ethnography is the "verbal description of the cultural scenes studied," with the goal being to achieve this description using the cultural and linguistic terms of the people and groups being studied.⁶ With this in mind, we interviewed and observed individuals and groups, listening closely to and documenting the *native language(s)* people use to describe their cultural experiences and knowledges of Women's Rights NHP and its resources. For our purposes, *native language* did not refer to a language other than English. Rather, it referred to the unique cultural terms each person or group uses to categorize their experiences and understandings of the world around them. A native language can be one spoken in English but with semantic differences from the native language of the interviewer (also English) that may be quite subtle. We tried to hear these terms and phrases and learn what their meanings were to our informants.⁷

Informants are cultural teachers from whom we can learn not only factual information but more importantly, the cultural language they or their group speaks.⁸ We sought in this project to find appropriate informants who spoke the native language of their cultural group and who could also both translate that language to us as ethnographers and then use that language in its context so that we might learn from its use. Our goal was to translate languages of *discovery* (making maximum use of native languages to learn about the culture) into languages of *description*, which entailed translating encoded meanings in the native language to the ethnographic report.

Interviewees were selected based on (1) their specific kinds of knowledge, local experience with park-related activities, or association; (2) the length of association they have had with particular resources in the park; and (3) their willingness to participate in this study.

We strove in all interviews to establish rapport with our informants, using both friendly conversation and ethnographic questions to elicit information, a method that we hope created a loosely structured and nonthreatening interview format. In all interviews, we tried to remain mindful of Spradley's guidelines about the three most important elements of an ethnographic interview. We tried to remind our informants of the *explicit purpose* of the conversation and to use *ethnographic questions* (see below for examples). As part of the interviews, we included *ethnographic explanations* as often as possible, including:

- *project explanations* – "I am interested in you because Women's Rights NHP sees Quakers as being traditionally associated with the Park and its resources. We'd like to understand better that relationship." (*Project explanation included providing all informants with the appropriate project letter.*)
- *recording explanations* – "I will be recording this interview for future reference and it will/will not be transcribed. I am using a digital recorder to do so. Is that OK with you?"

⁵ James P. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979).

⁶ Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*, 21, 24.

⁷ Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*, 17-24.

⁸ Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*, chap. 3.

- *native language explanations* – reminders to the informant that she should speak in her native language and not translate so we might learn from this use of native language. “How would you explain African American participation in the early women’s rights movement to your AME church congregation?”
- *interview explanations* – explain how the interview might proceed and what the expectations will be. “Could you draw a map of where your family lived in Seneca Falls when they first arrived here from Italy?”
- *ethnographic question explanations* – “I have been asking you questions about your family’s involvement with the 1848 Convention. Now, I’d like to ask you a question about contemporary associations with the Park.”

For the interviews, we had specific goals in mind: First, we wanted to identify the specific knowledge that associated individuals might have about the planning and execution of the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention in Waterloo, Seneca Falls, and Rochester; the national park itself and its resources (Wesleyan Methodist Chapel; M’Clintock, Hunt, and Stanton houses; and the visitor center); and the meanings individuals ascribe to these resources. Second, we asked questions intended to elicit information about the extent to which a group’s activities, kinds of knowledge, and social groupings connected with the park and whether the park’s resources have contributed to a sense of individual or collective identity for people associated with these activities, knowledge, and groups. More specifics about the kinds of questions we asked are included in each chapter’s methodology section.

Although he splits them into different subtopics, the basic three kinds of *ethnographic questions* Spradley outlines are:

- *descriptive* – “Can you describe how your family has used the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel site over the past 50 years?”
- *structural* – “Which branches of your family still live in the Seneca Falls region?”
- *contrast* – “What is the difference to modern Quakers between Progressive Friends and Orthodox Quakers?”

Although no two interviews were alike, we tried to ask each interviewee similar kinds of questions: When did you first learn of the 1848 convention? What is the convention’s significance to you? What did you know about the specific resources the park manages prior to the park’s creation? Do you participate in park events? If yes: Which and why? Do others from your group attend those events with you? If no: Why not? Do others from your group or other groups that you know of participate in or attend events at the park? Do you utilize park resources aside from park events? If yes: Which and why? Do others from your group utilize those resources with you?

We have based much of this report directly on interview material gathered through thirteen informal conversations with people encountered during fieldwork and thirty-four formal interviews, which are listed by informant and date in Appendix D. Unless otherwise indicated by the term *informal*, which for the purposes of this study simply means *unrecorded*, all interviews were digitally recorded and full transcriptions were done of all interviews cited in the report. Transcripts and digital copies of the interviews are available in the park archives. Typically, when we did not record an interview it was either because the situation precluded it (for

example, an impromptu conversation) or because an informant expressed discomfort with being taped or conveyed their belief that they had nothing to say that was “important” enough to be recorded. An example of this was our interview with Eunice Bullock, who graciously allowed us to speak with her following Sunday service at the Memorial AME Zion Church in Rochester. Mrs. Bullock insisted there was no use in us recording the interview. Because she was adamant on this point and because we were grateful that she had agreed to the interview in the first place, we did not want to establish a possibly uncomfortable situation by insisting on taping. Although we quote some subjects by name, in other cases, ethnographic method indicates the utility of referring to people by their inclusion in a group (for example, “one Hunt descendant” or “an Italian American resident of Seneca Falls”). This convention allows the report to express patterns of behavior within social groups while also revealing uniquely individual experiences.

In addition to those interviews cited in Appendix C, we also spoke informally with people associated with the following: Ganondagon State Park, Women's Interfaith Institute, Seneca Falls Village Council, Seneca Falls Board of Trustees, Seneca Falls Chamber of Commerce, Friends of Women's Rights NHP, One Voice Alliance, *Utica Phoenix*, National Women's Hall of Fame, local business owners, Farmington Friends, Rochester First Unitarian Church, Mt. Hope Cemetery, and many individual residents and ex-residents of Seneca Falls, Waterloo, Rochester, Farmington, Auburn, and other communities in the area. We additionally canvassed a number of prominent women's historians in support of discussion in chapter 7. Greater detail is provided in each chapter about the process of identifying, approaching, and interviewing people within each category of people discussed in the report.

Interview Procedures

For all interviews of more substance than an informal conversation, HRA provided a project summary to interviewees, ensuring that there was informed consent prior to each interview, and asked each interviewee to sign a release form. These forms and written transcripts of each interview have been submitted to the Park. The results of less formal interviews also became part of the written record in the form of notes, which have contributed to the final report. Formal interviews were digitally recorded, when subjects were willing. Digital recordings of these formal interviews have been provided to Women's Rights NHP on CD-rom as part of HRA's final field notes.

Participant Observation

The goal of participant observation is to immerse oneself in situations in which the observer may gather knowledge about the groups of interest. As a method it is best used to answer certain kinds of questions. As Kathleen DeWalt and Billie DeWalt explain, participant observation is an essentially “synchronic” method, which means that it is best used to understand contemporary conditions.⁹ To better understand these conditions, we attended various events in 2007 related to the park and its perceived stakeholders, including Convention Days, the Canandaigua Treaty Celebration and Ganondagon Festival, Sunday services at Memorial AME Zion Church (Rochester) and Farmington Quaker Meeting (Farmington), a Friends of Women's Rights Finger Lake chapter meeting, a talk at the Women's Interfaith Institute, Network to Freedom Project (Seneca County) steering committee meetings, and the National Women's Hall of Fame

⁹ Kathleen M. DeWalt and Billie R. DeWalt, *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman Altamira, 2002), 99-100.

induction. While staying in town for a week at a time, we also spent time with local residents in their communal spaces, such as restaurants, bars, and stores, getting to know the town, hopefully, on a more than superficial basis.

Park Resources

Because Women's Rights NHP comprises historic buildings rather than large expanses of open land, some background on each of those structures is necessary to understanding how they developed and changed over time. Moving from west to east, the resources are as follows: M'Clintock House and adjacent Young House, Hunt House, Village Hall, Wesleyan Chapel, Chamberlain House, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton House. Changing occupancy and uses of each of these buildings means that associations with those resources become complicated and often change according to the individuals, families, and groups that occupied and used them. For example, the M'Clintocks only occupied the house bearing their name from 1836 to 1856, when most family members permanently removed first to Easton, Pennsylvania, and then to Philadelphia. M'Clintock family history also indicates that, for some descendants, Mary Ann's role in planning the women's rights convention at the M'Clintock and Hunt houses had been all but lost in the shadows of stories of the male members of the family. This lack of an ongoing family connection to or use of the building complicates the idea of M'Clintock descendants having an association with the house. Indeed, one might argue that members of the Waterloo Baptist Church, whose members worshiped in the building for one hundred years, have had a longer association with the buildings. Waterloo Baptist's members had at least a two-generation association with the resource, their tie to the place only having been severed when the Park Service acquired both buildings, demolished the church, and restored the M'Clintock House to its 1848 appearance.

Each of the resources the park manages and interprets has been used in different ways since 1848. What follows is a brief chronology of each building's use history. Chapter 7 contains more detailed discussions about the associations park neighbors had with the different resources before and since the park was created.

M'Clintock House

Richard P. Hunt built the house in 1835, but evidence suggests that he likely never lived in it. Rather, Thomas and Mary M'Clintock appear to have rented the place between 1836 and 1856 from the Hunts. According to Hunt's estate, Samuel Birdsall (who was Richard's brother-in-law by marriage to Ann Eliza Kendig, sister of Hunt's first wife Matilda Kendig) lived in the house sometime between 1863 and 1872. Records indicate that the Waterloo Baptist Church began using the building between 1875, when it began construction of its church building immediately west of the house, and 1985, when the Park Service acquired both buildings. The M'Clintock House was used as a parsonage during much of the hundred years the church occupied and owned the premises; however, other people did occupy it. Records indicate that a Mr. Childs lived there in 1895 and Mary V. Scott reported in 1988 that she had lived in the house from 1933 to 1934.¹⁰

¹⁰ Barbara Yocum, "The M'Clintock House, Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Waterloo, N.Y." Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, North Atlantic Region, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1993, 15, 29-50, 52-54.

Adjacent to the M'Clintock House is the Young House, which according to the Comprehensive Interpretive Plan, Richard Hunt also owned and dates to approximately the same period of construction (c. 1833-36). As of this writing, "the house and grounds are mothballed and receive minimal maintenance."¹¹

Hunt House

Because the Park Service only recently acquired the Hunt House, less is known about it than about the M'Clintock or Stanton houses and the Wesleyan Chapel, all of which have been thoroughly researched via historic structure reports. The park is currently conducting a Historic Structure Report, which will greatly increase our knowledge about the use of the Hunt House. The house's history in the years since 1848 was generally domestic in nature, with a succession of families occupying it as a home until the Park acquired it.

Village Hall

The building known commonly as Village Hall now houses the Women's Rights National Historical Park Visitor Center. Originally constructed in 1915, the building served for the next twelve years as a garage and auto dealership under the ownership of Adrian H. Boyce.¹² When Boyce's Garage moved to another location in 1927, the Village of Seneca Falls, which had been in need of additional office space for at least a decade, purchased and remodeled the building. When the Village moved into the space in 1928, the building housed police, municipal, court, and administrative offices, as well as Fire Department Station #1.¹³ The Village occupied the building, incurring only minor alterations, until 1986, when the offices and police department moved to the rehabilitated railroad station on State Street. The Village donated the building to the National Park Service in 1987.¹⁴

Wesleyan Chapel

The Wesleyan Chapel, as it is known today, has been many things in its lifetime at the corner of Fall and Mynderse streets in Seneca Falls. From 1843 to 1872, the building housed the First Wesleyan Methodist Society Church, the exact name of which has been altered and shortened over time in the historical record. According to the notice calling for a women's rights convention posted by M'Clintock, Hunt, Mott, Wright, and Stanton in the *Seneca County Courier*, the event was to take place at the "Wesleyan Chapel at Seneca Falls, New York."¹⁵ Other names that have been attributed to the church are "house of Public Worship," "House of

¹¹ Comprehensive Interpretive Plan for Women's Rights

National Historical Park, n.d., quotation on 30-31,

<https://www.nps.gov/wori/parkmgmt/upload/WORICIPFINAL.pdf>.

¹² Stacey A. Matson, Barbara A. Yocum, Maureen K. Phillips, and Terry Wong, "Village Hall Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York," Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, North Atlantic Region, Boston, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988, 4.

¹³ Matson, Yocum, Phillips, and Wong, "Village Hall," 13-18.

¹⁴ Matson, Yocum, Phillips, and Wong, "Village Hall," 21.

¹⁵ Quoted in Barbara A. Yocum and Terry Wong, "Wesleyan Chapel, Historic Structure Report, Seneca Falls, New York." Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, North Atlantic Region, Boston, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988 (written)/1992 (published), 9.

Worship,” and “Church.” Elizabeth Cady Stanton referred to it as “the Wesleyan Church” in her remembrances.¹⁶

The Wesleyan Chapel underwent extensive renovation and expansion in 1872, when it became home to two stores on the first floor facing Fall Street, a small shop at the rear that opened onto Mynderse Street, and a public meeting hall. Sanborn maps show that the second floor of the building housed Johnson’s Hall, which was described in 1872 as having both an auditorium and stage, used for both public meetings and stage performances. Wesleyans apparently also used the hall while they waited for completion of their new church located at the corner of Fall and Clinton streets in 1875.¹⁷ In July 1890, a fire destroyed the Seneca Falls Opera house. Following the fire, Johnson’s widow and son renovated the second floor of Johnson’s Hall into a “commodious and elegant opera house.”¹⁸

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Powers’ Furniture Store began operating out of the building’s first floor. Soon thereafter, the Opera House began showing movies, and by 1915, the Fisher Theater had taken over the space. Also housed in the building was a repair shop and a so-called bowling alley, which occupied the western storefront in 1897. Two significant gatherings also transpired at the Fisher Theater: the sixtieth anniversary of the 1848 women’s rights convention on May 27, 1908, and the 100th birthday celebration of Elizabeth Cady Stanton in November 1915. Johnson’s began showing moving pictures in 1906 and continued to do so until at least 1916.¹⁹ Movie business was so good by the first years of World War I that Asa B. Hilbert bought the building from Charles and Minnie Powers in order to convert it completely into a movie theater. Reports noted that the new Regent Theatre was “finely refitted, refurbished, and handsomely decorated.” The theater now occupied a substantial percentage of the building, with seating for 700 now on the first floor and a balcony and boxes on the same elevation as the old second floor.²⁰ The theater’s life was short, however. Hilbert sold the building on November 1, 1919, to Bertrand G. Mackey and Frank G. Knox.²¹

Between 1919 and 1961, the building had seven owners, underwent four remodels, and housed a combination of tenants, including a garage, auto dealership, public hall, offices, and a store.²² Seneca Falls Garage, Inc., was the first to use the newly remodeled space and was followed in 1921 by the Kibbey Repair Shop.²³ The second floor was restored to a hall and served as such until 1925, when it was converted into auto storage for the Huntington Ford dealership (later Pontiac), which had taken up residency in 1922. Seneca Falls Sales Company (another Ford dealership) took over the Huntington space in February 1928 and remained there until 1961, except for a brief change to East Motors in 1958. In late 1947, the building was again significantly modernized, with updated electrical, heating, and plumbing units, including a

¹⁶ Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 9.

¹⁷ Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 70-71.

¹⁸ *Seneca County Courier*, November 6, 1890, quoted in Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 85.

¹⁹ Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 87.

²⁰ *Seneca Falls Reveille*, August 24, 1917, quoted in Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 109. Sharon A. Brown notes that there was a discrepancy between two articles kept in a SFHS scrapbook. One of the articles noted that the theater would have 787 seats; the other reported 700. Sharon A. Brown, “Historic Structure Report, Historical Data Section, Wesleyan Chapel, Women’s Rights National Historic Park, New York,” U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1987, 120, quoted in Yocum and Wong,

²¹ *Seneca Falls Reveille*, January 16, 1948, quoted in Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 129.

²² *Seneca Falls Reveille*, January 16, 1948, quoted in Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 129.

²³ Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 138.

sprinkler system and large freight elevator that moved cars to the second floor, where “major motor overhauls, body repairs, and painting” took place.²⁴

In 1961, the Seneca Falls Laundromat rented the southernmost third of the building's first story from Henderson and Lathrop, which owned the building until February 1971, when Frank J. Ludovico purchased it. The Laundromat operated both coin-operated machines and a dry cleaner until it closed in October 1984. In the meantime, Ludovico constructed apartments in the second story and tenants parked in the first-floor garage space behind the Laundromat; the apartments remained occupied until NPS acquired the building in 1985.²⁵ Townspeople report memories of having done their wash at the Laundromat or visiting residents of the apartments above before it was demolished.

Today, the partial outer walls of the chapel have been restored and covered with a roof to evoke a feeling of what the original Wesleyan Chapel looked like. Between the chapel and the Visitor Center is open space and a water wall on which are etched the signers' names and the Declaration of Sentiments.

Chamberlain House

The construction date of the Chamberlain House is not clear from the historic record, but the building was standing by 1815, when the west portion of the building may have been used as a warehouse for the Lower Red Mill. The building was converted to a residence by 1833, when mill owners William and Samuel Bayard inhabited the house. The house's significance to the women's rights movement came from Jacob Payson Chamberlain, a signer of the Declaration of Sentiments, who lived in the house with his family between 1844 and 1851. The house was altered heavily in the twentieth century, but still retains some nineteenth century features and materials.²⁶

Elizabeth Cady Stanton House

The history of the Stanton house and site are complex. The lot was originally part of the 250-acre Lot No. 6 in the West Cayuga Reservation, which the Bayard Company had purchased in 1798. Two of the original members of the Bayard Company relinquished their interest and in 1803, the company's name changed to W. Mynderse and Company. Stephen N. Bayard, an original partner in the Bayard Company, acquired sole ownership of the property in 1825. Evidence of when the Stanton house was built is scant, but an 1817 notice posted by the company notes the presence of two dwellings inhabited by millers, suggesting that some kind of residences were there by that year.²⁷ Little is known about the house's history before the Stanton family arrived in 1847 to live in it. Archaeological evidence suggests that various structures occupied the site as early as the 1820s, and that by 1837, at least two structures were extant on the property owned by William Bayard's family. The building that the Stantons ultimately occupied was cobbled together at its

²⁴ Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 129.

²⁵ Yocum and Wong, “Wesleyan Chapel,” 160.

²⁶ Barbara A. Yocum, “Chamberlain House, Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York.” Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Northeast Region, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Lowell, Massachusetts, 2001, xiii.

²⁷ Barbara A. (Pearson) Yocum, “The Stanton House, Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York.” Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, Northeast Region, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1989 (written)/1998 (published), 8-10, and chap. 4.

current location from different buildings (parts of the foundation appear to date to the 1820s and the superstructure was likely made up partially of the extant buildings and partially of parts that were moved to the site post-construction elsewhere).

Stephen N. Bayard was forced to sell the property to resolve debts. Distant relatives Samuel J. Bayard and William M. Bayard gained possession of it by late 1833. The 1840 census shows William Bayard and his family living in the Stanton house; they likely had been there since 1837, when they put two separate dwellings together to create a larger home. Over the next few years, the house was expanded by adding various wings. In 1842, William Bayard's financial difficulties precipitated his sale of the property, the ownership of which changed hands over the next two years and was finally acquired by Elisha Foote Jr. and Daniel Cady in March 1844.²⁸

For the next few years, the house appears to have remained vacant. Elizabeth Cady Stanton remarked on this in her autobiography, and evidence shows that a good deal of remodeling was done on the home before the Stantons moved into it in 1847. They remained there until 1862.²⁹ Much has been written about the years the Stanton family occupied the house.³⁰ In the 116 years between the Stanton family's departure and its acquisition in anticipation of the creation of a possible park, at least six different families either owned or occupied the property: John S. and Martha Edwards (1862-1863), William A. Duncan (1863-1864), Peter Taylor (1864-1867), Boardman family members (1866-1900, various occupants), Hugh and Mary Gilmore (1900-1943), Gerald and Mary Ann Pagano (1943-1945), and Stanley and Helen Burroughs (1945-1978). In 1978, Seattleite and Unitarian Ralph Peters and his wife Marjorie Smith bought the house in order to keep it off the market until the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation could purchase it, allowing foundation president Lucille Povero to live in the house and pay rent. Ownership was transferred to the foundation in January 1982, which then transferred it to the National Park Service in July 1982, a month before the dedication of Women's Rights NHP.³¹

Organization of Report

This report addresses each cultural group of interest and subsets thereof in the following order: Native Americans, African Americans, Quakers, Unitarians and Wesleyan Methodists, descendants, park neighbors (comprising local ethnic groups—most notably the Irish and Italians—and other organizations, such as the Seneca Falls Historical Society), and other connections, which focuses primarily on women's historians and feminists. Each chapter includes an introduction and methodology section, historical background, ethnographic findings, and conclusions. The last chapter provides a list of recommendations for future park study. Appendices include the original research design and interview plan for the study, and a list of interviews.

²⁸ Yocum, "Stanton House," 11-15.

²⁹ Yocum, "Stanton House," 15-16.

³⁰ See, for example, Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004); and Ellen Carol DuBois, ed., *The Elizabeth Cady Stanton—Susan B. Anthony Reader: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches*, rev. ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992).

³¹ Yocum, "Stanton House," 24-26.

Chapter 1: Native Americans

Introduction and Interview Methodology

Native Americans occupied the region around present-day Seneca Falls starting approximately 14,000 years ago. Roughly 400 to 600 years ago, five tribes whose territory stretched across what is now New York State formed a multitribal alliance known as the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Confederacy. The Seneca and Cayuga Nations, part of this confederacy, held territory at and around Seneca Falls until the first part of the nineteenth century, when they were removed from the area through a series of land cession treaties.

Contemporary Iroquois interviewed for this project expressed a sense of association with the 1848 Seneca Falls convention and the larger women's rights campaign, but they did not report personal or group connections specifically to Women's Rights NHP. Instead, their sense of association is derived from an understanding that Iroquois gender roles influenced the women's rights movement. In traditional Iroquois culture, women own and inherit property, retain custody of children in the event of divorce, choose clan leaders, and participate in diplomacy.

Nineteenth-century women's rights advocates, such as Matilda Joslyn Gage and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, found in Iroquois women's roles a useful counterpoint to Euroamerican gender norms, although perhaps not as early as the 1848 convention.

Identifying Native American interview subjects for this study proved difficult. The National Park Service provided us with an introduction to Peter Jemison, the director of Ganondagan State Historic Site. We conducted an informative interview with Jemison and Veronica (Ronnie) Reitter, an interpreter at the park.

We contacted (by mail) the tribal leaders of the New York Iroquois nations (as identified by the Bureau of Indian Affairs), as well as tribal historic preservation officers and individuals designated as tribal contacts for cultural matters. We received one response, from Clint Halftown of the Cayuga Nation, and conducted a phone interview with him. We also established contact with David L. George-Shongo, Jr., archivist for the Seneca Nation of Indians, and Sheree Bonaparte, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the St. Regis Mohawk Tribe. We did not successfully develop leads toward others to interview.

We asked interview subjects what they knew about Women's Rights NHP and whether they perceived any connections between the Iroquois (or particular tribes) and the park's resources. Because our interview subjects reported no association to the park and its resources, it took us some time to fully appreciate the significance of the connections to the women's movement that they described. At that point, we had completed fieldwork for the project. Our interview pool is small, and the park may wish to conduct a further search for Native American key informants.

In the sections below, we provide an overview of the history of the Iroquois in western New York; examine Iroquois gender roles and their influence on leaders of the nineteenth-century women's rights movement; and present interview data that reveals contemporary Iroquois' sense of association with the women's rights movement.

The Iroquois Confederacy

During the last glacial era, Lake Iroquois covered what is now western New York. As Lake Iroquois receded, it left behind the Finger Lakes and fertile soils. The resulting landscape provided sufficiently rich plant and animal life to attract human communities that, over time, became the multitribal confederation known as the Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse) or Iroquois Confederacy. In the area around present-day Seneca Falls, the rapids on the Seneca River likely offered good fishing opportunities, and heavy forests throughout the region would have provided construction material, fuel, and food (particularly oaks and chestnuts, which also enhanced the animal population).¹

According to archaeologists, human occupation of the Finger Lakes region can be broken into a series of phases: Paleo-Indian (14,000 to 10,000 years before present [BP]), Archaic (10,000 to 3,000 BP), Woodland (3,000 BP to 1600 present era), Proto-Historic (1600-1775), and Historic (since 1775).² Archaeological research indicates that occupation of the Seneca Falls/Waterloo area began to grow during the Late Archaic Period, 3,000 to 5,000 years ago. This included settlement at the northern ends of Seneca and Cayuga Lakes.³ During the Owasco cultural period (1000-1300, part of the Late Woodland era), people relocated their communities from fishing stations to higher, more defensible grounds; began surrounding their villages with fortifications; and began constructing proto-longhouses. Historian Matthew Dennis has proposed that new dangers and heightened fears led to these residential reconfigurations.⁴

Conflict during the Owasco period encouraged the consolidation of smaller, scattered settlements into large villages. Around 1300, this process engendered the tribal nations that became known as the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca.⁵ These tribes shared economic and cultural practices, and language, but occupied separate territories. They developed a distinctive settlement pattern, living primarily in palisaded villages of longhouses and practicing large-scale agriculture.⁶ Longhouses had multiple hearths and were most likely occupied by matrilineal extended families.⁷ A tribe's villages were clustered together, separated from those of other tribes by vast hunting and fishing areas.⁸

Oral tradition describes a time of warfare among the five tribes prior to the arrival of Europeans. The Great Spirit directed Deganawidah, a Huron man known as "the Peacemaker," to spread a message of peace and power. He traveled among the tribes, urging them to resolve their

¹ Ann B. Markell and Martha R. Williams, R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., "Archeological Overview and Assessment, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York," prepared for the Women's Rights National Historical Park, September 2006, 5-7.

² This chronology is drawn from Markell and Williams, "Archeological Overview and Assessment," with some dates inferred from context.

³ Markell and Williams, "Archeological Overview and Assessment," 11.

⁴ Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 45-46.

⁵ Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*, 59; and Markell and Williams, "Archeological Overview and Assessment," 15.

⁶ Markell and Williams, "Archeological Overview and Assessment," 11, 14-15.

⁷ James A. Tuck, "Northern Iroquoian Prehistory," *Handbook of North American Indians* [ed. William C. Sturtevant], Vol. 15: *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 327-28 (hereafter *Handbook of North American Indians* 15).

⁸ Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Iroquoian Contacts with Europeans," *Handbook of North American Indians* 15:344.

differences and live under a common law. The first person to accept his message was a Seneca woman, who became known as the Mother of Nations. She earned for the Seneca women the rights and responsibilities they hold to this day. To honor her, the Peacemaker bestowed on women the power to choose *sachems* (clan chiefs).⁹

The Peacemaker, with the help of a man named Hiawatha, persuaded the five tribes to form a confederacy and provided them with laws to govern it.¹⁰ Scholarly opinions vary about when the Iroquois Confederacy formed, but they generally date it to somewhere around 1400 to 1600 (present era).¹¹ The Seneca Nation, located at the western end of the confederacy, became the keepers of the Western Door. The Mohawk became the keepers of the Eastern Door, and the Onondaga, in the middle, became the keepers of the confederacy's central council fire.

The League of the Iroquois was established with a council of fifty chiefs, apportioned among the five tribes. One of these spots bears the name Ayonhwathah (Hiawatha) and is held open. The Seneca hold the smallest number of spots on the council with eight; the Onondaga hold the most with fourteen. When a chief dies, the senior woman of that man's clan (the clan mother) chooses his replacement in consultation with other women of the clan, and the chief's name is passed to his successor.¹² In a ritual called the Condolence Ceremony, the deceased chief is mourned and his successor is raised up.¹³

If no appropriate replacement can be found within the deceased chief's clan, the senior women might select a man from another clan and "loan" him the chief's name until his own death. Anthropologist Elisabeth Tooker noted that the practice of loaning chieftainships across clans increased in the twentieth century and may have become permanent on occasion, "account[ing] for some discrepancies noted in the lists of clan affiliations of the chiefs."¹⁴

Iroquois Gender Roles

Iroquois social organization is complex and has been the subject of extensive research since the 1840s. For the present study, Iroquois gender roles merit particular attention: the sense of association with the women's rights movement that contemporary Iroquois expressed to us is connected to the influence of their traditional gender system on feminist thought.

The Iroquois traced descent matrilineally and lived matrilocally. The nuclear family of a wife, husband, and children formed the basic social unit. The larger residential group included, according to anthropologist William Fenton,

⁹ Emily Greenwald, notes of conversation with Peter Jemison and Ronnie Reitter, March 13, 2007; Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*, 85-86; and Michael Galban et al., *House of Peace: Educational Video Study Guide* (Friends of Ganondagan, Inc., n.d.), 40-43.

¹⁰ Galban, *House of Peace*, 40-53.

¹¹ Elisabeth Tooker reviewed the various proposed dates for the origin of the confederacy in "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual," *Handbook of North American Indians* 15: 420-22. In the early 1700s, the Iroquois accepted the Tuscarora as the sixth nation of the confederacy.

¹² Tooker, "League of the Iroquois," 424-26.

¹³ Tooker, "League of the Iroquois," 437.

¹⁴ Tooker, "League of the Iroquois," 426.

the siblings of the wife's mother, the wife's siblings, the wife's children and her daughter's children, and the descendants of the preceding women in the female line. The senior living woman is the matriarch and presides over the household.¹⁵

Two or more maternal families formed a clan, and one or more clans comprised a moiety.¹⁶ Fenton further explained that the maternal family or lineage "held certain religious, ceremonial, and political prerogatives. . . . It exercised a moral influence in controlling the appointment and conduct of sachems."¹⁷

Women had custody of children, and any property they possessed remained theirs, even as they married or separated.¹⁸ The position of sachem was inherited matrilineally. When a sachemship became vacant, the senior women of that lineage selected a replacement. The women could also remove a sachem, if they chose.¹⁹

Iroquois women participated in diplomatic matters, often through designated male speakers.²⁰ Men could not go to war unless women approved, and women could direct men to go war.²¹ A family's matriarch also made the decision of whether to seek retaliation or captives if a man in her lineage was killed. Fenton noted that "it is evident that the power of the matrons increased in relation to [war-related] losses at the close of the seventeenth century."²²

Gender roles assigned agricultural work to women and hunting to men. Women worked in the fields under the direction of a "chief matron," whom they elected annually.²³ Historian Matthew Dennis described Iroquois domestic roles in the seventeenth century as follows:

The roles of men and women were complementary and reciprocal, but the core of Iroquois habitations was decidedly feminine. Women's lives centered in lodges, villages, and the surrounding cleared spaces used for cultivation and gathering. While Iroquois men helped to construct houses and cleared fields, they worked on behalf of women who 'owned' these structures and places; men's identity and status stemmed from their relationship to those women or to their actions in masculine zones beyond the clearings, where they achieved note through hunting, diplomacy, or warfare. In the localized, feminine sphere, women farmers produced the major portion of Iroquois subsistence, women farmers produced the major portion of Iroquois subsistence. They planted, tended, harvested, processed, stored, and cooked the community's vegetable foods.

. . . The household was a domain controlled by women in their complementary relationship with men. Through the ownership of domestic property and the primary

¹⁵ William N. Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," *Handbook of North American Indians* 15:309.

¹⁶ Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," 309-10.

¹⁷ Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," 312.

¹⁸ Louis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-saw-nee, or Iroquois* (Rochester, N.Y.: Sage Brothers, 1851), 326.

¹⁹ Minnie Myrtle [Anna C. (Johnson) Miller], *The Iroquois; Or, The Bright Side of Indian Character* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1855), 42; Arthur C. Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations*, reprinted in *Parker on the Iroquois*, ed. William N. Fenton (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1968), 11; and Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 29.

²⁰ Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, 29.

²¹ Lucien Carr, "On the Social and Political Position of Woman among the Huron-Iroquois Tribes," in *Iroquois Women: An Anthology*, ed. W. G. Spittal (Ontario: Iroquois Publishing and Craft Supplies, Ltd., 1990), 25; and Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, 29.

²² Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," 315.

²³ Arthur C. Parker, *The Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants*, reprinted in Fenton, *Parker on the Iroquois*, 23-24; and Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, 24.

provision of subsistence, women commanded great prestige and authority. While men traveled beyond the village clearings to hunt, fight, or negotiate with outsiders, women maintained the lodges, families, and clans of the Five Nations. Women thus represented domesticity, security, prosperity, and peace; in contrast, men embodied wildness, risk, danger, and aggressiveness. In Iroquoian dualism, each sex was imbued with something of the other, for women sanctioned war parties with their consent and provisions, and men promoted harmony and safety when they worked in their communities for peace.²⁴

Iroquois gender roles, like other aspects of Iroquois culture, were not immune to change during the dislocations of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some scholars have concluded that Iroquois women lost status as conflict with Euroamericans undermined Iroquois social institutions.²⁵ But evidence from some present-day Iroquois communities suggests that women have either retained or recovered their distinctive roles. In the Onondaga Nation, for example, clan mothers play an important role in governance and religion, including the selection of chiefs.²⁶ Clan mothers also choose chiefs in the Tuscarora Nation, and they continue to be important to the Seneca, as well.²⁷

The Iroquois Land Base

At the time of European arrival, the five confederated tribes called themselves the *Ongwehonweh* (Original People) or *Haudenosaunee* (People of the Longhouse). The French called them *Iroquois*, a term that probably came from Algonquin adversaries to the Haudenosaunee. Most historical documents and scholarly publications, whether in French or English, refer to them as Iroquois.

The Iroquois first encountered Europeans in 1534, when explorer Jacques Cartier took shelter in the Baie de Gaspé (near the entrance to the St. Lawrence River). During the sixteenth century, European interest in North American fish and furs began to reshape Native American economies and territories.²⁸

At that time, the Seneca and the Cayuga Nations controlled the area that is now Waterloo and Seneca Falls. A trail ran east-west through the Iroquois Confederacy, linking the principal villages and passing Cayuga and Seneca lakes. Skoi-Yase, a Cayuga town, sat along this trail in what is now the southern end of present-day Waterloo.²⁹ The earliest non-Indians to settle in the region were Jesuit priests, who established missions near Union Springs and Victor in 1668.³⁰

An extensive fur trade developed in the eastern Great Lakes region, and the Iroquois gained control of it by the mid-1600s, conquering smaller tribes and blocking them from access to

²⁴ Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*, 28, 109.

²⁵ Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, Inc. 1994), 141; and J. N. B. Hewitt, "The Status of Woman in Iroquois Polity Before 1784," *Iroquois Women: An Anthology*, 53, 68.

²⁶ Onondaga Nation, "Onondaga Nation—People of the Hills,"

<http://www.onondaganation.org/gov/clanmothers.html> and <http://www.onondaganation.org/gov/chiefs.html> (October 14, 2008).

²⁷ Snow, *The Iroquois*, 198; and Susan Greenberg, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 12, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

²⁸ Trigger, "Early Iroquoian Contacts with Europeans," 344, 346.

²⁹ Markell and Williams, "Archeological Overview and Assessment," 15.

³⁰ Edgar Luderne Welch, *Grip's Historic Souvenir of Seneca Falls, N.Y.* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Grips, 1904), 13.

French and Dutch traders.³¹ Following a period of conflict with the French in the late 1600s, the Iroquois entered into treaties that established their neutrality between the French and the English, who had replaced the Dutch as major competitors in the fur trade. The Iroquois maintained their neutrality during a series of conflicts between the French and English in the first half of the eighteenth century.³²

The relative security the Iroquois achieved following confederation led to a transformation in settlement patterns by the mid-1700s, shifting toward individual residences and away from longhouses, which became meeting places.³³ The period of security was short-lived, however. Following the 1760 English victory over the French in the French and Indian War, the Iroquois lost their powerful position in the region, which had depended upon playing one European competitor off another in the fur trade and in diplomacy. With the French gone, the strategy no longer worked.

The American Revolution in the 1770s and 1780s began the process of eroding the Iroquois land base in New York. While some Iroquois (particularly the Oneida and Tuscarora) chose to align with the Americans, most sided with the British. The Iroquois covered the confederacy's council fire in 1777, allowing the individual nations to choose different sides during the war.³⁴ In 1779, American generals John Sullivan and James Clinton pursued a scorched-earth campaign through the territories of pro-British Iroquois, destroying Seneca and Cayuga towns in the vicinity of present-day Seneca Falls and Waterloo. Refugees fled to the Niagara Valley.³⁵

Following the war, some Iroquois returned to the Finger Lakes region.³⁶ According to historian Alan Taylor, "By 1791, about 180 Onondagas and 130 Cayugas had rebuilt villages in the Finger Lakes region. Some dissatisfied Senecas also abandoned Buffalo Creek to reclaim traditional hearths in the Allegheny Valley or in the fertile Genesee Valley. At the same time, the pro-American Oneidas (and some Tuscaroras) left their wartime refuge at Schenectady to reoccupy their homeland south of Oneida Lake."³⁷

Between 1789 and 1842, the Iroquois in western New York ceded most of their aboriginal territory to the United States and the state of New York and obtained the reservations they have presently.³⁸ A key step in this process was the 1784 Treaty of Canandaigua between the United States and the Iroquois. The Treaty of Canandaigua recognized prior Iroquois cessions to the state of New York and delineated the Seneca tribe's territorial boundaries. It also promised that the United States would spend \$4,500 annually to purchase "clothing, domestic animals,

³¹ Tooker, "League of the Iroquois," 430-31.

³² Tooker, "League of the Iroquois, 432-34.

³³ Snow, *The Iroquois*, 141.

³⁴ Tooker, "League of the Iroquois," 435. Tooker notes that the fire "was rekindled in the two places where the largest number of Iroquois had settled after the revolution: at the Six Nations Reserve in Canada and at the Buffalo Creek Reservation in the United States" (435). In the 1840s, the Buffalo Creek council fire was rekindled at Onondaga (436).

³⁵ Diedrich Willers, "Seneca County," *Centennial Anniversary of Seneca County and Auxiliary Papers* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1904), 3-4; and Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 96-99, 133.

³⁶ Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 133.

³⁷ Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 134.

³⁸ Treaties with the state of New York that were concluded after 1790, when the Trade and Intercourse Act went into effect, have been the subject of ongoing land claims litigation, with the tribes contesting the state treaties as illegal. Nevertheless, the treaties had the effect at the time of eroding the Iroquois land base.

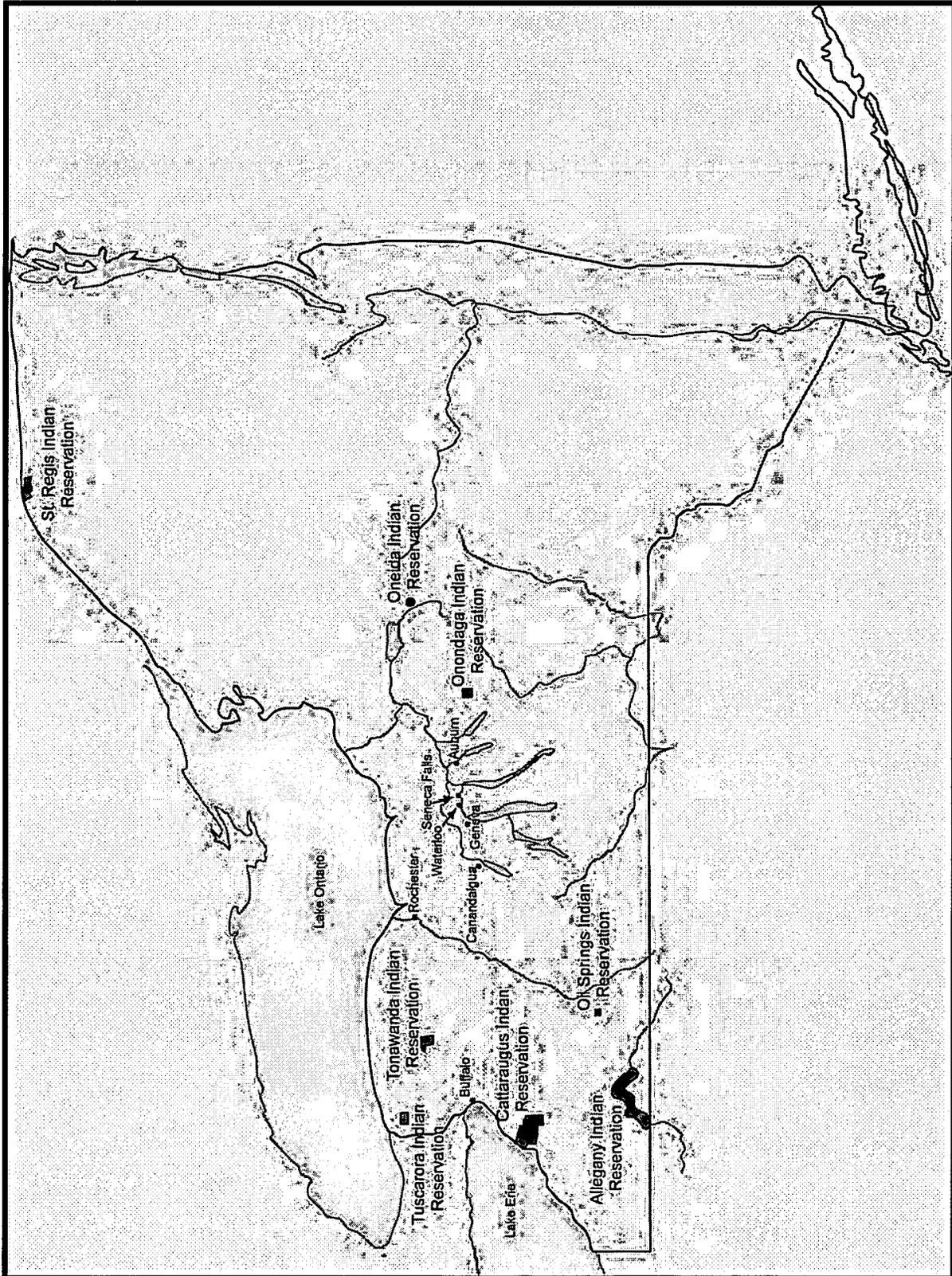


Figure 2. Present-day Iroquois reservation lands. Source: adapted from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Lands, 1992.

implements of husbandry, and other utensils suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificers.”³⁹ The United States has continued to supply the cloth yearly,⁴⁰ and the payment has become a significant ritual event for the Iroquois.

Americans gained control of the land around Seneca Falls through additional treaties with the Seneca and Cayuga nations. The Cayuga relinquished all their lands to the state of New York under treaties between 1789 and 1841.⁴¹ Writing in 1851, ethnographer Louis Henry Morgan remarked, “[The Cayuga] nation has become literally scattered abroad,” but about 125 Cayugas lived with the Senecas in western New York.⁴²

The history of Seneca land cessions is somewhat more complicated: some lands were ceded to the state of New York and others were sold to land companies or investors holding preemption rights. In 1797, the Seneca sold most of their lands to Robert Morris of Philadelphia, retaining four reservations in western New York and six small parcels along the Genesee River. The Seneca sold their lands on the Genesee between 1803 and 1826, leaving only the four reservations at Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus, Allegany, and Tonawanda. Those Seneca who had lived on the Genesee relocated to the four western reservations. Under the 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek, the Seneca purportedly sold the four reservations to the Ogden Land Company, but many Seneca protested the treaty as fraudulent. In 1842, they succeeded in obtaining a new treaty that restored the Cattaraugus and Allegany reservations.⁴³ The Tonawanda Seneca succeeded in repurchasing part of their reservation lands in 1857.⁴⁴

There is some evidence that Iroquois women played an important role in treaty negotiations. Women were present at the 1789 Albany treaty council between New York and the Cayuga, and twelve women signed the treaty.⁴⁵ In addition, women asserted their status as the owners of Iroquois land in 1791 negotiations with the United States, demanding to be heard in discussion of land cessions. They chose Seneca leader Red Jacket to speak for them.⁴⁶

Although the treaties eliminated Iroquois landholding around Seneca Falls and Waterloo, this does not mean that all Iroquois left the region.⁴⁷ James Sanderson, who arrived in Seneca Falls in

³⁹ Treaty of November 11, 1794, 7 Stat. 44.

⁴⁰ For example, see *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1864* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 456; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1895* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 227; and newspaper clippings, File 7998-1939-New York-052, Box 6, CCF 1907-39, RG 75, NARA-DC.

⁴¹ Marian E. White, William E. Engelbrecht, and Elisabeth Tooker, “Cayuga,” *Handbook of North American Indians* 15: 502.

⁴² Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-saw-nee*, 31, 32.

⁴³ Thomas S. Abler and Elisabeth Tooker, “Seneca,” *Handbook of North American Indians* 15:508-9, 511.

⁴⁴ Abler and Tooker, “Seneca,” 512.

⁴⁵ Fred Teller, “Our Predecessors in Seneca County: The Sachem-O-ha-geght and the Cayuga Indians,” in *Centennial Anniversary of Seneca County and Auxiliary Papers* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1904), 39. The treaty refers to “Governesses” who signed it; a person familiar with Cayuga personal names might be able to identify these women among the signatories. See Vine Deloria, Jr., and Raymond J. DeMallie, *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979*, 2 Vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 2:1106-7.

⁴⁶ Myrtle, *Iroquois*, 161.

⁴⁷ In a 2006 Archaeological Overview and Assessment for Women's Rights NHP, R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., determined that the Stanton House, Chamberlain House, and Hunt House are the most likely of Women's Rights NHP properties to possess intact, precontact resources, based on landforms and low level of development/redevelopment activity at those sites. The study recommended further testing for precontact resources

1829 as a child, recalled a lawn between Monroe's store and a residence that was "a favorite camping ground" for "a remnant tribe of Indians left in those days . . . Men, women and children would sit right down on the grass, and with their calm and impressive countenances, pass the time away. The idlers of the town would circle round, taking lessons in domestic economy."⁴⁸ Adelaide C. Partridge Guion recalled from her childhood in Seneca Falls that "it was a common sight to see . . . Indians, sitting on the ground in front of the [Partridge] house [on Cayuga Street]." She was not specific about the period, but she noted that the Partridge homestead was built in 1837.⁴⁹

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Iroquois tribes filed a series of land claims cases, arguing that New York State had violated the 1790 Trade and Intercourse Act, which prohibited states from entering into land cession treaties with Indians.⁵⁰ All five of the original nations in the Iroquois Confederacy have filed such claims.⁵¹ The discussion that follows focuses on those nations with claims to land nearest Women's Rights NHP.

The Cayuga Nation's suit, filed in 1980, involved roughly 64,000 acres along Cayuga Lake. The Cayuga Nation was awarded \$247.9 million in damages and prejudgment interest in 2001.⁵² The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit reversed this decision in 2005, determining that the claim was barred by the doctrine of laches (i.e., the tribe waited too long to sue).⁵³ Since then, the Cayuga Nation and the state have negotiated a settlement of the claim, by which the state will pay \$247.9 million and the Cayuga will be allowed to purchase up to 10,000 acres within the claim area.⁵⁴

The Onondaga Nation filed a land claim in 2005 against New York State, seeking to reclaim title to approximately 4,000 square miles of land. In 2007, the federal district court refused to dismiss the case, over the state's argument that it should be barred by the doctrine of laches.⁵⁵

The Seneca Nation of Indians filed land claims against New York State in 1985 and 1993, but these claims involved lands to the west of their traditional holdings around Seneca Falls and Waterloo.⁵⁶

at those three properties. It did not discuss potential for postcontact Native American resources at any of Women's Rights NHP properties. Markell and Williams, "Archeological Overview and Assessment," 23, 86-88.

⁴⁸ James S. Sanderson, "Some Early Recollections of Seneca Falls," 58-60, Drawer 3, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

⁴⁹ Adelaide C. Partridge Guion, "The Partridge Homestead," in *Centennial Volume of Papers of the Seneca Falls Historical Society* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1948), 94.

⁵⁰ Christopher Vecsey, "Introduction: The Issues Underlying Iroquois Land Claims," *Iroquois Land Claims*, ed. Christopher Vecsey and William A. Starna (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 3-5.

⁵¹ Christopher Vecsey summarizes these claims in his introduction to *Iroquois Land Claims*, 3-5.

⁵² *The Cayuga Indian Nation of New York, et al., v. George E. Pataki, et al.*, 165 F. Supp. 2d 266 (N. Dist. NY 2001).

⁵³ *Cayuga Indian Nation of New York, et al., v. George E. Pataki, et al.*, 413 F.3d 266 (2d Cir. 2005).

⁵⁴ "Governor and Cayuga Nation of New York Announce a Memorandum of Understanding to Settle the Cayuga Indian Land Claim and Develop a Casino in the Catskills," Press Release, June 10, 2004, NYCanal.com, <http://www.nycanal.com/pressrelease/settlecayugaindianlandclaim.html> (October 15, 2008).

⁵⁵ Mike McAndrew, "Land Claim Suit Argued in Court," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, October 12, 2007, reprinted at http://www.onondaganation.org/news/2007/2007_1012.html.

⁵⁶ Finding aid for Seneca Nation Land Claims Records, 1994-2005, Charles B. Sears Law Library, State University of New York at Buffalo, <http://law.lib.buffalo.edu/departments/info-services/collections/snlc/pdfs/SNLC.pdf>.

The region has remained significant to the Iroquois as part of their homeland. In addition, some specific places in the area are attached to legendary or historic events. This was not a subject we pursued in depth in our interviews, but one informant referred to a community at present-day Geneva that was destroyed during the Clinton-Sullivan campaign and to sites on the western side of Seneca Lake. Some historical records refer to particular sites attached to Iroquois history or legend. In 1903, Charles Combs related the legend of Lone Pine, a Cayuga, who fell in love with a Seneca woman while the tribes were at war. When Lone Pine stole the woman away, the Seneca pursued him. Lone Pine prayed to Gitche Manito, who created an island (Frontenac Island) for the two to escape.⁵⁷ Combs also printed a Seneca legend about Seneca Lake.⁵⁸ The oil spring at Canoga was thought to have medicinal properties.⁵⁹ Red Jacket, a prominent Seneca, was born near Seneca Falls, in the village of Skanayutenate on the western shore of Cayuga Lake.⁶⁰ An oak tree in Seneca Falls may have been where the July 27, 1795, treaty between the Cayuga and the state of New York was signed.⁶¹

Quaker Interactions with the Seneca

Society of Friends, or Quakers, espoused peaceful relations with Indians during the colonial period, and they attended various Indian treaty negotiations during the 1790s, including the Treaty of Canandaigua in 1794. The Philadelphia Yearly meeting established a committee focused on Indian welfare in 1795, and that committee proposed to assist Indians in learning the arts of "civilization," such as agriculture.⁶² Various tribes accepted the Quakers' aid in the late 1790s, including the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga.⁶³ By 1800, the Philadelphia Quakers had turned their attention to the Seneca, and members of the New York Yearly Meeting became involved with the Oneida and some other New York Indian communities.⁶⁴

In the 1810s, Friends from New York and Philadelphia began promoting Iroquois land rights. The Quakers established a presence at the Cattaraugus Reservation in the 1830s, creating a farm and "Female Manual Labor School."⁶⁵ Based on these connections, the Seneca sought Quaker assistance in opposing the 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek. They appealed to the Farmington Friends for help.⁶⁶ The Genesee, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia meetings formed a joint

⁵⁷ Charles W. Combs, "Stepping Stones in Lake Cayuga: The Indian Tradition in Regard to Their Origin," June 20, 1903, Folder 1, Collection 15, Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls, N.Y. (SFHS).

⁵⁸ Charles W. Combs, "A Legend of Seneca Lake," June 28, 1903, Folder 1, Collection 15, SFHS.

⁵⁹ Teller, "Our Predecessors in Seneca County," 42.

⁶⁰ Welch, *Grip's Historic Souvenir of Seneca Falls, N.Y.*, 22.

⁶¹ Laurie Bennett, "Tall Tree Tied to Cayuga History," *Finger Lakes Times*, February 21, 1978.

⁶² Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972 [original ed. 1970]), 220. Although the Iroquois were experienced horticulturalists, the dislocations of the Revolution, continuing non-Indian encroachment upon their territories, and increased competition for natural resources with non-Indians rendered indigenous horticulture and other subsistence strategies less successful.

⁶³ Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, 221.

⁶⁴ Hugh Barbour, with Christopher Densmore, Robert Winternitz, and Peter Wosh, "City Philanthropists and Social Concerns, 1787-1857," in *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*, ed. Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, Nancy C. Sorel, Alson D. Van Wagner, and Arthur J. Worrall (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 96-97.

⁶⁵ Barbour et al, "City Philanthropists and Social Concerns," 97-98.

⁶⁶ *The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York. Illustrated by Facts* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, Printers, 1840), 41, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, URL.

committee to investigate the facts and to represent the Seneca case to the U.S. government.⁶⁷ They succeeded in obtaining a new treaty preserving the Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations in 1842.

The Tonawanda Seneca Reservation was eliminated by the 1838 treaty and was not restored by the 1842 treaty. A group of Tonawanda women sent a petition to President John Tyler protesting the elimination of the Tonawanda Reservation. A copy of the document can be found in the Post Family Papers, suggesting that the Posts, a prominent Quaker family, were involved somehow in this protest. The petition stated, in part,

We the women of our race, feel troubled with deep anxiety, for our children, who are in our hands. Feel as tho we are binded up with our children in our arms. And we pray you our Great Father, the President, to unloose our bondage, which gives us such [or much] pain.

Our Great Father, the President—We the women of the Tonawanda, have exerted our influence in trying to have our Chiefs to be united in their minds in their Councils, & they have done so, —not one of our Chiefs here, have signed the Treaty, and we are astonished to hear that the Tonawanda Reservation, we have to give up. All our women of the [other? word illeg.] reservations, of the Seneca Nation, are of the same mind, all are in trouble. We therefore pray you our Great Friend, to remove our troubles, and we would take hold your hand, for protection, We ask the Great Spirit to grant our requests, and aid us—⁶⁸

The petition indicates that the Tonawanda women continued their traditional role of conducting diplomacy by influencing the chiefs. In this case, while they succeeded in persuading their chiefs, the ultimate outcome was not what they had envisioned, and they sought Tyler's help. The Tonawanda Seneca finally obtained a reservation in 1857.⁶⁹

In addition to their support of Iroquois land and treaty rights, Quakers sought to reshape Seneca economic practices and gender roles to better resemble those of Euroamericans at that time. For example, a 1849 pamphlet published by the joint committee of the Genesee, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore meetings noted that when the Friends had met with the Seneca seven years earlier, "We pointed out the necessity of withdrawing your Women from the labor and drudgery of the field,—of bringing up your Sons to industry,—of having your Daughters taught to sew, and knit, and spin, and practically instructed in all the useful branches of good housewifery." The pamphlet described progress that had been made along those lines, including the establishment of the Manual Labor School for girls at Cattaraugus, mentioned above.⁷⁰ James Mott, one of the people who signed the pamphlet, also signed the 1848 Declaration of

⁶⁷ *The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York. Illustrated by Facts*, 7.

⁶⁸ Minerva BlackSmith et al., to John Tyler, March 14, 1842, Folder 2:19, Box 2, D.93, Post Family Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, University of Rochester Library, Rochester, N.Y.

⁶⁹ Barbour et al, "City Philanthropists and Social Concerns," 98.

⁷⁰ Joint Committee on Indian Affairs of the Four Yearly Meetings of Baltimore, Genesee, New York, and Philadelphia, *To the Seneca Nation of Indians, resident at Cattaraugus and Alleghany, in the state of New York* (1849), 3, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, URL. Genesee Yearly Meeting members, who split in June 1848 to form the Congregational Friends or Friends of Human Progress, no longer participated in this committee. The pamphlet cited here, the withdrawal of Quakers from the Cattaraugus reservation, and the adoption of a new form of government postdate this split. The complexities of Quaker-Iroquois interaction in this period require further study.

Sentiments. Historian Laurence Hauptman, who has written extensively about the Iroquois, notes that Hicksite Quakers “saw the Indians as a vanishing race who had to be transformed carefully for their own good.”⁷¹

In 1848, the women of Cattaraugus Reservation sent a memorial to Philip E. Thomas, a Quaker, urging him to enlist the help of the Friends to assure that annuities were paid equally to men, women, and children, rather than solely to men.⁷² At the end of 1848, a political faction of Seneca at Allegany and Cattaraugus ousted traditional leaders and replaced female selection of chiefs with male suffrage.⁷³

In the early nineteenth century, Seneca prophet Handsome Lake had initiated a push toward reorienting Seneca gender roles in particular. Handsome Lake, who lived at Cornplanter's Town on the Alleghany River (just south of the New York border in Pennsylvania), had a series of visions starting in 1799 that became the foundation of a significant religious movement. The religion both revitalized Seneca ritual traditions and changed them.⁷⁴ Because of their complexity, they are not described here, but Anthony Wallace provides a detailed ethnohistory of Handsome Lake and his teachings in *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. Wallace also describes the “social gospel” in Handsome Lake's teachings, which reflects Quaker influences. It emphasized acculturation, the practice of agriculture, and temperance. According to Wallace, “There can be no question that the prophet gave emphatic encouragement to the transformation of the Seneca economic system from a male-hunting-and-female-horticulture to a male-farming-and-female-housekeeping pattern.”⁷⁵

Lucretia and James Mott, along with others, visited the Cattaraugus Reservation in June 1848, where they examined the farm Joseph Walton and his family operated in conjunction with the manual labor school for Indian girls. James Mott sent the Joint Committee suggestions for improvements to the farm, which were signed by himself, Lucretia Mott, and three others.⁷⁶ James Mott reported that Walton's school served twenty-one boarders and two day students, all but two of whom were “of the christian party.”⁷⁷

⁷¹ Laurence Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 193.

⁷² Memorial of the Seneca Women to P. E. Thomas, October 13, 1848, reprinted in Myrtle, *Iroquois*, 313.

⁷³ Robert W. Venables, introduction to *The Six Nations of New York: The 1892 United States Extra Census Bulletin* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), xiv. Another source indicates that the 1848 constitution also granted women the right to vote. See Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine, 2002), 21.

⁷⁴ Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972 [original ed. 1970]), 239-41, 251-52.

⁷⁵ Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, 281. Anthropologist William Fenton has argued that Handsome Lake sought to replace matrilineal organization with an emphasis on the nuclear family. William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 117.

⁷⁶ “Seneca Indians,” *Friends' Weekly Intelligencer* 5, no. 7 (May 13, 1848): 51; document signed by Lucretia Mott and others, 6th Month [June] 22, 1848, Folder XVI, Joint Committee the Four Yearly Meetings on Indian Concerns (Hicksite), Minutes, Tabulation of Papers (index), 1835-63, Miscellaneous Records, 1835-39 & n.d. (Folders I-III), MR-NY-485, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College (FHL).

⁷⁷ James Mott to Joseph Warner, 6th Month [June] 23, 1848, pp. 274-75, [no folder name], Box 1, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite: 1827-1955), Indian Committee, Ser. 1, Minutes 1838-1884, RG2/Phy/780, FHL.

Lucretia Mott subsequently described her impressions of the Cattaraugus Seneca in a letter to *The Liberator*. She wrote that the Seneca “are improving in their mode of living, cultivating their land, and educating their children.” Mott noted a split between “the pagans” and “the Christian party” over religious practice. She commented, “We had an interesting conference with them, during which their differences were presented; but we declined to decide between them, as, if attempted, we might be found equally discountenancing each form, and recommending our Quaker non-conformity.” Mott did not comment on gender roles, only remarking that women and men alike paid “respectful attention . . . to the speeches of their chiefs”⁷⁸

Connections between the Iroquois and the Women’s Rights Movement

Historical Connections

Non-Indians around Seneca Falls and Syracuse had opportunities for contact with the Iroquois in the 1840s through commerce, and local papers covered Indian affairs. As noted above, Lucretia and James Mott visited the Cattaraugus Reservation in summer 1848, just prior to the Seneca Falls women’s rights convention. But our research has yielded no evidence that these contacts had any influence on the participants’ thinking or on the convention’s proceedings.

In addition to their opportunities for direct encounters with or observation of the Iroquois, participants in the convention might have read published descriptions of Iroquois gender roles. A number of accounts were available in print by 1848, including the following:

- In 1835, Lydia Maria Child published *The History of the Condition of Women, in Various Ages and Nations*. Child’s depictions of Native Americans were highly generalized and stereotyped, but she made a brief reference to Iroquois gender roles: “The women of the Hurons and Iroquois seem to have had more influence than was common among other tribes. Huron women might appoint a member of the council, and one of their own sex, if they chose. They could prevail upon the warriors to go to battle, or desist from it, according to their wishes.”⁷⁹ Her evidence appears to have been anecdotal, rather than the product of her own observation or research. Child also referred to Indian gender roles in her fiction prior to 1848, but for this study, we did not examine whether any of these references were specific to the Iroquois.
- 1846, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft reported that Iroquois marriage and separation did not affect property rights. What a woman brought into a marriage remained hers, even if the marriage dissolved.⁸⁰
- Schoolcraft spoke about Iroquois matrilineality, marriage, and property in an 1846 address to the “New Confederacy of the Iroquois.” He also described the right of

⁷⁸ Lucretia Mott to Edmund Quincy, August 24, 1848, printed as “Letter From Lucretia Mott,” *The Liberator*, October 6, 1848.

⁷⁹ Mrs. D. L. [Lydia Maria] Child, *The History of the Condition of Women, in Various Ages and Nations*, 2 Vols. (Boston: John Allen & Co., 1835), 2:241.

⁸⁰ Henry Schoolcraft, *Communication from the Secretary of State, Transmitting the Report of Mr. Schoolcraft, One of the Agents Appointed to Take the Census or Enumeration of the Indians, &c.*, Senate [document] No. 24, State of New York, January 22, 1846, 88, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, URL.

“matrons” to attend council meetings and to address the council through an assigned speaker.⁸¹

- The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) sent missionaries to live among the Iroquois and other tribes. Their accounts, known as the *Jesuit Relations* were published in French in Europe during the 1600s. An English translation of the complete works did not exist until the early twentieth century, but it is possible that educated western New Yorkers knew something about their content. We did not review the *Jesuit Relations* for this study, but ethnographer Horatio Hale noted that early missionaries wrote about Iroquois gender roles.⁸²

Again, we could find no evidence that these published works had any bearing on the 1848 convention and its participants.

After 1848, additional works describing Iroquois gender roles were published, including Lewis Henry Morgan's pioneering ethnographic works in the 1850s.⁸³ By the late 1800s, some women's rights advocates had begun to hold up the Iroquois gender system as an ideal. Matilda Joslyn Gage, for example, remarked on Iroquois gender roles a number of times in her writing, and she appears to have been the most noted proponent of the idea that American feminists should look at Iroquois society as a model.⁸⁴ In *Woman, Church, and State*, Gage praised “the Matriarchate,” which she described as an old form of civilization in which women took precedence in family, governance, and religion.⁸⁵ She continued,

The famous Iroquois Indians, or Six Nations . . . showed alike in form of government, and in social life, reminiscences of the Matriarchate. The line of descent, feminine, was especially notable in all tribal relations such as the election of Chiefs, and Council of Matrons, to which all disputed questions were referred for final adjudication. No sale of lands was valid without consent of the [women] The women also possessed the veto power on questions of war.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Henry R. Schoolcraft, *An Address, Delivered before the Was-ah Ho-de-no-son-ne or New Confederacy of Iroquois* (Rochester, N.Y.: Jerome & Brother, 1846), 14-15, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, URL.

⁸² Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (1883; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 65.

⁸³ In the 1850s, these included Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee*, 84, 323-326; Myrtle, *Iroquois*, 42; and Lewis Henry Morgan, *Laws of Descent of the Iroquois* (1858), 3, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, URL.

⁸⁴ Wagner documents Gage's thinking about Indians in *Sisters in Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influence on Early American Feminists* (Summertown, Tenn.: Native Voices, 2001), 68-72.

⁸⁵ Matilda Joslyn Gage, *Woman, Church, and State*, 2nd ed. (1900; reprint, New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 1985), 14. Gage cited Johann Jakob Bachofen's *Motherright [Mutterrecht]*, which was published in 1861. She also cited John Lubbock, *Pre-historic times as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1865), and an author named Wilkin, for whom she did not supply a title.

⁸⁶ Gage, *Woman, Church, and State*, 17-18. Gage used Edmund O'Callaghan's *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, 4 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1849-1851), for some of her information about the Iroquois, but she did not cite other sources. According to *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature*, “Bachofen's theory found uncritical acceptance by the American ethnologue Lewis Henry Morgan,” who wrote extensively about the Iroquois. Morgan's work subsequently influenced Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Friederike Eigler and Susanne Kord, *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), 312.

Gage pointed out that other Native American cultures traced descent matrilineally and some accorded women an important role in governance.⁸⁷

Other suffragists mentioned Indians in their writing, but like Gage, they published these ideas well after the 1848 convention. The multivolume *History of Woman Suffrage*—compiled by Gage, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Ida Husted Harper—contains numerous references to Indians, although many of them reflected suffragists' concerns that Native American men would be given the vote ahead of white women. A few entries, however, call attention to Indian women's roles. At a convention on woman suffrage in 1870,

Mrs. Tappan gave an interesting account of some of the Indian tribes in Mexico and California, who, she thought, had in one sense a higher idea of the capacity of women than their more civilized brethren. The Navajos, on one occasion, when a United States Commission composed of General Sherman, General Terry, and other officers of the army, went to them to treat with them on behalf of the Government, refused to enter the officer's quarters for the purpose of discussion or decision of their difficulties, unless their [women] were permitted to participate in the deliberations, and the officers were obliged to allow the women to come in.⁸⁸

A section in *History of Woman Suffrage* on "Woman Suffrage in Other Countries" included the following: "Among primitive peoples the government is generally in the hands of the most competent without regard to sex, and some of these are still under the reign of the Matriarchate, or the rule of mothers, to whom belong the property and the children. The early Spanish inhabitants of the North American continent placed much authority in the hands of women, and the same is true of the Indian tribes."⁸⁹

Similarly, an 1891 article in *The Woman's Tribune* titled "The Matriarchate or Mother-Age" spoke of female descent among American Indians and stated, "Women sat in the councils of war and peace and their opinions had equal weight on all questions."⁹⁰

Alice Fletcher, an anthropologist and government agent, described Indian women's control of property to an audience in 1888. She commented that "as I have tried to explain our statutes to Indian women, I have met with but one response. They have said: 'As an Indian woman I was free. I owned my home, my person, the work of my own hands, and my children could never forget me. I was better as an Indian woman than under white law.'"⁹¹

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, too, called attention to Indian women's property rights, referring explicitly to Seneca women in an 1891 speech. She also remarked on the power of Iroquois women to nominate a chief and "to knock off [his] horns" (remove him).⁹²

Women's historian Sally Roesch Wagner, currently executive director of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, began writing about Iroquois influence on feminism in the 1980s.⁹³ In 1996,

⁸⁷ Gage, *Woman, Church, and State*, 18-19. Gage relied on William Alexander, *The History of Women, From the Earliest Antiquity, to the Present Time* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1779) for this information.

⁸⁸ Susan B. Anthony et al., *History of Woman Suffrage* (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, 1883-1900), 2:792.

⁸⁹ *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:1041.

⁹⁰ [Anonymous], "The Matriarchate or Mother-Age," *The Woman's Tribune*, February 28, 1891.

⁹¹ Alice Fletcher, *Report of the International Council of Women* (Washington, D.C.: Rufus H. Darby, Printer, 1888), 238-39, as quoted in Sally Roesch Wagner, "The Root of Oppression is the Loss of Memory: The Iroquois and the Early Feminist Vision," *Iroquois Women*, 225.

⁹² Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "The Matriarchate," *The National Bulletin* 1 (February 1891).

Wagner published an essay titled, "Is Equality Indigenous? The Untold Story of the Iroquois Influence on Early Radical Feminists." She argued that Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Gage "did not get their vision [of women's rights] in a vacuum." Instead, they drew it from their personal knowledge of Iroquois women.⁹⁴

Wagner followed this work with an exhibit titled "Sisters in Spirit: Celebrating the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influence on the Early Women's Rights Movement." The exhibit opened in 1998 to coincide with the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls convention. It was cosponsored by the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and Women's Rights NHP and was developed in cooperation with Cornell University.⁹⁵ Wagner then published *Sisters in Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influence on Early American Feminists*, an expanded version of her 1996 article, in 2001. She has made various public presentations on the subject, sometimes sharing the stage with Jeanne Shenandoah, an Onondaga.

Informational materials produced by the Friends of Ganondagan echo Wagner's ideas. Ganondagan is the location of a seventeenth-century Seneca village, now protected as a New York State historic site. The *House of Peace Study Guide*, an accompaniment to an educational video about Ganondagan, notes that "American women looked to the Haudenosaunee women for inspiration in their struggles for equality."⁹⁶ Similarly, a membership brochure for the Friends of Ganondagan states, "If you're a woman, you may be surprised to learn that the Seneca's matriarchal society helped inspire the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments that eventually led to a woman's right to vote."⁹⁷ This language also appears on Ganondagan's web site.⁹⁸

Contemporary Connections

Several contemporary Iroquois consulted for this study stated that the Iroquois have long known that their gender roles had an influence on the women's rights movement.⁹⁹ They did not report specific connections to the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, but some did express the belief that there is a link. David L George-Shongo, archivist for the Seneca Nation, wrote the following in response to an inquiry for the present study: "It is my understanding that many of these women associated with the women's movement had contact with Seneca women. These Seneca women informed them of their traditional role within our society. . . . It is also my understanding that the relationship with Seneca women is the reason why the convention happen[ed] at Seneca Falls."¹⁰⁰

⁹³ See Sally Roesch Wagner, "The Iroquois Confederacy: A Native American Model for Non-Sexist Men," in *Iroquois Women: An Anthology*, 217-21. Although interviewed for this project, Sally Roesch Wagner declined permission to cite her interview without prior review of project findings.

⁹⁴ Sally Roesch Wagner, "Is Equality Indigenous? The Untold Iroquois Influence on Early Radical Feminists," *On the Issues* 5, no. 1 (January 31, 1996): 21-25.

⁹⁵ "150th Anniversary of the First Women's Rights Convention, Special Events," <http://www.nps.gov/archive/wori/archives/event.htm>.

⁹⁶ Galban, *House of Peace*, 20.

⁹⁷ "Ganondagan: New York State Native American Historic Site" [membership application brochure for The Friends of Ganondagan], n.d.

⁹⁸ "Ganondagan State Historic Site," <http://www.ganondagan.org/home.html>.

⁹⁹ Clint Halftown, informal telephone interview by Emily Greenwald, October 23, 2007; Sheree Bonaparte to Emily Greenwald, December 24, 2007; David L George-Shongo, Jr., to Emily Greenwald, October 30, 2007; and Greenberg, interview.

¹⁰⁰ Shongo to Greenwald, October 30, 2007.

Clint Halftown, a designated Cayuga tribal contact for matters related to the Environmental Protection Agency, Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has served as a spokesperson for the Cayuga Nation on various matters. In response to our inquiry about possible Cayuga attachments to Women's Rights NHP, Halftown commented that the Cayuga Nation had had no communication from the park, and he considered this ironic for two reasons: (1) the park is within traditional Cayuga territory, and (2) women's rights ideas were picked up from the Iroquois.¹⁰¹

Peter Jemison, director of Ganondagan State Historic Site, compared the Iroquois influence on women's rights to the Iroquois influence on the U.S. Constitution. He said that ignorance and prejudice have prevented scholars and others from recognizing the Indian influence on women's rights and other aspects of American culture.¹⁰²

Sheree Bonaparte, the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the St. Regis Mohawk Tribe, explained to us, "We all believe that non-Native women of that era were definitely influenced by the rights and responsibility the women of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Iroquois Confederacy) had on the 'NEW' ideals of liberty and rights that were so cherished by the founders of the movement."¹⁰³

Some media sources also reflect contemporary Iroquois' sense of association with the women's rights movement. An article that appeared in the *Syracuse Herald American* in 1997 cited Onondaga clan mother Alice Papineau-Dwasenta as having "no doubt that the suffragists were influenced by the Haudenosaunee, the traditional Iroquois, and their way of life."¹⁰⁴ In addition, the Oneida Indian Nation posted an article on its website in March 2009 discussing Iroquois influence on the "pioneers of the women's rights movement in the 19th century," drawing largely from Sally Roesch Wagner's work.¹⁰⁵

Ronnie Reitter, an interpreter at Ganondagan, explained that contemporary Haudenosaunee women do not view their role as being about power; instead, it is about responsibility and balance in community.¹⁰⁶ Jeanne Shenandoah gave a similar explanation at a forum on Onondaga land claims in 2006, held in Syracuse, New York. At the forum,

Shenandoah addressed interpretations of Native culture that conflate or confuse matrifocal with "matriarchal." Their culture is not woman-dominated; there are different things, she explained, personal ceremonies in which men and women have different parts or duties, but difference does not mean "less than." "It is not that women have power; it's that people have power," she said. There is no "power over" since there is no dominance. Responsibilities are shared communally . . . Both male and female are equally valued, and both women and men take part in the political and economic life of the community.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Halftown, informal telephone interview.

¹⁰² Greenwald, notes of conversation with Jemison and Reitter.

¹⁰³ Sheree Bonaparte to Emily Greenwald, December 24, 2007.

¹⁰⁴ J. Trout Lowen, [article title cut off], *Syracuse Herald American*, April 6, 1997, Collection 15, SFHS.

¹⁰⁵ Oneida Indian Nation, "Inspiring Women's Rights: Haudenosaunee Life Stimulates Historical Movement," <http://www.oneidaindiannation.com/history/40535482.html>.

¹⁰⁶ Greenwald, notes of conversation with Jemison and Reitter.

¹⁰⁷ This description was written by Janet Dodd, assistant director of Women's Studies at Syracuse University, who attended the forum. See "Onondaga Land Rights and Our Common Future," <http://www.nyhistory.com/sallyroeschwagner/#syracusereview>.

These sentiments suggest a gap between how Iroquois understand their gender roles (male and female roles are different, complementary) and the way non-Indian feminists have used Iroquois gender roles to justify equality of the sexes.

Findings

The Seneca and Cayuga nations occupied the region that encompasses Seneca and Cayuga lakes as part of the larger Iroquois Confederacy, which stretched across most of present-day New York state. During and following the American Revolution, the Seneca and Cayuga were dispossessed of their lands and largely removed from the area. They were not present in or around Seneca Falls and Waterloo in significant numbers at the time of the 1848 women's rights convention, but they remained elsewhere in New York. The Iroquois have maintained distinct tribal and cultural identities to this day, both as individual nations and collectively as the Haudenosaunee or the Six Nations Confederacy.

Sally Roesch Wagner has uncovered solid documentary evidence to indicate that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, women's rights proponents such as Gage and Stanton used Iroquois women's roles as a rhetorical counterpoint to Euroamerican women's roles. The present study has turned up no definitive documentary evidence that participants in the 1848 convention drew inspiration from Iroquois women, however. Further research on possible historical connections is needed.

Contemporary Iroquois feel associated with the women's rights movement, but the people we spoke with did not express a sense of connection with the resources held by Women's Rights NHP. They did not refer to the park's resources in discussing their understanding of Iroquois influence on the women's rights movement. In addition, they did not express a sense that the park or its resources play a role in Iroquois cultural practice. Some of our interviewees had knowledge of Sally Roesch Wagner's work, although they did not always refer to her by name. Most, however, understand Iroquois knowledge of this influence on women's rights to be longstanding rather than a product of recent scholarship, but the people we spoke with did not specify how old this knowledge is.

Chapter 2: African Americans and Women's Rights NHP

Introduction and Methodology

The African American history of Seneca Falls and Waterloo is rich, rooted in abolitionism, the Underground Railroad, and changing residence patterns over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prominent African Americans visited the area regularly during the early and mid-nineteenth century, and evidence shows that a small but vibrant African American community resided there during that time. Although Seneca County as a whole maintained, and even expanded, its African American population over the twentieth century, especially in towns like Geneva, the presence of African Americans as residents in Seneca Falls or Waterloo declined over the last quarter of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. As of 2005, the African American presence in the Seneca Falls and Waterloo area was minimal, with people of color making up only 2 percent of the entire population of Seneca County and less than 2 percent of either of the villages of Waterloo or Seneca Falls (Table 1).

Table 1. African Americans as a Percentage of Population, 2000/2005¹

Village/Town	Total Population	African American	%	Mixed-race (undefined)	%
Waterloo (village)*	5,111	42	.08	49	10
Waterloo (town)*	7,866	78	1.0	120	1.5
Seneca Falls (village)*	6,861	50	.7	86	1.2
Seneca Falls (town)*	9,347	81	.9	143	1.5
Geneva**	13,617	1,391	10.5	916	6.7
Auburn**	28,574	2,170	7.6	442	1.5
Syracuse**	132,495	37,768	28.5	4,247	.03
Rochester**	189,312	80,548	42.5	5,757	.03
New York State**	18,655,275	2,858,062	15.3	283,858	.015

To better understand these questions, this chapter first examines the historical facts surrounding the people of African descent, both free and freedom seeking, who lived in Seneca County in 1848. Who comprised the population of African Americans living in the region during the nineteenth century and how did that population change over time? We then address the questions of whether black residents or those passing through while fleeing slavery may have participated in or associated with members of the abolitionist, Quaker, and women's rights organizations that populated the area prior to the Civil War. Specifically, we explore whether African Americans or prominent abolitionists had ties to the extant buildings the park manages and interprets.

Next comes a discussion of the complex ties between prominent activists, such as Frederick Douglass and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as the women's rights movement transformed itself after passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments from one that ardently supported abolitionism to one with a much more ambivalent relationship to blacks in America because of conflict over how best to achieve woman suffrage. Because the geographical center of the women's rights movement between approximately 1860 and 1908 was largely removed from

¹ Source: * 2000 U.S. Census; ** 2005 U.S. Community Survey (as reported by www.ePodunk.com).

Seneca Falls, this discussion necessarily focuses more on the potent symbol that the 1848 convention had become to white women as the “birthplace” of the modern women’s rights movement than it does on Seneca Falls itself. Important to this chapter is understanding that by contrast, Seneca Falls appears not to have been a similarly important symbol of freedom among African Americans, despite the fact that Frederick Douglass had been a lynchpin to its success. Black women’s rights advocates such as Mary Terrell attended various commemorations of the 1848 convention over the nineteenth and twentieth century and were active in the suffrage and other reform movements. However, they often used their attendance as a platform to point out the ongoing racism present in American society, and to castigate white women’s activism for neither considering nor adequately addressing the concerns of black women, whose identity comprises both gender and race in a way that is more noticeable than for white women, whose race has been historically invisible. Understanding these conflict-laden ties between black and white activists may help explain why African Americans today may or may not feel a sense of association with the park and the historical story it interprets.

The second section of this chapter demonstrates how the African American population of the area changed over the course of the twentieth century and how those changes affect the relationships among contemporary people of color to the park (both locally and nationally) and the history it interprets. Substantial populations of African Americans have settled in towns like Geneva and Rochester over the past two centuries. We explore here whether people living in those areas may have migrated from Waterloo or Seneca Falls and perhaps brought with them a traditional association with the resources the park manages. Do residents of Geneva or Rochester understand or identify with the roles Frederick Douglass, AME Zion pastors like Jermaine Loguen, or abolitionist Quakers played in the activist movements that led up to and fueled support for and attendance at the 1848 convention? Do they value this connection to the park’s resources more as a historical idea or do they make pilgrimages to the site as they might visit Frederick Douglass’s gravesite in Rochester or the Harriet Tubman house in Auburn?

Defining the Terms Black and African American

The meanings of the terms *black* and *African American* are as complex as each individual who identifies as such. Scholars of black identity have argued that alienation and disenfranchisement have been daily experiences for African Americans, who in response developed collective practices of empowerment, most notably rhetorical strategies that allowed them to create a sense of shared identity.² Historian Leslie M. Alexander argues that black leaders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries struggled to define their community as alternately African and American. As Alexander demonstrates, black leaders ultimately asserted American identity over African identity, a decision that signaled a new phase in the quest for racial advancement and fostered the creation of a nascent Black Nationalism.³ Since the Black Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s, black Americans have reembraced their African-ness while also maintaining their American-ness. Historian William Wright has called on historians to be more precise in their definitions of African Americans, a call that this study tries to answer but the rectification

² Dexter B. Gordon, *Black Identity: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003).

³ Leslie M. Alexander, *African or American? Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784-1861* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

of which is beyond the scope of this work.⁴ For the purposes of this study, then, we define the term *African American* to mean people whose primary cultural identity is as a person descended from free blacks or slaves who arrived in the Americas from Africa before the American Civil War, who choose to self-name as *black* in contemporary society. African Americans in the United States thus identify with the history of slavery and the alienation and disenfranchisement Gordon illuminates while also seeing themselves as both African and American, in Alexander's terms. The terms African American and black are used interchangeably throughout this study.

Within this category, however, individuals and groups can possess many different cultural associations, relating to a person's or their family's geographical location, class, level of skin pigmentation, and education, among many other variables. As historian Kathryn Grover has demonstrated, descendants of antebellum black settlers to Geneva, New York, for example, perceive themselves differently from those whose families arrived in the middle of the twentieth century.⁵ Similarly, African Americans affiliated with the AME Zion church in Rochester report a much stronger, almost familial connection to black leader Frederick Douglass than one might find among black residents, for example, in Auburn who likely identify more strongly with their local heroine Harriet Tubman.

Interview Methodology

This chapter seeks to answer the following questions: What knowledge do people of color currently have about the role African American residents of Seneca Falls or Waterloo played in local reform movements? What knowledge do contemporary people of color who live near or visit the park have about the park resources or the history the park interprets? Which of the park's resources do contemporary African Americans use or feel an attachment to? To find potential interviewees to speak to these questions, we began by talking to African Americans who had established relationships with park staff and contractors or who worked at or were affiliated with African American historical sites locally (e.g., the Harriet Tubman House) and nationally (e.g., Frederick Douglass National Historic Site). We also spoke with scholars of African American history in the area, pastors associated with local black churches, community organizers, and public servants, as well as non-blacks who were active in groups that interacted in some fashion with African American history (e.g., Friends of Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester). We then used a snowball sampling method, asking each of those contacts if they knew of other people with whom we should speak and so on. People with whom we conducted more formal interviews are listed in Appendix C.

We did not find opportunities for participant observation with regard to African American relationships to Women's Rights NHP. Documentary research, evidence gathered anecdotally, formal interviews, and informal conversations demonstrated the absence of any organized use of the park's resources by African Americans. Furthermore, we were unable to locate organized groups of African Americans operating in Seneca Falls or Waterloo with whom to speak about group identity and activities, much less any associations they might have with the park. Both Geneva and Rochester have chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of

⁴ William D. Wright, *Black History and Black Identity: A Call for a New Historiography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).

⁵ Kathryn Grover, *Make a Way Somehow: African-American Life in a Northern Community, 1790-1965* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1994).

Colored People (NAACP), but contact was not established with members of either group for the purposes of this study.

This study did not reveal any African American groups that consider the park's resources or the history it interprets important to their identity. It did, however, reveal a number of individual African Americans who feel associated with the park and the history it interprets.

Nineteenth-Century African Americans in Seneca Falls and Waterloo

African Americans first came to the area around present-day Seneca Falls and Waterloo in the late eighteenth century as slaves to settlers who were primarily from New Jersey, eastern New York state, and Virginia. In 1810 and 1820, respectively, 101 and 84 people reportedly lived in slavery in Seneca County (Table 2). After New York State began gradual emancipation of its slaves in 1804, with full freedom for African Americans guaranteed by 1827, increasing numbers of free blacks populated the many small communities that dotted western New York.⁶ In towns like Waterloo, they bought property, raised families, and ran successful businesses for decades.

Table 2. African American Population of Seneca County, New York, 1810-1960⁷

Year	Seneca Falls (town), African American Population ^a	Waterloo (town), African American Population ^a	Seneca County, Free African American Population	Seneca County, Enslaved African American Population	Seneca County, Total African American Population	Total Seneca County Population
1810			44	101	145	16,609
1820			180	84	264	23,619
1830			177		177	21,041
1840			199		199	24,874
1850	26	65	181		181	25,441
1860	25	90	213		213	28,138
1870	49	62	239		239	27,823
1880	27	29	242		242	29,278
1890			188		188	28,227
1900	11	54	135		135	28,114
1910	22	17	122		122	26,972
1920	23	14	119		119	24,735
1930	7	12	137		137	24,983
1940			121		121	25,732
1950			208		208	29,253
1960			326		326	31,984

^a Figures for the African American populations of Seneca Falls and Waterloo are based on searches for "blacks" and "mulattos" on Ancestry.com. These figures are approximations based on numbers obtained through database searching, and were not verified by hand counting of the manuscript census.

⁶ For a chronology of personal liberty laws in New York and other northern states, see Thomas D. Morris, *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).

⁷ Census data for 1810–1960 from "Historical Census Browser," from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, electronic resource, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections>; town-specific census data for 1850, 1870–1880, and 1900–1930 from Ancestry.com, *United States Federal Census* [database on-line], <http://www.ancestry.com>. No sources of census data for Seneca Falls or Waterloo were found for the last half of the twentieth century, although ePodunk and other such websites provide the most up-to-date census data (see Table 1).

Additionally, freedom seekers from the South came through Seneca County in growing numbers after 1830, many of them choosing to settle in the region. In their comprehensive study of African Americans living in and passing through the area between 1820 and 1880, historians Judith Wellman and Tanya Warren found 168 African Americans living in Seneca County in 1855, with the majority living in Waterloo (69), Ovid (28), and Seneca Falls (26).⁸

Around the time of the 1848 convention and for a few decades afterward, both Waterloo and Seneca Falls were home to small groups of African Americans, who apparently integrated with little trouble into the community. African Americans escaping the South or coming from other parts of the North would have been attracted by kinship ties to blacks living in the region or by the knowledge that enclaves of other freed or freedom-seeking African Americans had successfully established a community in a given region. Additionally, the presence of such prominent Underground Railroad conductors as Harriet Tubman, who resided nearby in Auburn, may have drawn escaping slaves to the region. Indeed, Tubman may have conducted freedom seekers to safe houses in Waterloo and Seneca Falls, as it is known that she associated with Elizabeth Cady Stanton during Stanton's residency in the area.⁹ The African American presence in Waterloo, specifically, was likely the result of the strong abolitionist and egalitarian views of Quakers such as the M'Clintocks, Hunts, and Bonnells (to name only a few), who created a friendly environment for freed blacks and for freedom seekers. Mainly members of Junius Monthly and Farmington Monthly meetings, these abolitionist Quakers split from Farmington Monthly Meeting in 1848 to form the Congregational Friends (later the Friends of Human Progress or Progressive Friends). Often considered the most radical arm of the Quaker denomination, Progressive Friends advocated racial freedom, women's rights, and a less authoritarian religious structure than other meetings (for more on Quakers, see chapter 3).¹⁰

Wellman and Warren found that Waterloo had a racially integrated neighborhood where blacks lived side by side with whites. Using historical property documents and census records, they located this neighborhood on Walnut Street north of Main Street and west of Virginia Street. Maria Jackson, for example, who had lived in the M'Clintock House as a teenager, resided on Walnut Street with her husband Thomas, and then bought a larger, brick house south of the state route around 1857.¹¹

African Americans in Seneca Falls included Thomas James and Joshua E. Wright, who worked as barbers and were trustees of the integrated Wesleyan Methodist Church, which had at least six

⁸ Judith Wellman and Tanya Warren, Historical New York Research Associates, "Discovering the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Seneca County, New York, 1820-1880," Cultural Resources Survey prepared for Seneca County Historian's Office, Walter Gable, Seneca County Historian, 2006, 15.

⁹ These meetings were noted Harriet Stanton Blatch's 1939 autobiography, where she claimed to have met Tubman two or three times during her childhood, once on a trip with her mother's abolitionist cousin and friend Elizabeth Smith Miller, daughter of renowned abolitionist Gerrit Smith and creator of the "bloomer" costume. See Jean McMahon Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 376n17.

¹⁰ This is not to say that all white Quakers were free from racial bias. On Quaker racism, see Shirley J. Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); Margaret Hope Bacon, "New Light on Sarah Mapps Douglass and her Reconciliation with Friends," *Quaker History* 90, no. 1 (2000): 28–49; and Margaret Hope Bacon, "The Motts and the Purvises: A Study in Interracial Friendship," *Quaker History* 92, no. 2 (2003): 1–18. The Friends were known, however, to be one of the most tolerant Christian denominations of racial and gender differences; they also intervened on behalf of the Native Americans in the area. See chapter 3.

¹¹ Judith Wellman, informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 19, 2007.

black affiliates or members in the mid-1800s.¹² James was successful enough to have constructed a building block in downtown Seneca Falls in 1863 that still bears his name.¹³ Local notices about James's improvements in town were quite positive, indicating that race relations were at least cordial among the more successful African Americans and whites, if typically condescending. The paper noted in 1863 that

we cannot refrain from bringing to notice the fact that Mr. James, who is a fugitive slave, is the possessor, in this village, of real estate to the amount of twelve or fifteen thousand dollars, all of which he has honestly acquired during his residence here. He has shown that although he belongs to the down-trodden race *he can take care of himself*, and we think no one will deny that he has *rights which white men are bound to respect*, Judge Taney to the contrary notwithstanding.¹⁴

James's hotel was reported to have been "quite elegant in style," which "we [the editors] mention . . . to show what freedom will do for a man, and that 'some things as well as others' can be done by colored men."¹⁵

Determining where the descendants of these early area black settlers are today is hard. Wellman and Warren were able to track many relatives to local graveyards and to confirm that certain family lines had died out in the late nineteenth century. Thomas and Sarah Elizabeth James, for example, had one daughter, Martha, who died in childbirth at eighteen years old in 1855. After Thomas died in 1867, his widow Sarah lived another thirty-seven years until her death somewhere between 93 and 102 years old in 1904. Sarah was buried next to Thomas in Seneca Falls' Restvale Cemetery.¹⁶

Despite early patterns of interracial residency, the demographics of western New York changed substantially in the years after the Civil War.¹⁷ Racial segregation increased in the North following the war, as blacks looking for work left small towns and gathered in more urban communities like Geneva, Auburn, Syracuse, and Rochester. The original African American arrivals in these towns were then joined by blacks migrating North in a series of waves during the Jim Crow era to escape racial violence and to find employment and community. During the Great Migration, which occurred between the two world wars, many blacks moved from the South to the North and from smaller towns and rural areas to urban centers, for similar reasons.

Historical African American Connections to Women's Rights NHP

The changing African American demographics of western New York, along with the seeming alienation of African Americans from commemorations of the 1848 Seneca Falls convention,

¹² Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 15, 24. For a complete listing of African Americans known to have lived in the area, see Wellman and Warren's appendices in "Discovering the Underground Railroad."

¹³ Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 171.

¹⁴ Clipping from *History of Seneca Falls from 1787 to 1873, from Scraps Saved by Mrs. C. O. Goodyear*, scrapbooks, 38 (undated except year 1863), Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls, N.Y. (SFHS).

¹⁵ *History of Seneca Falls from 1787 to 1873, from Scraps Saved by Mrs. C. O. Goodyear*, scrapbooks, 41 (undated except year 1863), SFHS.

¹⁶ For more on James's building block and residence, as well as the history of his family, see Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 171–84.

¹⁷ For an overview of black patterns of migration in the United States, see "Growth and Distribution of the Black Population," in *Reference Library of Black America*, ed. Kenneth Estell (New York: Gale Research Inc., 1994), 5:445–58.

may explain why African Americans as a group do not appear to have maintained relationships with the resources that are contained within Women's Rights NHP. All of the historic buildings are associated with African American and abolitionist history in some way. While some of these structures hold significance for individual African Americans, African Americans do not rely on them for expression of group identity.

M'Clintock House, 16 East Williams Street, Waterloo¹⁸

Listed on the National Register in 1980, the M'Clintock House is the only Seneca County site currently listed on the New York State Tourism Underground Railroad Heritage Trail. The M'Clintock House is recognized for the family's roles as active Quaker abolitionists and Mary Ann M'Clintock's role as an organizer of the women's rights convention. The house has been restored to convey its likely appearance in 1848. On July 16 that year, Mary Ann M'Clintock, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and perhaps other members of the M'Clintock family met to prepare for the upcoming women's rights convention in Seneca Falls. On a table now displayed in replica in the house, these women prepared the agenda and reviewed a draft of the Declaration of Sentiments, which they presented at the convention three days later.¹⁹

At the time of the convention, Richard Hunt owned the M'Clintock House, which Mary Ann and Thomas M'Clintock and their family rented. Historic records reveal that the house was the site of meetings and provided overnight housing for many abolitionists as well as people involved in other reform efforts, such as local Quakers with whom the M'Clintocks formed the Progressive Friends in 1848. Famous abolitionists and antislavery agents who stayed at the M'Clintock House were Abby Kelley, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and William C. Nell. Thomas M'Clintock operated a drug store south of the house in a still-extant building block. Like the M'Clintock House, the store was a site for antislavery activism. The M'Clintocks advertised that they sold no merchandise produced by slave labor; they also gathered signatures from customers on antislavery petitions that would later be sent to Congress.

In addition to their interracial reform connections, the M'Clintock residence was home to at least two African Americans. The 1850 census shows that two African Americans, S. L. Freeman (eight years old) and Mary Jackson (seventeen years old), were living with the family that year, although why they were there is unclear. Mary may have been the daughter of Thomas and Maria Jackson of Waterloo, and might have been working as a servant in the house. In 1851, the M'Clintock family provided Jermain Loguen refuge during his escape to Canada after aiding in the rescue of William "Jerry" Henry. An account of the so-called Jerry Rescue attributed to *Seneca County Courier* editor Thomas Mumford described the well-armed Loguen as "apprehensive and wakeful, walking in his room during most of the night," prepared to fight to the death should his pursuers have arrived, despite his presence in the "house of a man of peace."²⁰

¹⁸ Discussion of the M'Clintock House is compiled from Eldra D. Walker, "Hunt House," National Park Service, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom nomination form, submitted January 15, 2006, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files; and Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad" 317–21.

¹⁹ Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 191.

²⁰ "Thomas M'Clintock," *The Christian Register*, Boston, Mass. March 25, 1876, quoted in Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 318.

*Hunt House, 401 E. Main Street, Waterloo*²¹

The Hunt House, built in 1829, is probably most significant for its association with the initial meeting at which Lucretia Mott, Martha Coffin Wright, Mary Ann M'Clintock, Jane Hunt, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton gathered and decided to call for a women's rights convention. The building also has strong ties to the abolitionist movement, and was possibly an Underground Railroad stop, through its resident Quaker antislavery activists Richard P. Hunt and his third and fourth wives, Sarah M'Clintock Hunt (married from 1837 until she died in 1842) and Jane Clothier Master Hunt (married from 1845 until Richard's death in 1856). Originally from Philadelphia, Sarah and Jane were local Quakers associated with Junius Monthly Meeting of Friends in Waterloo. Elizabeth Cady Stanton praised Richard Hunt as one of a "trio of good men," with Thomas M'Clintock and Henry Bonnell, who were "the life" of annual meetings of the Congregational Friends (later, the Friends of Human Progress), of which they were founding members.²²

Richard Hunt was born in Westchester County, New York, in 1797. He arrived in Waterloo in 1821, and quickly rose to prominence among the town's economic elite with commercial, real-estate, and industrial investments, such as the Waterloo Woolen Mill.²³ By 1850, Hunt was one of the wealthiest residents (if not the wealthiest) of Waterloo, owning \$40,000 in real estate. Always a supporter of abolition, Hunt was a member of William Lloyd Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society and corresponded with Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Oliver Johnson, and other such luminaries, while also attending and presiding over various antislavery events with his successive wives. In 1840, Richard Hunt and Thomas M'Clintock sent Garrison a "slave-free" bolt of cloth from which to sew a suit to wear at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London that year; the cloth had been manufactured at his Waterloo Woolen Mill.²⁴ Sarah Hunt explicitly requested that her body be wrapped in linen, not material made from slave-grown cotton.²⁵

Oral tradition has maintained that the Hunt House was a stop on the Underground Railroad. Most likely quoting John Becker's late-1940s history of Waterloo, which recounted the tradition, the *Geneva Times* reported in September 1970 that Hunt had first turned the upper floor of his carriage house into a hostel of sorts for needy persons passing through. Then, as the Underground Railroad gathered momentum in the wake of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, he supposedly turned the carriage house into lodging for runaway slaves on their way to Canada.²⁶ According to Seneca County Historian Walter Gable, like the M'Clintock House, the Hunt

²¹ General discussion of the Hunt House is compiled from Eldra D. Walker, "Hunt House," National Park Service, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom nomination form, submitted July 15, 2006, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files; and Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 296-300.

²² Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Henry Bonnell and the Waterloo Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress," *Free Thought Magazine* 13 (1895), quoted in Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 297.

²³ See George Truman to His Children, November 10, 1856, Papers of Dr. George Truman (1798-1877), Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; and Hunt's obituary, which was printed in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, December 6, 1856; and *Liberator*, November 28, 1856. See also "In Memoriam," *Waterloo Observer*, June 21, 1876.

²⁴ William Lloyd Garrison to Thomas M'Clintock, May 1, 1840, Neely Collection, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

²⁵ Obituary of Sarah Hunt, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 30, 1842.

²⁶ John E. Becker, *A History of the Village of Waterloo, New York: And Thesaurus of Related Facts* (Waterloo, N.Y.: Waterloo Library and Historical Society, 1949); and Betty Auten, "First Place for Seneca County Homes," *Geneva Times*, September 21, 1970.

House exemplifies the interweaving of antislavery activity with other reform activism in the antebellum period.²⁷

*Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls*²⁸

Although there is no evidence that the Stanton House itself was a stop on the Underground Railroad, the house is strongly linked to the antislavery movement by virtue of the Stantons' abolitionist activism. This association may have had importance to contemporaneous African American communities. During the Stanton residency from 1847 to 1862, both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Henry B. Stanton played active but different roles in the antislavery campaign.

Elizabeth Cady had grown up with black slaves in her hometown of Johnstown, New York, but she also had been exposed early in life to abolitionist sentiment at her cousin Gerrit Smith's house, where she would encounter not only her first Underground Railroad passenger in 1839 but also her husband-to-be, Henry B. Stanton, whom she married in 1840. On their honeymoon, the newlyweds attended the World Antislavery Convention in London, where Elizabeth met Lucretia Mott and where their early conversations on women's rights had begun in response to having been forced to sit behind a screen for the meeting because of their sex. Although their compatriot William Lloyd Garrison sat with them in protest of the discrimination, Stanton and Mott were humiliated by this treatment and vowed to come together in the future to create a women's rights movement. That very thing would happen eight years later in Seneca Falls.

Elizabeth and Henry had been married for seven years when they moved to Seneca Falls to take possession of the house Elizabeth's father, Daniel Cady, had signed over to her alone.²⁹ Wellman and Warren note that during her time in Seneca Falls, Elizabeth had at least occasional contact with the small African American community there, including regular attendance at the Episcopal Church with Abby Gay, a free black woman who advocated for women's rights,³⁰ and at the barbershop of Thomas James, whom she paid a shilling to wash and cut her hair.

The Stanton House also hosted a number of abolitionists associated with both Elizabeth and Henry. Gerrit Smith, for example, likely stayed there before traveling to Buffalo in June 1847 to deliver the major address at what would become known as the National Liberty Convention. Abolitionist ties to the Stanton House, however, are probably stronger to Henry Stanton than to his wife. Unlike some of his colleagues in the Free Soil movement, who attended the women's rights convention and signed the Declaration of Sentiments, Henry did not support his wife's call for female suffrage in the 1848 convention and purposefully avoided the event, traveling instead around New York State with his abolitionist message.

²⁷ Walter Gable, "The Underground Railroad and Other Anti-Slavery Activity in Seneca County in the Antebellum Years," electronic document, <http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/history/The%20Underground%20Railroad%20and%20Other%20Anti-Slavery%20Activity.doc>.

²⁸ This section is summarized from Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 217–21.

²⁹ Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 218. Cady may have done this to ensure his daughter's possession of the property despite her marriage. This issue would be solved a year later by New York's *Married Women's Property Act of 1848*, which allowed women to hold title separately from their husbands on property they had owned prior to marriage.

³⁰ "Women in the Abolitionist Movement in Seneca County," electronic document, http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/history/ugrr/women_antislavery.pdf.

Henry's abolitionism more often took him out of Seneca Falls than saw him agitating locally, although his name was associated with five Free Soil Party entries in the local newspaper. Historian Judith Wellman explains in *The Road to Seneca Falls* how, by 1840, Henry had been mobbed 150 times while speaking on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society around the country.³¹ The day before his wife and four other women gathered in the Hunt House to write the call for a convention, Henry spoke in Warsaw, N.Y., to a crowd of two thousand people, sixty of whom became delegates to the Free Soil convention held in Buffalo in August 1848. According to Seneca County historian Walter Gable, Henry spoke in Canandaigua a few days after the Warsaw speech, and on August 3, he and Seneca Falls resident Ansel Bascom (who did attend the women's rights convention) addressed a capacity crowd in Seneca Falls, which elected 102 delegates to the Free Soil Convention, including Stanton and Bascom. Also elected during that meeting were Nathan J. Milliken, Jacob P. Chamberlain, and Charles L. Hoskins, who were signers of the Declaration of Sentiments.³²

Wesleyan Chapel, Corner of Fall and Mynderse Streets, Seneca Falls³³

The Wesleyan Chapel is most significant to Women's Rights NHP as the location of the 1848 women's rights convention. And, like the other sites the park manages, it has strong ties to the abolitionist movement and the history of African Americans in the area. Frederick Douglass called the Wesleyan Methodist Church, which was originally formed in Utica in May 1843, "radically Antislavery." The newly formed religion included abolitionists from as many as ten different denominations, unified as Wesleyan Methodists because of their abolitionist views.³⁴ Reflecting its strong abolitionist factions, the first Wesleyan Methodist society in Seneca Falls had gathered in March 1843, two months before the national organizing committee. By definition Wesleyan Methodists were active abolitionists. A number of freedom seekers spoke to the congregation on the topic of slavery. Although they had originally avoided allowing political discussions in the church, their supporters for abolitionism, as well as temperance, women's rights, and other reforms led them to make their sanctuary "a free discussion house" for any who wished to speak on those issues. Thus in 1848, Stanton, Mott, Wright, and M'Clintock chose it as the location for their women's rights convention.³⁵

Wesleyan ties to African Americans were stronger than just their abolitionist sentiments. A number of ministers of the Wesleyan Church were actively involved with the Underground Railroad. Between 1843 and 1864, ministers who had known connections to the Underground Railroad were George Pegler, Samuel Salisbury, and Horace B. Knight. In addition to its active white railroad "conductors," the Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls was integrated, with at least eight black members (two of whom served as trustees). Known African American members were Joshua W. Wright and Thomas James, both barbers and trustees at the church; Joshua Wright's two wives, Samantha Wright and Mary Jackson Wright; Susan Jackson, who may have been a relative of Mary Jackson; and Harriet Freeman Butler, wife of Solomon Butler, a livery service operator in Seneca Falls.³⁶ Other relatives of these known Wesleyans may have attended the

³¹ Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls*, 46.

³² Gable, "The Underground Railroad and Other Anti-Slavery Activity," 8-9.

³³ This section is summarized from Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 232-43.

³⁴ Douglass quoted in Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 233. For more on the history of Wesleyan Methodism, see chapter 4.

³⁵ Abby Kelley quoted in Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 235.

³⁶ Wellman and Warren, "Discovering the Underground Railroad," 241-43.

church, too, but evidence of that has not been found. By the late nineteenth century, the Wesleyan Methodist Church as it was known (both physically and as a mixed congregation) in 1848 had disappeared (see section above about decreasing black populations in Seneca Falls).

Race and the Women's Rights Movement

By the 1830s, abolitionism and the quest for equal rights for women had become inextricably linked. As historian Shirley J. Yee has explained, "the 'woman question' had opened animated discussion about the possibility of achieving sexual as well as racial equality."³⁷ Participation in the antislavery movement had provided both white and black women in the North an enhanced awareness of their oppression(s) and a setting within which they could challenge not only their subordinate status as females within antislavery organizations but also their subordinate status within society as a whole. White women, however, who often likened their own oppression to that of slaves, "could not always be trusted to evaluate their own complicity in racism or even to understand black women's concerns."³⁸

No black women are known to have participated in the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, although they did play roles in other forms of women's rights activism. Prior to the Civil War, African American men such as Frederick Douglass and Robert Purvis supported women's rights, recognizing that enfranchisement was fundamental to political, and thus social and economic, freedom. Purvis was an exception among black men, remaining a staunch supporter of women's right to vote his entire life.³⁹ By contrast, Douglass, who was the key supporter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's suffrage plank in the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments, tempered his position later by prioritizing the black male vote over universal suffrage. Prior to passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, Douglass often stated that women's rights agitation could harm black men's call for the vote cause because there was no way Congress would support suffrage for women, whether white or black.⁴⁰ Unlike Purvis and Douglass, many black men actively opposed women's rights campaigns and black women's participation in either abolitionist or suffrage activities.⁴¹

³⁷ Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*, 136.

³⁸ Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*, 136. For more on the general history of black women's experience in the nineteenth century, see Dorothy Sterling, ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1997); and Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985).

³⁹ For a brief biography of Robert Purvis, see African American Registry, "Robert Purvis Was a Dedicated Abolitionist,"

http://www.aaregistry.com/african_american_history/1053/Robert_Purvis_was_a_dedicated_abolitionist. For more on the relationship between Lucretia Mott and the Purvis family, see Bacon, "The Motts and the Purvises," and Margaret Hope Bacon, *But One Race: The Life of Robert Purvis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).

⁴⁰ Information about Douglass's arguments on women's rights versus racial equality can be found in Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*; and Philip S. Foner, ed., *Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976).

⁴¹ As Yee points out, like their white counterparts, black men held sexist ideas about social roles. This was exacerbated by a distinctly black desire and need to achieve "respectability" by conforming strictly to white middle-class gender norms, which prescribed distinct "spheres" for men and women and codes of appropriate behavior for women outside the home. Black women, then, perhaps even more than white women, contradicted appropriate gender roles within their racial community when they spoke out publicly or took on "masculine" tasks associated with public antislavery or women's rights activism (*Black Women Abolitionists*, 138–39).

By the 1850s, some white suffrage activists were actively dissociating women's voting from racial equality. In the fight surrounding ratification and passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments (wherein for the first time in American history the word *male* was used to describe citizens and suffrage was granted to black men, respectively), white suffragists became increasingly and overtly racist.⁴² Although black and white women's suffrage activism occasionally overlapped following the 1848 convention, most white and black women engaged in social activism grew farther apart over the course of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, some African American women actively supported women's right to vote at the same time they advocated for abolition of slavery. Although an ardent supporter of black men's political rights, for example, Sojourner Truth spoke numerous times over the nineteenth century about the need for black women to be granted suffrage upon emancipation as well. In 1867, at age seventy, Truth explained, "I feel that I have a right to have just as much as a man. There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights; and if colored men get their rights and not colored women theirs, the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as before."⁴³

Truth is perhaps the best recognized nineteenth-century African American woman who advocated women's rights.⁴⁴ But other black women supported the cause as well, first in the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) and later in the American Woman Suffrage Association and National Woman Suffrage Association (which were created out of the AERA over schisms among women's rights reformers about universal suffrage), and the rejoined group, the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Harriet Tubman, Mary Ann Cary Shadd, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Hattie Purvis, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and the Rollin sisters from South Carolina, among others, worked side by side with white women to promote the suffrage cause.⁴⁵ As Yee points out, "their exclusion from any serious consideration in the agendas of black male activists and white feminists did not mean . . . that black women were inactive."⁴⁶ Shadd, for example, noted in a report to the *Provincial Freedman* in 1856 that "the cause of 'Women's Rights' does not flourish as it should" within the abolitionist movement.⁴⁷

Another lecturer on the antislavery circuit in the 1850s, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, eloquently drew on examples of the dual oppression slave women faced as a result of both their sex and their race. She spoke always as both an African American and a woman. Between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the twentieth century, Harper expanded her focus to include temperance and women's rights more specifically. She became one of the most prominent black women involved in the mostly white women's rights movement, attending and presenting at meetings and membership and leadership positions in the Association for the

⁴² A good overview of racism among white suffragists is Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine, 2002), esp. chap. 4, "Race and the Politics of Identity in U.S. Feminism."

⁴³ Quoted in Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*, 1.

⁴⁴ Truth is perhaps most well known for her often but inaccurately quoted "And Ain't I a Woman?" speech, which she presented to a primarily white Women's Rights Convention audience gathered in Akron, Ohio, in 1851. Much has been written about the actual content of Truth's speech and the later (mis)reporting of it by president of the convention Frances Dana Gage. See, for example, Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

⁴⁵ For more on Tubman's activism, particularly her relationships with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other women's rights activists living and working in the Seneca Falls area prior to the Civil War, see Humez, *Harriet Tubman*.

⁴⁶ Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*, 149.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists*, 142.

Advancement of Women, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Universal Peace Union, American Woman's Suffrage Association, International Council of Women, and National Council of Women. In 1896, she helped found and became vice-president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).⁴⁸

Black women did not appear in significant numbers in women's rights organizations over the course of the seventy-plus years that it took women to achieve the vote in this country. After 1890, however, they did gather in increasing numbers into clubs, which became the center of black women's efforts on behalf of their race and their sex. As part of the larger women's club movement of the late nineteenth century, which comprised women's organizations of all races, ethnicities, interests, locations, and ages, African American women reformers carried the cause of black women's rights into the twentieth century.

Historians of African American women's reform efforts have shown that "race women" in both the North and the South were more likely than their white counterparts to work for race-specific causes that cut across gender lines such as Jim Crow laws, segregation, poor health care and educational opportunities, real-estate redlining, and racial violence. Although some of these campaigns became national in scope, such as Ida B. Wells's highly visible antilynching campaign, the bulk of most black women's club work occurred on a local level with important and lasting results for both women and men in their communities.⁴⁹ The motto of the NACW, "Lifting as We Climb," sums up the black woman's burden of lifting up the race as a whole as they climbed up the ladder themselves, facing both sexism and racism.

Mary Church Terrell and Black Support of Women's Right to Vote

As with many of their white counterparts in Progressive-Era reform groups, the individual identities of African American clubwomen are often lost. Some, though, like Ida B. Wells, achieved great prominence among whites and blacks alike. One of the most prominent African American reformers was Mary Church Terrell, who advocated both racial and gendered reforms and was a tireless advocate for women's suffrage. Understanding the ambivalent relationship Terrell had to the suffrage movement, which arguably was more of a white woman's cause than a black woman's, demonstrates the long-standing ambivalence of many black reformers to the movement.

⁴⁸ Bettye Collier Thomas, "Frances Ellen Watkins Harper: Abolitionist and Feminist Reformer, 1825-1911," in *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, ed. Ann D. Gordon et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 40-65.

⁴⁹ Some sources on the black women's club movement are Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, "Advancement of the Race through African American Women's Organizations in the South, 1895-1925," 120-33, and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "Clubwomen and Electoral Politics in the 1920s," 134-55, both in *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, ed. Ann D. Gordon et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); Wanda Hendricks, *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998); Floris Loretta Barnett, *African American Women and Social Action: The Clubwomen and Volunteerism from Jim Crow to the New Deal, 1896-1936* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); Maureen A. Flanagan, "Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Woman's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era," *American Historical Review* 95 (October 1990): 1032-50; and Anne Meis Knupfer, *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New York: NYU Press, 1996).

Of all the prominent African American women reformers of her era, Terrell has the most well-documented ties both to the women that attended the 1848 Seneca Falls convention and to later anniversary celebrations of the event. At the fiftieth anniversary event of the 1848 convention, which occurred in Washington, D.C., Terrell, then president of the NACW, gave an "impassioned address" on "The Progress of Colored Women."⁵⁰ She was also present in Seneca Falls at the 1908 anniversary celebration, the first such event to take place in Seneca Falls and the only such celebration in the first half of the twentieth century where a black woman spoke about black women's perspective on women's rights and the women's rights movement. Terrell's rousing speech at the 1898 National American Woman Suffrage Association convention celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the 1848 convention was well known and the presence of African American women and men in the audience in Washington, D.C., where the 1898 event occurred, was apparently common.⁵¹ Terrell's presence in Seneca Falls in 1908 as a black woman speaking to a white audience, though, seems to have been as singular as was Douglass's similar presence at the 1848 convention, requiring some explanation.

Terrell's strong support of women's suffrage in the 1880s and 1890s was relatively uncommon for black women at the time. During this period, however, she met and cultivated a friendship with Susan B. Anthony, which led to relationships with other white women reformers, such as May Wright Sewall, Alice Stone Blackwell, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Anna Howard Shaw, and Carrie Chapman Catt, who in 1936 published an article for the Oberlin alumni magazine entitled, "Mary Church Terrell, An Appreciation." These white women suffragists not only "extended . . . numerous social courtesies" to Terrell but also invited her to speak at various women's reform events around the country, including her address to the 1898 NAWSA convention.⁵² Two years later, she gave the keynote lecture at the NAWSA convention, calling it "The Justice of Woman Suffrage." Terrell reported in her autobiography that a review of the speech by the *Boston Transcript* called the presentation "able and brilliant" and commented on how she "combated the old objections [to woman suffrage] with earnest argument, biting sarcasm, and delightful raillery." According to Terrell, the speech earned her a standing ovation from the audience.⁵³

Given her relationship to white women reformers of the time, it was not surprising that Terrell was invited to attend the sixtieth anniversary of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, where she spoke twice, once about woman suffrage and once about Frederick Douglass.⁵⁴ But knowing the relative uniqueness of Terrell's inclusion in the white-dominated women's suffrage movement, one wonders what her experience in Seneca Falls was as a black woman and

⁵⁰ "The National-American Convention of 1898," in *The History of Woman Suffrage [HWS]*, 6 vols., ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper (New York, Fowler & Wells, 1881–1922), 4:298.

⁵¹ Two women's suffrage associations were born from the tensions surrounding black male voting after the Civil War: the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), associated with Stanton and Anthony, and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), associated with Lucy Stone and others. The two reconciled in 1890 to create the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

⁵² Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, ed. Nellie Y. McKay (1940; reprinted, New York: G. K. Hall, 1996), 145.

⁵³ Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 146.

⁵⁴ Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 169. For the full text of both of Terrell's presentations, see "Woman Suffrage," and "Frederick Douglass," in *Papers Read before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the Year 1908, Proceedings of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Woman's Rights Convention Held in Seneca Falls in July 1848* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1908), 33–39, 54–58.

why she (or other African American women) was not invited back to future events. Terrell carefully chose the words she used at the event itself to depict a more forceful sense of herself as both a women's rights activist and what women's historians today would call a *womanist*.⁵⁵ This is not to downplay the sense of pride she felt at being in Seneca Falls for the anniversary, or to minimize her support of the women's movement and its primary goal of achieving the vote for women. Terrell identified strongly with the women's movement of the time. But there were two reasons, she explained, why she looked back to the 1848 convention with "genuine pleasure and glowing pride." First, because she was "a woman like Elizabeth Cady Stanton," and second, because she belonged "to the race of which Frederick Douglass was such a magnificent representative." Indeed, she proclaimed, these two associations gave her a "decided advantage" over everyone else attending the event.⁵⁶

Terrell likely evoked race and sex—the two identities that combine to create black women's "double burden"—on purpose. Furthermore, she said, "I simply cannot resist the temptation to show that this is one occasion on which a colored woman really has good and sufficient reasons for feeling several inches taller than her sisters of a more favored race," something that she noted "rarely" happened for black women in the United States.⁵⁷

The importance Terrell placed on racial uplift in relation to women's rights displayed itself prominently when she emphasized that women's rights advocates should not forget or underestimate the essential role that Frederick Douglass, a black man, played at the conference. By seconding Stanton's resolution demanding women's equal political rights, a resolution that even ardent reformer Mott had implored Stanton to withdraw and which faced imminent defeat, Douglass had "rushe[d] gallantly to the assistance of a woman fighting to the death for a principle as dear to her as life and actually succede[d] in helping her establish and maintain it, in spite of the opposition of even her faithful coadjutors and her most faithful friends."⁵⁸

Seconding the motion was just the first show of Douglass's dedication to women's rights; indeed, Terrell argued, Douglass's "masterful arguments and matchless eloquence" was the catalyst to actually convincing wary convention-goers ultimately to vote for the suffrage resolution. Thus, as Terrell remarked, "whenever the women of this country pause long enough to think about the hard fight which had to be waged so as to enable them to enjoy their rights as citizens in this Republic, they should remember the great debt of gratitude they owe a colored man for the courage he displayed on a crucial occasion on their behalf, when no other man was willing to come forward."⁵⁹ And Douglass's support for women's rights had not ended in 1848, Terrell reminded her audience. For sixty years thereafter, Douglass supported the cause of women's rights, first through his abolitionist publication *North Star* and later through ongoing attendance at women's rights events and continued advocacy of the cause. Despite tensions among different factions of white women's rights advocates and African Americans during and

⁵⁵ Alice Walker first coined the term *womanism* in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* in 1983 (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich). Since then, many women scholars of color have clarified and applied the meaning of the term, perhaps most notably Patricia Hill Collins, "What's in a Name? Womanism, Black Feminism, and Beyond," *Black Scholar* 26, no. 1 (1996): 9–17.

⁵⁶ Terrell, "Frederick Douglass," 55.

⁵⁷ Terrell, "Frederick Douglass," 55.

⁵⁸ Terrell, "Frederick Douglass," 55.

⁵⁹ Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 170.

after the Civil War, Douglass reported in his 1882 autobiography that he had “never been ashamed” to be “denominated a woman’s rights man.”⁶⁰

Terrell’s rhetorical strategies at the 1908 celebration not only served to proclaim a black woman’s pride in both her sex and her race but also attempted to restore the importance of at least one black man to the women’s rights movement. Ultimately, hers was a pointed critique of how white women both overtly and subtly excluded black women in the present and erased black men in the past from their cause because of their inability also to recognize black women’s double burden.

This study was unable to find evidence of whether African Americans saw Terrell’s presence in Seneca Falls in 1908 as a memorable and meaningful event. No evidence has been found to show that African Americans living in surrounding communities in Seneca County were notified of, invited to, or attended her speech. Few if any people of color appear to have attended the anniversary events that followed over the majority of the twentieth century prior to the creation of the park. Terrell’s performance at the sixtieth anniversary celebration was uncommon and it appears that generally, African Americans lacked interest in Seneca Falls or Waterloo (even those living in surrounding communities in Seneca County) as places connected to their cultural heritage.

Race and Twentieth-Century Commemorations of the 1848 Convention

Terrell was the only black woman whose presence was recorded in the 1908 commemoration of the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls. In 1923, the presence of any African Americans, female or male, cannot be discerned. The 1923 celebration, which was both an anniversary celebration and a meeting of members of the National Women’s Party (NWP), provided an opportunity to memorialize the lives and efforts of the pioneers of women’s rights as well as a platform for the NWP to deliberate and promote its Equal Rights Amendment. Susan B. Anthony received the lion’s share of the 1923 event’s attention. The last day of the three-day celebration was dedicated to a “pilgrimage” to Anthony’s gravesite at Mt. Hope Cemetery in Rochester. Local media proclaimed that the pilgrimage would be “the most impressive national tribute to the memory of a woman ever planned in America.”⁶¹ A likely explanation for the focus on Anthony at the 1923 NWP convention in Seneca Falls appears situated both in the more theoretical aspirations of the NWP in promoting the ERA and in the more local concerns of promoters from Rochester, who wanted to attract attendees to their city in recognition of its role in the 1848 adjourned convention.

In contrast to their valorization of Anthony, NWP members and Seneca Falls and Rochester officials did nothing to promote the role Frederick Douglass played in the 1848 convention or the

⁶⁰ Douglass quoted in Terrell, “Frederick Douglass,” 56.

⁶¹ See “Prominent Record Made by Women in 75 Years of Fight: With Suffrage Gained, Determined Workers Strive to Further Free Sex Yoke,” July 20, 1923, Seneca Falls History clippings, Women’s Suffrage, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, N.Y. (SFPL); National Woman’s Party, “Celebration on July 20th and 21st at Seneca Falls, N.Y.,” 1923, Program, Women’s Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 2, unnumbered folder, SFHS. For different formats of the program, all of which provided slightly different information, see “Program of Memorial Ceremony,” Women’s Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 2, Folder 1a, SFHS; and National Woman’s Party, “Celebration on July 20th and 21st at Seneca Falls, N.Y.,” 1923, Program for 75th Anniversary Celebration, July 20–22, 1923, 1848—Anniversary Celebration, 75th Anniversary, Women’s Rights NHP, Research Files; and “Tribute Paid Miss Anthony by Thousands,” *Geneva Daily Times*, July 23, 1923, 1.

role African Americans and abolitionism played in the early women's rights movement. The 1923 program made no mention of Douglass at all and, as far as this study could discern, included no women of color as speakers or performers. A panoramic photograph of NWP delegates at Seneca Falls printed in the *Syracuse Herald* a couple days after the convention depicts no obvious women of color in attendance.⁶² Blacks were similarly absent from Rochester events associated with the event. For the pilgrimage to Anthony's grave, the program specified that participants wear white, a color suffragists used to symbolize purity in both private and public life.⁶³ Additionally, the "Negro Race" was listed at the bottom of a list of "groups that owe debt to Miss Anthony."⁶⁴

The omission of Douglass from the 1923 anniversary events in Seneca Falls and Rochester is striking not only because he had been included (albeit to varying degrees) in every previous memorial to the 1848 Seneca Falls convention but also because for many years he had been a prominent and well-respected Rochester citizen. Anthony's mutually supportive relationships with Rochester African Americans, such as Hester Jeffrey and Douglass himself, whom she had met in 1845, were well known.⁶⁵ However, the statement that blacks somehow owed Anthony a debt (presumably for their emancipation or uplift) was highly exaggerated if not incorrect. Although, as a Quaker, Anthony was certainly an abolitionist, her primary efforts, especially after she met Stanton in 1851, were directed toward securing the vote for women, and she stood alongside Stanton throughout the 1870s in resisting black men's access to the vote before white women's.

Saying that blacks owed Anthony a debt spoke in direct opposition to Mary Church Terrell's proclamation in 1908 that white women owed *Douglass* a debt. No one on the program in 1923 spoke to Douglass's support of women's suffrage at the 1848 convention, in the *North Star*, or throughout the nineteenth century. Local and national media also either ignored him completely or named him and then quickly moved on to the efforts of white women.⁶⁶

⁶² "National Woman's Party Convention Delegates Assembled at Seneca Falls, Cradle of Suffragism," *Syracuse Herald*, July 29, 1923, Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 2, Folder 1a, SFHS.

⁶³ "Tribute Paid Miss Anthony by Thousands." No African Americans attended the ceremony at Anthony's grave or the local media failed (or chose not) to report their presence. Prominent (and at that time overwhelmingly white) women's groups reported to have attended Anthony's memorial included the Zonta Club, Women's City Club, Century Club, Business Women's Club, the Irondequoit Chapter of the D.A.R., College Women's Club, Girl Scouts, Susan B. Anthony Children, League of Women Voters, YWCA, and the Federation of Women's Club, among others. No known African American women's club stands out in the list. For more on the symbolism surrounding colors in the women's movement, see Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), esp. 93 (on the color white) and 115–17 (on the sunflower and the color yellow).

⁶⁴ National Woman's Party, "Celebration on July 20th and 21st at Seneca Falls, N.Y.," 1923.

⁶⁵ Rochester historian Howard W. Coles reported that Anthony and her father first met Douglass on June 22, 1845, two years before Douglass moved to Rochester. See Coles, *The Cradle of Freedom: A History of the Negro in Rochester, Western New York, and Canada* (Rochester, N.Y.: Oxford Press Publishers, 1941), 1:127.

⁶⁶ See, for example, "Prominent Record Made by Women in 75 Years of Fight," July 20, 1923, Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL; "Seneca Falls in Readiness for Opening of Convention," *Geneva Daily Times*, July 20, 1923, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files, 1848—Anniversary Celebration, 75th Anniversary—1923, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files; "Tribute Paid Miss Anthony by Thousands"; "Women Adopt Form for Equal Rights," *New York Times*, July 22, 1923; and "Women's Freedom Due to Seneca Falls Edict Sent out Just 70 Years Ago," clipping, July 15, 1923, both in Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 2, Folder 1a, SFHS.

The 1948 anniversary of the Seneca Falls convention similarly failed to recognize the entwined historical roots of abolitionism. Although African Americans apparently played a minor role in the festivities of 1948 and local media reported that some blacks attended the event, this study was unable to document the nature of their participation or whether such statements were true. After Wisconsin Representative William Henry Stevenson mistakenly referred to Frederick Douglass as a "Scotsman," Mary Church Terrell sent an indignant response in the *Washington D.C. Star* in March 1948. As Terrell explained, all one had to do was look at the commemorative bronze tablet placed in 1908 to remember Douglass's singular importance as an African American and as an abolitionist to women's suffrage: "On this spot stood the Wesleyan Chapel in which the first woman's rights convention in the world's history was held, July 19, 20, 1848. Elizabeth Cady Stanton moved this resolution which was seconded by Frederick Douglass: That the women of this country secure to themselves the sacred right of the elective franchise."⁶⁷

As with the conclusions made above pertaining to Terrell more specifically, this study found scant evidence among print sources or interviewees that African Americans have possessed ongoing ties to the historical resources associated with the women's rights movement in Seneca Falls or Waterloo. Although many black people today have strong cultural associations with such figures as Frederick Douglass, and African American women's historians know well the stories of such womanists as Mary Church Terrell, even those African Americans who resided in Seneca County over the twentieth century, rarely, if ever, visited either nearby town to explore their connections to the history of women's rights.

Contemporary Associations among Blacks in Rochester and Geneva to Women's Rights NHP

Rochester

Given its shared history with the Seneca Falls/Waterloo area of Quakerism and abolitionism, and the strong presence of the AME Zion Church in its midst, Rochester presented itself as a logical location in which to look for African Americans with associations to Women's Rights NHP.⁶⁸

In 2000, African Americans or those identified as mixed-race comprised over 42 percent of Rochester's population (see Table 1). Perhaps because of the town's long associations with such prominent African Americans as Frederick Douglass and such women's rights activists as Susan B. Anthony, Rochesterians, both African American and Caucasian, have a strong sense of their historic ties to the abolitionist and women's rights movements. Although blacks in Rochester seem to emphasize Douglass more than whites, who appear to have a greater connection to

⁶⁷ Terrell's article was reprinted as "Slaves Role in Woman's Rights Convention Described by Letter to Newspaper," clipping, March 18, 1948, Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 2, folder 1, SFHS.

⁶⁸ Other people to whom we were directed through our background research to speak about African American connections in Rochester with Seneca Falls and Waterloo were Aqua Porter, president of the Susan B. Anthony House Board; Jeffrey Tucker, University of Rochester, Frederick Douglass Institute; and Carolyn Blount, editor of Rochester's African American magazine *About . . . Time*. Unfortunately, either we were unable to track them down or they were unavailable to speak with us during the times we were conducting fieldwork. We were able, however, by attending Sunday service and social hour at the Memorial AME Zion Church, to chat with Marie and Curtis Rivers, who own Rochester African American bookstore Mood Makers, but they had no apparent connections to Seneca Falls or Waterloo and had never been to Seneca Falls or Waterloo that they could remember.

Anthony, Rochester as a city takes pride in its long tradition of interracial residency and activism. This history is symbolized around the city at sites that commemorate the specific personal ties between Anthony and Douglass, who first met in 1845. Three of the most notable are the “Let’s Have Tea” sculpture of the two in Madison Park near Anthony’s House; the Anthony and Douglass concourses at Greater Rochester International Airport; and the Frederick Douglass—

Susan B. Anthony Memorial Bridge, which was dedicated amidst great fanfare in 2007.⁶⁹ Also of importance to black Rochesterians are Mt. Hope Cemetery, final resting place of both Douglass and Anthony, and the Frederick Douglass statue in Frederick Douglass Memorial Square, Highland Park.

Through the course of this study, a number of Rochesterians came to light as people with possible historical or contemporary connections to Seneca Falls and Waterloo’s

African American past. Although most of the people interviewed in Rochester are African American, others are whites who have written extensively about African American history or work at sites associated with Frederick Douglass. Another important connection in Rochester is the Memorial AME Zion Church, which was Frederick Douglass’s place of worship in Rochester as well as the location from which he published the *North Star*. Douglass used his paper not only to advocate abolitionist but also women’s rights—among other articles, the *North Star* printed the call to the 1848 women’s rights convention and a pamphlet entitled the *Report on the Woman’s Rights Convention*, which is the only known source that lists the names of signers of



Figure 3. “Let’s Have Tea.” Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass statue, by Pepsy M. Kettavong, Madison Park, Rochester, N.Y. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

⁶⁹ “Let’s Have Tea,” designed by Pepsy M. Kettavong, was dedicated in 2002 (Susan B. Anthony House, press release, May 7, 2002, <http://www.susanbanthonyhouse.org/news/presenters2002.html>). For a description of the bridge’s dedication ceremony, see City of Rochester, press release, “Mayor Hosts Evening of Celebrations Commemorating the Official Opening of the Frederick Douglass–Susan B. Anthony Memorial Bridge Downtown,” July 13, 2007, <http://www.ci.rochester.ny.us/mayor/NewsReleases/index.cfm?Release=2571>.

the Declaration of Sentiments.⁷⁰ Memorial AME Zion is directly tied to Douglass's time in Rochester; other AME Zion connections to Seneca Falls or Waterloo are less clear.

David Anderson, an African American historian and Frederick Douglass reenactor, is one Rochesterian who feels connected to Seneca Falls. Anderson has worked with the Network to Freedom Project in Monroe County, as well as projects in other counties, including being a member on the steering committee for Wellman and Warren's Seneca County study. Anderson has been to Seneca Falls a couple times since his first visit to the park to portray Frederick Douglass at the Celebrate '98 event. Anderson's family, however, has no historical ties to the Rochester area, and he himself was born and raised in Cincinnati. Anderson recalled that when he was about five, there was a portrait over his crib of Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Frederick Douglass, whom his father described as "one of our leaders."⁷¹



Figure 4. Susan B. Anthony gravestone, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

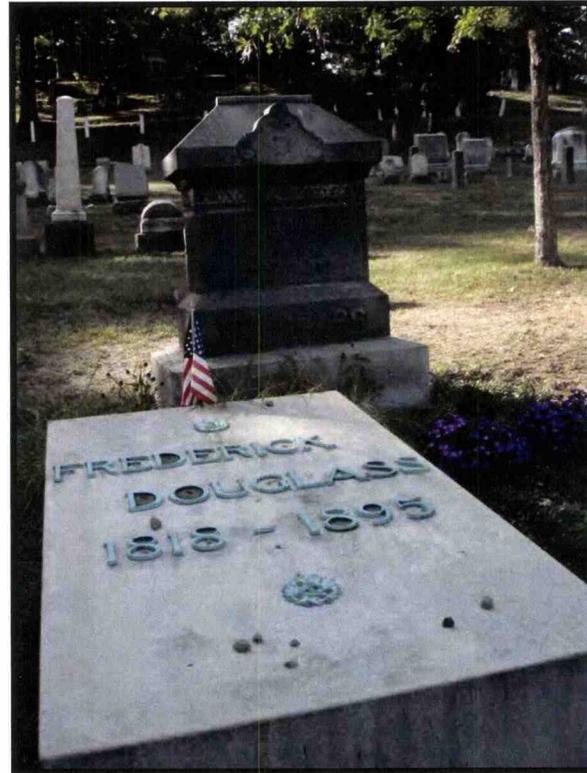


Figure 5. Frederick Douglass gravestone, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

Anderson's interest in bringing the history of Douglass and his time back to Rochester's citizens has taken the form of a reenactors' group, Akwaaba, which he founded in 1999 with two men who had delivered newspapers for Howard Coles, publisher of the *Frederick Douglass Voice*. These two men had learned all about Rochester's black history from Coles and, according to Anderson, "were being exploited by tour operators" who would invite them onto a tour bus to

⁷⁰ See "Woman's Rights Convention, *North Star*, July 14, 1848; "The Rights of Women," *North Star*, July 28, 1848; and *Report on the Woman's Rights Convention Held at Seneca Falls, N.Y., July 19th and 20th, 1848* (Rochester: John Dick at the North Star Office, [1848]),

⁷¹ All quotations attributed to David Anderson come from an interview conducted by Heather Lee Miller, September 10, 2007, Rochester, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

“spill their guts for a pittance.” They decided to form a nonprofit organization to better control the commercialization of black history for white consumption.

When asked whether he thought that African Americans in Rochester were making the connection between Douglass's Rochester and the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention and going there to see what it was all about, Anderson said “No, I don't. That's been a hard nut to crack.” Anderson thought that people's perceptions today of Douglass's connections to Seneca Falls specifically were through the convention only, not through his larger abolitionist connections to the area.

Anderson's participated in Celebrate '98 as a Frederick Douglass reenactor. Despite the size of the event, which “was big,” Anderson did not remember any African Americans present, “either driving the bus, or in the crowd . . . I think I was it.” He did not do much follow-up to the 1998 presentation but kept the piece and Akwaaba has incorporated it into its tour. Seldom do they get a group that wants to go to Seneca Falls—whether because of money or time—but he feels that to make Afro-Rochester a “legitimate field of study,” showing the connections is essential.

Age and generation play a role in African American interest in the history of Douglass and the women's rights movement. When asked whether there was a generational difference between older black women activists, such as Dr. Juanita Pitts, and scholars/activists coming more out of the generation of second-wave feminists, such as Arlette Miller-Smith, Ruth Harris, and Katherine Detherage, women's studies scholars at the University of Rochester, and scholars outside the area, such as Dolores Walters, Anderson noted that young and academically connected women have been drawing more nuanced connections between race and gender in the history of the area. Miller-Smith, for example, who teaches at St. John Fisher College, attended Rochester's Woman Fest in 1995, which commemorated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment. Miller-Smith and others now sing and educate people about black women's history through Rochester gospel group Akoma, whose founding stemmed from that event.⁷² Miller-Smith commented that people always attribute the women's rights movement to the “Seneca Falls five and Susan B. Anthony.” Not only do many people mistakenly place Anthony at the 1848 Convention but even worse, she thinks, is neglecting to note the strong connections among those early white women's rights activists and the African Americans, enslaved and free, for whom and with whom they were working to eliminate slavery.⁷³

Geneva

Given its proximity to Seneca Falls (10 miles) and Waterloo (6 miles), along with its visible African American population today, Geneva seems a logical location in which to look for African Americans with associations to Women's Rights NHP. Compared with Seneca Falls and Waterloo, neither of which counted more than 1 percent of African Americans in its population in 2000, Geneva has a substantial black population with almost 17 percent of its population in 2000 reporting either an African American or mixed-race heritage (see Table 1).

⁷² See G. E. Thornhill, “Akoma is Steeped in Song,” *About . . . Time* 34, no. 3 (2006): 12-14, <http://akoma.org/images/about%20time%202006Page%2012-14.pdf>; Akoma, “Akoma: A Herstorical Chronology,” <http://akoma.org/herstory.html>; and Arlette Miller-Smith, “Speaking the Song, Spreading the Word, Lifting the People: The Re-imagination of Community through Vocal Music Activism” (Ph.D. diss., SUNY Buffalo, 2005).

⁷³ Arlette Miller-Smith, Colleen Hurst, Vickie Schmitt, Ruth Rosenberg Napersteck, and Jean Czerkas, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

As was the case in the rest of western New York, the first wave of blacks arriving in Geneva were slaves who arrived before 1820. Between 1820 and 1860, increasing numbers of freedom seekers came to town, where it was possible to find both unskilled and skilled jobs. This movement overlapped with the migration of blacks from rural areas into town, which peaked in the 1840s. At the same time, Irish and German immigrants began challenging African Americans for skilled-labor positions.⁷⁴ By the early twentieth century, in much the same way as in Waterloo and Seneca Falls, outmigration outpaced in-migration. Opportunities for blacks to find jobs and own homes in the area were declining, and blacks began to experience what Kathryn Grover terms “a curious downward mobility in an era when the American gospel of the self-made man reached its apogee.”⁷⁵

A number of factors pushed and pulled African Americans into the town in the twentieth century. During World War II and in the post-war years, regional military bases emerged in western New York. Closest to Women's Rights NHP are the Seneca Army Depot (1941) and Sampson Naval Training Base (1942, later Sampson Air Force Base). The placement of the depot on eighteen square miles of land in the town of Romulus in 1941 raised the ire of displaced locals, who had lost their property to eminent domain. Also causing tension in the area was arrival of over 3,000 workers at the depot to facilitate the government's goal of completing the bomb manufacturing and storage facility as quickly as possible. Local residents viewed as undesirable some of the workers, particularly African Americans, who were associated with what residents termed “hobo jungles” and who suffered from health problems due to the government's inability to keep pace with the rapid deployment of such a large labor force.⁷⁶ Adjacent to the depot was the Sampson Naval Training Center, which occupied 2,535 acres on the eastern shore of Seneca Lake. Established in 1942, the center trained over 400,000 recruits for service in World War II. Closed in 1955, the base was reconstituted as Sampson Air Force Base, which remained in operation until the state took it over as a park in 1962.⁷⁷

This study turned up no evidence of connections between African Americans in Geneva and Women's Rights NHP. Geneva's black residents also have no apparent connection (through kinship or otherwise) to the African Americans who lived in Waterloo or Seneca Falls in the nineteenth century. When we asked Rosa Blue in our first telephone conversation if she thought African American women felt a connection with the park's resources, she said “absolutely” and that she thought groups such as the League of Women Voters (which she noted was a mixed-race organization) also did. Geneva League of Women Voters president Judy Curtis, however, said she was

not sure about whether or to what degree the African Americans in Geneva feel a connection with the Women's Rights Park. It seems that the way things are here, people tend to congregate in their own towns, and Seneca Falls is 2 towns away, although not that far distance wise. I think that our League has been so busy with pre-election issues, we have not had time to think of anything

⁷⁴ See Grover, *Make a Way Somehow*, esp. chap. 1.

⁷⁵ Grover, *Make a Way Somehow*, 41.

⁷⁶ Ann B. Markell and Martha R. Williams, R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, “Archeological Overview and Assessment, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York,” prepared for the Women's Rights National Historical Park, September 2006.

⁷⁷ Hilda R. Watrous, *The County Between the Lakes: A Public History of Seneca County, New York 1876-1982* (Waterloo, N.Y.: K-Mar Press, Inc., 1983), 39.

else. We have had speakers occasionally from the Women's Rights Historical Park, but we have not really maintained consistent communication with them.⁷⁸

Contacts in Geneva suggested that long-time African American Geneva residents John and Charles Kenney and Rosa Blue might be knowledgeable of any connections to park resources that might exist.⁷⁹ Charles Kenney was born and raised in Geneva and his family traces its roots back to some of the very first slave residents in the area, who likely arrived in 1803 with the Rose-Nicholas family and worked on Rose Hill farm.⁸⁰ Like many African Americans in the postwar period, Blue moved with her husband north to Geneva from Florida in 1949 "seeking employment opportunities, and better race relations."⁸¹ The differences in their backgrounds support Grover's assessment of Geneva as less "a community than as an aggregation of persons of the same race."⁸²

Both Kenney and Blue had been active in local politics and social organization and possessed extensive knowledge of the history of the area. Kenney could not point to any associations of anyone he knows to the park, nor did he grow up knowing about any historical connections to the Seneca Falls or Waterloo area (although his aunt May Lee was a member of Memorial AME Zion Church). When asked if he grew up hearing about women's rights or Frederick Douglass's connection to the women's rights movement, Kenney laughed and pointed to his skin and said "Women's rights? . . . We were trying to get *these* rights." No one he knew had attended the 1948 centennial event in Seneca Falls.

Rosa Blue noted that local people learned about the history of Frederick Douglass and knew about his influence on the early women's rights movement but that she and others had only recently learned about the M'Clintock House and its connection to the Underground Railroad. Although Blue reported having visited the park a number of times both by herself and with others, including her elderly mother, she did not mention using the park's resources for any larger group traditional or cultural activities. At least one of the Geneva Girl Scout groups visited the park in the 1990s, according to Blue, but she had no memory of whether they had continued to do so.

Contemporary Associations among Members of the AME Zion Church to Women's Rights NHP

There are no AME Zion churches extant in the Seneca Falls/Waterloo area (or Geneva), and no evidence exists to show that there ever were congregations locally associated with the denomination. The AME Zion Church figures prominently in African American history in western New York, but it relates only tangentially to the history of the women's rights movement

⁷⁸ Judy Curtis, President Geneva League of Women Voters, to Heather Lee Miller, email, October 25, 2007.

⁷⁹ Kathryn Grover, who wrote the definitive history of Geneva's black population, also suggested that the Kenneys and Blues would be useful sources of information,

⁸⁰ Charles Kenney, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Geneva, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP. For background information on the Kenney family, see Grover, *Make a Way Somehow*.

⁸¹ Quoted in Grover, *Make a Way Somehow*, 54. See also Rosa Blue, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 13, 2007, Geneva, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁸² Grover, *Make a Way Somehow*, 54

and current holdings of Women's Rights NHP.⁸³ The AME Zion Church was known as the Freedom Church prior to and during the Civil War, and was involved with a network of persons who provided shelter to escaping slaves.⁸⁴ The most notable members of the AME Zion church with connections to the resources managed by Women's Rights NHP were Frederick Douglass and Jermain Loguen. Loguen was a well-known AME Zion minister who escaped from slavery and then helped establish churches in Ithaca and Syracuse. The AME Zion catechism published in 1922 noted that Loguen, who attained the status of bishop before his death, was nationally prominent in the movement for the abolition of slavery.⁸⁵ Today, Loguen is most commonly associated with the People's AME Zion Church in Syracuse.⁸⁶

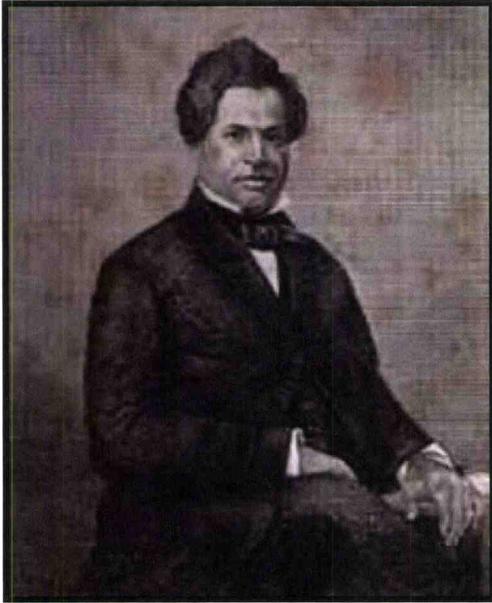


Figure 6. AME Zion Minister and Bishop, Jermain Wesley Loguen. Source: Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, N.Y.

Frederick Douglass, Jermain Loguen, and other western New York African American reformers in the nineteenth century were often associated with the AME Zion Church. A number African Americans joined the church in places like Rochester, Syracuse, Auburn, and Ithaca, where African Americans from smaller towns migrated following the Civil War. Exact lines of connection between Rochester, Syracuse, Auburn, and Ithaca AME Zion congregations and Women's Rights NHP have not been established, but we hypothesized that members may have maintained associations with the park's resources through the Wesleyan Methodist Church (and Douglass's attendance at the convention) and M'Clintock House (and Loguen's famous stay there while fleeing during the Jerry Rescue). To test that theory, we contacted regional AME Zion churches and their representatives.

Results of contacts with AME Zion churches were mixed. Multiple calls and emails to the Ithaca and Syracuse churches yielded no responses regarding the

project or the park's resources. More responsive were Reverend Paul G. Carter, AME Zion

⁸³ For a history of the AME Zion Church, see John Jamison Moore, *History of the A. M. E. Zion Church in America. Founded in 1796, in the City of New York* (York, PA: Teachers' Journal Office, 1884),

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/moorej/moore.html>. See also Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church*, 2nd Ed. (Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1921).

⁸⁴ Becker Bible Studies Library, "African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church—Becker Bible Studies Library," <http://www.guidedbiblestudies.com/library/african.htm>. The meaning of the name of the AME Zion Church is represented in the acronym *AME* and the word *Zion*. The church is African, meaning that "the church will be led by the sons and daughters of Africa, and equality is a goal"; Methodist, emphasizing "the need for order and consistency in personal and public faith"; Episcopal, meaning that "the Bishops are chosen by the common church and oversee the denomination"; and Zion, which the Bible uses to describe the church of God. According to an AME Zion website the term *Zion* was added to the name in 1848 ("Meaning of AME Zion Church," http://www.arps.org/amhersthistory/goodwin/Mother_zion/Meaning_of_AME.htm),

⁸⁵ African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and Cicero Richardson Harris, *Historical Catechism of the A. M. E. Zion Church. For Use in Families and Sunday Schools* (Charlotte, N.C.: A. M. E. Zion Publication House, 1922), available at Documenting the American South, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/harris/menu.html>, 18.

⁸⁶ See City of Syracuse, "Uniquely Syracuse," <http://www.syracuse.ny.us/uniquelySyracuse.asp>; and "Stirring up Reform," <http://enspire.syr.edu/summit/culture.pdf>.

minister and manager of the Harriet Tubman House in Auburn, and members of the Memorial AME Zion Church in Rochester, Douglass's home church, where we attended Sunday Service and the subsequent social gathering and were able to speak with longstanding members of the congregation.



Figure 7. Former Memorial AME Zion Church, constructed 1907, Favor Street, Rochester, N.Y. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

These contacts revealed that both historical and contemporary ties between the members of the Rochester AME Zion Church and Seneca Falls and Waterloo are tenuous at best. The church today, located in the Corn Hill neighborhood of Rochester, was completed in 1975, replacing the Favor Street building, which was built in 1906–1907. Anderson reported that at least three structures prior had occupied the site of the 1907 church, dating back to the 1830s.

No evidence exists that members of Rochester

Memorial AME Zion church, such as Hester Jeffrey, had connections to Elizabeth Cady Stanton or other organizers and attendees of the convention. Jeffrey did, however, maintain strong ties in the last decades of the nineteenth century with Frederick Douglass and with Susan B. Anthony until Anthony's death in 1906. In 1907, upon completion of the Favor Street AME Zion church, Jeffrey and others commissioned stained-glass windows not only of famous AME Zion members (Douglass and Harriet Tubman among them) but also of Susan B. Anthony. Although Douglass's window reportedly was broken when it was removed from the original church to the new facility, Anthony and Tubman's windows were installed in an inner wall of the Clarissa Street sanctuary. Anthony was the only white person memorialized by the Memorial AME Zion Church in this manner.

Conversations with various members of the Memorial AME Zion Church indicated that while many are well aware of Douglass's contribution to the early women's rights movement, very few have ever been to the park in Seneca Falls, or perceive a traditional association with the resources the park manages. Nor does their membership in the Memorial AME Zion Church lead them to feel closely connected to the early white women's rights movement, although their ties to Frederick Douglass are strong and venerated.

Memorial AME Zion's current pastor is Reverend Kenneth Q. James, who recently replaced Reverend Errol Hunt. We asked Reverend James about institutional memory among Memorial AME Zion Church members and whether the church had ever participated in trips to Seneca Falls or Waterloo to commemorate AME Zion abolitionist history or Douglass's participation in the 1848 convention, either before or after the creation of the park. James suggested speaking with Eunice Bullock, Memorial AME Zion's oldest member, and graciously arranged a meeting

with Mrs. Bullock.⁸⁷ Now in her nineties, Mrs. Bullock remains lucid, articulate, and in possession of strong memories about church activities and history for most of the twentieth century. Although Mrs. Bullock reported that members of Memorial AME Zion Church were interested in Douglass's history generally, she could not say whether individuals or the congregation as a whole had a sense of connection to Women's Rights NHP. In contrast to Anderson's memory, Mrs. Bullock noted that she had been at Celebrate '98 and that there were a number of people of color there. She was not sure exactly who those people were.

As did many members of Memorial AME Zion with whom we spoke informally, Mrs. Bullock lamented that we would not be able to speak with deceased AME Zion member and Rochester historian Charles W. Frazier, who had written the only known history of the church, *The Old Ship of Zion Memorial AME Zion Church*.⁸⁸ Church members and other African American Rochesterians, such as David Anderson, said that Frazier had been a treasure trove of information about African American history in the town, with very specific knowledge of Douglass and the AME Zion Church. Most felt that other historians had not adequately acknowledged Frazier's work, and there seemed to be some concern that we, too, would not pay Frazier his appropriate due.

Frazier's book does not mention Memorial AME Zion Church or its members having had associations either to the 1848 convention and its abolitionist ties or to the African Americans who once lived in Seneca County.

African Americans in Auburn, Harriet Tubman House, and AME Zion Church of Auburn

Auburn's African American population today is approximately 8 percent of its total population (see Table 1). A trip to the Harriet Tubman House in Auburn yielded little evidence of associations with Women's Rights NHP for the Tubman House or for African Americans in that community. At the Tubman House, we spoke with Reverend Paul G. Carter, who is affiliated with the Thompson Memorial AME Zion Church of Auburn, to which Harriet Tubman deeded

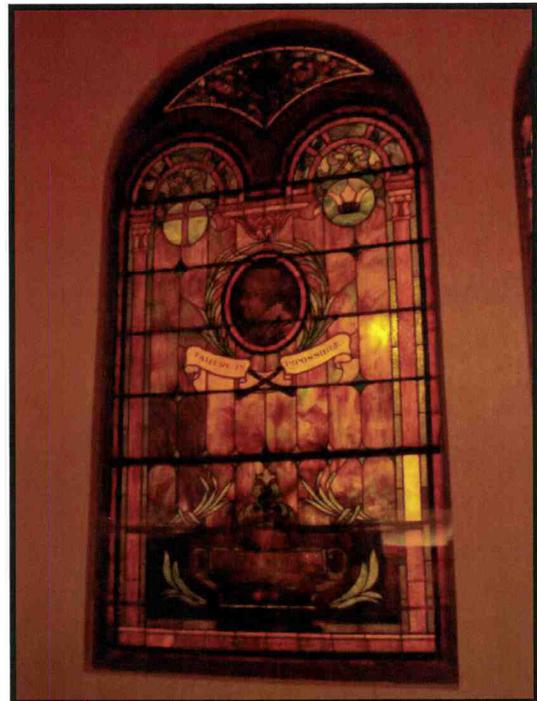


Figure 8. "Failure is Impossible," Susan B. Anthony stained-glass window, Memorial AME Zion Church, Rochester, N.Y. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

⁸⁷ Due to the nature of the interview, which took place in the social hour following Sunday church service, and based on Eunice Bullock's preferences, the interview was not recorded. Discussion here is based on handwritten notes taken during the meeting.

⁸⁸ Charles W. Frazier, *The Old Ship of Zion Memorial AME Zion Church, Rochester, N.Y., Rev. Errol E. Hunt, Pastor*, 2nd ed. (Rochester: By Author, 2003). The book had been privately printed and distributed and copies are not easily available. Church members pointed us to local African American bookstore Mood Makers Books, where owner Curtis Rivers lent us his personal copy on November 13, 2007. Comments here are based on notes taken on the book during that brief visit.

the house in 1903 to run as the John Brown Infirmary and Home for the Aged.⁸⁹ Carter, who now runs the site for the church as a historical park, thought that most of Auburn's African Americans had diffused throughout area churches and were not just members of AME Zion. They had not necessarily maintained affiliations with the AME Zion Church. Based on his experience running the Tubman House, Carter did not perceive associations between Auburn's black population and the sites managed by Women's Rights NHP. The one person with whom the Tubman Home might have been associated is women's rights leader Martha Coffin Wright, who lived in Auburn and was closely connected to Tubman. However, the Home's website makes no mention of Wright.⁹⁰

African Americans in Twentieth-Century Waterloo and Seneca Falls

Evidence about African American residence in Seneca Falls and Waterloo over the course of the twentieth century is hard to determine in the absence of a detailed survey of census data like that Wellman and Warren collected for the nineteenth century. Although this study found census data for Seneca County as a whole (see Table 2), demographic data was not readily available at the town or village level. The county-level information indicates that the county's African American population increased between 1940 and 1960. Anecdotal information about Seneca Falls, indicates that no African Americans resided in Seneca Falls in 1943.⁹¹ Although the exact number of blacks living in Seneca Falls or Waterloo during this period remains unknown, either the numbers of blacks were low or blacks living in Seneca Falls primarily worked and recreated outside the community, making them invisible enough that local residents would report an absence of blacks in their community.

Blacks who arrived in western New York in the twentieth century were generally unrelated to those who resided there in the nineteenth century. Although intraracial tensions have not been documented in Waterloo or Seneca Falls, evidence exists that long-time African American residents of towns like Geneva and Rochester looked down on "new" blacks who arrived at the end of the nineteenth century and during the twentieth century.⁹² As was the case in many other communities around the country, African Americans may have chosen to leave Waterloo and

⁸⁹ Paul G. Carter, informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 17, 2007, Harriet Tubman House, Auburn, N.Y.

⁹⁰ New York History Net, "The Harriet Tubman Home," <http://www.nyhistory.com/harriettubman/>.

⁹¹ Seneca Falls native Caroline Lester described her experiences growing up with African Americans in the area in an article written for the 1948 centennial issue of the *Seneca Falls Historical Society Papers*. Lester reminisced about "amiable negro acquaintances" who had resided in town since her childhood in the 1870s: Judge Miller's cook Aunt Hannah, who gave her candy, and local gardener John Thomas, who had "scars on his back made by the lashes of the whip of brutal overseers." Hannah and John were joined in Lester's memory with teamster Saul Butler, Abby Gay, and elderly Ruby, for whom Lester and her friends formed the Ruby Society and sewed kitchen holders to raise money to make Ruby some dresses. Other blacks, such as the Person and Jones families, came to Seneca Falls after the turn of the twentieth century, according to Lester, which fits later patterns of black migration north. See Caroline F. Lester, "Negro Residents of Seneca Falls in Bygone Days," March 11, 1943, *Centennial Volume of Papers of the Seneca Falls Historical Society* (Seneca Falls: SFHS, 1948), 85–93, esp. 85–87. This is, of course, a problematic source given the racist overtones of the article.

⁹² For migration statistics, see "Growth and Distribution of the Black Population," 446; for descriptions of intraracial tension among old and new blacks in Geneva, New York, see Grover, *Make a Way Somehow*.

Seneca Falls because of poor working conditions, low wages, or hostile employers, while they were pulled to larger communities by family connections or employment opportunities.⁹³

Findings

This study indicates that although a number of African Americans lived in the Seneca Falls and Waterloo area between the 1840s and 1870s and a handful of African Americans remained during the twentieth century, these individuals did not maintain associations with local sites associated with women's rights history in any detectable way. Nor did their cultural heritage and practices include visiting the M'Clintock, Hunt, or Stanton houses, or the site of the 1848 Convention at which Douglass played such a pivotal role. Nevertheless, many of the individual African Americans addressed by this study reported an ongoing sense of connection to the resources managed by Women's Rights NHP. Those connections are rooted in two parallel historical streams. First is the history of antislavery reform and presence of Underground Railroad sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo. Second is the relationship of significant African American women to the early women's rights movement and to commemoration of the 1848 convention.

Abolitionists in the area had direct ties to Douglass and Jermain Loguen (a Douglass contemporary who lived in Syracuse and served as an AME Zion minister there and elsewhere), as well as free and freedom-seeking African Americans who lived in the area during the antebellum period. The abolitionist sentiments of Douglass, Loguen, and other prominent African American reformers, such as Charles Remond and William C. Nell, also provide ties to regional AME Zion churches, most notably in Rochester and Syracuse.

Many African Americans today feel a strong association with the places where Frederick Douglass resided throughout his life in Rochester and Washington, D.C. As judged by individual responses generated by this study and by scholarship and websites dedicated to African American history, many African Americans are aware, too, that Seneca Falls was the place where Frederick Douglass supported white women's call for equal rights. For the most part, it is individual African American men and women who periodically visit the park and participate in its events; there are no specifically black organizations or groups known to have maintained an association with the area.

African Americans and the abolitionist movement played important roles in the history of the early women's rights movement. In western New York, abolitionists were often inextricably intertwined with the women and men who attended the 1848 women's rights conventions in Seneca Falls and Rochester. Whites and free blacks in the region provided safe passage to freedom seekers prior to the Civil War. And African Americans, both free and freedom seeking, lived side-by-side with whites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo from the antebellum period up through the end of the nineteenth century. Migration patterns and increased racial segregation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries nearly emptied Seneca Falls and Waterloo of their African American populations.

⁹³ See Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

Although no black women are known to have attended the 1848 Seneca Falls meeting, notable figures such as Sojourner Truth and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper supported the women's rights movement in the nineteenth century. Mary Church Terrell spoke in Seneca Falls at the 1908 anniversary celebration. Various accounts of the 1908, 1923, and 1948 anniversaries of the 1848 convention indicate that other African American women may have visited Seneca Falls for one or more of those events, but their names have yet to be found.

By the 1970s, when Women's Rights NHP was being founded, there were few black people left in the area to have maintained a sense of connection to or any ongoing patterns of use of the places ultimately encompassed by the park. Still, many African Americans today, especially scholars and people in the greater western New York region associated with such institutions as the Mt. Hope Cemetery are quite interested in Frederick Douglass's time in Rochester and the connections he fostered among Quakers, abolitionists, and women's rights activists in Seneca Falls and Waterloo (and Farmington). Additionally, members of the Memorial AME Zion church have expressed a growing interest in their historical connections to Seneca Falls and Waterloo through Harriet Tubman, Jermain Loguen, and Douglass. Although individual African Americans are interested in the park today, this study did not find that they use or visit those sites in any organized fashion.

As with other individuals and groups examined for this study, recent historical work, such as the network to freedom projects in upstate New York, appear to be creating a new sense of connection between African Americans and Women's Rights NHP. These connections are rooted in the park's association with the Underground Railroad, abolitionist activities, Frederick Douglass, and racial integration in the antebellum era.

Chapter 3: Quakers

Introduction and Methodology

This chapter seeks to understand the complex nature of contemporary Quaker organizations and Quakerism among individuals, and to explore how Quakers today and in the past have been connected to the resources of the Women's Rights NHP and the history it interprets. The chapter first explains Quaker religious structure and defines some historical and contemporary terms related to Quakerism. We then offer a historical discussion of internal divisions among Quakers in the nineteenth century, which led certain among them to participate actively in various reform movements such as abolitionism and women's rights activism. The chapter then explains how Quakerism as both a theology and a religious organization changed over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and how those changes again affected the relationship Quakers had to reform movements. Understanding these changes sets the stage for the second half of the chapter, which is a discussion of contemporary Quaker associations to the park's resources.

Defining Quaker Terms

Quakers who have historical or current associations with the park's resources are not a unified group. Contemporary Quakers often define themselves as more or less orthodox than other Quakers, usually mostly along the same lines as their ancestors divided during the 1828-1955 Hicksite split (explained in further detail below). Further divisions are based on whether they currently attend a programmed or unprogrammed (traditional) meeting. Quakers also use the terms *birthright Quaker* and *convinced Friend* to identify themselves. Birthright Quakers are those who were born into a Quaker family in good standing in a particular meeting. Convinced Friends are those who made a conscious decision to convert to Quakerism and join a meeting, often based on the activist principles a particular meeting espoused. Birthright and convinced Friends worship together in the same congregations, although some congregations were created by groups of convinced friends.

Today, a number of groupings of Quakers exist. Most prevalent is the Friends General Conference (FGC), with smaller groups coming under the Friends United Meeting (FUM), "where Christ is acknowledged as teacher and Lord," or Evangelical Friends International (EFI), "where Christ is acknowledged as Lord and Savior."¹ Although much of the rift among New York Yearly Meeting Quakers that the 1828 Hicksite split and 1834 creation of the Genessee Yearly Meeting represented was rectified when the two factions officially rejoined in 1955, the Hicksite/Orthodox divide is roughly reflected in the contrast between the FGC, on one side, and the FUM, on the other.² New York Yearly Meeting belongs to both the FGC (whose meetings tend to be unprogrammed) and the FUM (whose meetings tend to be programmed), with the EFI being almost unrepresented among constituent meetings. Still, contemporary Quaker meetings are varied in format even within these different conferences. While some groups practice

¹ "Welcome," www.quakerfinder.org.

² Christopher Densmore, with Hugh Barbour, Sabron Reynolds Newton, and Alson D. Van Wagner, "After the Separation," in *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*, ed. Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, Nancy C. Sorel, Alson D. Van Wagner, and Arthur J. Worrall (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 122.

traditional Quaker silent (unprogrammed) worship, others, have programmed or semiprogrammed worship services, which may include pastoral messages, Bible readings, and hymns, in place of or in addition to silent worship. Unprogrammed meetings not affiliated with FGC are often referred to as “Independent (generally universalist or Christian universalist), or Conservative (traditional Quaker, trusting in immediate guidance of the Inward Christ).”³ According to Quakerfinder.org (a website listing of Quaker meetings), most independent meetings can be found in West Coast and Rocky Mountain states whereas conservative meetings are more commonly found in and around Iowa, Ohio, and North Carolina.

Of the Quaker meetings identified for study in this project, both the Farmington and Poplar Ridge meetings are considered to be pastoral (programmed), although the Farmington meeting also has periods of silent worship during its usual Sunday service. By contrast, the Central Finger Lakes meeting, located on the campus of the Hobart and William Smith College in Geneva, as well as the Syracuse and Perry City meetings, are unprogrammed. Neither the conference with which a meeting is affiliated nor the format of the meeting appears to have a great influence on whether members of the congregation feel an ongoing association with the park's history or resources. Rather, Quakers who report associations with the park's resources and the history the park interprets fall generally into four categories:

1) Birthright Quakers

- a. who live locally;
- b. who were born into families with historical ties to the 1848 convention;
- c. who have historical ties to the creation of the Congregational Friends or Hicksite Farmington Meeting; and
- d. whose ancestors had outward-looking philosophies and were involved with abolitionism and overtly political social reform activities.

2) Birthright Quakers

- a. who live locally;
- b. who were born into families with no historical ties to the 1848 convention;
- c. who were born into families with no historical ties to the creation of the Congregational Friends or Hicksite Farmington Meeting;
- d. whose ancestors had historically inward-looking philosophies and kept themselves removed from abolitionist or overtly political social reform activities; but
- e. who themselves now feel a sense of pride and importance about their Quaker reform heritage.

3) Convinced Friends

- a. who live either locally or away;
- b. who converted to Quakerism (many of them in the 1960s-1980s) on conviction; and
- c. who feel a sense of connection to park because of its symbolic and ideological importance in the history of Quaker activism.

³ “Welcome,” www.quakerfinder.org.

4) Non-Quaker descendants of Quakers

- a. with a connection to park resources through an ancestor's (but not their own) Quaker heritage, but
- b. who possess a feeling of connection based on their ancestor's participation or Quakerism instead of a personal Quaker religious identity.

Interview Methodology

To locate potential interviewees for this chapter, we talked first to Quakers known to have established relationships with park staff or to have participated in park events emphasizing the park's Quaker history. Most notable among these initial contacts was Helen Kirker, a volunteer at the park, member of the Farmington Meeting, and distant descendant of a signer of the Declaration of Sentiments. We also spoke with Christopher Densmore, a scholar of Quaker history, who provided invaluable background information in interviews, through his published writings, guidance in research at the Friends Historical Library, additional contacts for possible interviews, and assistance in compiling the tabular information in this chapter. We sought out members and pastors of local Quaker meetings that retain historical connections to meetings that were in existence in 1848, most notably the Farmington Meeting and Poplar Ridge (originally Scipio) Meeting. We also tried, with a lesser degree of success, to contact extant Quaker meetings in the area that represented both historical and newer congregations. We then used a snowball sampling method, asking each contact if they knew of other people with whom we should speak, contacting these new leads, and so on.

We sought in our interviews with contemporary Quakers to understand what they know about the roots of reform in Quakerism, more broadly, and about the development of the Congregationalist Friends/Friends of Human Progress and its connection to reform activity in Waterloo and Seneca Falls, more specifically. Do contemporary Quakers know that historical Quakers comprised a significant proportion of Declaration of Sentiments signers? Did contemporary Quakers grow up in families that discussed the relationship of historical Quakerism to women's rights or other human rights movements? Did converted Quakers come to the religion because of these historical ties? Which of the park's resources do contemporary Quakers associate most with Quaker reform or feel most connected to as Quakers?

Because there is a vibrant local community of Quakers in the area surrounding Seneca Falls and Waterloo, we had opportunities for participant observation. In addition to formal interviews with members of the Farmington and Poplar Ridge meetings, we attended a meeting of the Farmington Quakers and a craft bazaar held at the meetinghouse. In summer 2006, we attended the Ganondagan Native American Dance & Music Festival with Kirker. In November 2007, we attended the Canandaigua Treaty Day celebration, which marks the signing of the treaty in 1794. Members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, who were visiting local Friends in the 1790s, played a role in overseeing and facilitating the treaty. Contemporary Quakers attend the annual celebration in substantial numbers and feel great pride about their role in its successful signing. People with whom we conducted more formal interviews are listed in Appendix C.

Quakers and the Roots of Reform in Upstate New York

Understanding Quakerism as a religious organization is essential to grasping the history of women's rights in Waterloo and Seneca Falls. Prominent Quakers from the region, such as

Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock, and from farther away, such as Lucretia and James Mott, were also leaders in early women's rights movement and other reforms, notably abolitionism.

Quakers organize themselves into a series of regional yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings that are further divided into meetings for worship and business. In some cases during the antebellum years, these meetings were further broken into male and female groups. The first Friends arrived in the American colonies in 1657, spreading quickly thereafter through the colony and later state of New York. By 1821, the New York Yearly Meeting comprised 45 monthly meetings and 112 meetings for worship, 77 of which were in New York State alone, and a good number of these within 25 miles of a main line linking Albany to Buffalo.⁴ After the 1828 Hicksite split (explained below), many of the meetings divided into Orthodox and Hicksite branches of the original meetings.

In 1834, Hicksites formed the Genessee Yearly Meeting, comprising Scipio and Farmington Quarterly Meetings (Hicksite) plus Upper Canada and Michigan (discussed in greater detail below).⁵ Within this network of Quaker meetings were Junius Monthly Meeting (established in 1815, became Hicksite in the late 1820s, and continued until 1863⁶), which was set off from Farmington Meeting (the "mother church," which is variously reported as established in 1796 or 1800, and still meeting⁷) (Table 3).

Neither the Junius nor Congregational Friends meetings that figured prominently in the early women's rights movement remain today. Gone is the Waterloo meeting house (although the cemetery remains on Nine Foot Road) in which the Junius Monthly and then Congregational Friends meetings would have gathered at the time of the Seneca Falls convention. Today, Quakers remaining in the region see the Farmington Meeting houses (1816 and 1876) as symbols of their forebears' antislavery activism and rich history of reform, as well as of the connections among local Quakers to the radical Annual Meeting of Congregational Friends.

⁴ A. Day Bradley, "Records of Junius Friends Monthly Meeting, Seneca and Wayne Counties, New York," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (March 1981): 15-25.

⁵ Densmore et al., "After the Separation," 133-34.

⁶ Densmore notes that although it was still called the Junius Monthly Meeting, once the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends began meeting in the Junius meetinghouse, the Junius Monthly Meeting gathered in Galen instead. Christopher Densmore to Heather Lee Miller, email, March 26, 2009.

⁷ Margaret Herendeen Hartsough referred to the Farmington Meeting as the "mother church to many friends settlements in Western New York" in an article by the same title in *Farmington Newsletter* (Summer 1991), 3, copy at Farmington Town Hall, Historian's Office, Farmington, N.Y. (Farmington Town Hall). A stone monument at the site of the Farmington Meetinghouse was placed in 1929; it contains no mention of the Hicksite/Orthodox split, reading: "The earliest Friends Meeting House west of Utica was built of logs near this spot by pioneers in 1796. A frame structure 1804 was replaced 1876 by the present building. A larger Meeting House built opposite this site accommodated the Yearly Meeting and was used for worship 1816-1926. Erected by public spirited citizens and the State of New York 1926." See also Margaret Herendeen Hartsough, Ruth Kinsey, and Helen Kirker, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 12, 2007, Farmington, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP. See also Arthur Worrall, with Thomas Bassett, Christopher Densmore, Mary Ellen Singsen, and Alson D. Van Wagner, "New York Quaker Settlements and Immigrants," in Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 36.

Table 3. New York Yearly Meetings at the time of the Hicksite Split, 1828⁸

<i>Farmington Quarterly Meeting</i>	1810
Farmington Monthly Meeting	1803 ⁹
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmington • Palmyra • Deerfield [Knoxville], Pennsylvania • South Farmington • Williamson • Macedon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1796 • 1812 • 1815 • 1819 • 1826 • 1827
Junius Monthly Meeting	1806
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Junius • Galen • Milo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1804 • 1814 • 1827
Hamburg (Orchard Park) Monthly Meeting	1810
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hamburg • Eden (Boston) • Orangeville 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1807 • 1813 • 1820
Collins (Concord) Monthly Meeting	1813
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collins • Clear Creek • Evans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1813 • 1820 • 1827
Hartland Monthly Meeting	1817
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hartland • Batavia (Elba) • Lockport (Royalton) • Shelby • Somerset 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1817 • 1818 • 1819 • 1822 • 1826
Rochester Monthly Meeting	1821
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rochester • Henrietta • Wheatland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1819 • 1825 • 1824
<i>Scipio Quarterly Meeting</i>	1825
Scipio Monthly Meeting	1804
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scipio • Salmon Creek • Union Springs • Sempronius • North Street • Skaneateles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1799 • 1815 • 1816 • 1817 • 1819 • 1821
De Ruyter Monthly Meeting	1806
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DeRuyter • Madison 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1806 • 1809
Hector Monthly Meeting	1816
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1813

⁸ Most dates provided in this table are from John Cox, Jr., *New York Yearly Meeting Church Archives: Religious Society of Friends* (New York: Historical Records Survey, 1940). In order to give a sense of the historical longevity a particular meeting might have had, we give the earliest known date at which a meeting for worship (local meeting) gathered, whether or not it was yet officially recognized as a preparative meeting.

⁹ The founding dates for the various Farmington meetings are hard to pin down. The Farmington Meeting house has a plaque that dates the founding of the meeting to 1796; Worrall notes that the Farmington Preparative Meeting was founded in 1800; the Farmington Monthly in 1808; and the Farmington Quarterly in 1810 (Worrall et al., "New York Quaker Settlements and Immigrants,," 36); and Cox, *New York Yearly Meeting Church Archives*, dates the Farmington Monthly to 1803 (the date we've gone with here).

Hicksite versus Orthodox

Adding to the already complicated nature of the Quaker organization in the early nineteenth century were schisms among Quakers that caused fragmentation among the meetings. By 1828, Quakers in the United States had undergone a troublesome split. Elias Hicks, a cousin of Amy Kirby (later, Amy Post, who signed the Declaration of Sentiments), had begun criticizing leading Friends in the 1820s, “arguing that in both theology and discipline, the Society had wandered from its roots and taken on the forms of an orthodox church.” Believing that Quakers had become too dependent on such “external aids” as the Bible and too formalized in its institutions of decision-making and ministry, Hicks demanded that followers instead refocus on the “Inner Light” for spiritual direction, diminish their dependency on committees and meetings, and act according to the principles of the Quaker founders. The initial split came at the April 1827 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, where the Society of Friends divided into two rival organizations—the Orthodox and the Hicksite Friends.¹⁰

Hicksite and Orthodox Friends struggled among themselves over who would prevail in local, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. At first, Orthodoxy remained associated with the Long Island meetings, while central New York Quakers were more likely to join the Hicksites. Eventually, a small majority of New York Yearly Meeting Friends became Hicksites.¹¹ The Hicksite split had very personal ramifications for the Quakers associated with the 1848 convention. As her biographer Nancy Hewitt explains, the division weighed particularly heavily on Amy Kirby, who had married her sister’s widower Isaac Post in 1829. Happily married by all accounts, Amy Post, who had been raised in a strict Long Island Orthodox family, had married “out of the order of Society” by taking a Hicksite husband; her friends were judged to have “transgressed the discipline” by attending their wedding. Increasingly frustrated with the intolerance of the Orthodox Quakers from whom she was descended, Amy Post finally withdrew from her home meeting in Jericho to join the Hicksite Farmington Quarterly Meeting.¹²

When the Farmington Hicksites (who were in the majority among Farmington Friends) established their own meeting in 1828, the smaller group of Orthodox Farmington Quakers moved back across the street into their old meetinghouse, built in 1804, leaving the Hicksites in the newer building, constructed in 1816–1817. The Orthodox Friends’ meetinghouse burned down in 1875, and they built the 1876 meetinghouse that the Farmington Friends use today. Despite the split, Farmington Quaker Margaret Hartsough, who is also the town historian, believes that they came together during the antebellum era over reform issues like abolitionism and women’s rights. Farmington Friends pastor Ruth Kinsey explained that the Hicksite split seems to have been more of an urban versus rural concern, one that centered on divisions among Friends whose interpretations of Quakerism were more mystical than those who held more evangelical ideas about the faith. To Kinsey, the split was more of a power struggle than an

¹⁰ Quotations here from Nancy A. Hewitt, “Amy Kirby Post: ‘Of whom it was said, “being dead, yet speaketh,”” *University of Rochester Library Bulletin* 37 (1984), <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=4018.Post>.” For an in-depth look at the roots of the split, see Hugh Barbour, with Thomas Bassett, Christopher Densmore, H. Larry Ingle, and Alson D. Van Wagner, “The Orthodox-Hicksite Separation,” in Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, chap. 7.

¹¹ Depending on who was doing the counting, the percentage of Hicksite versus Orthodox varied. Hicksites counted 65 percent Hicksite and 31 percent Orthodox; Orthodox counted 46 percent Hicksite and 46 percent Orthodox. Densmore et al., “After the Separation,” 131.

¹² Hewitt, “Amy Kirby Post.”

ideological divide, and its effects were less tangible in a tightly knit community like Farmington than they were in some other places, from which came “horrendous and painful stories” of family members refusing to speak to each other and court battles over meetinghouses and cemeteries. As late as 1910, such conflicts persisted among Farmington Quakers, whose cemetery was divided until that year between Orthodox and Hicksite Friends.¹³ The tensions resulting from the “shameful part of our history,” Kinsey noted, “continue to be felt among various branches of North American Quakerism.”¹⁴

Amy Post and others were active in yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings working to reform Quakerism on such matters as vocational education, Indian rights, and gender equality.¹⁵ In a somewhat ironic turn of events, a number of coreligionists in these meetings actively worked in the 1840s to reform even the reformist Hicksite branch of Quakerism, using much the same criticism as Hicks had in the 1820s that “hierarchy and formalism were superseding communalism and individual responsibility.” In response to this discord, the Rochester Monthly Meeting made “radical” changes, including allowing men and women to conduct business jointly at times, diminishing the powers of the Ministers and Elders, and allowing women to disown female Friends without male concurrence. For ardent activists like the Posts in Rochester and the M’Clintocks in Waterloo, who were members of Farmington Monthly Meeting, these reforms did not go far enough.¹⁶

Quakers Divide over Abolitionism¹⁷

Like many other Christians, some Quakers owned slaves in the colonial and early national periods. New York Quakers owned fewer slaves and appear to have had less involvement with the slave trade than did Quakers in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, or the West Indies. Additionally, by the mid-1700s, various meetings had begun speaking against slavery as immoral. In 1759, the New York Yearly Meeting decided that Friends could no longer import slaves, a relative nonissue as no Friends were active in the slave trade and very few had recently imported slaves. The Friends more broadly reached consensus by 1775 against owning slaves, and New York State passed legislation in 1799 that ensured that all African Americans in the state would be free by 1827. According to historian Christopher Densmore, Quakers owned fewer slaves and had weaker ties to industries and commercial enterprises that relied on slavery or slave-produced

¹³ James Padgham, “Farmington Friends Meeting, 1796-1946,” speech given August 4, 1946, at sesquicentennial of Meeting, typescript copied from *Farmington Friend*, September 7, 1946; and Margaret Herendeen Hartsough, “1796-1996: History of the Farmington Friends Meeting,” *Farmington Friend* 51 (June 1996), both on file at Farmington Town Hall.

¹⁴ Quotations are from Hartsough, Kinsey, and Kirker, interview; and Ruth Kinsey, “The Orthodox/Hicksite Split,” typescript, 1996, on file at Farmington Town Hall. Other Quakers echo this perception. As the coauthors of *Quaker Crosscurrents* noted, “all Friends and their meetings were weakened and shamed” by the split. “The love that had carried Friends through persecution had not overcome their own anger” (130).

¹⁵ For more on Post’s involvement with Indian rights, as well as involvement of other Quakers, see “National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet: Farmington Quaker Crossroads District,” Section 8: Significance, http://www.farmingtonmeetinghouse.org/pdf/national_registry/nrhp_application_3.pdf.

¹⁶ Hewitt, “Amy Kirby Post.”

¹⁷ The philosophical bases of Quaker support of antislavery and the Underground Railroad are explored more thoroughly in chapter 2. Abolitionist material is presented here to show the connections between antislavery and radical religious reform as embodied in the Progressive Friends, which was in turn inextricably related to the women’s rights movement via its main activist families the Posts, Hunts, and M’Clintocks, all of whom attended the 1848 convention(s) in Seneca Falls and/or Rochester.

goods than did non-Quakers. This made the “final disentanglement” easier for Friends of the New York Yearly Meeting, who ended slavery by the 1780s.¹⁸

In response to this concern, eighteen men, twelve of them Quakers, founded the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, which focused on “securing legislation to end slavery in New York; monitoring compliance with the laws, particularly those against exporting slaves; educating ‘people of color’; and, after, 1792, cooperating with other abolition societies in the American Convention.”¹⁹ The New York Manumission Society closed its doors in 1849, by which time all formerly enslaved blacks in the state had been free for over twenty years. But slavery continued to dominate tensions among Quakers in the state. By the 1840s, perhaps the most divisive issue among Hicksites was whether Quakers should associate regularly with non-Quakers to promote their abolitionist agendas.²⁰

Antislavery advocates like the Posts, M’Clintocks, and Hunts were known to host “numerous little abolition meetings” in their homes in Rochester and Waterloo, and many once inwardly focused Quakers embarked on “worldly” careers as social activists, signing antislavery petitions and questioning the strictures against non-Quakers from their abolitionist organizations. As Amy Post’s former Long Island neighbor John Ketcham noted, “our light (if we have any) would be more likely to shine where it would do good by uniting with all without distinction of Sect or creed.” Although they would have said they were simply following their inner light (which reflected God’s word) in doing so, other Quakers felt the Posts and others were acting contrary to traditional Quaker doctrine when they became charter members of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society (WNYASS). As Densmore suggests, this was (and still is, among Quaker scholars) a point of controversy.²¹

Strong evidence exists that many Hicksite Farmington Friends were also active abolitionists (Orthodox Farmington Friends may also have been antislavery, but most known and active abolitionists were members of the Hicksite meeting). One-time president of the society Joseph C. Hathaway, who lived in Pumpkin Hook (another name for the small community located nearest the Farmington Meetinghouses), wrote to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in May and August 1842 about fugitive slaves who had stayed with him. One was from Virginia, “on his way to a free country,” who told Hathaway and his family how his master had “staked him against \$1000 in a *cock-fight*.” The young man, who was around nineteen years old, “thought best to use the physical and intellectual powers God had given him, in finding a country where an immortal being is considered of too much value to have his destiny hang upon a *chicken’s foot*.”²²

Rochester’s antislavery women, Quaker and non-Quaker, proceeded to organize the city’s first female-run antislavery fair, efforts that were in direct violation of Quaker rules against interacting with “the world’s people.” The M’Clintocks and Hunts similarly challenged the rules by mingling with AME Zion members, such as Frederick Douglass, William C. Nell, and Jermain Loguen; with Unitarians such as Samuel J. May; and with Free Soilers such as Henry B.

¹⁸ Christopher Densmore, with Hugh Barbour, Thomas Bassett, and Arthur Worrall, “Slavery and Abolition to 1830,” in Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 65–69, 73.

¹⁹ Densmore et al., “Slavery and Abolition to 1830,” 69.

²⁰ Hewitt, “Amy Kirby Post.”

²¹ Christopher Densmore to Heather Lee Miller, email, March 26, 2009.

²² Joseph C. Hathaway, untitled article, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 5, 1842, transcript by Margaret Hartsough, on file at Farmington Town Hall.

Stanton. Reformers like the Posts, Hunts, and M'Clintocks were convinced that their actions reflected their faith. Thus when even the Hicksite Rochester Monthly Meeting began to question Amy Post's antislavery organizing with people of all denominations, she refused to cease her activities. Ultimately, the Posts and others with similar trouble reconciling their activism with their meeting's proscriptions withdrew from fellowship with the Hicksites.²³

Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends

Discontent over restrictions on their antislavery activities and over the role of ministers and elders led the Posts, DeGarmos, M'Clintocks, Hunts, Bonnells, and others living between Waterloo and Rochester to found the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends (Hicksite, 1849–1854).²⁴ Some Quaker historians believe that formation of the Congregational Friends in 1848 was an even more serious split among Quakers in western New York than had been the Hicksite separation twenty years earlier.²⁵ Many of the members of this splinter group, renamed the Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress (or Progressive Friends, 1854–1884), met for worship at the Junius meetinghouse in Waterloo and many rest in the cemetery once associated with the meeting.²⁶

The two issues that drove the creation of the Congregational Friends were interrelated, as ministers and elders were responsible for the Society's spiritual guidance, and this responsibility often led to the "eldering" (being reprimanded by an elder) of anyone speaking inappropriately in meeting for worship. Radical Hicksites thought that the system of acknowledging ministers and "select" meetings of ministers and elders supported a stale orthodoxy. Friends like Lucretia Mott and Thomas M'Clintock, who saw active abolitionism as the logical application of Quaker belief, worried that more conservative elders and ministers would oppose them in select meetings. Founded on the *Basis of Religious Association*, which they adopted at the 1848 organizing conference held in Farmington, the Congregational Friends had as their object "the promotion of righteousness—of practical goodness—love to God and man—on the part of every member composing the association, and in the world at large." They abolished select meetings and seated power in local congregations, recognized "liberty of conscience," eliminated gender inequality, and sought to provide "scanty soil" for growth of the evils of tyranny and sectarianism.²⁷ Ultimately, the Congregational Friends believed, "fidelity to God can be maintained only by individual obedience to Divine requiring." Based on these reasons for coming together in meeting, the proceedings of the 1849 Yearly Meeting of the Congregational

²³ Hewitt, "Amy Kirby Post;" and Nancy Hewitt, with Margaret Hope Bacon, Christopher Densmore, Thomas D. Hamm, Sabron Reynolds Newton, Katherine Sorel, and Alson D. Van Wagner, "Women's Rights and Roles," in Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 172–76.

²⁴ These people were often referred to as "ultraists." For more on ultraists, which included Unitarians and Universalists, see chapter 4. See also Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822–1872* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), esp. chaps. 4–5.

²⁵ Bradley, "Records of Junius Friends Monthly Meeting."

²⁶ We use the name *Congregational Friends* here to represent both the Congregational Friends and Progressive Friends.

²⁷ All quotations here come from *The Basis of Religious Association*, which was reprinted in the annual proceedings of each Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends. Here, *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, Held at Waterloo, N.Y.* (Auburn: Oliphant's Press, 1849), 39–45. Similar splits occurred in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana, and a bit later in Philadelphia; and these groups often sent correspondents and correspondence to the Junius meetinghouse for the Progressive Friends' Yearly meeting. Densmore et al., "After the Separation," 134–35.

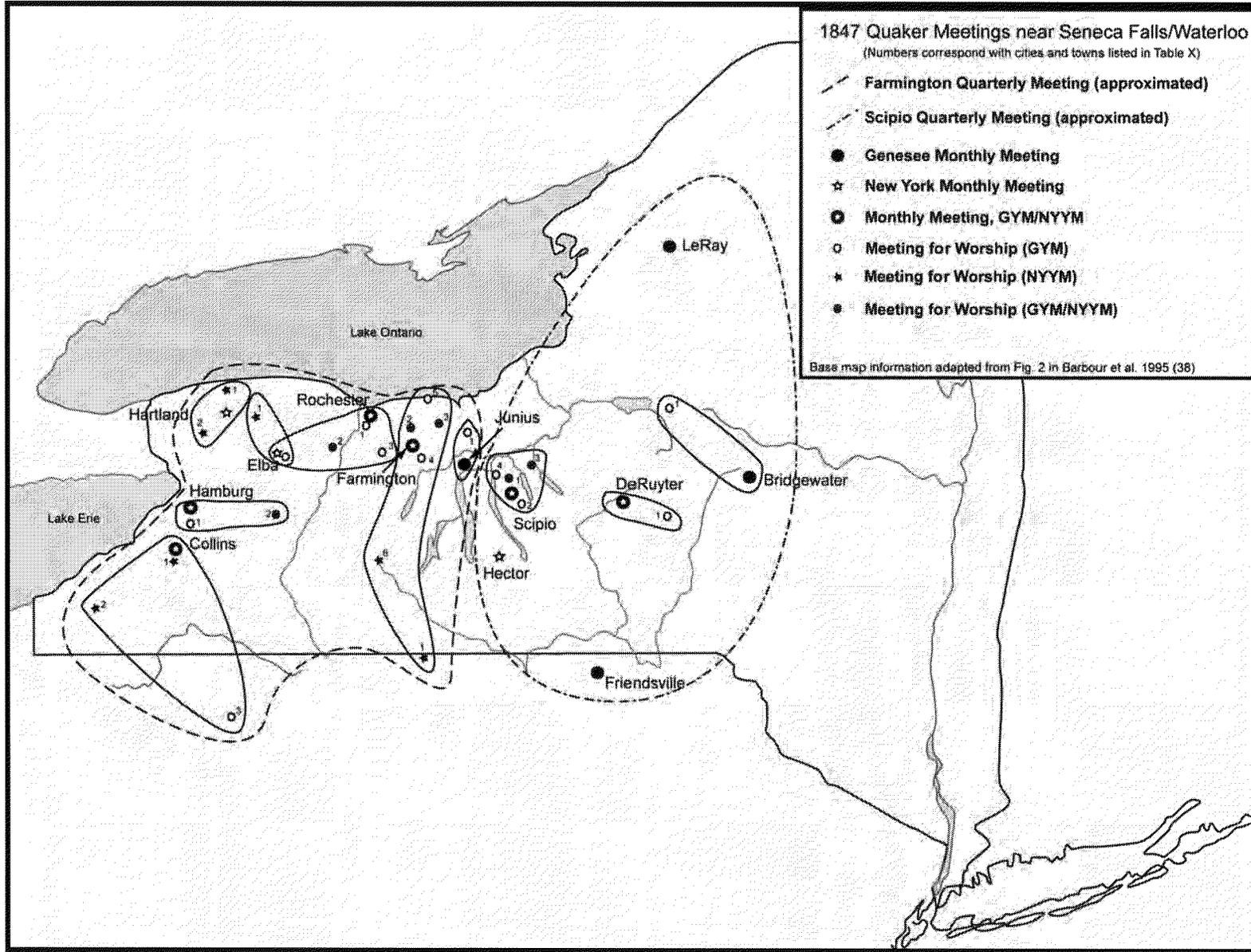


Figure 9. 1847 Quaker Meetings near Seneca Falls/Waterloo.

Table 4. 1840s Quaker Meetings near Seneca Falls/Waterloo²⁸

<i>Genesee Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) -- 1847</i>	<i>New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) -- 1844</i>
<i>Farmington Quarterly Meeting</i>	<i>Farmington Quarterly Meeting</i>
Collins Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collins (★) • Elk (3) 	Collins Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collins (★) • Clear Creek (1) • Ellery (2)
Farmington Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmington (★) • Macedon (2) • South Farmington (4) • Palmyra (3) • Williamson (5) 	Farmington Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmington (★) • Palmyra (3) • Macedon (2) • Deerfield (1) • Conhocton (Worship only) (6)
Hamburg Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hamburg [Orchard Park] (★) • Boston (1) • Orangeville (2) 	Hamburg Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hamburg [Orchard Park] (★) • Orangeville (2)
	Hartland Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hartland (Star) • Somerset (1) • Lockport (2)
Junius Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Junius (●) • Galen (1) 	
Rochester Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rochester (★) • Henrietta (1) • Wheatland (2) • Mendon (3) • Elba (★○ - also NYYM Monthly Meeting location) 	Rochester Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rochester (★) • Wheatland (2)
	Elba Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elba (★○ - also GYM meeting for worship location) • Shelby [sometimes misspelled "Shelba"] (1)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends (split from Junius and Scipio) [1849-1854] then Friends of Human Progress (1854-1884) 	
<i>Scipio Quarterly Meeting</i>	<i>Scipio Quarterly Meeting</i>
Scipio Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scipio (●) • Salmon Creek (2) • North Street (1) • Skaneateles (4) • Union Springs (5) 	Scipio Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scipio [Poplar Ridge] (★) • North Street (1) • Skaneateles (4)
DeRuyter Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DeRuyter (●) • Smyrna (1) 	DeRuyter Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DeRuyter (★)
	Hector Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hector [Perry City] (★)
Bridgewater Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bridgewater (●) • Verona (1) 	
Friendsville Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friendsville (●) 	
LeRay Monthly Meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian River (●) 	

²⁸ The 1847 Genesee Yearly Meeting data comes from Joseph Foulke, Jr., ed., *Friends Almanac* (Philadelphia: Evan Lewis, 1847); and the New York Yearly Meeting information comes from New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Orthodox), *Account of the Times of Holding the Yearly Meeting of Friends in New York: Held in New-York, and the Meetings Constituting It* (New York: M. Day and Co., 1840), with manuscript corrections to 1844. Both volumes are held at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, and Chris Densmore graciously provided us this data. For the founding dates of the meetings, see Table 5.

Friends' outlined the problems against which the group was to agitate: social inequality, war, slavery, racial prejudice, and sexism. In their own words:

Bearing close analogy to the system of slavery, is *the condition to which woman* is reduced, by the practical *denial of her equality with man*, in rights, privileges, duties, and responsibilities. . . . If human nature be the same, then interests, capabilities, responsibilities, rights, are the common inheritance of all, from the common Parent. . . . Yet of these facts there is a practical denial in the arrangements of society, almost every where; and the authority of Religion is claimed, by its *professed ministers*, for this unspeakable wrong done to *one half the human family!*²⁹

Given this emphasis on individual authority and gender equality, it is not surprising that the Congregational Friends included the Barker, Bonnell, Capron, DeGarmo, Dell, Doty, Fish, Hallowell, Hunt, M'Clintock, Post, Pryor, Schooley, Shear, and Stebbins families, all of which had at least one member who attended one or both of the 1848 women's rights conventions in Seneca Falls and Rochester.³⁰ In keeping with this focus on gender equality, a clerk of each sex was named for each annual meeting, a practice that continued throughout all years for which proceedings exist. The list of clerks' names is evidence of the continued presence of a local network of abolitionist and women's rights reformers associating within the Congregational Friends: Thomas M'Clintock and Rhoda DeGarmo (1849–1854), Thomas M'Clintock and Mary Doty (1856), James Truman and Susan B. Anthony (1857), James Truman and Frances Hancock (1858), George W. Taylor and Amy Post (1859).³¹ At least one figure in of each of these pairings was involved with women's rights, and almost every person was either in attendance at one of the 1848 women's rights conventions (Seneca Falls or Rochester) or related to someone who was. Also striking is the ongoing participation of nonlocal Quakers and non-Quaker reformers in these meetings, which speaks to the significance of the Congregational Friends in promoting social reform throughout its existence.³²

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Frederick Douglass, and Samuel J. May are only a few of the prominent reformers who appear in the first decade of proceedings of the Congregational Friends. In 1856, Samuel J. May, a prominent Unitarian minister from Syracuse, sent a letter regretting his inability to attend. Lucretia Mott presented remarks that year, closing with a statement that was truly in the spirit of the *Religious Basis of Association*: "If we are true to

²⁹ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1849, 20–21. Unless otherwise noted, all emphases are in the original.

³⁰ Perhaps the best source of the Quaker connections to women and reform is Hewitt et al., "Women's Rights and Roles," 165–82, here 172. For sources on who attended Congregational Friends' meetings, see the annual *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, Held at Waterloo, N.Y.*, which are available at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. According to Swarthmore College archivist and Quaker scholar Christopher Densmore, the meeting minutes of the Congregational Friends and Progressive Friends are no longer extant, making it impossible to determine exactly who attended when and from where. Judith Wellman indicated that in 1893, the Junius meetinghouse became a barn, which then burned under suspicious circumstances. Whether the minutes burned in the fire remains unknown, but given Quaker propensity to keep records, their disappearance is odd. Judith Wellman, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

³¹ Residing in Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1857, Thomas M'Clintock, "ever your loving friend," wrote a letter that was read aloud to the meeting in 1857 (*Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1857, 24–27). M'Clintock was able to attend the next year, however, engaging again with his spiritual companions (including Samuel May, also in attendance) on the subject of slavery (*Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1858, 5).

³² *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1849, 3.

ourselves and to our holiest instincts, walking in obedience to the light, we shall rise higher and higher, until as Henry Ward Beecher expresses it, 'we may almost touch, or reach God.'"³³ In 1859, Frederick Douglass attended the meeting, giving moving speeches on slavery and the nature of religion. As with May's letter, Douglass made clear that although he was not a Quaker by religious affiliation, his sympathies were in line with the Congregational Friends' aversion to "theoretical religion."³⁴ "We want practical religion—religion that will do something," he said. "When I commenced praying with my legs, I felt the answer coming down."³⁵ Douglass also attended a meeting in 1869.³⁶

Stanton was a regular visitor at Congregational Friends' meetings and made an appearance at the Farmington Meeting soon after the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls. On a "warm and pleasant" Friday in October, Farmington Quaker Benjamin Gue wrote in his diary that Stanton attended a women's rights lecture at the meetinghouse, where "she circulated a petition praying the Legislature to allow women of legal age to exercise the right of the *Elective Franchise*, which I signed."³⁷ Stanton also reported attending a meeting in Farmington, although whether she is referring to the same meeting as Gue is unclear. In her reminiscences, she recalled attending a meeting of the Congregational Friends where, after some silence in response to her call for discussion or query, "a middle-aged man, with a broad-brimmed hat, arose and responded in a sing-song tone: 'All that I have to say is, if a hen can crow, let her crow.'" Although Stanton noted she at first felt "chagrined" that such serious topics were being "so summarily disposed of," the "good man intended no disrespect as he told me afterwards. He simply put the whole argument in a nutshell: 'Let a woman do whatever she can.'"³⁸

By 1855, Stanton was one of a group of women assigned by the Congregational Friends to "take into consideration the Rights, Duties and Responsibilities of Woman," and report to the next year's meeting. Appearing with Stanton on the committee were Mary Ann M'Clintock, Sarah A. Burtis, Margaret Schooley, and Lucy Coleman.³⁹ In 1856, Stanton does not appear to have

³³ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1856, 22–23, 17–19.

³⁴ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1856, 15.

³⁵ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1856, 8. Quaker historian Allen C. Thomas noted, too, the connections between Unitarians and "Radicals" and the Progressive Friends, including Theodore Parker, Samuel J. May, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, and Gerrit Smith. See Thomas, "Congregational or Progressive Friends: A Forgotten Episode in Quaker History," *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society* 10 (November 1920): 21–32, 29.

³⁶ Coverage of the 1869 meeting of the Progressive Friends comes from "Human Progress: Twenty-First Anniversary of the Friends of Human Progress, at Waterloo, New York," *New York Herald*, June 15–16, 1869.

³⁷ Benjamin F. Gue, *Diary of Benjamin F. Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa, 1847-1856* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1962), n.p., transcript by Margaret Hartsough, Town Historian, on file at Farmington Town Hall, Farmington, New York.

³⁸ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897* (New York: Schocken, 1975), 151. Although the "let her crow" story is likely anecdotal and embellished (as many of the stories Stanton related later in life seem to be), Quakers from such different backgrounds as Margaret Hartsough, Christopher Densmore, and Judith Wellman single out such instances to show the strong connection Stanton and other women's rights leaders had to Farmington and Junius Quakers. Stanton also placed this incident at Junius and identifies the speaker as Henry Bonnell. See [H. L. Green], "Henry Bonnell and the Waterloo Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress," *Free Thought Magazine* 13 (1895), 39-53, esp. 49-50. See also Christopher Densmore, "If a Hen Can Crow: Or, How the Woman's Rights Movement Began in the Quaker Meeting House, Nine Foot Road, Waterloo Township, Seneca County, New York," unpublished and unpaginated manuscript, 1998, on file at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

³⁹ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1855, 24

attended, likely due to the birth of her daughter Harriot. Indeed, she wrote to Anthony in June that year, "Your servant is not dead but liveth. Imagine me, day in and day out, watching, bathing, dressing, nursing, and promenading the precious contents of a little crib in the corner of the room. I pace up and down these two chambers of mine like a caged lioness, longing to bring a close to nursing and housekeeping cares. I have other work on hand too."⁴⁰ Stanton was referring to the work for women's rights that she and Susan B. Anthony would share for over fifty years after meeting in 1851. Their growing bond (and its association with the Congregational Friends) became evident in Anthony's first documented appearance at the Yearly meeting in 1857, wherein she was appointed clerk and read a paper entitled "On Marriage" that Stanton had written.⁴¹ Stanton was in attendance again in 1858, making "an earnest and powerful appearance in behalf of Women, set forth with great beauty of illustration" and introducing a resolution on marriage that was adopted after "full and free discussion."⁴² She and Anthony attended the meeting together in 1860.⁴³ Records were unavailable after 1860;⁴⁴ although Anthony may have continued attending the meetings, it is unlikely Stanton did so after her departure from Seneca Falls in 1862.

Declining Quaker Adherence over the Nineteenth Century in Western New York

Founded in 1834, the Genesee Yearly Meeting included the Farmington and Scipio Quarterly Meetings, plus Upper Canada and Michigan. Unrelated to the Hicksite split, the idea of a new division had been proposed in the early 1820s because Quakers in western New York and Canada found it a struggle to travel annually to New York City for the yearly session.⁴⁵ It was Hicksites, however, who ultimately followed through with the creation of the Genesee Yearly, and thus this body comprised only Hicksite meetings. Most Quakers known to be associated with the 1848 women's rights convention were members of the Hicksite Farmington Quarterly Meeting and therefore, of the Genesee Yearly Meeting., between 1834 and 1955, when it merged with the Orthodox and Conservative branches of the Canada Yearly Meeting. Until 1860, yearly meetings were held in Farmington; thereafter, the meetings alternated between Farmington and Bloomfield, Ontario, and became increasingly Canadian in makeup as the older Farmington and Scipio Quarters declined in the later nineteenth century.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Susan B. Anthony, June 10, 1856, in *The Elizabeth Cady Stanton—Susan B. Anthony Reader: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches*, ed. Ellen Carol DuBois, rev. ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 63. Elizabeth bore four children between the 1848 convention and her departure from Seneca Falls: Theodore (February 10, 1851), Margaret (October 20, 1852), Harriot (January 18, 1856), and Robert (March 13, 1859). Having so many small children around likely affected her ability to attend meetings.

⁴¹ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1857, 10, 21–24.

⁴² *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1858, 6.

⁴³ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1860.

⁴⁴ For this study, we used the holdings of Swarthmore College; Christopher Densmore does not know the whereabouts of the records for the later period. A 1920 article from the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society* notes, "A personal inquiry in 1919, by a friend of the present writer, in one of the neighborhoods where the Congregational Friends were most numerous [presumably Waterloo], has failed to reveal any data of meetings, or printed 'Proceedings' subsequent to 1865. With one or two exceptions even the memory of any organization seemed to have died out" (Thomas, "Congregational or Progressive Friends," 29n14). The only other known description of a Progressive Friends meeting from beyond 1865 is from 1869, as in note 26 above.

⁴⁵ Densmore et al., "After the Separation," 133–34.

⁴⁶ Densmore et al., "After the Separation," 134.

In 1700, Quakers comprised the third largest religious group in New York State and the growth of the New York Yearly Meeting was impressive; it claimed approximately 22,000 members in 1830. A general decline in Quakerism began around that time, however, and by 1845, Quakers made up only the seventh largest religious body in the state. By 1869, the Orthodox branch had 3,000 fewer members than it had claimed in an 1830 estimate. Quaker historians believe that Hicksite losses were even greater, which for meetings such as Farmington and Junius may have resulted in a significant decline in membership.⁴⁷

Family histories of people interviewed for this study support the trends described in the Genesee and New York Yearly meetings. The Farmington Herendeens, for example, from whom Helen Kirker and Margaret Hartsough are descended, date their family's presence in the area to the very first Quaker in Farmington, Nathan Herendeen, who arrived in 1790. As with the Hunt family members with whom we spoke and the Wright descendants in Auburn, Quakerism had either disappeared by the twentieth century or been diluted in their families. Many in the area appear to have become Episcopalian, as did at least the George Truman Hunt branch of the Hunt family (some of whom became Mormon in the mid-twentieth century). Helen Kirker was also raised Episcopalian, although she was "surrounded by Quakers" in the Farmington area. Martha and David Wright and Susan B. Anthony leaned toward Unitarianism by the late nineteenth century, as did Wright descendant James D. Livingston's family. The Osborne side of the Wright family, however, was Episcopalian and Lutheran (by marriage).

Although many Quakers with ties to progressive groups of Quakers, like Hartsough, reside in the Farmington area, this seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Most people with direct historical ties to the Congregational Friends or Hicksite Quakers in Farmington who supported women's rights no longer have family living in the Farmington area. Conversely, those Quakers who remain in Farmington have tenuous ties (that they know of, at least) to the more progressive Quakers of the 1840s through 1880s. Hartsough, for example, although she was raised Quaker in Farmington Meeting, has no recollections of hearing stories about Quaker women in her family being active in the women's rights movement or having attended the Seneca Falls convention or other events where reformers like Elizabeth Cady Stanton spoke.⁴⁸

Quakerism in the Seneca Falls and Waterloo area seems to have lost momentum following the Civil War, in part because of the removal of one of their abiding concerns, slavery. Still, the Congregational Friends advocated more than just abolition, so the decline likely stemmed from a combination of factors, both personal and more general. First were the deaths of or departure from Waterloo of charismatic personalities like Richard Hunt, Azaliah Schooley, and Thomas M'Clintock, whose house seems to have been a magnet for gatherings of like-minded, radical Quakers. Although M'Clintock appears to have continued corresponding with his friends in Waterloo, his residence in Philadelphia likely directed his focus away from western New York.

Second, Quakers seem to have been leaving Quakerism for even more freethinking alternatives, such as the Unitarian Church, which attracted nonsectarian free thinkers like Martha Coffin Wright and Susan B. Anthony.⁴⁹ Even the children of one of the most ardent Quakers of her time, Lucretia Mott, had left the Society of Friends by the time of her death in 1880. And only a few of her grandchildren were more than nominally Quaker. Although her own faith had only

⁴⁷ Densmore et al., "After the Separation," 132.

⁴⁸ Hartsough, Kinsey, and Kirker, interview.

⁴⁹ Hewitt, "Amy Kirby Post." For more on Wright and Anthony's turn to Unitarianism, see chapter 4.

become stronger, according to a biographer, “this, too, Lucretia seemed to accept. She had felt ambivalent about the Society of Friends for so many years—loving it but hating its reluctance to change—that she could understand the impatience of the young with the bonds of ‘sect.’”⁵⁰

Third, additional divisions among Quakers throughout the nineteenth century weakened Quakerism as a unified religion, as factions like Wilburites, Gurneyites, Otisites, and Kingites further fractionated New York Quakers, and many Quakers (like Americans in general) moved westward. Last, Quakers in general began to move more closely toward mainstream American society, especially after the close of the Civil War.⁵¹

Quakers in the Twentieth Century

Numerous changes occurred in the Quaker faith during the twentieth century, including a turn to the social gospel and a more modernist, liberal movement of religious thought. Many of the new ministers were women, a number of whom had attended Penn College or Earlham, and some came to Quakerism from Asian and other non-Christian religions. These modern Quakers, although trained in a biblical tradition (unlike those in the later twentieth century), focused on peace and social justice. Liberal Quakers were strongly pacifist during both World War I and World War II, during which they often alternated between serving local pastorates and serving on the staff of such Quaker organizations as the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).⁵²

In the postwar years, New York Quakers organized in favor of nuclear disarmament and advocated, as they had in 1849, equitable sharing of the world's resources.⁵³ Since the 1960s, Quakers have advocated issues of both unity and diversity, for example supporting abortion rights but dividing on issues of gay and lesbian inclusion.⁵⁴ In 1972, the New York Yearly Meeting created a Women's Rights Committee, chartered to

encourage Friends to reassert . . . our historic testimony on the equality of men and women, to increase awareness of the issues that are being identified in the contemporary women's movement, to provide a network of support to women who are troubled or suffering because of women-related conflicts, and to strive to promote a spirit of love, caring and understanding when dealing with the tensions that feminism is bringing to the surface.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (Philadelphia: Friends General Conference, 1999), 252.

⁵¹ Densmore et al., “After the Separation,” 145.

⁵² Hugh Barbour, with George Badgley, Michael Birkel, Elmer H. Brown, Lewis W. Hoskins, Herbert Kimball, Gordon Miller, Sabron Reynolds Newton, Bertha May Nichols, and Alson D. Van Wagner, “Liberal Pastors and New Intellectual Meetings, 1900-1945,” 222–29, 234–38, and Hugh Barbour, with Christopher Densmore, Walter Haines, Alan Pike, Mary Ellen Singesen, and Jane R. Smiley, “Quaker Service and Peacemaking, 1900-1945,” 239–275, both in Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*.

⁵³ Nancy C. Sorel, with Lloyd and Margaret Bailey, Hugh Barbour, Thomas Bassett, Emma Fleck, Daniel A. Seeger, Mary Sexton, Jane B. Simkin, Mary Ellen Singesen, Katherine Sorel, Alson D. Van Wagner, George H. Watson, and Henry A. Wheeler, “Peace and Social Concerns: The Last Forty Years, 1955-1995,” in Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 276–320.

⁵⁴ Hugh Barbour, with Robin Alpern, John E. Brush, Miriam K. Brush, Mary Foster Cadbury, Victoria Baker Cooley, Anne-Marie Eriksson, Cheshire Frager, Edward Myers Hayes, Lewis W. Hoskins, Eloise C. Kayton, Janet L. Lugo, John Maynard, Patricia Hayes Myers, Elizabeth H. Moger, Noel Palmer, Daniel A. Seeger, and Henry A. Wheeler, “Unity and Diversity since Reunion,” in Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 321–47.

⁵⁵ Barbour et al., “Unity and Diversity since Reunion,” 339.

In a direct association with the women's rights history of Seneca Falls, the New York Yearly Meeting's Women's Committee also supported the Seneca Women's Peace Encampment (discussed in more detail in chapter 7).

Contemporary Quaker Associations with Women's Rights NHP

Contemporary Quaker Meetings in Upstate New York

When conducting the initial research for this study, it became clear that Farmington Quaker Meeting of Friends in Farmington, New York, is the extant Friends Meeting with the closest historical ties to the Seneca Falls and Waterloo resources managed by the park. Poplar Ridge Meeting is another extant meeting with deep historical roots in Cayuga County and ties to the abolitionist movement. Both Farmington and Poplar Ridge meetings are discussed in more detail below.

All that remains of Junius Monthly Meetinghouse, where first the Junius Monthly Meeting (which later moved to Galen) and then the Congregational Friends gathered, is the cemetery on Ninefoot Road just north of State Route 96. Richard Pell Hunt was buried here but then moved to Maple Grove (the headstone for his second wife, Sarah, remains at the Junius cemetery). Other Declaration of Sentiments signers known to be buried here are Azaliah Schooley, Rachel Dell Bonnell (Mitchell), and Rhoda Palmer.



Figure 10. Rhoda J. Palmer, gravestone, Junius Meeting Cemetery, Waterloo, N.Y. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

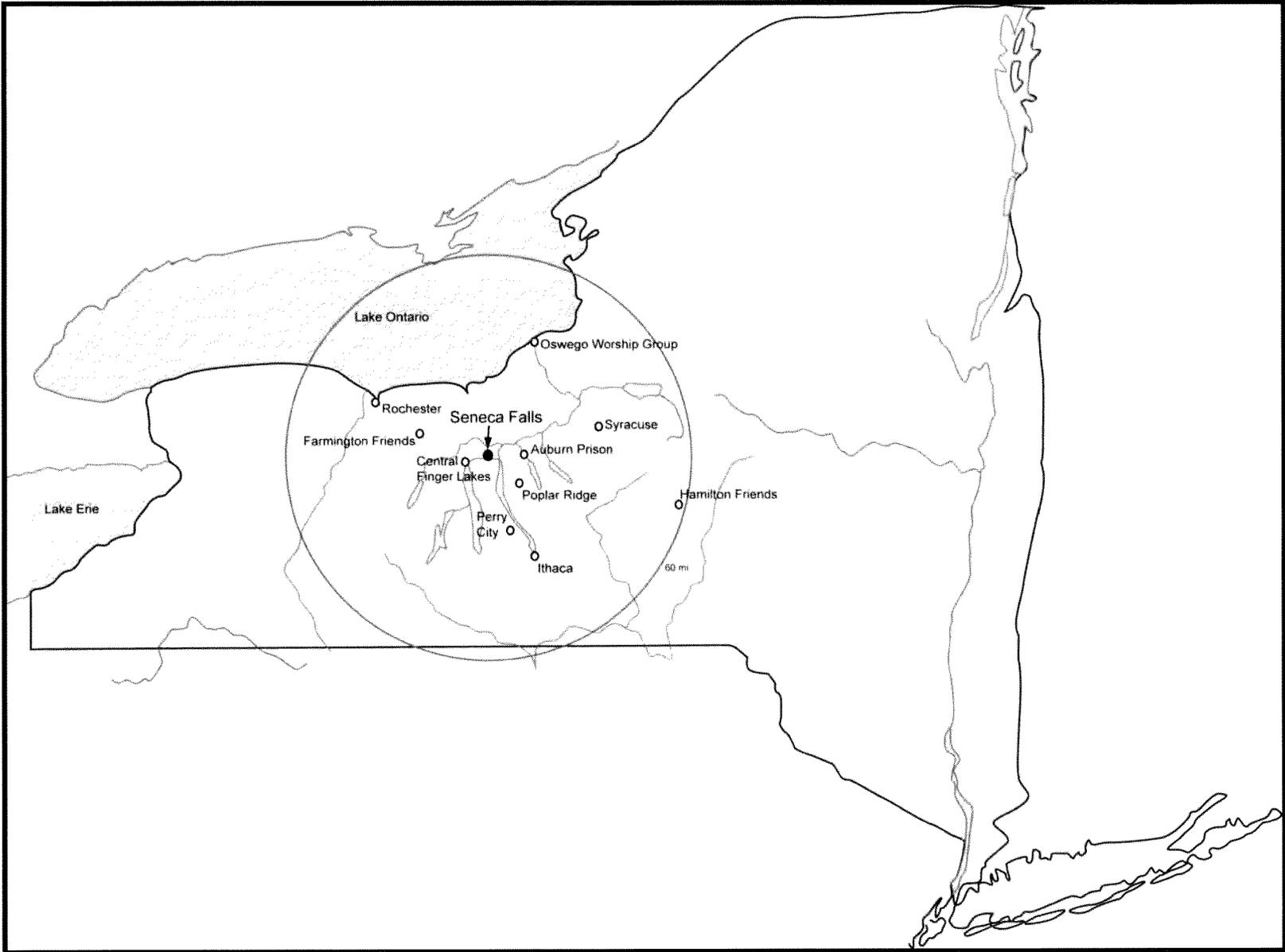


Figure 11. Contemporary Quaker Meetings within a 60-mile radius of Seneca Falls/Waterloo.

Table 5. Quaker Meetings within 60-Mile Radius of Seneca Falls, 2008⁵⁶

New York Yearly Meeting Contemporary Local Meetings for Worship 2008	Founded	Meeting Format
Farmington Friends Meeting	1796	programmed meeting for worship
Poplar Ridge Meeting (Scipio)	1799	programmed meeting for worship
Perry City Friends Meeting (Trumansburg) [old Hector meeting]	1814	unknown
Ithaca Monthly Meeting	1912 ⁵⁷	unprogrammed meeting for worship
Syracuse Meeting	1929	unprogrammed meeting for worship
Rochester Meeting	1944	unprogrammed meeting for worship
Hamilton Friends Meeting (Smyrna)	1960	unknown
Auburn Prison Preparative Meeting	c. 1974	unknown
Central Finger Lakes Meeting (Geneva)	1986	unprogrammed meeting for worship
Oswego Worship Group (part of Syracuse)	unknown	unknown

Friends' meetings located within an hour's drive of Seneca Falls today include Ithaca, Perry City, Ithaca, Syracuse, Rochester, Hamilton (Smyrna), Auburn Prison, the Geneva-based Central Finger Lakes Friends meetings (affiliated with Hobart and William Smith College), and Oswego (see Figure 11). With the exception of Farmington, Poplar Ridge, Perry City, and Rochester meetings, extant meetings listed above were founded in the twentieth century, effectively negating any historical ties these congregations might have had with those meeting in the 1840s; nor did any known members of these meetings come to Seneca Falls in the 1970s or participate in any of the activities surrounding the creation of the park. Thus, for the purposes of this study, we did not pursue contacts with Perry City Meeting (1814, the old Hector meeting); Ithaca Meeting (c. 1912); Rochester (1944), Hamilton (1960), Auburn Prison (c. 1974), Central Finger Lakes Friends Meeting (1986, available contact information invalid); or Oswego (founding date unknown, listed as affiliated with Syracuse). Our only contact with Syracuse Meeting, founded in 1929, came through discussions with Judith Wellman, outlined further below.

After Farmington, the Rochester Monthly Meeting probably contributed the most people to reform movements memorialized by Women's Rights NHP (for example, the Posts, who were members), but its connections to the contemporary meeting are tenuous at best because its current configuration is much different than it was in the 1840s. Founded in 1821, the Rochester meeting lost members throughout the nineteenth century, most notably to the Congregational Friends, and then ceased meeting in 1915. It restarted in 1933 but did not become a monthly meeting again until 1944.⁵⁸ Although the historical Rochester Monthly Meeting was the religious

⁵⁶ Data for 2008 meetings comes from the following websites: New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), "Monthly Meetings Listed by State and Town," http://www.nyym.org/meetings/m_bystate.shtml; and www.Quakerfinder.org. The dates of establishment are believed to represent when the meeting first gathered for worship and not necessarily the date the meeting was officially recognized or created as a monthly meeting. In some cases, the dates are approximate. Most come from the 1993 *Directory of the New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)*, on file at the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, and graciously provided by Christopher Densmore.

⁵⁷ Friends began meeting informally in Ithaca in 1912, but the monthly meeting was not formalized until 1938. See Ithaca Monthly Meeting, "History," <http://ithacamonthlymeeting.org/history> (accessed March 29, 2009).

⁵⁸ Hugh Barbour et al., "Liberal Pastors and New Intellectual Meetings, 1900-1945," 233.

home of many Quakers who participated in the 1848 conventions, there are no clear connections among the Rochester Monthly Meeting of today and that earlier religious body.

Farmington Friends

Although the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse and the Junius Cemetery are not part of Women's Rights NHP, they are significant sites directly related to the history the park is interpreting. Numerous people with whom we spoke at a meeting and a craft sale at the Farmington Friends Meetinghouse have a strong sense of their historical ties to the area. Many are also directly related to the original members of the Farmington Monthly Meetings, Hicksite and Orthodox.

Farmington Friends today feel a connection to the park's resources based on associations their congregation had to these resources before they became part of the park. They do not, however, make ongoing use of those sites.



Figure 12. 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

One of the most important issues to Farmington Quakers and to other local and regional meetings is saving the 1816 Farmington Meetinghouse.⁵⁹ At the time of this writing, stabilization of this historic structure has taken place and associated historic materials have been preserved. Legislation is currently before the House and Senate to include the meetinghouse as part of a women's history heritage trail and to bring the building

under the oversight of Women's Rights NHP, for which the National Park Service is initiating a feasibility study.

Some of the Farmington Quakers with whom we spoke represent birthright Quakers remaining in the general area who are from families with historical ties to the 1848 convention. They also have historical ties to the creation of the Congregational Friends or Hicksite Farmington Meeting and are related to people who had outward-looking philosophies and were involved with abolitionism and overtly political social reform activities. Others, like pastor Ruth Kinsey,

⁵⁹ Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park, meeting minutes, January 5, 2008, available from the Friends website, <http://www.womensrightsfriends.org>. For more information the plight and progress of the Farmington Meetinghouse, see its blog, "Farmington Meetinghouse Restoration," <http://farmingtonmeetinghouse.blogspot.com/2006/10/latest-news.html>.

arrived later but have developed a sense of connection to the area's history through interactions with descendants of the original families. Kinsey came to Farmington in September 1990, and although she knew that women's rights were important to Quakers, she did not know anything about Seneca Falls and the women's rights convention until she saw a sign for the park on the Thruway. She thought, "I need to go check that out," but it took a few years for her even to get there to see it. Locals did not really emphasize the history of the area that she can remember, but "Seneca Falls became one of my regular tourist stops. When people would come and visit me, I'd always say 'let's go to Seneca Falls, you need to see this.'" Kinsey felt a connection to the place because there were so many Quakers involved.

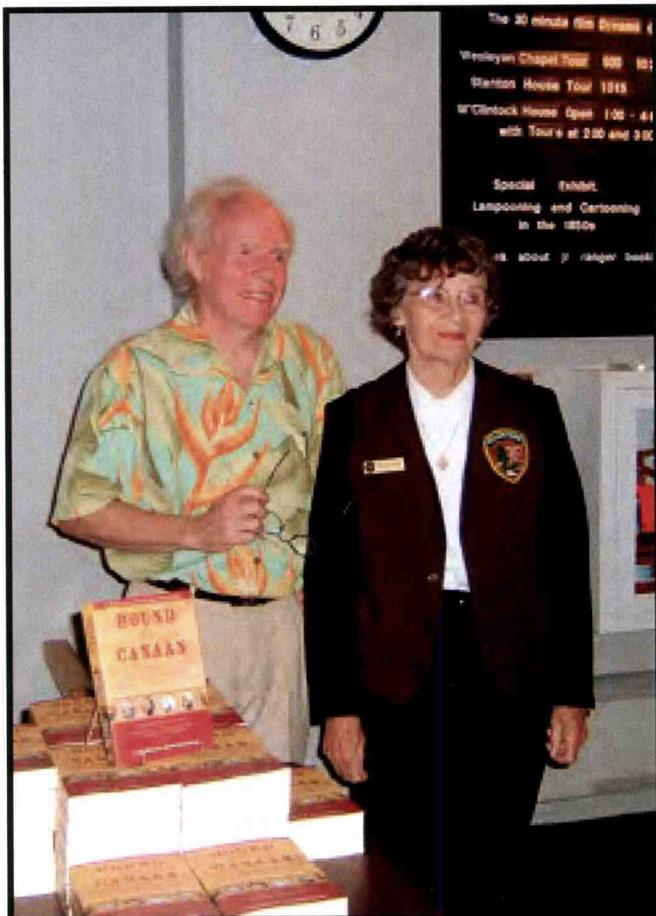


Figure 13. Fergus Bordewich, author of *Bound for Canaan*, with Helen Kirker, Coordinator of Park Volunteers for Friends Finger Lakes Chapter, July 28, 2007, Women's Rights National Historical Park. Source: Friends of Women's Rights, <http://www.womensrightsfriends.org/index.php?page=news>.

Helen Kirker is descended from the Herendeen family, but she did not become a Quaker until later in life. The Farmington Quaker women's group has been to Seneca Falls, but Kirker noted that the connections "were not really in our consciousness" early on and have grown through the years. Kirker said many Quakers in the area are just now coming to know about the importance of the area and its connections to Seneca Falls and Waterloo. In part, she attributes this to the park's presence in Seneca Falls and its attraction of Quaker scholars, such as Chris Densmore, who have spoken locally about and to Quakers. Kirker regularly speaks about the park and local Quaker history during weekly meeting, and her knowledge of happenings at the park, where she has volunteered since the 1990s, has helped raise awareness of and interest among local Quakers about their relationship to park's resources and the history it interprets.

Margaret Hartsough (also descended from the Herendeen family) and Helen Kirker could not remember hearing anything in school or learning about the Seneca Falls convention in more than a

passing manner; although they learned about Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott, it was more biographical than about their participation in a movement, either as Quakers or as women. Hartsough raised her children in Fairport, where the family attended a Baptist and then evangelical church there. Kirker's sons were not interested in the women's history of the area, nor did they grow up Quaker. Neither could remember taking their children to Seneca Falls and discussing the history of the place, and both came to their interest in the history later in life. Hartsough, for example, first visited the park after she became town historian for Farmington.

Hartsough, as town historian, has had people approach her recently with interest in the Quaker history of the place, but there was not much interest historically. Among the friends who attend Farmington Meeting today, interest has been growing rapidly recently, especially with the present effort to save the 1816 Meetinghouse. Kinsey noted that although local Quakers are aware of Quaker involvement in the history of women's rights, most people's focus today is on more contemporary social issues, such as prison ministry and peace work.

Poplar Ridge Friends

The connections between Poplar Ridge Meeting today and the Congregational Friends and Farmington Meeting of the 1840s are not completely clear. Today's Poplar Ridge Meeting is one of the oldest in the area, what was formerly known as the Scipio Monthly and (later) Scipio-Farmington Monthly Meetings. However, the exact lineage has yet to be established and needs further research. Only two individuals from "Poplar Ridge" or "Poplar Ridge/Scipio" appear in the annual proceedings of the Congregational Friends: Amos Giles and James Wanzer.⁶⁰

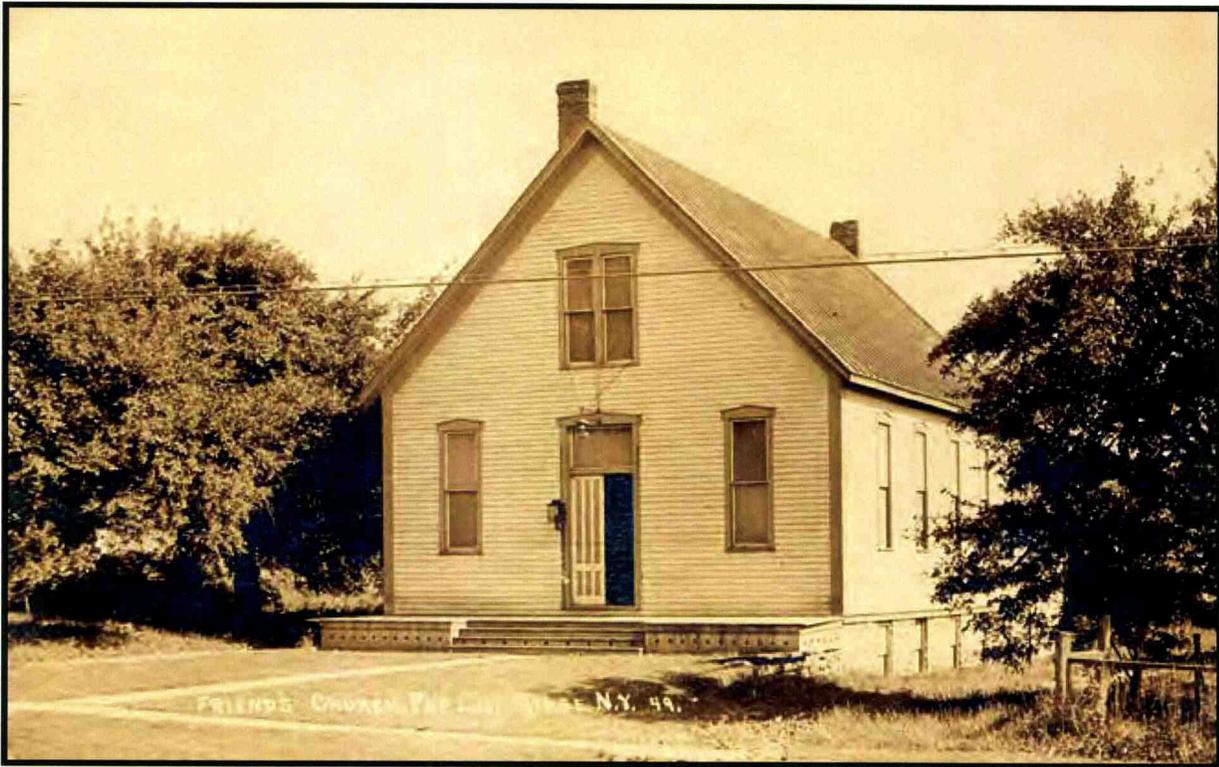


Figure 14. Friends Church, Poplar Ridge, N.Y., [c. 1949]? Source: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~springport/pictures_17/00001736.jpg.

An interview with some members of Poplar Ridge Friends Meeting reveals two of the four types of Quaker connections described above. The largest number comprise birthright Quakers who are members of a meeting with no known or remaining historical ties to the 1848 convention, no known or remaining historical ties to the creation of the Congregational Friends or Hicksite Farmington Meeting, and a history of connections to Quakers with inward-looking philosophies

⁶⁰ *Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends*, 1852, 16, and 1854, 23.

who kept themselves removed from abolitionist or overtly political social reform activities. In this first group fall Dillwyn and Sarah (Sally) Otis, Carmen Reynolds, Trudy Buxenbaum, and Paul Simkin.⁶¹ Poplar Ridge Quakers historically have felt closer ties to their native daughter Emily Howland than they do to either Quakers or non-Quakers affiliated with the 1848 convention. Howland, a noted abolitionist, supporter of women's rights, and educator, was a Quaker contemporary of the 1848 convention attendees, many of whom, such as Martha and Eliza Wright, she knew personally.⁶²

Convinced Friend Ruth Bradley is pastor of Poplar Ridge Meeting. Bradley is the exception among the Poplar Ridge people interviewed for the study, in that her ties to Seneca Falls are as much about her feminism as her Quakerism and she does not really distinguish between the two. As such, her experience likely meshes well with that of those women who have supported or participated in the New York Yearly Meeting Women's Committee since 1971.⁶³

Convinced Friends

Convinced friends comprise a significant group of contemporary Friends interested in Women's Rights NHP and its historical connections to abolitionism, women's rights activism, and other reform movements. Many people who fall into this category—like Ruth Bradley and Judith Wellman, whom we interviewed for this study—converted to Quakerism on conviction, largely between the 1960s and 1980s, rather than having been born into a Quaker family with kinship ties to the resources within the park. Many interviewees for this study consider themselves a part of this subset of Quakers.

Ruth Bradley is currently pastor of Poplar Ridge Meeting. Bradley had strong ties to feminist organizations, as president of the Mohawk Valley chapter of the National Organization of Women in the early 1980s, and to feminist education, having taught at Wells College from 1984 through 1989. Bradley specifically remembers taking the job at Wells to get closer to Seneca Falls, a place she felt a special tie to as a feminist and as a Quaker. She took Wells students to the park and now takes Quaker women there. Bradley met one of the early promoters of the park, Corinne Guntzel, through Wells College (Guntzel was on her interview committee). The final connection for her was to the Women's Interfaith Institute. She was, as she explained it, "very conscious of . . . 'that block'" in the history and meaning of Seneca Falls and having had the Interfaith Institute be located there was another fundamental connection for her.

⁶¹ Ruth Bradley, Pat White, Dillwyn Otis, Carmen Reynolds, Sally Otis, Trudy Buxenbaum, and Paul Simkin, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Scipio, N.Y. Transcripts on file at Women's Rights NHP. Paul Simkin's wife Jane Simkin appears to be the same Jane Simkin who contributed to the article noted above. Paul Simkin is apparently related to William and Ruth Simkin from Poplar Ridge, who worked with the AFSC during the Depression working with miners in West Virginia; William Simkin went on to a career as a mediator in labor disputes. See Hugh Barbour et al., "Quaker Service and Peacemaking, 1900-1945," 251-52.

⁶² Howland is mentioned in Eliza Wright Osborne's family guest book, in which Susan B. Anthony wrote during the week of June 6-14, 1897, "And dear Emily Howland was one of the guests during this memorable week." She also signed an autograph book that Susan B. Anthony presented to Lithgow Osborne (Eliza's son). Thanks to Devens Osborne and Frederik "Erik" Osborne for sharing these family heirlooms with us during the following interviews: Devens Osborne, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Pittsford, N.Y.; and Frederik "Erik" Osborne, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 13, 2007, "Willow Point," Scipio, N.Y. Transcripts on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁶³ It is not known whether she was (or is) a member of the Women's Committee.

As in the larger Quaker organization, Bradley and others feel contemporary Quakerism emphasizes a message of peace and inner light in today's wartime environment. They also look to Friends' reform history, especially the nineteenth century, as inspiration for current activism. Bradley thinks that Quaker women of her generation, who cut their teeth in the second wave of feminism, feel a much stronger connection to Seneca Falls than did those of an earlier generation. "I feel a real connection to Quakerism when I visit the park," Bradley noted. "It strengthens me, it nourishes me, it connects me with that history of reform that not only inward-looking religious aspect, but the social activism—making the world a better place for other people—history."

Judith Wellman was raised in upstate New York a small sect called the Seventh-Day Baptists. Wellman says that she always thought when she was a young person that she was really a Quaker. Then she began to read the documents surrounding Seneca Falls—the marriage certificate of Charles and Deanna Bonnell (parents of signer Rachel Dell Bonnell), the Quaker calls to meeting, Friends minutes, and so on—and was even more convinced that what they believed was what she believed. And so she was "convinced" and attended her first Quaker meeting in the early 1980s, where she said she felt like she fit in. Wellman calls herself a Congregational Friend.⁶⁴

Speaking as a convinced Friend, Wellman said that the Syracuse Friends she worships with today feel a sense of connection to the long-established meetings in upstate New York and to their history of abolitionism and women's rights activism. Additionally, she noted that Quakers today hold up those historic meetings as inspirational models for contemporary activism. Like Wellman, many Quakers are reconnecting to their roots in the 1816 Meetinghouse and to their Quaker roots more generally. There is, she says, "a reawakening among Quakers—as they get more knowledge, they get more aware." Wellman explained that for her, the M'Clintock House is a key nexus, where Quaker, abolitionist, Underground Railroad, and Congregational Friends' connections come together historically and in the present. As both an historian and a Quaker, she also feels connected to the towns of Waterloo and Seneca Falls, which for her evoke the feeling of the time of the 1848 convention.⁶⁵ You can walk the streets, she says, and imagine what it looked like for the M'Clintocks, Stanton, and others as they went about their reform activities in town.

Findings

Members of the Religious Society of Friends (otherwise known as Friends or Quakers) comprised the largest cohesive cultural group in attendance at the 1848 Seneca Falls convention. Historically, Quakers played important roles as abolitionists and proto-feminists in upstate New York. Quakers comprised a significant proportion of those women and men who organized and attended the 1848 women's rights conventions in Seneca Falls and Rochester. They provided safe passage to fugitive slaves in the region prior to the Civil War and lived side-by-side with African Americans, both free and freedom seeking, in Seneca Falls and Waterloo from the antebellum period up through the end of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁴ Wellman, interview, October 9, 2007.

⁶⁵ Judith Wellman and Helen Kirker, informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 20, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

Divisions and philosophical shifts in Quakerism weakened and split some meetings, while westward migration diminished Quaker presence in the area. Pockets of birthright Quakers remain in communities such as Farmington (Farmington Meeting) and Sherwood (Poplar Ridge Meeting). Many of these descendents of early Quakers have potential ties to the M'Clintock and Hunt houses through their associations with Quaker reform and the Congregational Friends, but their meetinghouses, rather than these park resources, are the places fundamental to their expression of identity. In Farmington, both birthright and convinced Quakers continue to worship in the meetinghouse built in 1876 directly across the street from the 1816 meetinghouse, at which such famous abolitionists and women's rights supporters as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Fredrick Douglass spoke. The Farmington Quakers are currently trying to preserve the 1816 meetinghouse. In Poplar Ridge, birthright and convinced Quakers with possible ties to the Farmington Quakers and Congregational Friends are focused more on the history of local Quaker and educator Emily Howland, although pastor Ruth Bradley feels a strong connection to park resources.

As with African Americans, much local Quaker knowledge about the connections to the 1848 women's rights convention is recent and attributable in part to talks given by Christopher Densmore (a scholar of Quaker history) and others in the 1980s and 1990s. Farmington Meeting members have maintained their local history very well, but as Quaker historians have pointed out, the history of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, its roots in Farmington and Rochester, and its members' importance to the abolitionist and women's rights movements of the nineteenth century are just now being rediscovered.

Chapter 4: Unitarian Universalists and Wesleyans

Introduction and Methodology

Unitarianism and, to a lesser degree, Universalism (a distinct denomination until 1961) were closely connected to the early women's rights movement of the nineteenth century.

Unitarianism's liberal focus on the essential good of humans and their direct link to God has historically appealed to people seeking a religious doctrine both to nurture their inward spirit and to sustain their outward activism. Singling out Unitarians who attended the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls is almost impossible to do; yet the adjourned meeting on August 2, 1848, was held in Rochester's First Unitarian Church and attended by people who either were or who later became prominently associated with the Unitarians, such as Martha Wright, Amy Post, and Samuel J. May. After 1848, Unitarians around the country continued advocating women's rights from the pulpit and providing safe space for future meetings, speakers, commemorations, and, ultimately, funerals. Wesleyan Methodists were also active in the reform movement of the antebellum era, focused most specifically on abolitionism and creating an egalitarian world in which African Americans could live on the same footing as whites.

The chapter first provides a brief outline of what it means to be a Unitarian Universalist or Wesleyan today. We then provide a history of the creation of the Unitarian and Universalist denominations prior to the 1848 convention, and how the evolution of each over the first half of the nineteenth century led certain among them to participate actively in various reform movements such as abolitionism and women's rights. The chapter then explains how Unitarianism and Universalism as religious organizations changed over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and how those changes again affected the relationships Unitarians and Universalists, who combined in 1966 into Unitarian Universalists, had to reform movements. A similar discussion is then provided for the Wesleyan Methodist church. Understanding the evolving religious and reform practices of each of these sects sets the stage for the second half of the chapter, which is a discussion of contemporary Unitarian Universalist and Wesleyan associations to the park's resources and the history it interprets.

Defining Unitarianism, Universalism, and Wesleyan Methodism

Because Unitarian Universalists do not adhere to a specific creed, they comprise a diverse group of people with multiple—and sometimes conflicting—beliefs, backgrounds, and practices. They define themselves as follows:

We, the member congregations of the Unitarian Universalist Association, covenant to affirm and promote

- The inherent worth and dignity of every person;
- Justice, equity and compassion in human relations;
- Acceptance of one another and encouragement to spiritual growth in our congregations;
- A free and responsible search for truth and meaning;
- The right of conscience and the use of the democratic process within our congregations and in society at large;

- The goal of world community with peace, liberty and justice for all;
- Respect for the interdependent web of all existence of which we are a part.¹

Despite the diverse compositions of their congregations around the world, Unitarian Universalists today see themselves as a unified group—they refer to themselves as *UU*s and meet at large annual gatherings in much the same way Quaker yearly meetings used to gather. Like the Quakers, their liberal principles typically translate into a focus on peace and social justice. Also like the Quakers, Unitarian Universalists trace their activist roots into the past and identify with the historical reformist actions of their Unitarian and Universalist predecessors.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church refers to itself today as the Wesleyan Church, “having merged in 1968 with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, begun in 1897 as part of the Holiness revival movement.”² Its world headquarters are in Fishers, Indiana, and it claims “nearly 400,000 constituents in 5,000 churches and missions in 80 countries of the world.” The Wesleyan Church identifies itself as an “evangelical, Protestant denomination,” and does not seem to emphasize its ties to past radical reform activities. Instead, its focus is on contemporary proselytizing, offering “the good news that faith in Jesus Christ makes possible a wonderful personal relationship with God, a holy life empowered by His Spirit for witness and service, and assurance of eternal life in heaven. Our ministries emphasize practical Bible teaching, uplifting worship, and special programs to meet a variety of life needs.”³

Interview Methodology

To locate potential interviewees for this chapter, we talked first to Unitarian Universalists known to have established relationships with park staff or participated in park events emphasizing the park's Unitarian history. Many notable Unitarian Universalists were interviewed for this study, such as Richard Gilbert, Ken Mochel, and Dorothy Emerson, all of whom revealed a strong sense of historical connection to the resources the park manages and the history it interprets. As with the other groups studied for this report, we sought out members and pastors of local Unitarian Universalist meetings who may retain historical connections to Unitarian or Universalist churches extant in 1848, most notably the First Unitarian Church of Rochester. We then used a snowball sampling method, asking each contact if they knew of other people with whom we should speak, contacting these new leads, and so on.

The goal of this chapter is to better understand how members of contemporary Unitarian Universalist and Wesleyan Church organizations have been connected to the resources of the Women's Rights NHP and the history it interprets. In what ways, we asked our interview subjects, do contemporary Unitarian Universalists know that Declaration of Sentiment signer

¹ Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, “Our Principles,” <http://www.uua.org/visitors/6798.shtml>.

² School of Theology, Boston University, “United Methodist History,” <http://www.bu.edu/sth/sthlibrary/guides/methodism-history.html#WMC>. For more on the history of the Methodist Church generally, see United Methodist Church, “History: Our Story,” http://www.umc.org/site/c.lwL4KnN1LtH/b.1720691/k.B5CB/History_Our_Story.htm#1866. For a very brief church-sanctioned description of the creation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, see Edward Coleman, “Our Heritage,” February 20, 2006, <http://www.wesleyan.org/ME2/dirmod.asp?sid=5B7EE5C4A5BA407D93A6AF61EF94B471&nm=Spiritual+Helps&type=Publishing&mod=Publications%3A%3AArticle&mid=8F3A7027421841978F18BE895F87F791&tier=4&id=7179C6B4BC084D599FC1766992730B70>.

³ The Wesleyan Church, “Who Are the Wesleyans?”

<http://www.wesleyan.org/ME2/dirsect.asp?sid=5D665BEB18CA469B8EC3798EF2E3612D&nm=About+Us>.

Martha Coffin Wright and Quaker reformer Amy Post ultimately left Quakerism and joined more liberal Unitarian and Universalist congregations? Do Wesleyans today know that their religious antecedents were the only congregation that would allow a “mixed” crowd (race and gender) to meet for the 1848 convention? Do they know that the Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls had an integrated congregation through the 1870s? Did contemporary Unitarian Universalists or Wesleyans grow up in families that discussed the relationship of their religious theology to women’s rights activism or other human rights movements? Finally, we asked interview subjects which of the park’s resources do they associate most with reform or feel most connected to as members of their respective religious groups.

Although the First Unitarian Church is a large and active congregation, no relevant opportunities for participant observation presented themselves over the course of this study’s fieldwork period. Nor were opportunities found to observe other Unitarian Universalists in action in ways that seemed to dovetail with the goals of the study. We did, however, conduct an interview with members of the Friends of Mt. Hope Cemetery (resting place of Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass, among many other well-known nineteenth- and twentieth-century reformers), many of whose members are members of First Unitarian in Rochester, and visited the Susan B. Anthony House, also in Rochester, many of whose volunteers are also members of First Unitarian in Rochester.

People who identify (both historically and today) as Unitarian Universalist often associate with other groups this study examined, including African Americans, Quakers, and women’s rights activists. Wesleyans were harder to locate for interviews or participant observation opportunities than were Unitarian Universalists. No appropriate interview subjects were located for the study, although we had informal conversations with a few members or pastors of local Wesleyan churches as well as some nonlocal scholars of Wesleyan history and a representative of the Central New York District Wesleyan Women organization.

People with whom we conducted more formal interviews are listed in Appendix C.

Unitarianism, Universalism, and the Roots of Religious and Social Reform

Unitarian Universalism emerged from two different religions, Unitarianism and Universalism, both of which have roots in Protestantism. During the early centuries of the Christian church, believers had a choice among tenets about Jesus, including the idea that Jesus was sent by God to save humans from their sins, should they choose to believe in him. People who believe in a direct relationship with God, as opposed to one mediated by Jesus Christ, believe in a *Unitarian* (oneness with God) form of Christianity. Another idea that developed during the first three hundred years of Christianity was that of universal salvation, the belief that no person would be condemned by God to eternal damnation and that all people will be saved. This conviction defines *Universalist* thought. The nascent Catholic Church established the Holy Trinity of God (Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) as dogma through the Nicene Creed, making Unitarianism and Universalist beliefs akin to heresy. For centuries thereafter, the Catholic Church persecuted people who professed Unitarian or Universalist beliefs.⁴

⁴ Mark W. Harris, “Unitarian Universalist Origins: Our Historic Faith,” Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, <http://archive.uua.org/info/origins.html>.

Religious scholars often turn to nineteenth-century preacher Thomas Starr King's distinction between Unitarians and Universalists: "Universalists believe that God is too good to damn people, and the Unitarians believe that people are too good to be damned by God." Both interpretations lead to a general belief among Unitarians and Universalists "that lasting truth exists in all religions, and that dignity and worth are innate to all people regardless of sex, color, race, or class."⁵ Building on this theology, both denominations have sought to create a more equitable society. Both Unitarians and Universalists have been active participants in various social justice movements from their foundations through the present day.

Despite persecution, believers organized groups espousing Unitarian beliefs in Transylvania by the mid-1500s and in England by the mid-1600s. By 1825, Unitarianism had found a home in the atmosphere of religious freedom of early America. In that year, Unitarian ministers formed the American Unitarian Association (AUA). Unitarianism was viewed as a liberal faith, and followers were active in many social justice issues, including reform of education, prisons, and capital punishment; peace; ministry to the poor; and abolitionist ideals.⁶ One example of this activism can be seen in Theodore Parker, a Unitarian preacher and abolitionist, who defended the rights of fugitive slaves after passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, and who also supported prominent abolitionist John Brown.⁷

Universalist beliefs have similarly early origins within Christianity, but these beliefs did not coalesce into an extensive religious movement until English Universalists left their native land for America in the late eighteenth century to evade persecution. By 1793, American Universalists had established the Universalist Church of America. Universalism's popularity spread quickly throughout the early United States, largely due to its inclusive and accepting doctrine. Universalists supported non-sectarian education, separation of church and state, reform of prisons and capital punishment, abolitionist ideals, and women's rights. Universalist Church membership declined during the second half of the nineteenth century, diminished by the loss of many churches and preachers during the Civil War and by changes in the views of other churches on the subject of damnation, which served to make Universalism less unique. Because of the commonalities between the Universalist and Unitarian churches, the two groups were frequently associated with one another, and in 1961, they combined to create the Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA), whose adherents are called Unitarian Universalists.⁸

⁵ Harris, "Unitarian Universalist Origins."

⁶ Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, "Unitarianism," <http://www.uua.org/visitors/ourhistory/6903.shtml>.

⁷ Harris, "Unitarian Universalist Origins." According to a history of Unitarian Universalism, Parker served as the abolitionists' Minister at Large to fugitive slaves in Boston, chaired the executive committee of Boston's Vigilance Committee (which provided material and legal aid to fugitives), provided shelter in his home to a fugitive in his congregation, Ellen Craft, until she could safely get to Canada, and agitated on behalf of another fugitive, Anthony Burns, which garnered him a federal grand jury indictment on charges of obstructing a federal marshal (the case was later dismissed, largely because of public outpouring in his favor). In the latter half of the 1850s, Parker (and many others of his ilk) gave up on a political solution to the slavery crisis. He then helped fund the purchase of weapons for free-state militias and radical abolitionists like Brown, who attempted in fall 1859 to start a slave insurrection in Virginia. By that time, fully radicalized himself, Parker publicly defended Brown's actions and the right of slaves to kill their masters. See, for example, Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, "Theodore Parker," <http://www25.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/theodoreparker.html>.

⁸ Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, "Universalism," <http://www.uua.org/visitors/ourhistory/6904.shtml>; Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, "Our

Although American Unitarianism was founded officially in 1825, it was a product of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment's impact on New England Puritanism. In many ways, the liberals (who became Unitarians) rejected the outlook of their orthodox predecessors (Puritans). The Puritans viewed God as sovereign and judge before anything else, emphasizing his righteous will in the condemnation of sinners, but the liberals preferred to think of him as a loving father, primarily concerned with the salvation of all mankind. The Puritans believed that the Bible reveals God as the Father, the Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, whereas the liberals argued that the doctrine of the Trinity is both unscriptural and irrational. One of the most important factors in the shaping of Unitarianism was the theology of John Calvin; Unitarians believed in addressing unorthodox questions with unorthodox answers.⁹

Despite their differences, Puritanism and Unitarianism had similar ecclesiastical structures and accepted values. Unitarians adhered to the Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline that Puritans recommended to the churches of New England as early as 1648. In addition, the Unitarians shared the Puritan conviction that serious matters should receive serious consideration; religion was at the forefront of such concerns and required dual duty to the Creator and to fellow human beings.¹⁰

At the end of the eighteenth century, liberals in New England began questioning the doctrine of the Trinity, primarily on grounds that it is unscriptural. By the early nineteenth century, the Liberal Christians—as Unitarians then preferred to call themselves—had developed a doctrinal structure that was Arminian according to principles of grace, rationalistic as to epistemology, and anti-Trinitarian as to Christology. Arminianism represented heightened confidence in the capacity of human beings to actually do the will of God, while Rationalism in religious terms meant an enhanced confidence in human capacity by the use of reason to know the will of God. The Liberal Christians' combination of ideas was constructed over the course of two generations by various clergymen and became the core of American Unitarianism.¹¹ The election of Henry Ware as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard in 1805 was one of the earliest public manifestations of the growing split between Calvinists and liberals in New England. Calvinist opposition to his election constituted the first phase of the Unitarian Controversy and lasted until the American Unitarian Association was organized on May 25, 1825.¹²

Unitarianism places the human mind in continuity with, rather than alienating it from, the mind of God. As Unitarian theologian William Ellery Channing described in an 1828 sermon, Unitarianism's central idea is the recognition of human "likeness to God." In other words, Unitarians believe that the individual has the potential to embody godlike goodness and transcendent truth with faith motivated by an absolute effort to emulate divine wisdom. The Unitarian outlook represents the integration of rationalist and pluralist elements of Enlightenment philosophy into Protestant spirituality. Unitarian worship represents the

History," <http://www.uua.org/visitors/ourhistory/index.shtml>; and Mark W. Harris, *Historical Dictionary of Unitarian Universalism* (Lanham, Md., and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004).

⁹ Conrad Wright, ed., *A Stream of Light: A Sesquicentennial History of American Unitarianism* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1975), xi–xiv.

¹⁰ Wright, *A Stream of Light*, xi–xiv.

¹¹ Wright, *A Stream of Light*, xi–xiv.

¹² David Robinson, *The Unitarian and the Universalist* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 331.

confluence of several themes of thought, including Christian doctrine, the quest for knowledge, and a liberal form of moral perfectionism.¹³

Constituents of Unitarian churches were generally urban, wealthy, and well educated. Harvard Divinity School graduates were often reluctant to leave familiar surroundings to take up ministries on the Western frontier; therefore, constituencies did not immediately crop up in that region. But by 1844, Unitarians had established a theological seminary at Meadville, Pennsylvania, and in 1852, the Western Unitarian Conference was founded.¹⁴

The First Unitarian Church of Rochester (originally known as the First Unitarian Congregational Society of Rochester) was founded on March 16, 1829, following a visit from the Reverend William Ware, one of the pioneers in spreading Unitarianism. He came to deliver four sermons at a time when Rochester, a village of ten thousand inhabitants, already had seven churches. The 1820s marked a time of religious revivalism in western New York and a time when Unitarianism was gaining popularity. Residents of Rochester welcomed a new preacher to the town and enthusiastically established a new church. Finding a building for worship proved difficult, and the society was in debt. During the 1830s, lay people kept Unitarianism alive in Rochester, particularly Myron Holley, who held Sunday meetings in an old country schoolhouse. Active in the antislavery movement, Holley accepted anyone who wished to join into his fellowship.

After Holley's death in 1841, his small group of Unitarians dissolved. In 1840, however, eight men signed an agreement to reorganize the Society under its original name, the First Unitarian Congregational Society of Rochester. Several Unitarian preachers visited the village and spoke to the new group during 1840 and 1841. The Reverend Rufus Ellis became minister in 1842, remaining long enough to ensure that the congregation was firmly in place. Many claim him as the true founder of the First Unitarian Church in Rochester, as it was under his leadership in 1843 that members of the society constructed their first church building. Over time, the society in Rochester has experienced periods of decline, recovery, and growth, but it has maintained its commitment throughout to social action and religious philosophy.¹⁵

Unitarianism and Universalist Reformers in the Burned-Over District

During the first half of the nineteenth century, religious revivalism permeated western New York, leading the area to be called the Burned-over District, adopting a common analogy in western theology of the time between forest fires and fires of the spirit.¹⁶ In the sectarian politics that developed in the region, Universalists and Unitarians were at the bottom of the pecking order, scorned by everyone else. The Universalists arrived in the Burned-over District later than other denominations and thus had to face an already popular revivalism. New converts in revivals regularly were labeled as former Universalists, associated with evil doctrine. The religious press constantly branded criminals who were prominent in the news as Universalists. Public spaces, such as schools and court houses, were usually closed to Universalist and

¹³ T. Gregory Garvey, *Creating the Culture of Reform in Antebellum America* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2006), 55.

¹⁴ Wright, *A Stream of Light*.

¹⁵ Nancy J. Salzer, "Covenant for Freedom: A History of the First Unitarian Congregational Society of Rochester, New York, 1829-1975," June 1975, First Unitarian Church of Rochester.

¹⁶ The use of the term was spread during the 1820s by prominent evangelist of the day Charles Grandison Finney. See Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950), 3.

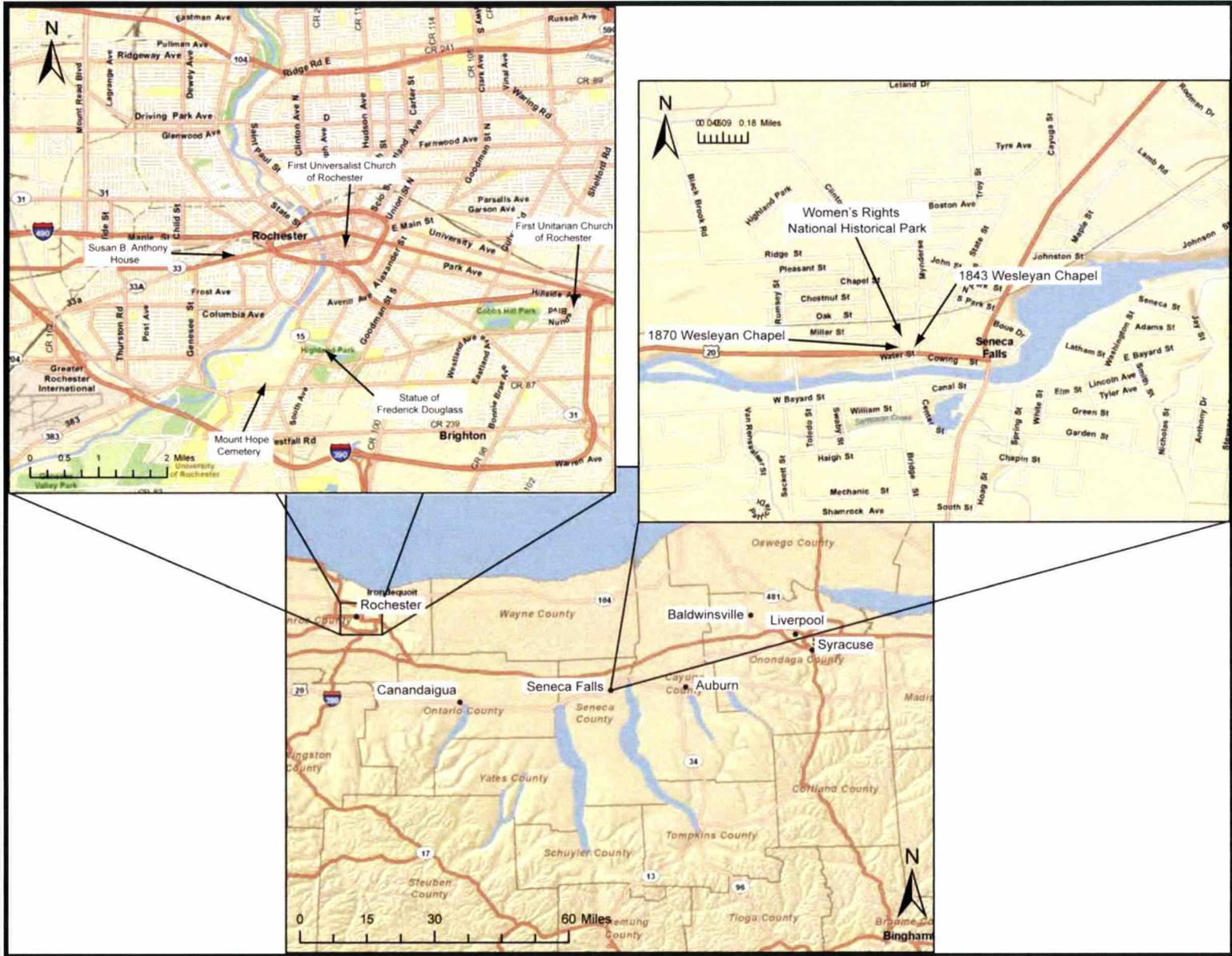


Figure 15. Map of Unitarian Universal and Wesleyan Methodist locations in Western New York, Rochester, and Seneca Falls.

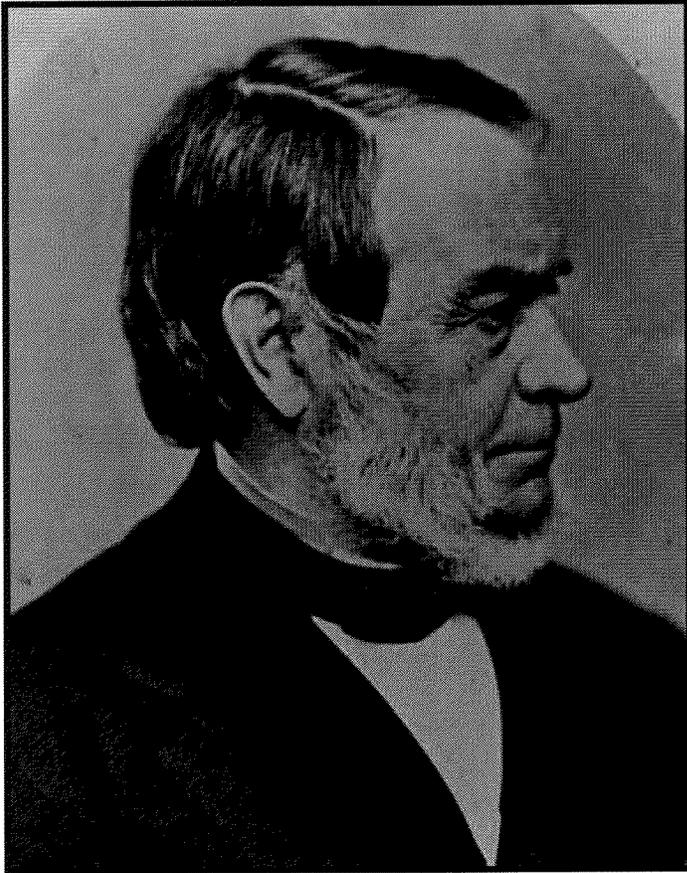


Figure 16. Unitarian minister, Samuel J. May. Source: May Memorial Unitarian Universalist Society, http://www-distance.syr.edu/stranger_files/image008.jpg.

Unitarian meetings, and Universalist testimony in court was deemed inappropriate at times. Despite such obstacles, Universalists eventually gained strong support in the Burned-over District and played a significant role in social reform.¹⁷

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Unitarianism began to spread west from its New England roots. Unitarian churches became more common as colonies of migrating New Englanders transplanted familiar institutions to their new environments. Unitarianism extended at this time into upstate New York. President Millard Fillmore and his wife, for example, belonged to the congregation in Buffalo. And Samuel J. May used his Unitarian pastorate in Syracuse to advocate abolitionism and women's rights agitation on a national scale.¹⁸ Unitarian participation in abolitionism and women's rights activism in the corridor comprising Rochester, Farmington, Waterloo, and Seneca Falls was directly tied to other radical

religious denominations, and many of the participants had multiple religious affiliations. Nancy Hewitt calls these multid denominational activists "ultraists" and notes that though they were "last to arrive in Rochester, [they] were most likely to be native-born central or western New Yorkers. . . . But whatever the region from which they emerged, the vast majority had lived in Hicksite Quaker communities. In the late 1840s, many Hicksites became, in addition to or as a substitute for Quakerism, Congregational Friends, Unitarians, spiritualists, or all three."¹⁹ Some former evangelicals and Orthodox Quakers also joined the Unitarian Society, but, in general, only the ultraists maintained multiple religious affiliations.

In 1846, woman's property and political rights became the focus of discussion when New York called a constitutional convention. The convention prompted Samuel J. May, radical abolitionist, peace advocate, and minister to the Unitarian Church in Syracuse, to speak out in support of women's rights. In November, he delivered a sermon in favor of woman suffrage and became one of the first ministers in the country to address his congregation on the rights of women. He remarked, "We may, with no more propriety assume to govern woman, than they might assume

¹⁷ Cross, *Burned-over District*, 43–45.

¹⁸ Wright, *A Stream of Light*, 59.

¹⁹ Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, N.Y., 1822-1872* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), 154.

to govern us. And never will the nations of the earth be well governed, until both sexes . . . are fairly represented.” He continued, “this entire disfranchisement of females is as unjust as the disfranchisement of the males would be,” and concluded, “I fain would hope that, when next the people frame a constitution for this state, the stupendous fact will not be overlooked *that more than one-half of our population are females, to whom equal rights and equal privileges ought to be accorded.*”²⁰

These words constituted a radical call for women’s rights and a decidedly Unitarian perspective on the inner goodness of all people and the unfairness of keeping one half of the human race from participating in their own governance. May’s 1846 sermon appears to have influenced the women’s rights ideas of at least some of the people who attended the Seneca Falls convention. We know, for example, that Amy Post had distributed May’s tract widely at antislavery fairs in 1846, and it is likely that most abolitionist leaders had also read the tract.²¹

The M’Clintock family was influenced by the writings of William Ellery Channing, and shared his writings with other abolitionists. Thomas J. Mumford noted that the M’Clintocks “gave him liberal books, and among them the works of Channing”; they also introduced Mumford to May, who encouraged him to become a Unitarian minister.²²

Lucretia Mott was also drawn to Unitarianism. Upon Mott’s death, Susan B. Anthony wrote to Ella Sargent, who was preparing the NWSA’s memorial service, that Mott had fought a triple battle. First, in the Society of Friends, “she being a Hicksite-Unitarian she was persecuted and ostracized by many of her old and best friends.” Second, in antislavery, “for which she was almost turned out of the society—the Hicksites.” And third, for women’s rights, “she again lost the favor of many of her oldest and best friends, but through it all she was ever sweet tempered and self poised.”²³

Mott had first learned of Unitarianism after the death of her son in 1817. This tragedy left her curious and impressionable about religion and she began to read the sermons of William Ellery Channing, the founder of American Unitarianism. She was interested in his call for humanitarian concern and reason in religion.²⁴ In 1846, when Mott attended the convention of the Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, the minister of the host church, William Furness, offered her an opportunity to speak. This daring act of preaching in a church of a different “persuasion” outraged the Quaker community. Mott’s enemies claimed that, despite the fact that the Unitarians had introduced her as a minister of the Society of Friends, she really was a Unitarian. In fact, Mott found Unitarianism too theological and rational.²⁵ She believed in reason but thought it was the spirit and practice of one’s religious beliefs that ultimately enabled men and women to understand God’s word. Mott wished to rekindle in Quakerism its true direction, which she thought was being lost in such theological battles as the Hicksite split, but as her

²⁰ Samuel J. May, *Rights and Condition of Women; Considered in the Church of the Messiah, November 9, 1846* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Stoddard and Babcock, S. F. Smith & Co., Printers, 1846), 4, 21.

²¹ Nancy A. Hewitt, “Amy Kirby Post: ‘Of whom it was said, “being dead, yet speaketh,”” *University of Rochester Library Bulletin* 37 (1984), <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=4018>.

²² Thomas James Mumford, *Life and Letters of Thomas J. Mumford with Memorial Tributes* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1879), 132.

²³ Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (Philadelphia: Friends General Conference, 1999), 256.

²⁴ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 42.

²⁵ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 131.

biographer explains, Mott's "was a faith that could be caught better than it could be taught." Mott's personal example of living out her faith inspired many people in her circle. But many activists, who found the Friends too conservative theologically, turned to Unitarianism or Universalism instead.²⁶

Lucretia Mott's sister, Martha Wright, was one of these people. Although she referred to herself as a Quaker all her life, Martha had been banned from Quaker meeting when she married her first husband (a non-Quaker)—something for which she never really forgave the Friends. She and her second husband David Wright had begun attending a Presbyterian church when they moved to Auburn in 1841 but soon grew disappointed with the sermons. The Wrights turned instead to the Universalist Church in town, where they "found the preaching much more to our taste." They admired the outspoken antislavery views and sermons of many Universalist and Unitarian ministers who spoke there and would attend services and speeches when they knew it to be the subject at hand.²⁷

Adherents to other Christian denominations often had strong ties to Unitarian congregations in their communities as well. For example Frederick Douglass's and Hester Jeffrey's Unitarian connections served to augment their AME Zion affiliations rather than detract from them.

Hester Jeffrey's primary religious affiliation was with Rochester's AME Zion Church. A black woman from Rochester who advocated for both racial and gender equality, Jeffrey became a prominent organizer in Rochester after she arrived there in 1891. Jeffrey was a member in and/or held positions of authority in the Political Equality Club, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Needlework Guild of America, and the (Frederick) Douglass Monument Committee, and later the New York Federation of Colored Women and New York State Woman Suffrage Association, among other organizations. In addition to her political affiliations, Jeffrey often attended services at the First Unitarian Church in Rochester, where she became close friends with such prominent organizers as Mary Gannett (wife of First Unitarian minister William C. Gannett) and Susan B. Anthony.²⁸ Universalists



Figure 17. Hester C. Jeffrey, d. 1934. Source: <http://www.winningthevote.org/HJeffreys3-big.html>.

²⁶ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 252.

²⁷ Sherry H. Penney and James D. Livingston, *A Very Dangerous Woman: Martha Wright and Women's Rights* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 65, quotation in 64; and Frederik "Erik" Osborne, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 13, 2007, "Willow Point," Scipio, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

²⁸ Rochester Regional Library Council, "Hester C. Jeffrey," *Western New York Suffragists: Winning the Vote, Biographies and Images*, <http://www.winningthevote.org/HJeffreys.html>.

today often argue that people like Douglass, Anthony, Mott, or Jeffrey *were* Unitarian, but it seems more accurate to say that their sympathies and philosophies reflected the “free faith” of the Unitarian creed, which their home churches were less apt to support.²⁹

As Unitarian Universalist minister Richard Gilbert notes about the Anthony family, for example, they possessed an “independent bent of mind,” which made Unitarianism appealing. According to Gilbert, Mary Anthony (Susan’s sister and housemate) wrote that “the liberal preaching of William Henry Channing in 1852 proved so satisfactory that it was not long before this was our accepted church home.”³¹ The Anthony home had become a “church” in its own right in the Rochester area for other liberal Quakers, who regularly associated there with Frederick Douglass and Samuel May. Susan even considered forming a Free Church based on one that Unitarian minister Theodore Parker had established in Boston. Still, it was freedom of thought that appealed to Mary and Susan, not church membership per se. Although they attended services at the Rochester First Unitarian Church off and on for decades, they did not actually sign the membership book until January 1, 1893.

The main link between the Unitarians and the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls is that a Unitarian church in Rochester was the site of a women’s rights meeting that took place less than two weeks after the Seneca Falls meeting. The so-called adjourned meeting on August 2, 1848, is often forgotten when the 1848 convention is discussed. “Seneca Falls” is the name that has become associated with women’s rights, not “Rochester.” But to the people who attended one or both of the gatherings, these meetings were inextricably related. The Rochester meeting paralleled the Seneca Falls meeting in its radical women’s rights agenda, and it had the added novelty of being presided over by a woman, Abigail Bush.

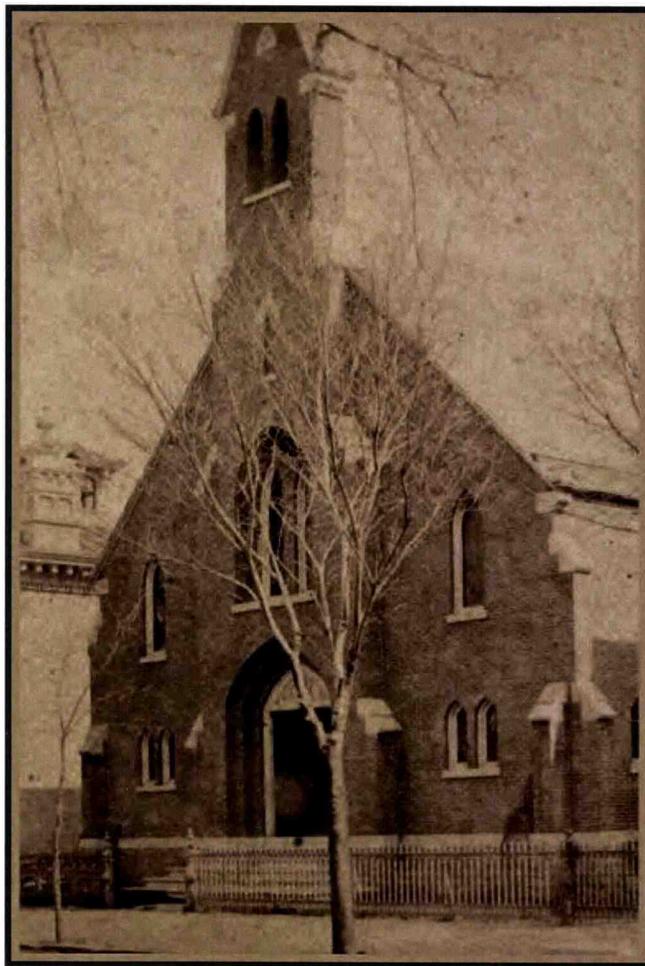


Figure 18. First Unitarian Church, Rochester, first location, 1870s (?). Source: <http://doug Sinclairarchives.com/briggs/johnbriggs3.htm>.³⁰

²⁹ Harris, “Unitarian Universalist Origins.”

³⁰ The owner of the website could not pinpoint the exact source of the image but believes it to be from sometime after 1870. Doug Sinclair to Heather Lee Miller, email, April 1, 2009.

³¹ Mary Anthony quoted in Richard S. Gilbert, “The Religion of Susan B. Anthony,” paper presented at Women’s Rights NHP, April 14, 2001, Women’s Rights NHP, Research Files.

Unitarian and Universalist Support for Women's Rights after 1848

The Civil War was an important turning point in Unitarianism. Antislavery transcendentalists and conservative devotees of the Union came together to support the Republican Party and the Northern war effort. Julia Ward Howe wrote "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and an increased appreciation for the virtues of discipline and unity convinced some Unitarians to press for stronger organizational ties. The result was the establishment of the National Conference of Unitarian Churches in 1865, the Unitarians' first embrace of denominational structure. Although Unitarians had not built an ecclesiastical empire, they made great contributions to social, literary, and religious ideas. Over the years, Unitarians and Universalists (and now the Unitarian Universalists) have claimed many famous women's rights and race reformers as their own, including Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Frederick Douglass, and Hester Jeffrey. Despite ties to other denominations, these individuals were able to link the liberal ideas of Unitarianism about humans' relationship with God and society to their beliefs and reform efforts.

In some cases, Unitarians may have provided people a safe and supportive place for the expression of ideas with which not all members of their home denominations agreed. Rochester historian and reenactor David Anderson noted that Hester Jeffrey, for example, seems to have found more of a voice in the Unitarian Church than at Memorial AME Zion, her home church. Although Anderson never mentions the word *sexism*, he does explain that black women at that time were expected to conform to "respectable" gender roles and that perhaps Jeffrey's discontent as a woman found a better outlet in the Unitarian setting in which she could mingle with Susan B. Anthony and other like-minded women (even though they were predominantly white).³²

Beginning with their hosting of the adjourned meeting in 1848, ministers and members of Rochester's First Unitarian Church maintained their connection to and support for the women's rights movement throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. William Henry Channing (1810–1884), for example, was a minister of the Unitarian Society in Rochester between 1852 and 1854 and an advocate of women's rights. During his tenure at Rochester First Unitarian, Channing attended the 1852 Syracuse Women's Rights Convention and, in February 1854, requested that men and women readers of *The Una* (Paulina Wright Davis's newspaper) to sign two petitions, one supporting women's rights in regard to wages and children and one supporting woman suffrage.³³ Universalists, too, continued their support of women's rights, becoming in 1863 the first group in the United States to ordain a woman with full denominational authority.³⁴ As Andrew Sinclair explains in *The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman*, Unitarianism and Universalism "gave a liberty to the spirit of women who did not dare to give up religion altogether for fear of public opinion, and yet who could not live with the burden of sin always upon their hearts."³⁵

³² David Anderson, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 9, 2007, Rochester, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

³³ Mary Huth, curator, "Upstate New York and the Women's Rights Movement," <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=1800#seneca>.

³⁴ Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, "Universalism."

³⁵ Andrew Sinclair, *The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 19.

After protesting at the 1876 celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and other National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) members headed to the First Unitarian Church, where Stanton, Mott, and a large crowd awaited their arrival. The significance of having staged their protests in Independence Square and then the Unitarian church was not lost on Gage, who later recounted the event in *History of Woman Suffrage*: “The women found the church crowded with an expectant audience, which greeted them with thanks for what they had just done; the first act of this historic day taking place on the old centennial platform in Independence Square, the last in a church so long devoted to equality and justice.” Unitarian minister Joseph May (Samuel J. May’s son) presided at the 1876 NWSA event. The younger May had recently succeeded William J. Furness, ardent abolitionist and longtime friend of the Motts and the Purvises, who had preached at the Philadelphia’s First Unitarian Church for fifty years.³⁶

In July 1878, women’s rights activists, including Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass, returned to Rochester’s First Unitarian Church to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Seneca Falls convention.³⁷ As the call emphasized, the convention was to be “largely devoted to reminiscences” and would include many of the original people who participated in the Seneca Falls and Rochester conventions, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. In what proved to be her public farewell, eighty-six-year-old Mott attended this “grand convention,” as Stanton described it, speaking to the crowd twice, each time for a half hour. With Douglass walking her slowly to the door, Mott left the convention “amid the sobbing of the audience, speaking still the words of good cheer as she went away from our earthly sight forever.”³⁸ Mott died later that year, but she would be honored in all future commemorations. The 1878 memorial provided original convention goers and contemporary women’s rights activists a time and place to reflect upon milestones of women’s past achievements and to set forth resolutions for the future.

Philadelphia Unitarian minister Reverend F. A. Hinckley spoke on women’s civil rights at the fiftieth anniversary jubilee of the 1848 convention, held in Washington, D.C. in 1898. A tireless champion of “equal rights for women and an equal standard of morals for men,” according to *The Woman’s Tribune*, Hinckley first described for convention-goers the status of women’s property rights and then moved on to the sensitive topic of divorce. Many Americans of the time were growing increasingly concerned about the rising divorce rate, which was attributable at least in part to women’s “growing independence.” While “no one would counsel more earnestly than I patience and consideration and every reasonable effort on the part of people once married to live together,” Hinckley explained, he also believed that “marriage must be the union of self-respecting and mutually respected equals, and that in the ideal home of the future that hideous fact of the past, the subjugation of woman, is to be unknown.”³⁹

³⁶ Quoted in *The History of Woman Suffrage [HWS]*, 6 vols., ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881–1922), 3:34–35.

³⁷ The exact date is unknown, but Wellman’s source for this discussion was a letter from Elizabeth Cady Stanton to her son, Theodore Stanton, dated July 28, 1878, indicating that it was likely around that time. Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman’s Rights Convention* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 227.

³⁸ Quoted in Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls*, 227.

³⁹ “Jubilee Convention,” *Woman’s Tribune* 15, no. 7 (April 2, 1898): 1.

Unitarianism and Universalism in the Twentieth Century

Unitarianism experienced various transformations over the 150 years after its American establishment, from the introduction of Transcendentalist thought in the mid-1800s, through debates about war and pacifism in the Civil War and the two World Wars, to the influence of Humanism in the early 1930s. These changes slowly made Unitarianism a broader and more flexible faith. The Universalist denomination, on the other hand, struggled for many years. The Civil War destroyed many Universalist churches and resulted in the deaths of several Universalist ministers who had served as chaplains for the armies. In the mid to late 1800s, a softer approach to the idea of damnation became popular throughout the United States, making Universalist teachings less unique and causing the denomination to lose membership.⁴⁰

By the middle of the twentieth century, it became clear that Unitarians and Universalists could have a stronger liberal religious voice by combining their efforts. In 1961, the two denominations joined to create the Unitarian Universalist Association. Many Unitarian Universalists became active in the United States civil rights movement.⁴¹ Just as with the earlier women's rights movement, which had its roots in abolitionist organizations, Unitarian Universalists were (and still are) an overwhelmingly white denomination. Only 1,500 blacks belonged to Unitarian Universalist congregations at the height of the civil rights movement in 1968, and only fourteen black clergy were ordained between 1889 and 1969.⁴²

Today, Unitarian Universalists continue striving for greater racial and cultural diversity in the denomination. In 1977, the Association passed a resolution on women and religion. Since that time, the denomination has addressed the feminist challenge to change sexist structures and language, especially with the publication of an inclusive hymnal. The denomination has upheld the rights of bisexuals, gays, lesbians, and transgendered persons, including ordaining gay and lesbian clergy in its congregations, and it affirmed same-sex marriage in 1996.⁴³

Wesleyan Methodism

Wesleyan Reformers in the Burned-Over District

According to its centennial history, the Wesleyan Methodist Church (or, more precisely, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America) was "born in fire." During the antebellum era, Methodist church members, especially those in the North, began to argue about abolition.⁴⁴ Although Methodist elders tried to suppress the ardent abolitionism of Northerners in order to maintain national unity within the organization, a formal split occurred at the 1840 General Conference in Utica, New York, which resulted in the founding of the First Wesleyan Methodist

⁴⁰ Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, "Unitarianism," and "Universalism."

⁴¹ Harris, "Unitarian Universalist Origins."

⁴² Dennis C. Dickerson, "Black Leader in a White Denomination: Whitney M. Young and the Unitarians," *Journal of Unitarian Universalist History* 25 (1998): 26–40.

⁴³ Dickerson, "Black Leader in a White Denomination," 26–40.

⁴⁴ Stanley W. Wright, Harley S. Hill, E. G. Dietrich, and M. D. Warburton, *One Hundred Years of Service for Christ in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1844-1944* (Elmira, N.Y.: E. R. Philo Company, [1944]), 7, typescript copy, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Library and Archives, Seneca Falls, N.Y. *One Hundred Years of Service* marks the centennial of the Rochester Conference, which apparently formed in 1845, although Seneca Falls' First Wesleyan and the national Wesleyan Methodist Church both formed in 1843.

Church on May 31, 1843.⁴⁵ In 1843, the First Wesleyan Society erected a church building on a lot at the corner of Fall and Mynderse streets.⁴⁶ George Pegler was the first pastor of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Seneca Falls, having been called to the pulpit while attending the Utica conference as a delegate from Seneca Falls.⁴⁷

The formation of a number of local Wesleyan societies precipitated the split in the Methodist church. According to a denominational history, on March 27, 1843, the first meeting of the Rochester Conference took place in the “new brick meeting house” of the Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls and was presided over by Reverend George Pegler, who also accepted his election as first president of the conference.⁴⁸

The Wesleyan Methodists were the first specifically abolitionist denomination in the United States and their meetings were well attended.⁴⁹ As a history of the Rochester Conference explains, “the first session recorded a membership of 2513. That those men were really Protestants will appear as [the history of the church] unfolds. They protested!”⁵⁰ Members of other churches joined the Wesleyans specifically because of their antislavery stance.⁵¹

The congregation had passed a resolution in February 1844 not to open the chapel for speaking by political parties. Still, they allowed the first women's rights convention of July 19–20, 1848, to meet there, despite the political overtones of the meeting.⁵² According to a history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the families of local pump manufacturers John A. Rumsey and



Figure 19. Wesleyan Methodist Church, Cadastral Wall Map of Seneca Falls, 1856. Source: Seneca Falls Historical Society.

⁴⁵ Another source notes the date of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Seneca Falls's founding as March 27, 1843. *Manual of Churches of Seneca County; with Sketches of Their Pastors* (Seneca Falls: Courier Printing, 1896), 171.

⁴⁶ Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, “Guide to the First Wesleyan Methodist Church of Seneca Falls Records, 1843-1911,” First Wesleyan Methodist Church of Seneca Falls Records, #6049, <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM06049.html>.

⁴⁷ Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 35.

⁴⁸ Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 8, 41, and on 5, a facsimile of the front matter of “A Record of the First Meeting of the Rochester or Western New York Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America: Held in Seneca Falls, N.Y., commencing April 30th, ending May 5th, 1845.”

⁴⁹ See also Walter Gable, “Nature of the Burned-Over District,”

[http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/history/Nature%20of%20the%20Burned-%20Over%20District%20\(rev\).doc](http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/history/Nature%20of%20the%20Burned-%20Over%20District%20(rev).doc). For more on the Methodist split in the Southern states, see Donald G. Mathews, “The Methodist Mission to the Slaves, 1829-1844,” *Journal of American History* 51, no. 4 (March 1965): 615–31.

⁵⁰ Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 8.

⁵¹ For example. Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Utica, who had joined the small Wesleyan Church in that town over which Pegler presided before moving to Seneca Falls. Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 35.

⁵² Book No. 1, Trustees Record Book, 1843-1871, March 1844, “Guide to the First Wesleyan Methodist Church of Seneca Falls Records, 1843-1911.”

Moses Rumsey were not only of “great help” to the new church but also a deciding influence in the decision to allow the women’s rights convention to be held in the chapel.⁵³

Less than a decade after its creation, divisions began to occur among the members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, with its Congregationalist members alternately seceding and rejoining during the 1850s and 1860s. By late 1869, the Congregationalists had left permanently and were meeting separately as the First Congregational Church of Seneca Falls. Following the split, only sixty members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church remained.⁵⁴ The church had counted a high of 200 members in 1862. This number likely resulted from an 1858 revival at the church, which was referred to as “one of the radiant spots” in the church’s early history, as it reportedly added 118 new members. Emancipation of slaves in 1865 eliminated the need for a separate branch of the Methodist Church devoted to abolition, and membership declined over the years.

Wesleyan Methodism after the Civil War and into the Twentieth Century

Despite declining numbers in the 1860s, the Wesleyan Methodists had regained enough members by 1870 to build a new church building at the corner of Fall and Clinton streets, immediately west of the original Wesleyan Methodist Chapel.⁵⁵ The building was later used by Baptists and is currently occupied by the Women’s Interfaith Institute. A third church was erected on Miller Street in 1920 not far from the second, indicating that the congregation was still organized and large enough to fund the construction of a new church edifice. According to church history, the Miller Street building was later turned over to the Wesleyan Methodist Connection and then sold to a private party at an unknown date before 1944, at which time it had reportedly been used by the Salvation Army and the Christian and Missionary Alliance.⁵⁶ The exact location of the Miller Street building or whether it is extant is unknown as of this writing. The exact date the Wesleyans disbanded their Seneca Falls congregation is unclear, but the history of the Rochester Conference written in 1944 implies that there was no active congregation in Seneca Falls as of that writing.

Contemporary Unitarian Universalist and Wesleyan Associations with Women’s Rights NHP

Unitarian Universalists

Among Unitarian Universalists, religious affiliation supports personal activism. Over the course of the twentieth century, many social activists with ties to the Unitarians and Universalists (and later, the combined organization) retained connections to the suffrage movement and, later, to the resurgence in feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, and eventually to the creation of Women’s Rights National Historical Park (NHP). All Unitarian Universalists interviewed for this study pointed to the religion’s emphasis on “the inherent worth of the individual” and its support for

⁵³ Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 42.

⁵⁴ Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 41.

⁵⁵ Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 43; and “Guide to the First Wesleyan Methodist Church of Seneca Falls Records, 1843-1911.” The former source notes the date of construction for the church as 1870, whereas the latter notes that the church was dedicated in 1875.

⁵⁶ Wright et al., *One Hundred Years of Service*, 43.

and tolerance of differences among people.⁵⁷ Unitarian Universalist minister Ken Mochel, who lives in Auburn and has been involved in promoting the history of Martha Coffin Wright and the women's rights movement, thinks it is essential to understand that all of the proto-feminist women were Quaker, Unitarian, or Universalist, or they came from a freethinking or anti-church sentiment.⁵⁸ Many of them combined elements of all of these philosophies into their worldview, but the common denominator, according to Mochel, was that they did not "bow down to authority," religious or otherwise.

Unitarian Universalist minister Dorothy Emerson became active with the Women in Religion organization within the UUA in 1983. Emerson learned about Women's Rights NHP through Ralph Peters and his wife Marjorie Smith. Newlyweds Peters and Smith had been convinced by Lucille Povero, then president of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, to purchase the house and let her live there until enough money could be raised to buy it back. The intention was to save the house until a park could be established to which it would then be donated.

Emerson's first encounters with the park itself were through her participation in the opening and first year of the women's peace encampment in 1983 and 1984. The encampment was sited there not only because of its proximity to the Seneca Depot but also because of the symbolic importance of the connections among Seneca Falls' women's rights history, of Onondaga women's traditional authority over martial decisions, and its associations with the Underground Railroad. Emerson remembered marching with other women from the peace camp in the Seneca Falls Convention Days parade holding a sign emblazoned with a quotation from Matilda Joslyn Gage.

Feminism and the Unitarian Universalist connection drew men like Wells Staley-Mays to the area as well.⁵⁹ While working at a Unitarian Universalist church in West Virginia in the mid-1970s, after completing his Unitarian Universalist internship at First Unitarian in Rochester, he listened to some recordings of Lucretia Mott's speeches, an experience that opened his eyes to patriarchy and changed his and his then-wife Paula Brooks' lives forever. After reading about Peters' and

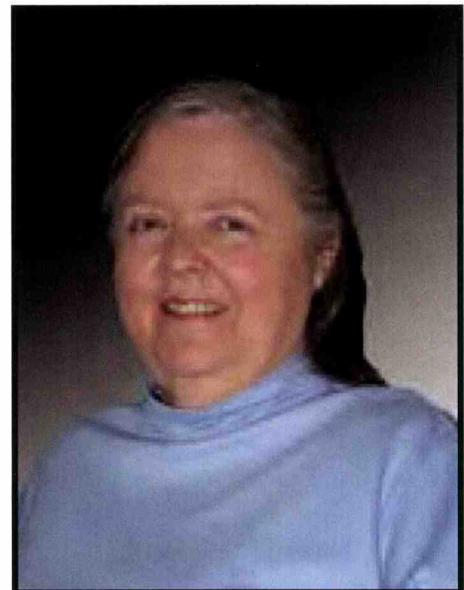


Figure 20. Reverend Dorothy May Emerson, Rainbow Solutions. Source: http://www.rainbowsolutions.us/about_us/about_us_index.html.

⁵⁷ Dorothy Emerson, telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, December 6, 2007. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁵⁸ Mochel casts Stanton, Wright, Gerrit Smith, and Matilda Joslyn Gage in the freethinking, antisectarian model. Audrey and Ken Mochel, and Richard and Joyce Gilbert, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁵⁹ Information from Wells Staley-Mays (formerly "Robert"), who today lives in Portland, Maine, comes from telephone interviews, October 25, 2007 (informal) and November 1, 2007 (formal), by Heather Lee Miller. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP. In 1979, Staley-Mays and his first wife purchased a house they believed (mistakenly, they later found out) to be the house of Amelia Bloomer. "Women's Hall Opens amid Weekend of Special Events," [*Seneca Falls Reveille*], 1979, clipping, Roberta Halden, comp., "Seneca Falls History, Chronicles of Area News and Events, Women's Suffrage," clippings notebooks, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, N.Y. (Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL).

Smith's purchase of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in the *UU World* and *NOW Times*, Staley-Mays and Brooks moved back to New York State to be closer to the reform movements brewing there. While living in Syracuse, where he worked for the American Friends Service Committee and then at the May Memorial Unitarian Universalist Association, Staley-Mays got personally involved with the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation for which he served either on the board or as president of the board from 1979 to 1984.

While on the board, Staley-Mays began to conduct tours of the sites in Seneca Falls (he also visited other sites, such as the M'Clintock House, which was "almost being knocked over by the Baptist Church next door"), in addition to occasionally holding small Unitarian Universalist gatherings in the Stanton House. Although he reported that not everyone was interested at that time, important feminist visitors such as Alice Walker, who was at that time on the editorial board of *Ms.*, came and the tours began to grow. Staley-Wells reported the sense of satisfaction and community he felt sharing in the preservation and interpretation of these sites with interested people in Seneca Falls like Corinne Guntzel and Lucile Povero and with his liberal religious friends, most of whom were Unitarian Universalist, Quaker, or left-leaning Catholics and Protestants.

Once the founding legislation had been passed to create Women's Rights NHP and the Park Service acquired the Stanton House, Staley-Mays led a couple of bus tours for the First Unitarian Church in conjunction with a prominent Rochester woman who furnished a "luxurious" bus and lunches. Quaker women from Aurora, Unitarian Universalist women from Syracuse's May Memorial, and religious women from other denominations in other areas in the region also attended many of the events in which Staley-Mays and others were involved during this time. Later, in the early 1990s, Staley-Mays and his second wife, who had since moved to Vermont, brought a NOW-sponsored bus tour to the park. Although Staley-Mays has not been back since, upstate New York is his "spiritual home" because of its connections to Seneca Falls, women's rights, abolitionism, Native American rights, and Unitarian Universalism.

As Emerson continued interacting with the Peace Encampment, she also continued to visit the Women's Rights NHP, doing research whenever she could. She wanted to know who the important Unitarian women have been. She was able to get money to found the Unitarian Universalist Women's Heritage Society in the late 1980s (it was first called the Women's History Publication Project). Within ten years, she was able to develop an exhibit dedicated to the history of Unitarian women in the women's rights and other reform movements. In honor of this exhibit, Park Historian Vivien Rose invited Unitarian Universalist minister Ken Mochel and his wife Audrey to speak in 1999.⁶⁰

Ken and Audrey Mochel have been thrilled to participate in the commemoration of Unitarian Universalist involvement in social reform movements. Their most recent projects have been tied to bringing the story of Martha Wright to the people of Auburn and the surrounding areas, where she and her family were ardent reformers. The Mochels were surprised when they moved to the area in the mid-1990s to learn how little local people knew about their famous resident. The Mochels have worked to coordinate a recent conference on Wright with Women's Rights NHP and other interested groups in the area, and hope to continue educating people about her in the

⁶⁰ Audrey and Ken Mochel, and Richard and Joyce Gilbert, interview.

future, including her family's ties (through Lucretia Mott) to the Free Religious Association, which Amy Post helped found in Rochester after the Civil War.

Another Unitarian Universalist family with strong ties to the area, the Gilberts, are also interested in promoting awareness of the ties between Unitarian Universalists and women's rights. As minister at the Unitarian church in Ithaca from 1965 through 1970, and then at First Unitarian of Rochester from 1970 through 2002, Richard Gilbert acquired interest and knowledge in the connections between Unitarian Universalists and the women's rights history of Seneca Falls. Richard remembered people in his Rochester congregation being interested in the ties between Unitarians and Universalists and the women's rights movement in Seneca Falls. Notable among these members is Colleen Hurst, who continues to be an active volunteer with First Unitarian, the Susan B. Anthony House, and Mt. Hope Cemetery in Rochester.⁶¹ Joyce Gilbert, a fourth-generation Universalist from the Mohawk Valley, traces her interest in the connections between women's rights and Unitarian Universalism to the 1970s. In the 1990s, she too became involved with the park, leading various tours there through the church.

Whereas the Mochels, Gilberts, Hurst, and Emerson are all actively involved in promoting the historical ties of Unitarian Universalism in Rochester and elsewhere to the history of women's rights in Seneca Falls, the clergy at First Unitarian in Rochester today focus their efforts more on contemporary social justice concerns. The three clergy members are new not only to the church itself but also to the general region. Minister Jen Crow did not grow up in the area but was aware of the Unitarian Universalist connection to women's rights, and she says Unitarian Universalists are very interested in general in the history of social justice. The church's website includes a history page that proclaims that the church has been "living our values through the years," and "has always taken seriously its role as a religious community with a civic circumference."⁶² According to Crow, however, local interest focuses more on Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass than on Seneca Falls, Waterloo, or even Auburn. Their focus, too, is on contemporary social justice more than on issues of the past, although they see strengthening racial ties among Rochesterians for the greater good as essential to their mission. They have, for example, established ties with the Memorial AME Zion Church in Rochester to support a group called Family and Friends of Murdered Children and CLUE (Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice).⁶³

Wesleyans

As judged by the number of places in which they can gather for worship, few Wesleyans reside in the immediate Seneca Falls or Waterloo area. Only one church—Solid Rock Wesleyan Church in Waterloo—lies within a 25-mile radius of the park.⁶⁴ Wesleyan churches in the area fall under the umbrella of the Central New York District of the Wesleyan Church, which is composed of fifty churches throughout central New York and northern Pennsylvania. The district is "proud of

⁶¹ Arlette Miller-Smith, Colleen Hurst, Vickie Schmitt, Ruth Rosenberg Napersteck, and Jean Czerkas, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁶² First Unitarian Church of Rochester, "Living our Values through the Years," http://www.rochesterunitarian.org/history_firstunitarian.html.

⁶³ Jen Crow, informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 10, 2007, First Unitarian Church, Rochester, N.Y.

⁶⁴ Others include Crosswinds Wesleyan Church, Canandaigua (founded 1888); Community Wesleyan Church, Baldwinsville (founded 1955); and Cornerstone Wesleyan Tabernacle (founding date unknown) and Lyncourt Wesleyan Church (1936), both in greater Syracuse.

our founding fathers and their motivation to address the social issues of the day. They were Christian men and women committed to holy living with a zeal to liberate the slaves and to secure a place of equality for women in society and the church.” According to the district’s website, the Wesleyans were the first denomination to ordain a woman.⁶⁵

At least two of the three extant Wesleyan churches most closely located to Seneca Falls were established long after the 1848 convention. These congregations have no known historical, spiritual, or intellectual ties to the Wesleyans located in Seneca Falls from the 1840s through the 1920s.

Although attempts to contact the Solid Rock Wesleyan Church (whose date of establishment is unknown), in Waterloo, and Cornerstone Wesleyan Tabernacle and Lyncourt Wesleyan Church, both in Greater Syracuse, were unsuccessful, representatives of Community Wesleyan in Baldwinsville and Crosswinds Wesleyan in Canandaigua responded to our requests for information. Conversations with members of those churches indicate that these congregations retain a sense of connection to their Seneca Falls heritage. However, no one from these congregations indicated that they had been actively involved in any activities surrounding the founding of the park or participated in related events, such as Convention Days. Nor is there any documentary information available to suggest otherwise.

Pastor Carl Chapman’s secretary at the Community Wesleyan Church in Baldwinsville, which was founded in 1955, explained that the pastor “refers to the connection to Seneca Falls in talks he does about the heritage of the Wesleyan Church.”⁶⁶ Chapman was not available, however, to expand upon this comment.

The Canandaigua Wesleyan Church, now Crosswinds Wesleyan Church, was first established in 1888 in Hopewell, New York. The church moved in 1924 to Bristol Street in downtown Canandaigua, and then again in 1975 to Middle Cheshire Road.⁶⁷ When contacted about whether their church had any sense of connection to the 1843 Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls, the 1848 convention, or any of the other iterations of the Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls, pastor Melody Burri expressed interest in the park, but did not return follow-up calls to expand on that brief statement.⁶⁸

Diane Bailey, director of the Central New York District Wesleyan Women organization, located at the district’s headquarters in Liverpool, New York (north of Syracuse), noted,

we are very pleased that our Wesleyan heritage is rich in the historical fight for social reform. Personally, I did not grow up in the Wesleyan Church, but became a member in my early adulthood after coming to faith in Jesus Christ as my Savior. In these last 35 years, I have learned about the Wesleyan heritage concerning the fight against slavery and for the rights of women. Our district Wesleyan Women are seeking, even now, ways to help victims of human trafficking. . . . I have not visited the Seneca Falls facility, but would like to do so in the future.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Wayne B. Wagner, Central New York District of the Wesleyan Church, “Welcome to cnywesleyan.org” <http://www.cnywesleyan.org/>.

⁶⁶ Telephone conversation with unidentified secretary October 22, 2007. The pastor did not return follow-up phone calls to elaborate on this statement. For more on the history of the church, see Community Wesleyan, “Our History,” <http://www.communitywesleyanchurch.com/contact.html>.

⁶⁷ See Crosswinds Church, “What is a Wesleyan Anyway?” http://www.crosswindsonline.org/about_us/history.php.

⁶⁸ Melody Burri to Heather Lee Miller, telephone message, October 23, 2007.

⁶⁹ Diane Bailey to Heather Lee Miller, email, October 31, 2007.

No further communication, however, was had with Bailey or the Central Wesleyan Women.

Very little evidence exists that Wesleyans visit the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls with any regularity or as part of a church/denominational organization. On a visit to Women's Rights NHP in March 2007, we encountered a woman named Lucretia Browning and her daughter, Jess, on a park tour. Lucretia noted her sense of connection to the park on two levels: first, because of her first name, and second, because she is one of the first women to be ordained as a Methodist minister, she feels keenly associated with the Wesleyan Methodist heritage in Seneca Falls.⁷⁰ Another Methodist minister and educator, Clarence "Bud" Bence (professor of historical theology at Indiana Wesleyan University) reports having visited Seneca Falls twice, "once as a college student when I wrote a research paper on the reformers in the Wesleyan Methodist Church" and once when his two daughters were teenagers and he "wanted them to have some sense of the history and heritage of their religious roots." Bence is currently an administrator but looks forward to getting back to the classroom "to regale future Wesleyan pastors in my classroom with stories of the courageous reformers of upstate New York."⁷¹

Findings

Like the Quakers, Unitarians and Universalists played a key role in abolitionism in upstate New York. Some also promoted women's rights, and men and women with Unitarian and Universalist leanings attended the 1848 women's rights conventions in Seneca Falls and Rochester, including Martha Coffin Wright, Amy Post, and Samuel J. May. Wright and Post were Quakers in 1848 who later changed their affiliations to Unitarian or Universalist. Unitarian and Universalist abolitionists provided safe passage to fugitive slaves in the region prior to the Civil War. They do not appear, however, to have been among the specific individuals who lived side-by-side with African Americans in Seneca Falls and Waterloo from the antebellum period through the end of the nineteenth century. Nor did Seneca Falls or Waterloo ever have their own Unitarian or Universalist churches (the closest are located in Canandaigua and Auburn).

Unitarian Universalists, perhaps more than any other religious denomination, have maintained a sense of connection to the women's rights history of Seneca Falls and Waterloo. Perhaps the strongest ties have been maintained through members of Rochester's First Unitarian Congregation, which regularly over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries celebrated the role of its congregation in the women's movement. The church (although no longer the same building) was used to commemorate the women's rights convention in 1878, 1908, 1923, and 1948 (and perhaps other years). Similarly, the congregation claimed various women's rights activists and abolitionist reformers as its own, and the church as an organization promotes knowledge of its role in antebellum activism, noting that "the history of the period leaves one feeling that the pulpit had a revolving door; through it swirled not only dissension over internal problems, but also the great social questions of the day: Woman suffrage and slavery."⁷² Although the current pastors seem to have less knowledge about the historical associations of their congregation to

⁷⁰ According to the Brownings, in the 1970s, Lucretia had been one of the first women to be ordained a United Methodist minister. No evidence has been found to verify or deny this claim. A brief statement on the United Methodist Church's website indicates that female ordination has increased since 1968, but lists no names other than Marjorie Matthews, who in 1980, was the first woman elected to the church's episcopacy. See United Methodist Church, "Developments and Changes Since 1968," <http://karchives.umc.org/interior.asp?mid=1225>.

⁷¹ Bud Bence to Heather Lee Miller, email, October 25, 2007.

⁷² First Unitarian Church of Rochester, "Living our Values through the Years."

Seneca Falls, the pastorate of Richard Gilbert, spanning the last three decades of the twentieth century concurrent with the park's founding, was well aware of the associations and organized occasional visits to the park.

Founded in the late 1980s, the Unitarian Universalist Women's Heritage Society also has had strong interest in the resources managed by the park, even creating a traveling exhibit on Unitarian Universalist women that was displayed there. They wish to continue exploring the importance of Unitarian and Universalist thought to abolitionists and women's rights activists of the nineteenth century. Unitarians and Universalist congregations in Syracuse and other locations have also had connections with Seneca Falls, but not to the same extent as Rochester's Unitarian community has historically or currently.

In the 1970s, individual Unitarian Universalists residing locally or who had come to upstate New York specifically because of its historical ties to abolitionism and women's rights activism helped generate interest in and awareness of the importance of the 1848 convention by leading tours; lobbying local, state, and national lawmakers; and generally getting the word out about the importance of the area. Their actions were instrumental in creating the national park in Seneca Falls. Today, Unitarians in Auburn, Rochester, and elsewhere actively promote education about the women's rights movement, both as a way to promulgate Unitarian/Universalism as a liberal social religion and as a way to keep Unitarian Universalists connected to their history of social activism.

Although the Unitarians, especially the congregation of Rochester's First Unitarian Church, have connections to the resources managed by the park, their association has been more of a shared history than of an ongoing use of park resources. Still, this shared history has created a strong sense of connection among those aware of it with Seneca Falls and Waterloo, and those connections have become better known since the park was created. As with Native Americans, African Americans, and Quakers, the existence of the park has generated new interest in the Unitarian Universalist history of the place, generating research and writing, which has in turn stimulated further interest. As more research is done, the related goals of the people who comprised the radical, or "ultraist," thinkers of the 1840s become ever more clear, and those goals led people such as Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, Frederick Douglass, and Amy Post to cross denominational lines in search of social justice. Within the all-inclusive nondogmatic Unitarian church they could meet in a welcoming and nonjudgmental, but still marginally Christian, environment.

Wesleyan Methodism, a distinctly abolitionist sect founded in 1843, and its chapel in Seneca Falls played an important role in the 1848 women's rights convention by providing attendees a venue in which a mixed (race and sex) audience could speak on the issue of women's rights. The Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls served an integrated congregation until at least the 1870s. However, despite the Wesleyan Chapel's significance today to the park's ability to interpret the convention, evidence suggests that the faith itself has changed so much in the past 150 years that there are no extant remnants of the denomination that resemble what it was in 1848. Although individual Wesleyans today have expressed interest in and a sense of pride in their denominational history, there is no organized group that uses the park's resources today.

The Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Seneca Falls provides a physical link between the Wesleyans of today and their abolitionist heritage. Wesleyan Methodists not only were ardent abolitionists, drawing members from other denominations less willing to play an activist role in the antislavery

movement, but they also played an integral role in the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls by providing attendees a meeting space. Today's Wesleyan Methodists bear little resemblance to their predecessors. Once slavery was abolished, they lost their main reason to that point for existence, and they moved on to other matters of religious concern, which have since transformed the church into its current shape. Wesleyan Methodists do not appear to have used the park's resources on more than an individual level since the chapel was converted to commercial use in 1872. They did occupy, however, the church building located immediately west of the park's visitor center from 1870 through 1920 and constructed another building nearby in 1920, which they had abandoned by 1944.

Chapter 5: Descendants of Participants in the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention

Introduction and Methodology

This chapter seeks to describe ongoing associations or relationships among individual or groups of descendants of participants in the 1848 Seneca Falls convention. We explain which participants' descendants remained in or visited Seneca Falls or Waterloo during the years after 1848. The chapter also explores whether families were aware of their ancestors' activities on behalf of women's rights and how different families learned about and passed on stories about their famous relatives. Which descendants chose to return for commemoration celebrations or on family pilgrimages and why? Which descendants were involved in the creation of the park or its opening, and who participates in ongoing activities of the park?

Defining Descendants

For the purposes of this study, the term *descendant* indicates a person who possesses a kinship relationship to one of the 100 signers of the Declaration of Sentiments. For ease of reference in this report, we refer to *descendants* more generally when not speaking about specific families or individuals. We focused on three descendant groups that are most recognizable as having ongoing associations with park resources and the history it interprets:

- Known descendants living in close proximity to the park
- Known descendants who had contacted the park expressing interest in their ancestors
- Known descendants who traveled to the park to attend events.

The descendants we contacted during the course of research for this study included members of the Hunt/M'Clintock, Douglass, Mott/Wright, Post, Wilbur, and Chamberlain/Seymour families. Although some descendants of Elizabeth Cady Stanton are also alive (Rhoda Barney Jenkins died August 25, 2007¹), Stanton family members have had an ongoing, well-documented relationship with the park and thus we focused on interviewing descendants of other families. Stanton descendants are addressed first in the report, however, since their relationship to the resources the park manages and the history it interprets are longstanding and historically significant.

Interview Methodology

For this study, we talked with descendants of both prominent and less well-known convention participants. Park staff already had contact information and genealogical data for many descendants, which provided a good starting place for contacting and interviewing people. Snowball sampling methods revealed the names and contact information of other descendants.²

¹ "Rhoda Barney Jenkins," obituary (d. August 25, 2007), *New York Times*, online, September 7, 2007.

² We thank Charles Lenhart, descendant of signer Maria E. Wilbur, who generously shared with us the results of his work through autumn 2007, when we interviewed him about his family's connections to Wilbur and the park's resources.

Stanton Family

Next to Susan B. Anthony, whose visage is on the U.S. one-dollar coin, Elizabeth Cady Stanton is perhaps the best-known early women's rights activist in American history. Although Stanton does not appear to have returned to Seneca Falls after she left town in 1862, her daughters, Harriot Stanton Blatch, who was born in Seneca Falls in 1856, and Margaret Stanton Lawrence, returned in March 1908 to organize a celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the convention. As Blatch explained in her autobiography, she and her sister intended "to use that event with its publicity value as the beginning of a speaking tour in the state" promoting woman suffrage.³ Blatch noted that the sisters won over not only prominent women in town but also ministers, school board members, and the historical society, which "made the coming celebration their immediate work, bringing out for display all the historical documents and pictures they had bearing on the enfranchisement of women."⁴ Lawrence stayed behind in central New York to oversee the organization of the event, which occurred May 25.⁵ According to a newspaper account of the time, Blatch gave a "deservedly earnest and loving tribute to her mother," who had died six years earlier.⁶ Additionally, she and Lawrence raised money to fabricate the bronze plaque that now marks the spot of the Wesleyan Chapel.⁷

Since 1908, a number of Stanton's descendants have visited Seneca Falls to commemorate her residence in the town and her participation in the 1848 Seneca Falls convention. Lawrence returned to Seneca Falls in October 1915 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of her mother's birth.⁸

Blatch returned in 1923 for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the convention, but the main organizer this time was the National Women's Party (NWP) and its president Alice Paul. According to historian Ellen Carol DuBois, "Harriot had to push to get herself included," likely because Blatch was at times an outspoken critic of the NWP's programs.⁹ Whether growing acrimony between Blatch and Paul was the catalyst, Stanton's role in the women's rights movement was downplayed at the 1923 event in favor of Susan B. Anthony. Blatch gave an address about her mother's life and achievements, but it served more a means by which she drew

³ Harriot Stanton Blatch, with Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), quotation in 105. See also "Woman's Rights Convention Anniversary," [March 20, 1908?], clipping, Roberta Halden, comp., "Seneca Falls History, Chronicles of Area News and Events, Women's Suffrage," clippings notebooks, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, New York (Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL). For more on this "trolley car campaign," see Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 104–6. Women's historians today usually refer to the movement as *women's suffrage*, but the women of the nineteenth century, most often called it *woman suffrage*. Here, we try to use the term as the person would have best known it.

⁴ Blatch, *Challenging Years*, 105–6.

⁵ "Great Anniversary Gathering," May 29, 1908, Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL. See also Blatch, *Challenging Years*, 105–6.

⁶ See, for example, "Great Anniversary Gathering," May 29, 1908, Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL.

⁷ According to Blatch, the owner of the building, worried that the tablet "made his building appear so old that his chance of selling it was greatly lessened," asked soon after the 1908 celebration that it be removed. In 1928, the tablet was reinstated on the wall. To her chagrin, the historical society "forgot" to notify her of the celebration and she received a generic invitation from the League of Women Voters. Blatch, *Challenging Years*, 106–7.

⁸ "Elizabeth Cady Stanton Centennial," [October 22, 1915], Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL.

⁹ DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch*, 223.

the link between “her mother’s goal of ‘political equality’ and her own focus on ‘economic independence,’” and less a platform for emphasizing the need for an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as the NWP was advocating. Indeed, as Du Bois explains, immediately after the 1923 event was over, Blatch “took off after” the ERA, which she dismissed as a “chimera.”¹⁰



Figure 21. Harriot Stanton Blatch, between 1905 and 1917. Source: Library of Congress, George Grantham Bain Collection, cph.3c16259, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c16259>.

The last day of the three-day celebration was dedicated to a “pilgrimage” to Susan B. Anthony’s gravesite at Mt. Hope Cemetery in Rochester. Local media proclaimed that the pilgrimage would be “the most impressive national tribute to the memory of a woman ever planned in America.”¹¹ Although Anthony had not been at the 1848 convention and had not even met Stanton until 1851, Anthony was heralded as being, “for 60 years, the guiding force in the feminist movement.” Just a month earlier, an “unsigned article” in the *New York Times* had mistakenly reported that Susan B. Anthony was the leader of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) after it was founded in 1869 and that Lucretia Mott had been the “prime mover of the first women’s rights convention.” In response to the article, which discussed the upcoming seventy-fifth anniversary events in Seneca Falls, Blatch had written an indignant letter to the *New York Times* editor. In the letter, Blatch noted that Stanton had been the “driving force” of the women’s movement, which was centered in Seneca Falls precisely because Stanton was there. Furthermore, Blatch noted, her mother had been the president of NWSA for twenty-five years, longer than any other

leader of the organization.¹² Stanton’s son Theodore also wrote a letter to the *New York Times* stating that “The facts are that Miss Anthony had no more to do with the convention of 1848 than the man in the moon.”¹³ The “historical misattribution that most deeply galled Harriot,” according to DuBois, however, was that the suffrage amendment was called the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.¹⁴

At the 1948 centennial celebration of the Seneca Falls convention, Blatch’s daughter Nora Stanton Barney was invited, along with Anna Lord Strauss, Lucretia Mott’s great-granddaughter and president of the National League of Women Voters, and a niece of Carrie Chapman Catt, to

¹⁰ DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch*, 224.

¹¹ “Prominent Record Made by Women in 75 Years of Fight: With Suffrage Gained, Determined Workers Strive to Further Free Sex Yoke,” July 20, 1923, Seneca Falls History clippings, Women’s Suffrage, SFPL.

¹² Harriot Stanton Blatch, “Suffrage Anniversary,” letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, June 27, 1923, Seneca Falls History clippings, Women’s Suffrage, SFPL. For additional discussion on this issue, see DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch*, 249-50.

¹³ Quoted in DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch*, 249.

¹⁴ DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch*, 250. The exact reason why NWP organizers emphasized Anthony over Stanton in 1923 is unclear, although growing acrimony between Blatch (and other leaders of the suffrage movement, such as Carrie Chapman Catt) and Paul has been well documented.

accept the first cancellations of the three-cent commemorative stamp being issued in honor of Stanton, Catt, and Mott.¹⁵ Barney was unable to attend in person.¹⁶ She was nonetheless a charter signer of the "Declaration of the Women of 1948 to the Women of 2048," a twentieth-century version of the Declaration of Sentiments, which was also signed by such contemporary women's rights activists as Susan B. Anthony II, Pearl S. Buck, Dorothy Parker, and Margaret Sanger (among many others) and distributed at the centennial event.¹⁷

Thirty-four years later, in August 1974, Rhoda Barney Jenkins, Nora Barney's daughter, and Doriot Anthony Dwyer, Susan B. Anthony's great-niece, came to town for a Women's Equality Day.¹⁸ Since the park's founding, both Jenkins and her daughter Coline Jenkins have participated in various activities in Seneca Falls. Rhoda attended the grand opening of the restored Stanton home in 1985.¹⁹ Both attended Celebrate '98, the community's sesquicentennial celebration of the 1848 convention. Recently, Coline Jenkins started the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Trust, which consists of thousands of personal and purchased memorabilia items relating to the woman suffrage movement.²⁰

Descendants of Elizabeth Cady Stanton have retained a strong sense of connection to their famous relative's historic actions during her residence in Seneca Falls. Stanton herself is not known ever to have returned to the area after she departed in 1862; nor have any of her descendants resided in the area. Nonetheless, a long line of Stanton's female descendants returned to Seneca Falls starting in 1908 to participate in events commemorating the 1848 convention. They have continued to do so through Stanton's induction into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls in 1973, dedication of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Park

¹⁵ See, for example, "World-Wide' Effect is Centennial's Aim Chairman Tells Club," May 19, 1948; "Honoring Anniversary—Rights Stamp to Picture Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Mott," April 12, 1948; "Women's Rights Stamps to Go on Sale July 19," June 23, 1948; "Million Rights Stamps Arrive," July 16, 1948; and "Hundreds Gather for Purchase of Special Stamps," [July 18, 1948]; clippings, 100th Anniversary Celebration articles, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files. It appears that the first design for the stamp had images of Stanton and Mott, but the final design included Carrie Chapman Catt situated between Stanton on her left and Mott on her right.

¹⁶ She was represented by Mrs. Milton Sanderson Wiley, of Washington, D.C., whose relationship to Barney is unknown. See "Pioneers Honored," photograph, *Syracuse Herald Journal*, July 20, 1848, Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 1, folder 6, Seneca Falls Historical Society (SFHS).

¹⁷ Susan B. Anthony II et al., "Declaration of the Women of 1948 to the Women of 2048," Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 1, folder 8, SFHS.

¹⁸ "Two of a Kind," *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*, August 27, 1974, clipping in Elizabeth Cady Stanton Papers, Collection 37, Box 38, Folder 12; Kevin Green, "Women's Rights!" *Seneca Falls Reveille*, August 22, 1974, clipping Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 1, Folder 9, both in SFHS; and Gerald R. Ford, "Proclamation 4309 – Women's Equality Day, 1974," The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=23865>. The *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle* mistakenly reported that "It was 126 years ago that Mrs. Anthony and Mrs. Stanton began their fight for women's rights at the Wesleyan Church which stood at the corner of Mynderese and Fall Sts., in Seneca Falls." This would not be the last or the first time that people in Rochester, Anthony's hometown, and elsewhere mistakenly placed Anthony at the 1848 Convention. Anthony was not present at either the Seneca Falls or Rochester conventions in 1848, although her father, mother, and sister Mary attended the Rochester meeting on August 2 that year and wrote to her about it while she was teaching at Canojaharie, New York. Anthony and Stanton first met three years later, introduced by Amelia Jenks Bloomer.

¹⁹ National Park Service, press release, June 22, 1985, III.A. Brown, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

²⁰ Rachel Stockman, "Stanton's Memorabilia Stuffs a Family Closet," Women's eNews, August 26, 2003, <http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/1500/context/archive>.

in Seneca Falls in 1980, the park's opening celebration in 1982, grand opening of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in 1985, and Celebrate '98, among others.²¹

Hunt / M'Clintock Family

Local residents with the most direct ties to the 1848 convention are descendants of the Hunts and the M'Clintocks, who were first joined through the 1836 marriage of Richard P. Hunt and Sarah M'Clintock, Thomas M'Clintock's niece.²² Sarah was Richard's third wife and gave birth to three children, Richard (1838), Mary M. (1839), and Sarah M. (1841), before she died in 1842. Three years after Sarah died, Richard married his fourth wife, Jane C. Master, a Quaker from Philadelphia, who joined Richard in Waterloo and subsequently bore three children, William (1847), Jane (1848), and George (1851). As is discussed in chapter 3, the Hunts were strongly abolitionist and were founding members in 1848 of the Quaker splinter group that would begin meeting formally in 1849, the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends (later the Friends of Human Progress or Progressive Friends).

Mary Ann and Thomas M'Clintock married in New Jersey in 1820. In 1827, they joined the Hicksite faction of the Quakers, which believed religious faith required social activism. Both Thomas and Mary Ann acted on their religious beliefs during their lives through abolitionism, support for women's rights, and religious dissent. Through their antislavery activism, the M'Clintocks worked closely with national leaders like William Lloyd Garrison, Abby Kelley, and Frederick Douglass. Mary Ann and Lucretia Mott helped found the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, and in 1842, Thomas and Mary Ann helped found the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society (WNYASS) at the American Anti-Slavery Association meeting in Rochester.

In 1836, the M'Clintocks moved to Waterloo, where they joined Mary Ann's half-sister Margaret and her husband George Pryor and other Hicksite members of the Junius Monthly Meeting. There, they continued their activism, organizing not only antislavery and temperance meetings but also relief efforts (in which the Hunts joined them) for those suffering under the famine in Ireland in the late 1840s.²³ Their call to more radical forms of activism ultimately led

²¹ See, for example, National Women's Hall of Fame, "Women of the Hall: Elizabeth Cady Stanton," inducted 1973, <http://www.greatwomen.org/women.php?action=viewone&id=149>; "10 Kilometer Race Begins Convention," *Seneca Falls Reveille*, [1980], clipping in Roberta Halden, comp., "Seneca Falls History, Chronicles of Area News and Events, Women's Suffrage," clippings notebooks, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, New York (Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL); and National Park Service, press release, June 22, 1985, III.A. Brown, Women's Rights NHP, Research File.

²² James E. Hazard Index, Records of the New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. See also the Junius Monthly Meeting Index, 3.1, p. 97 (May 30, 1842), which notes Sarah M'Clintock's death and states that her parents were Samuel and Margaret M'Clintock; Samuel was Thomas's brother. The following description of the connections between the Hunt and M'Clintock families comes from Jamie Wolfe and Anne M. Derousie, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Women's Rights National Historical Park, "Reforming Family: The Hunts and M'Clintocks of Waterloo, New York," September 2001, n.p., Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

²³ See, for example, "Anti-Slavery Discussion," December 15, 1841; "Temperance Notice," *Seneca Observer*, January 11, 1843; Rhoda Bement and E. W. M'Clintock, "Anti-Slavery Fair," [planned for October 4, 5, 1843], October 4, 1843; "Famine!" *Seneca Observer*, February 10, 1847; "Relief of Ireland," *Seneca Observer*, February 17, 1847; and R. P. Hunt and T. M'Clintock, "Public Meeting [on Irish famine relief], February 17, 1847, all in Resource Files, Drawer 3, WRNHP.

the M'Clintocks, the Hunts, and a group of about 200 other Quakers to break away from the Hicksites in 1848 to form the Congregational Friends.

Support for women's rights was truly a family affair for the M'Clintocks and the Hunts, with known kin comprising eleven of the one hundred signers at the 1848 convention (more may eventually become known). Both Mary Ann M'Clintock and Jane Master Hunt helped organize the 1848 convention: Mary Ann had attended Jane's gathering on July 9 or 10 and then herself hosted Elizabeth Cady Stanton and perhaps others on July 16 to draft the Declaration of Sentiments. Jane and Richard Hunt both attended the 1848 convention and signed the Declaration, along with Richard's sisters, Lydia Mount and Hannah Plant, and his niece, Mary Vail. Of the M'Clintocks' five surviving children—Elizabeth (1821), Mary Ann (1822), Sarah (1824), Charles (1829), and Julia (1831)—the two eldest are known to have attended the 1848 convention with their parents, along with step-relatives Margaret and George W. Pryor.

John Becker's *A History of Waterloo* recounted family tradition passed down from Richard P. Hunt's grandson, indicating that William Master Hunt had taken his young son (also named Richard Hunt) to hear Susan B. Anthony speak at a women's suffrage meeting in Rochester. As the story goes, Anthony called William by his first name and said, "You should be proud that this whole movement started at your mother's tea table."²⁴ Becker appears to have mistakenly conflated the table on which the call to the convention was written and the one on which they penned the Declaration of Sentiments as the same table that resided in the Smithsonian. According to Becker, "Village tradition agrees with this view. The Hunt family tradition is also to the same effect."²⁵

The remaining local Hunt descendants are less like relatives with a common cultural heritage than unrelated families with very different takes on their shared genetic past and family legacy. Although the Hunt family by the mid-twentieth century was Episcopal, George Truman Hunt's parents had become Mormon in his youth, which eventually fostered "a break in the family because of religion," after which they "didn't really associate with each other."²⁶ Others in the family report that family members have differing ideas not only about how best to associate with the park but also about how best to share family mementos and memories of family history.

Peggy Hunt Van Kirk, Carol Hunt Hauf, and Barbara Hunt Knight explained that some of the men in the family did not show as much interest, perhaps because of their gender, as the women did in their family's history of women's rights activism.²⁷ Peggy remembered learning about the Hunt family and Hunt House from her father, Robert Curtis Hunt, who focused on the family's Quaker roots and abolitionist ties, including stories about the house having been a stop on the

²⁴ John E. Becker, *A History of the Village of Waterloo, New York: And Thesaurus of Related Facts* (Waterloo, N.Y.: Waterloo Library and Historical Society, 1949), 155.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ George Truman Hunt, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 6, 2007, Fayette, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP. George's parents were Carroll Bacon Hunt and Emma Ruth Woodruff, who had six children: Carolyn Mae, Paul Williams (adopted, deceased), Charles Leroy (deceased), George Truman, John Arthur, and Jane Masters [*sic*].

²⁷ Peggy Hunt Van Kirk, Carol Hunt Hauf, and Barbara Hunt Knight, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP. The children of Robert Curtis Hunt and Margaret Lewis Hunt are, in birth order: Robert Curtis Hunt, Barbara Hunt Knight, Nancy Hunt Wolcott Kronenwetter, Richard Lewis Hunt, David Hunt, Ronald Hunt, Stephen Hunt, Peggy Hunt Van Kirk, and Carol Hunt Hauf. Only the youngest five really grew up in Seneca Falls.

Underground Railroad. George Truman Hunt did not remember hearing stories growing up about his family's connection to Quakerism or to women's rights, but his father was, as he described it, "old school"—focused on supporting his family—and did not talk much with his children about history. Carol remembered often hearing stories about the Hunt family fortune but rarely hearing any discussion about the family's philanthropy. George echoed this comment, noting that when he (George) was a child, his father had told him that Richard Hunt had owned the Hunt House and the northeast block at the crossroads in Waterloo and that he was a millionaire and very important to the economic development of the area.



Figure 22. Carol Hunt Hauf, Barbara Hunt Knight, and Peggy Hunt Van Kirk, Seneca Falls, N.Y., October 8, 2007. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

Some of the M'Clintock family left Waterloo to return to Philadelphia in 1856, where Thomas and Mary Ann lived until their deaths, Thomas at age 84 in 1876 and Mary Ann at age 84 in 1884. In November 1896, Elizabeth Cady Stanton published a memorial in the *Woman's Journal* upon the death of Elizabeth M'Clintock Phillips. The two Elizabeths had worked together between 1848 and 1856, when, Stanton wrote, M'Clintock's departure caused a "void in my life" that was only filled thereafter by Susan B. Anthony, whom she had first met in 1851. Stanton noted that M'Clintock's short marriage to Burroughs Phillips had been "exceptionally happy," but that her husband's death (in 1854²⁸) had been "so severe a shock to her nervous system that, for a long time, she lost all interest in life." Although she went on to establish a successful business after years of grieving, Elizabeth M'Clintock Phillips apparently never remarried or had children, retiring to Vineland, New Jersey, where she ended her days "in a pleasant country home with [three] younger sisters."²⁹

Known M'Clintock descendants today, who are spread across the United States, trace their ancestry either through Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock's son Charles W. M'Clintock, whose descendants appear mostly to reside in Ohio, or their daughter Mary Ann, who married James Truman and whose descendants are more widely dispersed around the country. Both branches,

²⁸ George Thomas Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College: From the First Graduated in 1771 to the Present Time, with a Brief History of the Institution* (Riverside Press, 1867), quoted in Andrea Constantine Hawke, "The Life of Elizabeth M'Clintock Phillips, 1821-1896: A Story of Family, Friends, and Community and a Self-Made Woman" (PhD diss., University of Maine, 2005), 244.

²⁹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "In Memoriam," *Woman's Journal* 27, no. 47 (November 21, 1896): 373. Photocopy in Drawer 3, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

however, were living near enough to each other in northwestern Pennsylvania that Margaret (Peg) Neely (born in 1923) remembered playing as a child with her cousin, Charles McClintock V, whose family lived at that time in Oil City. Although the ties between the two families seem to have dissolved sometime thereafter, both families maintained a strong sense of their relationship to the M'Clintocks and their reform activism in Waterloo and Seneca Falls during the 1840s.³⁰

Peg Neely remembered her mother speaking proudly of a table she had inherited from the M'Clintocks (quite possibly the table on which the convention call was written) and described to Peg the story of the drafting of the Declaration of Sentiments on the *other* famous family table, which resides in the Smithsonian.³¹ In addition to the story about family knowledge of the table, Peg also remembered her family stopping once or twice in the 1930s or early 1940s in Seneca Falls during summer drives to Chautauqua, New York. She returned to the area in 1946 after her wedding, just before she and her husband left for more than two decades of missionary work in Africa. She could not say whether her mother had attended the 1948 centennial event in Seneca Falls, but she was aware that it had taken place. Peg did not again visit Seneca Falls until 1993, when she attended the dedication of the First Wave statues exhibit, which included representations of Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock, unveiled as a part of the grand opening of the Wesleyan Chapel and park visitor center. Peg and her daughters Deborah and Mary Beth were on hand for Celebrate '98. Also attending the 150th anniversary celebration were Rick Swegan and some of his family members and Charles "Chip" McClintock, his mother, and two sisters. Most of these M'Clintock descendants reported that this was the first time that they had met various cousins from the other branch of the family.³²

Deborah Neely described growing up with a "great sense of pride" in her M'Clintock family heritage, even though she was raised in Africa and only first visited the park during Convention Days 1984, having been invited to attend by some friends in Rochester who were impressed by her lineage and insisted that she had to go. Deborah described feeling more connected to who her ancestors were and "what they did" than to Seneca Falls or Waterloo as places. She felt like she experienced some of the past through her grandmother, Mary Truman Welsh.³³ Her sister Mary Beth Neely described being told all of her life about her family's Quaker connections, as well as that she was descended from one of the "original women" in Seneca Falls. She lived with her grandparents in the 1960s, while the rest of her family was in Africa, and remembered going to Seneca Falls for the first time in late 1970s, when things at the park were still, as she described it, "rudimentary." Still, as she explains it, the M'Clintock House and the park more generally have

³⁰ Margaret "Peg" Neely, telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 3, 2008; and Charles "Chip" McClintock VI, telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 22, 2008. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

³¹ Peg Neely, interview. Much of the confusion regarding the table appears to stem from an error in Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences* (New York: Harper Bros., 1922, 1:145), which Becker cited (*History of the Village of Waterloo*, 154): "The antique mahogany table on which the call for the Woman's Rights Convention was written, now stands in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington." Becker added this to the Anthony story without further source, noting that "the table referred to by Miss Anthony is the one that now stands in the Smithsonian Institution" (155).

³² Richard Swegan, telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP; and McClintock, interview.

³³ Deborah Neely, telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

been “like a sacred grail to me.”³⁴ In 1993, she donated a number of family letters that she had inherited from her grandmother. Those letters include important correspondence from Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and others to Thomas M’Clintock.³⁵

In addition to their ties to the organizers of the 1848 convention and to signers of the Declaration of Sentiments, M’Clintock descendants also report feeling strong ties to their Quaker heritage. While none of the living descendants were themselves raised Quaker, Peg Neely’s mother Mary Truman Welsh was and she attended Swarthmore (which her relative George Truman had helped found along with Lucretia Mott). Welsh converted to Presbyterianism sometime in the early 1900s, however, believing that Quakers had lost their way. Despite such conversions, Mary Beth Neely explained that in the 1960s her interest in the park stemmed from her foremothers having spoken out for women’s rights. Today, though, she describes their Quakerism as “most meaningful” to her.³⁶

Although many Hunt descendants remained local while apparently all of the M’Clintocks left the Waterloo and Seneca Falls area in the 1850s, descendants of both families tell similar stories of having been raised with a sense of their families’ prominence but without having had ongoing interactions with the places in which their kin lived and conducted reform activities. Individuals had very different experiences when first visiting Seneca Falls and those journeys held different meanings for them. Although certain individuals feel an ongoing sense of connection to the area and the park’s resources, the coming of the park and associated celebrations, as well as the park’s attempts to reach out to descendants, has served to educate most contemporary Hunts and M’Clintocks about their family history. This outreach has also fostered a greater sense of connection among family members who until the late twentieth century, most often had had no sense of kinship with each other. As Rick Swegan explained, through the connections he made at Celebrate ’98, he has come to know more people are as fascinated as he is by the Hunt/M’Clintock legacy.³⁷ Chip McClintock, too, noted that being invited to the park “piqued” his interest.³⁸

Douglass Family

Born in about February 1818, Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey was the son of an unknown father and an enslaved woman named Harriet Bailey, who lived in Talbot County, Maryland. Taken by his owners to Baltimore while still a young boy, Frederick was taught by his mistress to read, much to the dismay of her husband, Thomas Auld, who (upon learning of the instruction) insisted that she cease the lessons immediately because education would make even the best slaves determined to flee or foment discontent among other slaves. Although the reading lessons stopped, Douglass continued to learn how to read and write on his own. By the time he was twenty, Douglass decided to escape, and on September 3, 1838, using the uniform and

³⁴ Mary Beth Neely, telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008. Transcript on file at Women’s Rights NHP.

³⁵ These letters now form the Neely Collection at the Women’s Rights NHP.

³⁶ Mary Beth Neely, interview.

³⁷ Swegan, interview.

³⁸ McClintock, interview.

papers of a free black sailor friend, he left Baltimore for Philadelphia and then went on to New York City.³⁹



Figure 23. Anna Murray Douglass.
Source: Library of Congress,
<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3b20000/3b29000/3b29800/3b29812r.jpg>

While in New York, Frederick was joined by Anna Murray, whom he had met while a member of and speaker at meetings of the East Baltimore Improvement Society. On September 15, 1838, Frederick and Anna were married. They moved first to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where Douglass worked as a day laborer before embarking on a career as an abolitionist lecturer, publishing his famous *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* in 1845. By 1847, the Douglass family had moved to a house on Alexander Street in Rochester, where he founded the *North Star*, a newspaper printed in the basement of Thomas James's AME Zion Church with funding from the local Female Anti-Slavery Society.⁴⁰ The Douglass family moved again in 1852 to a larger home on what was then the outskirts of Rochester. They remained there until 1872, when they moved permanently to their Cedar Hill home in the Anacostia section of Washington, D.C., after their Rochester home burned down under suspicious circumstances.⁴¹ Douglass was married to Anna for almost forty-five years, and they had five children

together—Rosetta (1839), Lewis Henry (1840), Frederick Douglass, Jr. (1842), Charles Remond (1844), and Annie (1849).

Although this study did not undertake a detailed genealogy of the Douglass family, we were able to find a family tree at the Frederick Douglass Family Foundation website and the Frederick Douglass National Historic Site website provides the following information.⁴² Three of Douglass's children had children of their own, from whom today's descendants trace their roots. Rosetta Douglass married Nathan Sprague and they had six children: Annie Rosine Sprague Morris, Harriet Bailey Sprague, Estelle Irene Sprague Weaver, Fredericka Douglass Sprague Perry, Herbert Douglass Sprague, and Rosebelle Mary Sprague Jones. Lewis Henry Douglass married Amelia Loguen, daughter of Jermain Wesley and Catherine Loguen, and they had no children. Frederick Douglass, Jr., married Virginia M. Hewlett with whom he had seven children: Frederick Aaron, Jean Hewlett, Lewis Henry, Maud Ardelle, Charles Paul, Gertrude

³⁹ The story of Douglass's childhood, escape, and later life has been recounted numerous times. For Douglass's own account of his life, see Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s edition of *Frederick Douglass, Autobiography* (New York: Library of America, 1994). Two well-known sources on Douglass's life are Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1948); and William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Norton, 1991).

⁴⁰ The descriptions of Douglass's time in Rochester here are compiled from Philip S. Foner, introduction to Foner, ed., *Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); Blake McKelvey, "Frederick Douglass in Rochester," *York State Tradition*, Winter 1967, clipping in IC1 Purple, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files; and Blake McKelvey, "Lights and Shadows in Local Negro History," *Rochester History* 21, no. 4 (October 1959): 1–27.

⁴¹ McKelvey, "Lights and Shadows in Local Negro History," 11.

⁴² "Frederick Douglass' Children," <http://www.nps.gov/archive/frdo/children.htm>.

Pearl, and Robert Small. Charles Remond Douglass married Mary Elizabeth Murphy with whom he had six children: Charles Frederick, Joseph Henry, Annie Elizabeth, Julia Ada, Mary Louise, and Edward. Charles Remond was married again to Antoinette Haley with whom he had one child: Haley George.

Nettie Douglass is a great-great-granddaughter of Frederick Douglass and great-granddaughter of Booker T. Washington. Born in Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1942, Nettie's father, Frederick Douglass III, was descended from Charles Remond Douglass's son Joseph Henry Douglass (Figure 25).⁴³ Despite her lineage and the summers she spent with her grandmother at a family home in Highland Beach, Maryland, Nettie said that her mother spoke very little to her about Frederick Douglass. Nor could Nettie remember Seneca Falls being a topic of conversation in her family when she was growing up. Nettie noted that she had never had any interest in visiting nor had she ever visited Seneca Falls, but that she would if she were invited. She takes great pride, however, doing living history performances and attending events that memorialize her great-great-grandfather, such as the 1995 centennial celebration of Douglass's death in Rochester.⁴⁴ More recently, Nettie and her son, Kenneth Bruce Morris, Jr., founded the nonprofit "abolitionist" Frederick Douglass Family Foundation, which serves two purposes: "to preserve and honor the legacy of Frederick Douglass and to create awareness about modern-day slavery in an effort to expedite its demise."⁴⁵

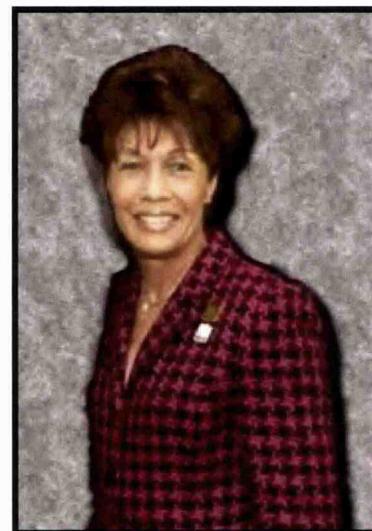


Figure 24. Nettie Washington Douglass. Source: Frederick Douglass Family Foundation, www.fdff.org (by permission).

Other Douglass descendants exist around the country. Rochester historian and Douglass reenactor David Anderson said that he and others among his group Akwaaba believe that descendants of Douglass's first daughter, Rosetta Douglass Sprague, remain in Rochester today but may not know of their kinship to Douglass. Anecdotally, Anderson remembered a printer in the area, Earl Sprague, who not only bore the last name Sprague but also a striking resemblance to Douglass, but said that the man had never mentioned anything about a possible connection. Anderson also mentioned Kevin Douglass Greene and his mother, who have visited Rochester and with whom Anderson marched in Washington, D.C., in connection with the unveiling of the African American Civil War Memorial.⁴⁶

Douglass descendants have a strong sense of pride and connection to their famous ancestor, but they maintained little connection to the women's rights movement, especially as it is enshrined in Waterloo and Seneca Falls, after Douglass's death. Douglass himself appeared at events commemorating the convention throughout his life. He attended the first official anniversary

⁴³ Nettie Douglass, informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 18, 2007.

⁴⁴ Nettie Douglass's family is concerned about imposters claiming to be related to Douglass. She reported having been approached by one such person at a 1987 event in Baltimore, an unidentified man who has been "fraudulently marketing himself all over the country" as a Douglass descendant, including receiving money, traveling nationally on speaking engagements, and even visiting the White House.

⁴⁵ Frederick Douglass Family Foundation, "About Us," <http://www.fdff.org/who.html>.

⁴⁶ David Anderson, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 10, 2007, Rochester, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

celebration in Rochester in 1878, and he and his descendants reportedly attended NWSA and later National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) annual conventions (some of which also served as anniversary celebrations) until Douglass's death in 1895.⁴⁷ His grandson Joseph Douglass even played violin at some of these events. That Douglass continued to attend these celebrations, despite enmities between some white women reformers and African Americans over black male suffrage, speaks to his personal convictions about women's rights. Indeed, Douglass's last day alive was spent at a meeting of the National Council of Women. As the story was relayed later by Mary Church Terrell, Douglass "had expired . . . just as he was telling Mrs. Douglass [about] the cordial reception" the council had accorded him.⁴⁸

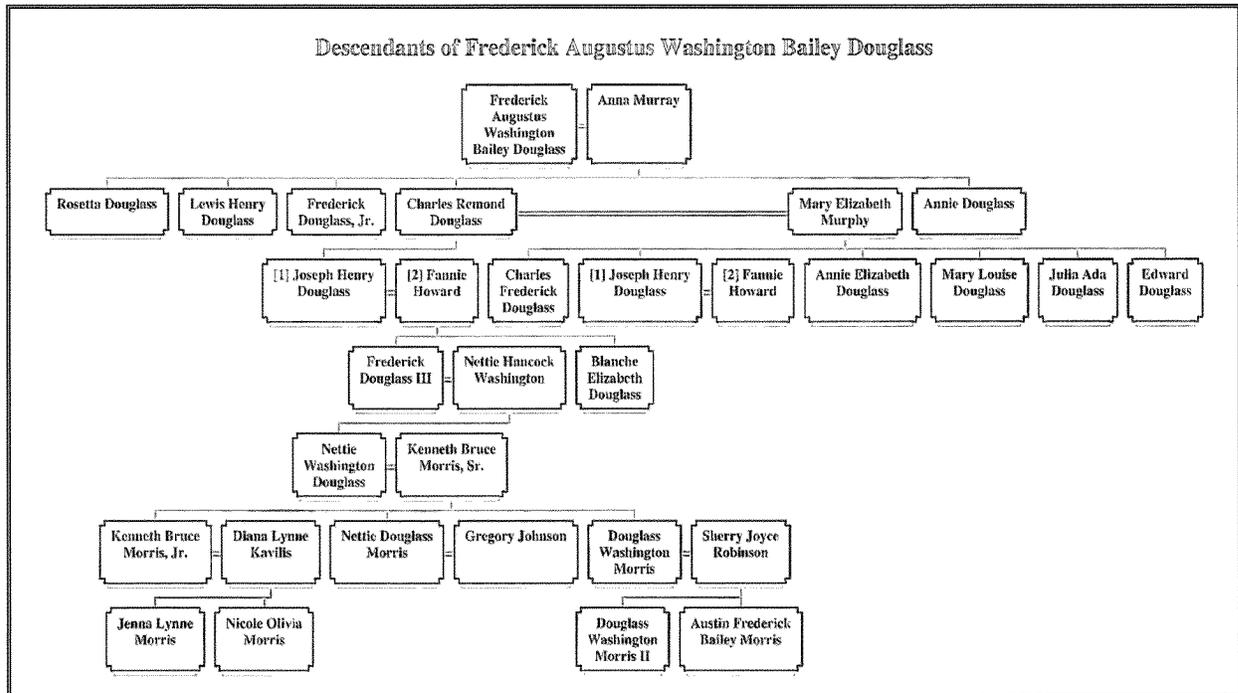


Figure 25. Douglass-Washington genealogy. Source: Frederick Douglass Family Foundation, http://www.fdff.org/images/Douglass_Washington_Tree.pdf.

Black attendance at anniversaries of the 1848 convention was highest during the nineteenth century, when celebrations were held in concert with the NWSA and NAWSA meetings in Washington, D.C., whose African American population was well established and politically active. Again, it was Douglass and members of his family who appeared most prominently in the white women's rights activists' reports of those meetings. After Douglass died, though, no

⁴⁷ NWSA (and later NAWSA) noted twice in its annual meeting minutes that Douglass's grandson, a violinist, played in an orchestra that provided music at the meetings. See, for example, "National American Convention of 1896," in *The History of Woman Suffrage [HWS]*, 6 vols., ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (New York, Fowler & Wells, 1881–1922), 4:265, "National American Convention of 1900," [Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Susan B. Anthony], *HWS*, 4:404.

⁴⁸ Mary Church Terrell, "Frederick Douglass," in *Papers Read before the Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1908 and Proceedings of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention, Held in Seneca Falls in July 1848* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1908), 57. Henry Blackwell also reported this story during the memorials portion of the 1896 NAWSA convention. See "National American Convention of 1896," *HWS*, 4:259.

evidence suggests that his descendants felt drawn to or visited Seneca Falls or Waterloo for similarly commemorative events.

Frederick Douglass Home in Anacostia

Perhaps the best-known site associated with Frederick Douglass today is the national historic site at his "Cedar Hill" house, where he moved in 1872 and in which he died in 1895.

Correspondence with Cathy Ingram, curator at Frederick Douglass National Historic Site, did not yield much information. Ingram asked her small staff about whether they perceived awareness of or interest in the connections between Douglass and the early white women's rights movement and the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention.⁴⁹ Staff response indicated that visitors to the site inquire regularly about Douglass's connection to the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls and recognize his importance to the early women's rights movement. Demographic data is unavailable about the ethnic, racial, and cultural associations of those visitors, however. Ingram could not think of any self-identified African American feminists or scholars who had expressed specific interest in Douglass because of his connection to the historical roots of the women's rights movement in the United States.⁵⁰

Mott / Wright Family

Although Lucretia Coffin Mott and her sister Martha Coffin Wright were pivotal to the planning and execution of the 1848 convention, neither of the women had ever lived in Seneca Falls or Waterloo. Nor did either have much cause to spend time there, aside from occasional visits to Quaker friends like the M'Clintocks (who were from Philadelphia, as were the Motts). Mott maintained associations with members of the Farmington Yearly Meeting, the Junius Monthly Meeting, and the Progressive Friends. Martha Wright's connection to her Quaker heritage became increasingly tenuous over the remainder of her life.⁵¹

Lucretia Coffin was born on January 3, 1793, in Nantucket, Massachusetts, the daughter of a Quaker sea captain. At age nine, Lucretia moved to Boston, where she attended public school for two years before attending and later teaching at a Friends school near Poughkeepsie, New York, where she met James Mott. Soon after Lucretia's family moved to Philadelphia in 1809, they sent for Lucretia to move there. She did so, but requested that her father make James a partner in the cut-nail factory Thomas Coffin had recently started. Coffin agreed and James also moved to Philadelphia, where he married Lucretia in April 1811. In the 1820s, Lucretia was accepted as a Friends minister and she and James embarked on a long and distinguished career of social activism. They joined the Hicksite split from the Orthodox Quakers in 1827, living by the creed that without works, faith is dead. Mott was also actively involved in organizing various antislavery activities, helping to found the American Anti-Slavery Association (and then serving as president of its auxiliary, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society [PFASS]), the American Equal Rights Association, and the Free Religious Association. She not only opened her Philadelphia home to black middle-class colleagues in the PFASS, such as Charlotte Forten, Harriet Forten Purvis, and Sarah Mapps Douglass, but also to runaway slaves after passage of the

⁴⁹ Cathy Ingram, Curator, Frederick Douglass National Historic Site, to Heather Lee Miller, email correspondence, August 29, 2007.

⁵⁰ Ingram to Miller, email, August 29, 2007.

⁵¹ For more on attendance at the various Quaker meetings, see chapter 3 in this report.



Figure 26. Lucretia Mott, c. 1860-1880. Source: Library of Congress, Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-42559 DLC (b&w film copy neg.).

1850 Fugitive Slave Act.⁵² Mott advocated women's rights through the 1848 Seneca Falls and Rochester conventions and many other events, lectures, and publications. She attended the thirtieth anniversary celebration of the convention at the Rochester First Unitarian Church in 1878. Although stories vary as to whose arm she walked out on (her nephew, Dr. E. N. Moore, or Frederick Douglass, depending on the account), attendees reportedly wept in realization that this would be the last time they saw her. Two years later, in November 1880, the eighty-seven-year-old Mott died at her home, Roadside, outside Philadelphia.⁵³ She was buried at Fair Hill Cemetery, also the resting place of her friends Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock and Robert and Harriet Forten Purvis.⁵⁴

Lucretia and James Mott had six children that survived childhood: Anna Mott Hopper (1812), Thomas Coffin Mott (1814-1817), Maria Mott Davis (1818), Thomas Coffin Mott (1823), Elizabeth Mott Cavender (1825), and Martha "Pattie" Mott Lord (1828).⁵⁵

The second Thomas Mott married his first cousin, Marianna Pelham, Martha Wright's daughter by her first husband. Parrish Kelley of East Rochester is descended from Marianna and Thomas Mott, making him a descendant of both Mott and Wright. According to another Wright descendant, Kelley attended Celebrate '98 and is quite interested in his connection to his ancestors.⁵⁶ A number of Lucretia Mott's direct descendants returned to Seneca Falls after 1848. Attending the 1948 centennial event in Seneca Falls were League of Women Voters president Anna Lord Strauss and her sister.⁵⁷ *Notable American Women* says that Strauss, born in New York City on September 20, 1899, was the daughter of Albert Strauss and Lucretia Mott's granddaughter Lucretia Lord Strauss (who was likely the daughter of Underground Railroad

⁵² Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: the Life of Lucretia Mott* (Walker and Company, 1980), 67-68, 148.

⁵³ For varying reports of Mott's departure from the event, see "The Mott Anniversary, A Delightful Evening Spent at Dr. E.M. Moore's," *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*, January 17, 1896, Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 3a (overflow), folder 9, SFHS; and Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 283n74. See also Robert McHenry, ed., *Famous American Women* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), 295; Bacon, *Valiant Friend*; and Nancy C. Unger, "Lucretia Coffin Mott," *American National Biography Online*, February 2000, <http://www.anb.org/articles/15/15-00494.html>.

⁵⁴ Historic Fair Hill Burial Ground, "Famous People Buried at Fair Hill," <http://www.fairhillburial.org/famous.php>.

⁵⁵ James D. Livingston and Sherry H. Penney, as well as Margaret Hope Bacon list Maria Mott as Lucretia and James Mott's daughter; others do not include her. See Penney and Livingston, *A Very Dangerous Woman: Martha Wright and Women's Rights* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), appendix, "Family of Martha Coffin Pelham Wright, 1806-1875," 232; and Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 45.

⁵⁶ James D. Livingston to Heather Lee Miller, email, September 21, 2007.

⁵⁷ We have not been able to determine the identity of her sister at this point.

supporters George and Martha Mott Lord).⁵⁸ Strauss had been invited alongside Elizabeth Cady Stanton's granddaughter, Nora Stanton Barney, and Carrie Chapman Catt's niece, Ruhe Linn, to be the first to accept the three-cent commemorative stamps being issued in Stanton, Catt, and Mott's honor.⁵⁹ In another example, a great granddaughter of Mott named Hope Lindsley attended dedication ceremonies for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Park in Seneca Falls in 1980, prior to the creation of the national park.⁶⁰

Lucretia Mott's sister, Martha Coffin Wright, lived in Auburn and seems to have spent little time in Seneca Falls aside from the 1848 organizing and convention.⁶¹ Instead, she hosted women's rights and abolitionist leaders at her regular home in Auburn and summer home, Willow Point, on Lake Owasco, as well as traveling often to attend and preside over various women's rights conventions and events between 1852 and her death in 1875.⁶² Martha's daughter Eliza Wright Osborne was slated to attend the 1908 anniversary event in Seneca Falls, but was unable to attend.⁶³ A "friend" read the speech she had penned about her mother in which she noted "how close [Martha] was to the hearts and councils of the leaders of the movement," as evidenced by Stanton, Anthony, and Gage's frequent mentions of her in the *History of Woman Suffrage*. "Certainly," Osborne concluded, "she is entitled to loving tribute on this anniversary and in the neighborhood where her long and unselfish service for freedom was wrought."⁶⁴

Many of Wright's descendants live in the Auburn area and have been involved with promoting her history through books, speeches, and other media. Martha Coffin Pelham Wright had seven children with her two husbands: Marianna Pelham (1825) with Peter Pelham, and Eliza Wright Osborne (1830), Matthew Tallman Wright (1832), Ellen Wright (1840), William Pelham Wright (1842), Frank Wright (1844), and Charles Edward Wright (1848) with David Wright. Of her



Figure 27. Portrait of Anna Lord Strauss, c. 1945.
Source: Harry S Truman Library and Museum.

⁵⁸ See *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary Completing the Twentieth Century*, ed. Susan Ware and Stacy Braukman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 619-20; and "Research Report on the Potential Underground Railroad Associations of the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties in Downtown Brooklyn," available online, <http://www.nycedc.com/NR/rdonlyres/38F6714B-3553-4655-ACFF-09D953741854/0/DuffieldPropertiesFinalReport.pdf>.

⁵⁹ See, for example, "'World-Wide' Effect is Centennial's Aim Chairman Tells Club," May 19, 1948; "Honoring Anniversary—Rights Stamp to Picture Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Mott," April 12, 1948; "Women's Rights Stamps to Go on Sale July 19," June 23, 1948; "Million Rights Stamps Arrive," July 16, 1948; and "Hundreds Gather for Purchase of Special Stamps," [July 18, 1948]; clippings, 100th Anniversary Celebration articles, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files. It appears that the first design for the stamp had images of Stanton and Mott, but the final design included Carrie Chapman Catt situated between Stanton on her left and Mott on her right.

⁶⁰ "10 Kilometer Race Begins Convention," *Seneca Falls Reveille*, [1979], clippings in Roberta Halden, comp., "Seneca Falls History, Chronicles of Area News and Events, Women's Suffrage," clippings notebooks, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, New York (Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL).

⁶¹ For a great look at Martha Wright's life, see Penney and Livingston, *A Very Dangerous Woman*.

⁶² Penney and Livingston, *A Very Dangerous Woman*, esp. chap. 8.

⁶³ Mary Church Terrell noted Osborne's absence in *A Colored Woman in a White World* (ed. Nellie Y. McKay [1940; reprint, New York: G. K. Hall, 1996]), 169.

⁶⁴ Eliza Wright Osborne, "Martha Wright," in *Papers Read before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the Year 1908, Proceedings of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Woman's Rights Convention Held in Seneca Falls in July 1848* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1908), 53-54.

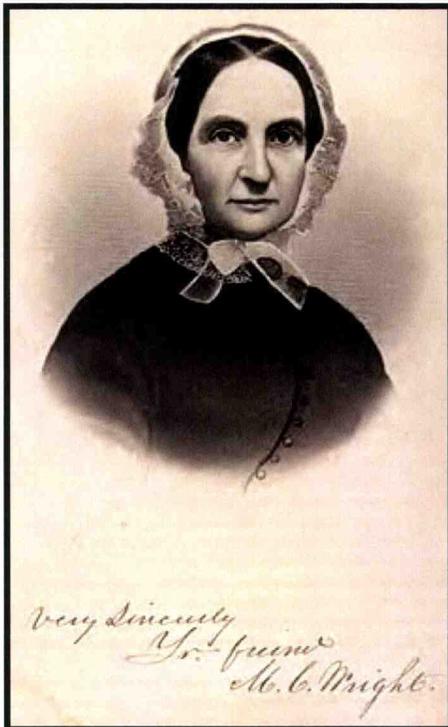


Figure 28. Martha Coffin Pelham Wright, ca. 1870. Source: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1 (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881).

children, all but two had children of their own, making her a grandmother fifteen times over. Known descendants include Devens Osborne (Pittsford, N.Y.), Frederik “Erik” Osborne (Auburn, N.Y.), and Bunny Fuller (residence unknown), who are descended through Eliza Wright Osborne, and James D. Livingston, who is descended through Frank Wright’s daughter Mabel (by his first marriage to Fanny Rosalie Pell).

Devens Osborne (b. 1922) and Erik Osborne (b. 1926) both remembered growing up in Auburn with a strong sense of connection to their family history there. Neither, however, remembered Seneca Falls figuring prominently during their youth in family activities or traditions. Devens and Erik both noted that the family’s focus since the late nineteenth century has been on Auburn and on prison reform, primarily through the reform interests of his grandfather Thomas Mott Osborne, “the pioneer and prophet of prison reform.” Today, the Osborne family continues Thomas’s lead through the Osborne Association, founded in 1931.⁶⁵

The family possesses treasured keepsakes, including portraits of Martha and various family members, a “will” young Martha wrote in 1821, and an autograph book signed on June 5, 1897, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Margaret Stanton Lawrence, and Susan B. Anthony, who were visiting Eliza Wright Osborne at Willow Point that

spring. Lawrence added, “The Rev. Anna Shaw was here too, then Susan B. sent for Mrs. [Ida Husted] Harper to come from Rochester and read us some of the chapters from Miss Anthony’s Life. The ‘cause’ [suffrage] was thoroughly discussed.”⁶⁶ Erik and Devens both pointed out how these entries, written almost fifty years after the 1848 convention, speak to the longstanding associations of the Wright family not only with early women’s rights activists like Stanton but also with those who came later to the movement, such as Shaw.⁶⁷

Devens remembered first visiting Seneca Falls for the chapel dedication in 1993, although he donated a bound volume of reports of women’s rights conventions to the park when it opened in 1980. Erik remembered driving through Seneca Falls with his family many times as a child

⁶⁵ Osborne Association, “Our Mission,” http://www.osborneny.org/osborne_history.htm. Osborne documented his experience in Auburn Prison in Thomas Mott Osborne, *Within Prison Walls: Being a Narrative during a Week of Voluntary Confinement in the State Prison at Auburn, New York* (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1914).

⁶⁶ Lawrence was undoubtedly referring to the work that Harper was doing on what would become *Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony; Including Public Addresses, Her Own Letters and Many from Her Contemporaries during Fifty Years* (Indianapolis and Kansas City: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1898–1908).

⁶⁷ Thanks to Devens Osborne and Frederik “Erik” Osborne for sharing these family heirlooms with us during the following interviews: Devens Osborne, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Pittsford, N.Y.; and Frederik “Erik” Osborne, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 13, 2007, “Willow Point,” Scipio, N.Y. Transcripts on file at Women’s Rights NHP.

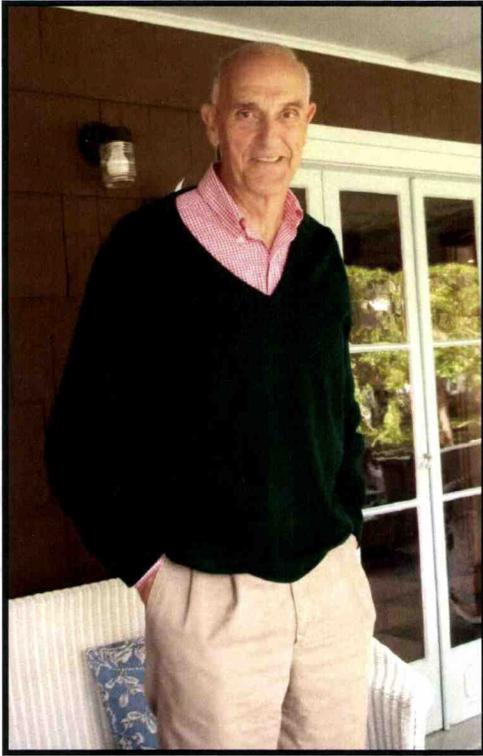


Figure 29. Frederik "Erik" Osborne, Martha Coffin Wright descendant, "Willow Point," Auburn, N.Y., September 13, 2007. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

because it was on the main east-west route. However, his first real involvement with the town came in 1948, when at age twenty-two he attended the centennial with his uncle, Charles Osborne, publisher of *Auburn Citizen Advertiser*, who had loaned a portrait of Martha to the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the celebration (Erik said that neither he nor Charles were covering the event as newspaper men).⁶⁸ Erik reports no significant memories of it apart from meeting a couple of other Wright descendants. At the time, he felt it was important to attend because his uncle had asked him to and because Martha Wright had played an important role in the early women's rights movement. Erik and his (first) wife and youngest daughter, Lucretia Mott Osborne Wells, returned to Seneca Falls for the induction of Lucretia Mott in 1983 to the National Women's Hall of Fame (NWHF), where Lucretia Osborne spoke as Mott's descendant.

James Livingston is Martha Wright's great-great-grandson through Frank Wright's daughter Mabel Wright, who married James Duane Livingston (his grandfather). Livingston does remember his grandmother, Mabel, talking fondly about her grandmother, Martha; he also had vague memories of knowing that he was related to Lucretia Mott. However,

he did not know much about Martha until his forties (sometime in the 1970s), when he started looking more closely at his ancestry more generally and found Martha's letters at Smith College, which he eventually turned into a book coauthored with Sherry Penney (his wife) and titled *A Very Dangerous Woman: Martha Wright and Women's Rights*.⁶⁹

James visited the park for the first time in the early 1980s and has been back a number of times. His three daughters are very interested in their connection to Martha, because of how her Quaker roots transformed into liberal interpretations of religion and because of her ardent women's rights activism. Other relatives of James were known suffragists in the early twentieth century, but he couldn't say if those relatives had been suffragists as a result of knowing Martha or whether they had embraced the cause separately. For James, personal interest sparked in the 1970s about the family's reform legacy fueled research that led to his book on Martha Wright. Today, his and his family's interest is added to and sustained through ongoing contact with the park at various events.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Erik Osborne, interview; and Emily Knight MacWilliams, "Centennial of the First Women's Rights Convention," typescript (may be news copy?), [1948], Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 3a (overflow), folder 9, SFHS.

⁶⁹ James Livingston and Sherry Penney, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 6, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁷⁰ Livingston and Penney, interview.

Members of Mott/Wright family (notably, the Osbornes) whose family roots are in Auburn, New York, have retained family stories and memorabilia pertaining to the women's rights activities of Lucretia Mott, Martha Coffin Wright, and their circle of friends. These descendants' use of resources related to the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls, however, has been limited to a few visits during the course of the twentieth century. According to interview subjects, members of the Mott/Wright family who left the western New York area sometime in the nineteenth century do not appear to have maintained any family ties to the Waterloo/Seneca Falls area, although the women's rights activist legacy of their family seems to have figured prominently in their family traditions.

Post Family

Isaac and Amy Kirby Post were prominent reformers in the nineteenth century, with ties to the Hicksite branch of the Quakers (from whom they later split), abolitionism, women's rights, spiritualism, and various other progressive political reforms.⁷¹ Amy Kirby was born in 1802 to a large Orthodox Quaker family in Jericho on Long Island, New York. In 1829, Amy married her sister Hannah's widower, Isaac Post, a Hicksite Quaker, in Scipio, New York, where she took over raising her niece and nephew Mary and Henry, and then had children of her own: Joseph (1830), Jacob (1834), Matilda (1841), and Willet (1847). By all accounts, Isaac and Amy had a loving partnership that nurtured individual and combined expressions of their faith. In 1842, the Posts were founding members of the WNYASS, for which Amy became a tireless organizer of antislavery fairs throughout western and central New York. Their home was a common stop for such activists as Abby Kelley, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, William C. Nell, and Sojourner Truth who traveled to Rochester. Frederick Douglass was persuaded by the Posts' "early and earnest friendship" to establish the *North Star* in Rochester in 1847. Amy's constant activism drew negative attention from the Rochester Monthly Meeting, which singled her out for investigation of Quaker rules against "mingling with 'the world's people,'" and appointed a committee to "reason" with her and "advise her in regard to her duty towards her family." Their investigation found no evidence of domestic neglect, however, even finding that members of Post's family both shared her sentiments and supported and joined in her reform activities.⁷²

As pressure from the Rochester Monthly Meeting became "exceedingly trying," Amy's life was again beset by a number of family tragedies, including the deaths of her sister Sarah's husband, Jeffries Hallowell (who left the Post family responsible for his debts), and of the Posts' only daughter, Matilda, at age three. In the aftermath, the Posts turned their attention away from the Friends (both the Rochester Monthly and Hicksite meetings) and toward the abolitionist cause with even more fervor. By 1848, Amy was also involved in women's rights as well, having started to raise questions about women's equality within the Genesee Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) as early as the 1830s. Her women's rights focus appears to have become more strident during the 1840s, with her husband even joking about her demanded "woman's right" in the family around the same time Amy and other WNYASS women sold copies of Unitarian minister Samuel J.

⁷¹ Post biographical information and all quotations here are from Nancy A. Hewitt, "Amy Kirby Post: 'Of whom it was said, "being dead, yet speaketh,"'" *University of Rochester Library Bulletin* 37 (1984), <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=4018>. Hewitt wrote one of the most important books on the subject of Rochester women's activism and is currently writing a biography of Amy Post. See Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, N.Y., 1822-1872* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).

⁷² Hewitt, "Amy Kirby Post."

May's "Sermon on the Rights of Women" at their 1846 antislavery fair. In keeping with these activities, Amy attended the 1848 women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, along with other radical Rochesterians like Catharine Fish Stebbins and Frederick Douglass, and apparently with her sister Sarah Hallowell and stepdaughter Mary H. Post Hallowell.⁷³

Amy was a prominent organizer of the women's rights convention that occurred on August 2, 1848, in Rochester. Although the Seneca Falls convention is always hailed as the "cradle" of the women's movement, the Rochester women were perhaps more radical: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were "stoutly opposed" to demands by Amy Post, Sarah Owen, and others that a woman preside over the Rochester meeting. Certainly, the Rochester meeting played an important role as the follow-up to Seneca Falls. As historian Nancy Hewitt describes the scene, Stanton and Mott "were on the verge of leaving the Convention in disgust" over the issue of a woman president, when Amy Post "assured them that by the same power by which they had resolved, declared, discussed, and debated, they could also preside at a public meeting." Convinced by her speech, the audience "filled with friends and relatives familiar with Amy's long and successful activist career, approved the proposed slate," including Abigail Bush as convention president, and they "thereby pushed the newborn woman's rights movement a giant step forward."⁷⁴

Amy's women's rights activism continued long after the Rochester convention: for example, she and Sarah Owen were involved in the formation of the Working Women's Protective Union (1848) and the short-lived Equal Rights Association (1865). The Posts continued as abolitionists, too, providing refuge to escaping slaves, including Harriet Brent Jacobs, who lived with the Posts for two years and whom Amy persuaded to write her famous autobiography.⁷⁵ The Posts were also involved in the founding of the Progressive Friends in Waterloo and the spiritualist movement begun by the Fox sisters in Hydesville, New York.

When Isaac Post died in 1872, Amy began to step back and let younger women take over the suffrage fight. Still, her contributions to women's rights and liberal religious reform continued and the new generation recognized her important role in the early years of the women's movement. Her women's rights activism was fêted at the 1878 anniversary celebration held at the First Unitarian Church in Rochester. Continuing her associations with liberal Quakers and women's rights in the two years before her death, she attended the 1887 convention of the Friends of Human Progress at West Junius and the International Council of Woman Suffragists in Washington, D.C., that was held as part of the 1888 convention of the NWSA.⁷⁶ The event boasted "the most eminent galaxy of women ever assembled upon one platform," including Lucy Stone, Frances E. Willard, Julia Ward Howe, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Clara Barton. On *Pioneers' Evening*, "about forty of the most prominent of the old workers were on the platform." Frederick Douglass and fellow African American, Robert Purvis, another

⁷³ For more on the Posts' genealogy, see University of Rochester, "Post Family [Papers]," description, <http://www.library.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=1096>.

⁷⁴ Hewitt, "Amy Kirby Post."

⁷⁵ Harriet Brent Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (West Berlin, N.J.: Townsend Press, 2004).

⁷⁶ University of Rochester, "Post Family [Papers]." This source mistakenly gives 1889 as the year in which the International Council took place, but it was 1888. For more on the NWSA event that year see, "International Council of Women—Hearing of 1888," *HWS*, 4:124-35.

lifelong abolitionist and supporter of women's rights were there, as was Amy Post. Post died less than one year later on January 29, 1889, at age 87.⁷⁷

All of the Post children—Mary Post Hallowell, and Jacob, Joseph, and Willet Post—remained in Rochester the rest of their lives. Although this study was unable to trace the exact lines of descent past their deaths in the early twentieth century, one Post descendant surfaced in the course of our research: Nancy Owen, who lives near Hornell, New York. In a phone conversation, Nancy said that her mother had been the repository of information about Nancy's great-grandmother Amy but that her family had not known much about her. When asked whether her mother had ever mentioned Amy's connection to the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls, Nancy said that either her mother did not know about it or had not thought it important enough to mention. Nancy herself felt no connections to the park to speak of, although she was quite interested in her great-grandmother's role in the Seneca Falls and Rochester meetings, as well as Post's later women's rights activities.⁷⁸

Wilbur Family

Much information is available on better-known signers with prominent families, such as the Motts, Wrights, and Stantons. For a number of the signers, though, very little is known aside from the fact that they signed the Declaration of Sentiments. One such signer was Maria Ellison Wilbur, born in 1798. By then a member of the Farmington Meeting living in Macedon, New York, Maria would have been fifty when she attended the 1848 convention. Her descendant Charles Lenhart notes that she probably traveled by train with a larger group of folks from Macedon to attend the meeting. Maria Wilbur's daughter, Gulielma Maria Wilbur, married Isaac Sutherland, who is affiliated most closely with the town of Pittsford. Maria Wilbur eventually moved to Pickwick, Minnesota, and then on to Iowa, somewhere near Council Bluffs, where she met up again with Amelia Bloomer.

Charles noted that his family knew nothing of Maria until very recently. Lenhart described in an interview and follow-up correspondence how he and his cousin Eleanor "Ellie" Van Staagen Mitchell "first rediscovered" their ancestor. Mitchell and Lenhart figured out that they were "long-lost cousins" after she tracked him down online on a genealogy site in 2003.⁷⁹ Lenhart is convinced that genealogy is essential to understanding the 1848 convention and all the networks that supported the individuals in attendance. "To know a person, you really should know the whole family," he remarked.

Chamberlain / Seymour Family

At least four members of the Chamberlain/Seymour family attended the 1848 convention: Jacob P. Chamberlain (whose home was located immediately across the street from Elizabeth Cady Stanton's House), Henry Seymour, Henry W. Seymour, and Malvina Seymour. Harrison Chamberlain (son of Jacob P. Chamberlain and Catharine Kuney Chamberlain) gave the

⁷⁷ "International Council of Women—Hearing of 1888," *HWS*, 4:136; and Wellman, *Road to Seneca Falls*, 224.

⁷⁸ Nancy Owen, informal telephone conversation with Heather Lee Miller, August 29, 2007.

⁷⁹ This section is compiled from Charles Lenhart to Heather Lee Miller, email, September 19, 2007; and Charles Lenhart, interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 14, 2007, Rochester, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

welcome address in 1908 at the sixtieth anniversary event over which Harriot Stanton Blatch presided.⁸⁰

In 1948, the Seneca Falls centennial committee invited descendants to come to the celebration. Committee president Emily Knight MacWilliams had all of the signers' names printed in local papers in order to jog the memory of people who perhaps did not realize they were related.⁸¹ At least one distant relative of a signer responded to the call. Descended from two declaration signers, Jacob P. Chamberlain and Henry Seymour, J. Seymour Chamberlain and his daughters, Jane and Anne, from Great Neck, Long Island, attended the celebration and were impressed by the historic importance of the event and the hospitality of the townsfolk.⁸² This study obtained no further information about the family.

Findings

Descendants have a range of relationships (and in some cases, a lack thereof) with Women's Rights National Historical Park and its resources. Some descendants of prominent organizers, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton or the M'Clintocks, feel a sense of connection to the history of the women's rights movement, reaching back to 1848. Other descendants have little knowledge of their connections to the 1848 convention, even some who have maintained local residences. Still others live locally and have retained family stories about their ancestors' participation in the 1848 convention, but the degree to which these people have maintained ongoing use of the resources associated with the convention varies.

Most of the descendants interviewed for this study described individualized experiences with resources the park manages or interprets, especially prior to the creation of the park. Most reported having heard stories about their family history or having known that their ancestor did something famous in a certain house in Waterloo or Seneca Falls, but these memories often are conveyed as having been less important than other aspects of the family's history in the area. Many admitted that they just were not that interested as youngsters in learning about the past or that their parents were not that interested in telling more than anecdotal stories. Ultimately, descendants' associations with park resources were not family based, nor did they generally center on resources managed by the park.

Some descendants had no associations with the 1848 convention or park resources prior to 1980, and others had associations that were not strongly expressed. Members of the Hunt family, for example, could remember relatives living in the Hunt House when they were children, but no one could remember exactly when it transferred out of family control. Their closest relationship to the house, until the park acquired it, was to drive by occasionally with children or visitors. More common among the descendants who contributed to this study were experiences like those

⁸⁰ Harrison Chamberlain, "Welcome Address, in Johnson Opera House, May 27th, 11:30 A.M., Harriot S. Blatch, Presiding," in *Papers Read before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the Year 1908, Proceedings of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Woman's Rights Convention Held in Seneca Falls in July 1848* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1908), 33.

⁸¹ "Workers Seek Descendants of Early 'Rights' Leaders for Centennial at Falls," clipping, June 7, 1948; and "To Mark 100th Anniversary—Falls Group to Commemorate— First Women's Rights Par-----," January 21, 1948, both in C.2, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

⁸² "Centennial Visitor Praises and Thanks All for Grand Visit Here," clipping, July 28, 1948, Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 2, Folder 1a, SFHS.

of Martha Wright's great-grandsons Devens and Erik Osborne, for whom the link between Wright and Seneca Falls or Waterloo, specifically, was very tenuous.

Although many individuals interviewed felt personal connections to certain park resources, they did not have connections as cohesive family units to ongoing activities at park sites. Individual family members possess direct, diffuse, or discontinuous associations with the park, with people in the third category making up a majority of those interviewed for this project. Discontinuous associations are those in which descendants rediscover associations with an aspect of their family's history, "often . . . through research or other activity at the park itself."⁸³ The park has invited family members to participate in events and in the "Hunt for the Hunts," which encouraged family members to share historical information about the family with the park. As a result, many descendants see the park as a sort of co-curator of information about their particular relative's participation in the 1848 convention.

As with Native Americans, African Americans, and various religious groups, much current knowledge among individual descendants about their familial connections to the 1848 women's rights convention is recent and attributable in part to the creation of the park and its ongoing outreach activities. Research currently underway at the park to track down living relatives of convention attendees will likely reveal the existence of many additional family members, some of whom may not have previously known of their connections to the convention and the park's resources. Simultaneously, members of the park staff have made tremendous efforts to identify, locate, and reach out to descendants who no longer reside in the area, in addition to fostering ties with those descendants who live near the park. These efforts have educated descendants who had little or no previous knowledge about their family's participation in the 1848 convention and have created new understandings and uses of park resources.

⁸³ Quoted in Cathy Stanton, "Cultures in Flux: New Approaches to 'Traditional Association' at Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site," Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Hopewell Furnace NHS, 141, draft report provided to HRA by Chuck Smythe, Northeast Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Boston, Massachusetts, 2007.

Chapter 6: Park Neighbors

Introduction and Methodology

The visitor center, Wesleyan Chapel, and park area of the Women's Rights National Historical Park (NHP) occupies most of a city block in the Village of Seneca Falls on a main east-west arterial, State Route 5/20. Also in Seneca Falls are the Stanton and Chamberlain Houses. In Waterloo, the Hunt House as well as the M'Clintock House and adjacent Young property make up park resources. These resources were in use by local residents for the majority of their existence. Local residents old enough to remember the time before the park's creation often associate these resources with their pre-park uses. For example, residents interviewed for this study clearly remember the Wesleyan Chapel site as the location of the theater and laundromat. Park neighbors mostly recognize and appreciate the historical and economic value of the resources that the park now manages and interprets. Still many locals—from a variety of perspectives—report having felt (and sometimes still feeling) ambivalence about the park being located in their town and the affect that its creation had on the resources in their midst.

Seneca Falls and Waterloo are home to a wide variety of people from different backgrounds. As with most of the categories of people this study examined, park neighbors' individual experiences and interpretations of park resources are more significant than organized group use of the resources. For the purposes of this chapter, park neighbors comprise local (i.e., physically situated in or within close proximity to Seneca Falls and Waterloo) people and entities, including ethnic groups, civic leaders, business owners, and local organizations, such as the Seneca Falls Historical Society.

First, the chapter describes how the two most prominent local ethnic groups—Irish and Italians—settled Seneca Falls and what role they may or may not have played in the 1848 convention, its commemorations throughout the twentieth century, and eventually, the creation of the park. This mostly historical discussion sets the context for understanding what these ethnic communities looked like in 1980 when the park arrived, as a means to better understanding contemporary associations among members of these groups as either individuals or ethnic groups. We then move to a discussion of local historians and historical societies, most notably the Seneca Falls Historical Society, which has played a substantial role in archiving and promoting the history of the 1848 convention and the role county residents played in the abolitionist and women's rights reform movements. The chapter then provides an overview of the connections local businesses and individuals have had to the resources the park manages. (For more on the associations held by specific local feminist organizations and individuals with the park's resources and the history it interprets, see chapter 7.)

Interview Methodology

We conducted interviews, both formal and informal, with a wide variety of community members. Among these individuals were people who spoke to us as town residents, as self-identified members of ethnic groups, as business owners, and as members of various local societies and organizations. A number of the Italian women we interviewed had been presidents of the SMS auxiliary and therefore had good insight into the organization both as women and as Italians. Interviewees variously considered themselves to be part of one or all of these groups and spoke

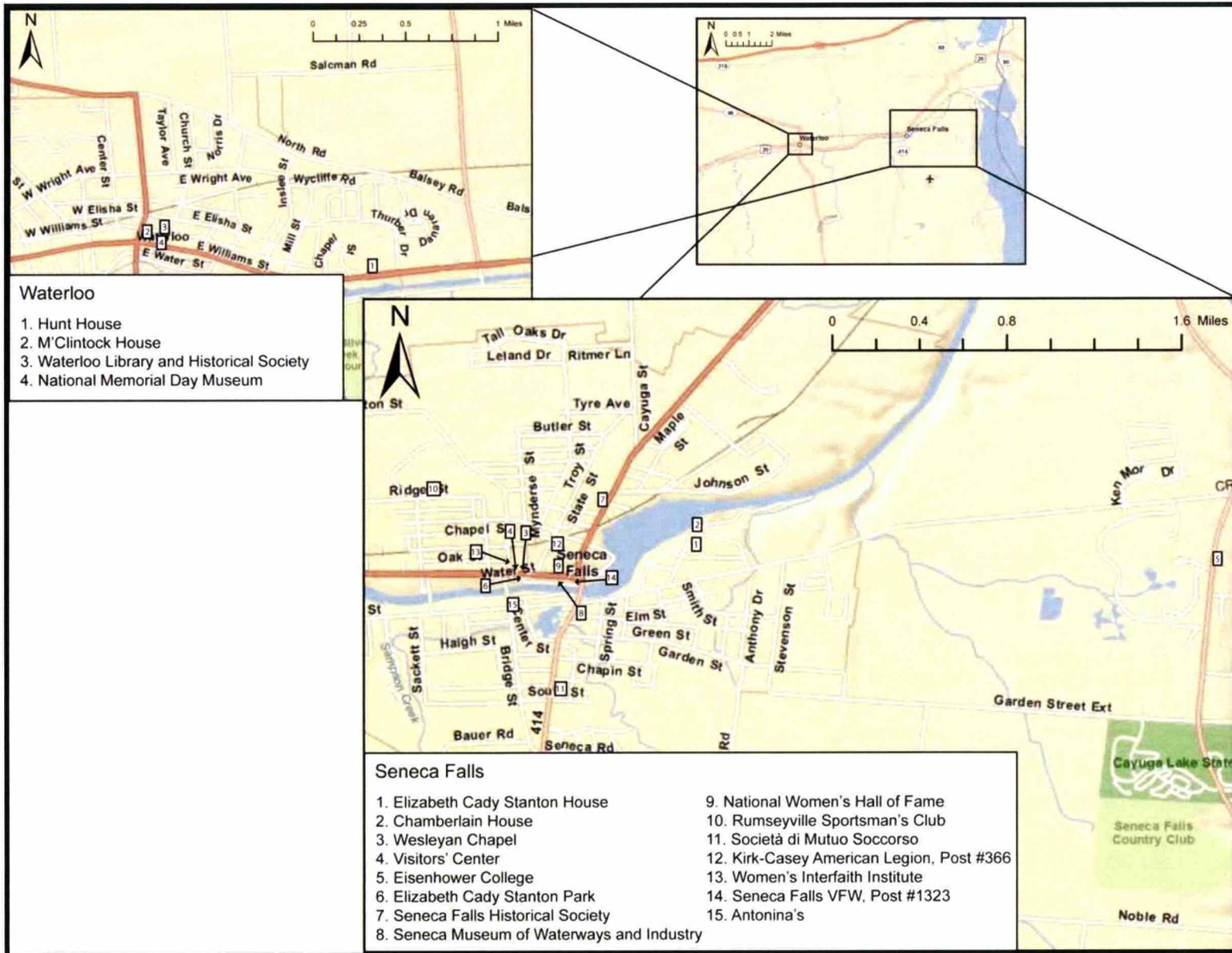


Figure 30. Location map for areas addressed in this chapter.

as such, sometimes emphasizing one affiliation more than another when addressing particular topics. As with the other groups we interviewed, snowball sampling allowed us to meet and interview additional community members.

Participant observation came in the form of spending extended periods of time participating in dinners, cocktail hours, cultural events, and other town activities with locals, including public servants, local historians, business owners, activists, and park staff and volunteers. People with whom we conducted formal interviews are listed in Appendix C. Much of the content of this chapter pertaining to park neighbors, however, is based on less formal observations by the researchers and is captured in research notes.

Irish Americans in Seneca Falls

Early Immigration and Settlement

Young, single Irish men first arrived in the Finger Lakes area between 1817 and 1825 to work on the Erie Canal. They were eventually joined by relatives and friends. Irish immigration to the United States between 1821 and 1850 totaled approximately one million persons. Spurred by the infamous potato famines of the 1840s, which killed almost one million people in Ireland between 1845 and 1850, nearly one and a quarter million Irish immigrated to America between 1847 and 1854.¹ During this latter period, Irish women began to outnumber Irish men among those who made the journey to America.² These were “horrendous” years for Ireland, but as in many American communities at that time, the Irish in Seneca Falls held out “helping hands[,] and prayers reached out from our parish from friends and relatives established here, and many Irish men and women left their native land to find freedom and employment in Seneca Falls,” according to local historian Margaret Haley Leonard.³

The influx of immigrants, especially during the latter half of the 1840s, rapidly increased the size of the Irish Catholic community in Seneca Falls.⁴ By 1850, the federal census recorded 162 Irish heads of household in Seneca Falls, with many more women, children, and boarders comprising a significant Irish population in the town.⁵ By the mid-1850s, following this huge increase, the Irish population had begun to congregate in what was then known as the Sackett District and later became the Third Ward.⁶ (See Table 6.) As early as 1831, Catholics were meeting for worship in Seneca Falls and the first Catholic Mass was given in Seneca Falls in 1835. The next year, the town’s first Catholic church, St. Jerome, was consecrated in 1836 on Swaby Street. To accommodate a rapidly expanding congregation, in 1848, a new Catholic church was built at the corner of Bayard and Toledo streets, which was renamed and rededicated that year as St.

¹ Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 31. Both the Seneca Falls Historical Society and Seneca Falls Waterways Museum have displays on the ethnic heritage of the town, particularly its Irish and Italian roots. The Seneca Falls Historical Society also conducted an Italian Heritage Project.

² Diner, *Erin's Daughters*, xiv.

³ Margaret Haley Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Self-published, 1979), 25.

⁴ Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 25.

⁵ Handwritten list attributed to 1850 federal census, “Seneca Falls—Irish in Seneca Falls,” Drawer 3, Women’s Rights NHP, Research Files.

⁶ Women’s Rights National Historical Park, *Draft General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: U.S. Department of the Interior, June 1985), 14, and 1856 map.

Thomas. The Catholic population continued to grow after the 1850s, and an 1876 history of Seneca County numbered Catholics in the county at 2,300, the majority of whom were likely Irish. St. Patrick's school opened in 1879 to provide a parochial education for the area's Irish Catholic children.⁷ The cornerstone of the current "Norman Gothic" or "neo-Gothic" church was laid three days before the 1929 stock market crash.⁸

Table 6. Foreign-born Population and Native-born of Foreign Parentage of Seneca County, New York, 1830^a-1960.⁹

Year	Foreign born, Ireland	Foreign born, Italy	Foreign born, Total	Native born, foreign parentage	Native born, mixed parentage	Total Seneca County Population
1830	X	X	72	X	X	21,041
1840	X	X	X	X	X	24,874
1850	(1,362)	(1)	X	X	X	25,441
1860	(2,304)	1	3,876	X	X	28,138
1870	2,362 (2,360)	0 (5)	3,845	8,543 ^b	N/A	27,823
1880	2,377 (2,329)	4 (3)	3,964	X	X	29,278
1890	2,091	14	3,700	5,217 ^b	N/A	28,227
1900	1,590 (1,624)	72 (73)	3,355	5,509 ^b	N/A	28,114
1910	1,111 (1,128)	720 (723)	3,526	3,270 ^c	1,727	26,972
1920	635 (640)	762 (765)	2,932	3,479	1,681	24,735
1930	342 ^d (323)	817 (472)	2,778	3,768	1,829	24,983
1940	195 ^e	757	2,364	X	X	25,732
1950	224 ^f	162	2,556	X	X	29,253
1960	493	2,129	6,630	X	X	31,984

^a The census does not separate out foreign born persons prior to 1830.

^b Several censuses list those with one or both parents of foreign parentage together in the same category.

^c Of this number, 1,752 individuals were born to parents from Ireland, while 161 individuals were born to parents from Italy. The 1910 census is the only census data which separated out these groups, and these numbers do not include individuals born to one Irish or Italian born parent, nor those of Irish or Italian descent whose parents were native born.

^d Irish Free State.

^e Irish Free State and Northern Ireland.

^f Ireland and Northern Ireland.

X = Data not collected as part of the decennial census.

N/A = Data not available through "Historical Census Browser," but may have been collected as part of the decennial census.

⁷ Overview compiled from *History of Seneca County, New York*, 1876, 114, clipping on file in folder "Seneca Falls—Irish in Seneca Falls," Drawer 3, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files; Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*; and *A History of Seneca Falls, N.Y. (1779-1862)* (1862; repr., Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1975), 15, clippings on file, "Seneca Falls—Irish in Seneca Falls," Drawer 3, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

⁸ Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 9. Leonard calls the church "Norman Gothic," but Kim Lovejoy applies the "neo-Gothic" label in her "American Religious Buildings," *Common Bond* 12, no. 1 (June 1998), <http://www.sacredplaces.org/PSP-InfoClearingHouse/articles/American%20Religious%20Building2.htm> (accessed December 27, 2007).

⁹ Census data compiled from "Historical Census Browser," from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. Electronic resource, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/> (figures not in parenthesis); Ancestry.com, *1850-1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, Utah: The Generations Network, Inc., 2004-2005), Electronic resource, <http://www.ancestry.com/> (figures in parenthesis).



Figure 31. St. Patrick's Catholic Church, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Source: www.cardcow.com.

Irish American Participation in the 1848 Women's Rights Convention

Margaret Haley Leonard, historian of St. Patrick's parish, described 1848 as an "exciting, tumultuous, and prophetic year in our town as throughout the nation." Leonard provides a long description of the 1848 women's rights convention, deeming it important not only to women eventually gaining suffrage but also to putting the name *Seneca Falls* on the international map. But Leonard draws no specific connections between Irish Catholics in Seneca County and convention attendance or reform involvement (none of the main organizers of the 1848 convention was Catholic), nor does Leonard mention any specifically Catholic or Irish interest in such social reforms of the time as women's rights or abolition.¹⁰

Evidence exists that some young Irish women may have attended the 1848 women's rights convention, but exactly who and how many of the convention attendees were Irish is unknown. Judith Wellman says that only one, fourteen-year-old Susan Quinn, can be said definitively to have come from an Irish background.¹¹ Another young woman, nineteen-year-old Charlotte Woodward, might also have been of Irish extraction.¹² Her experiences likely would have resonated with other young women who worked in the Seneca Falls manufactories or as piecework laborers in their homes. Charlotte explained that many young women like her were silently rebellious about the work they were forced to do "secretly, in the seclusion of our bedchambers, because all society was built on the theory that men, not women, earned money,

¹⁰ Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 24–25, quotations on 24.

¹¹ Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Women's Rights Convention* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 205.

¹² Andrew Sinclair, *The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 59–60. An examination of the 1850 Census on Ancestry.com does not lend any additional insight as to Charlotte Woodward's ethnic origins.

and that men alone supported the family.”¹³ This kind of discontent might have drawn young women to the convention. It is not clear whether they would have had the independence within their families or opportunity to leave work and attend.

Irish American Participation in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Social Reform Movements

By the 1890s, Seneca Falls' Irish community was well established and, for the most part, Irish immigrants seemed to have assimilated well into society. Images and descriptions of Irish social organizations show that as their economic and social stability grew in the community, they also became increasingly active in reform efforts and mutual benefit societies.¹⁴ The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, Branch No. 28, formed in 1880 in Seneca Falls. Division No. 1 of the Ancient Order of the Hibernians (an Irish freedom association that dates itself to 1565) was founded in Seneca Falls in 1893 and claimed 125 members that year. Its membership had doubled twenty years later.¹⁵ The Knights of Columbus, Seneca Falls Council No. 222, was founded in 1897 and was composed of men with exclusively Irish and Anglo surnames.¹⁶

Irish Catholic women's organizations in the Seneca Falls area were either less common or less prominent publicly than were those for men. The short-lived Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association existed sometime in the late nineteenth century, but little is known about its founding date, purpose, or membership aside from a photo of fourteen unnamed members of the society.¹⁷ Although the ethnic background of these women cannot be discerned from the image, the majority of them were likely Irish, as most people of other ethnicities during that period were not Catholic, and evidence indicates that very few first-generation female Italian immigrants from the 1890s or 1900s would have participated in such public organizations because of language and cultural barriers.¹⁸ The Knights of Columbus Ladies' Auxiliary was organized in 1949, by which time Irish and Italian women (reflecting the composition of the men's group) were likely working together to fulfill the group's mission “to assist the Council and to promote social interest among its members, to perform charitable works, to inspire a close social relationship and a strong, enduring feeling among the mothers, wives, widows, and daughters” of the men's organization. In 1979, the president of the auxiliary was Mary Suffredini and its secretary was Margaret Capacci.¹⁹ Seneca Falls native Mary Norman noted the presence of

¹³ Sinclair, *Better Half*, 60.

¹⁴ Edgar Luderne Welch, *1906 Grip's Historical Souvenir of Seneca Falls* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Grip's, 1906), 115, 125–26.

¹⁵ Welch, *1906 Grip's Historical Souvenir of Seneca Falls*, 125–26; and Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 43–45. For more on the general history of the Ancient Order of the Hibernians, see Mike McCormack, “National History of the Ancient Order of the Hibernians,” <http://www.aoh.com/history.html>.

¹⁶ Welch, *1906 Grip's Historical Souvenir of Seneca Falls*, 133. For more on the Knights of Columbus, first organized in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1881, see <http://www.kofc.org/un/eb/en/about/history/index.html>.

¹⁷ The photograph appears to date from the 1890s or 1900s, judging from the attire. Welch, *1906 Grip's Historical Souvenir of Seneca Falls*, 58.

¹⁸ Susan Barber Bove, *The Early Italian Immigrants to Seneca Falls, New York (1884–1930)* (Canandaigua, N.Y.: W. F. Humphrey, 1983), 23, 25.

¹⁹ Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 114–15, quotation on 114.

another organization, the Catholic Daughters, which put on raffles and sales to help purchase altar cloths and other items for the church.²⁰

Little is known about whether Irish and Catholic (and Irish Catholic) women living in Seneca Falls participated actively in the growing suffrage activism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which often harked back to the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, or in the commemorative events that took place in Seneca Falls, particularly in 1908, 1923, and 1948.

At the same time, Irish men also expressed distaste for the idea of women voting, particularly Irish women. Irish men had “learned to operate the machinery of politics and government,” and feared that women’s votes would overturn their dominance by “clean[ing] up the corruption fostered by city machines.”²¹ Irish men, too, feared that their wives’, sisters’, and daughters’ independence in America would lead to their independence at the polls, drawing their votes away from the Irish Catholic voting bloc. Although the likelihood is that Irish Catholic women would have voted similarly to Irish Catholic men, some Irish men believed that the women would be swayed by women’s rights rhetoric to abandon their countrymen at the polls. In some predominantly Irish enclaves, however, Irish men believed that women’s votes would only strengthen their voting bloc.²²

Some opposition to Irish women’s suffrage also came from two relatively unlikely sources—suffragists and Irish women. Some of the later nineteenth century suffragists, largely middle-class Protestant women, were anti-Irish and anti-Catholic, much like their male counterparts: “they disliked the Catholic newcomers and feared papal influences as intensely as most Americans at the time.”²³ By the 1920s, nativist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan focused their ire on “hyphenated” Americans, such as Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, and, of course, African-Americans, fanning the flames of hatred and violence against any group of people believed not to be “American” enough.²⁴

As the nineteenth century progressed, Irish women, too, seem to have been less interested in obtaining the vote than women of some other ethnicities. They were aware that when it came to home and family life, they often had the upper hand. As a result, they “felt no need for politics and political games. That turf belonged to men, and with hardly any exceptions Irish women believed that it constituted a less important sphere than their own.”²⁵ In other cases, Irish Catholic women did not want to involve themselves in the other causes espoused by the women’s movement, some of which included birth control, divorce, and other matters that were antithetical to their Catholic sensibilities.²⁶

²⁰ Mary Norman, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women’s Rights NHP.

²¹ Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 142.

²² Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 142–45.

²³ Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 147.

²⁴ Leonard (*History of St. Patrick’s Parish*, 59) only briefly mentions the Ku Klux Klan and does not make specific references to whom the group targeted in Seneca Falls. David Nicandri noted that the Ku Klux Klan raided the Italian American neighborhood known as Rumseyville in the 1920s (Nicandri, informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, June 13, 2007). See also Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

²⁵ Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 150.

²⁶ Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 152. Irish women’s work may, however, have contributed to the women’s movement in an indirect fashion. At least one author suggests that during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the prevalence

At least one account from a contemporary Seneca Falls resident suggests the existence of antisuffrage sentiment among Irish women in town, both in the 1840s and in the early twentieth century. Mary Norman said that if Irish women in the 1840s were involved in women's rights activism, they had to be "very, very careful," or they might be excommunicated or fired. Norman's mother Zita Burke had worried about the same thing in the early twentieth century and, fearing for her job, asked permission from her boss at Gould's to participate in the 1919 suffrage march.²⁷

Mary Norman's mother also told her that many of the Irish women in town were so adamantly against the women's rights movement that they got nasty, and swore, and threw orange peels at the suffragists in their midst in the early twentieth century. Zita knew of other Irish girls working at Gould's in the offices who did not participate in the 1919 women's rights parade because their mothers opposed suffrage and because they feared losing their jobs. Norman thought that these women were "terrified" that the suffrage movement would remove them from the pedestal on which men had so long placed them and that they would lose their status as wives and mothers. On the one hand, Irish women's resistance stemmed from their conservative Catholic beliefs that women's place was in the home. On the other hand, however, Norman said that she had never once heard a Catholic priest denounce women's rights from the pulpit as Protestant ministers had done in Stanton's town.

Contemporary Irish American Connections to the Park

The only Irish American person that this study revealed to have participated directly in the women's rights movement of the 1970s or the promotion of women's rights history in Seneca Falls or the creation of the park was St. Patrick's member Mary Curry, who living residents of Seneca Falls reported as Irish. And even though she was Irish, her ethnic heritage does not seem to be the source of her interest in the 1848 convention. From 1969 to 1970, Curry chaired the Interfaith Laymen's Association, which had opened to female members in the 1960s.²⁸ In 1978, Curry set up a card table on the sidewalk at the corner of Fall and Mynderse streets near the commemorative plaque to draw attention to the 130th anniversary of the 1848 First Women's Rights Convention. After working tirelessly through the founding of the park in 1980 and its early years, she returned to the corner at significant events and anniversaries to educate residents about the convention's importance.²⁹

Seneca Falls residents of Irish American heritage with whom HRA spoke said that they maintain a sense of connection to their Irish lineage. However, there is no organized Irish heritage society such as the Hibernians remaining in town (at least none that this study could find), and there appears not to be any organized group of self-identified Irish people who make use of the resources managed by Women's Rights National Historical Park. The interviews revealed a

of servants and maids in middle-class households opened up the public sphere to middle-class wives. Many of the servants and maids were Irish women, and their presence in households gave the mistresses of the household much more time and leisure to participate in social reform movements, including the women's movement. See Diane M. Hotten-Somers, "Relinquishing and Reclaiming Independence: Irish Domestic Servants, American Middle-Class Mistresses, and Assimilation, 1850-1920," in *New Directions in Irish-American History*, ed. Kevin Kenny (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 228.

²⁷ Comments attributed to Norman are Norman, interview.

²⁸ Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 90.

²⁹ Curry shows up often in early news articles about the park. See, for example, "Curry, Who Remembered, Will Rededicate Plaque," *Seneca Falls Reveille*, July 29, 1993, 11, 13.

number of individuals who have an interest in the park and its resources, but we found no evidence that Irish Americans rely on park resources for their sense of group identity.

Italian Americans in Seneca Falls

Early Immigration and Settlement

Beginning in the 1850s, Italian laborers came to the United States largely from northern Italy, leaving behind their families and often planning to return once they had earned enough to purchase a house and land in Italy. Work was rumored to be plentiful in America and better paid than similar work in Italy. The initial immigrants were almost all men, though some of these early immigrants later sent for their wives and children to join them in America, abandoning their former plan of a return to Italy.³⁰ Charles Fornesi, the first Italian to arrive in Seneca Falls, was one such individual. He arrived in America in 1874, worked on the railroads near Syracuse, and, after hearing about opportunities in Seneca Falls, made his way there in 1884.³¹ Fornesi began in Seneca Falls as a street vendor, selling fruit and roasted peanuts, and eventually saved enough money to build a store in 1889. He later worked as an agent for a steamship company, helping arrange passage for family members of Italians already in American and for other Italians who wished to come.³²

Other immigrants followed Fornesi from the Tuscany region of northern Italy, and many settled in Seneca Falls based on Fornesi's recommendation of the area as one that offered economic opportunities for Italians.³³ Those who arrived in this initial wave of immigration tended to be more prosperous than those who arrived later, giving them more options as to the areas in which they settled in America. Over time, word of the prosperity of Italians immigrants who had settled in America reached their homeland, and Italians from all parts of that country began to make their way to America. Those from southern Italy, in particular, often looked to America as a place where they could escape from the overcrowded and poor conditions they experienced in Italy.³⁴

Between 1909 and 1915, large numbers of Italians made their way to Seneca Falls, largely from southern Italy. Many of the men went to work at one of two pump-manufacturing plants in Seneca Falls, Gould's Manufacturing Company and Rumsey and Company. Others worked as painters, masons, and carpenters, catering to the needs of a rapidly growing community. There were also business owners and mill workers among the Italian immigrants in Seneca Falls, but the majority took jobs in the growing pump industry.³⁵

Discord existed between the earlier northern Italian immigrants and the later southern Italian immigrants, particularly in the first few years after the southerners arrived in Seneca Falls. Prior

³⁰ Alberta Eiseman, *From Many Lands* (New York: Atheneum 1970), 111–13.

³¹ Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 38–39; Salvatore Mondello, *A Sicilian in East Harlem* (Youngstown, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2005), 138,

http://books.google.com/books?id=d6DzfvSx9kQC&dq=seneca+falls+Italians&source=gbs_summary_s&cad=0.

³² Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 54.

³³ For multiple, brief histories of the first Italian families in Seneca Falls, see Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 47–53.

³⁴ Eiseman, *From Many Lands*, 111.

³⁵ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 49–53.

to 1870, Italy had been “a checkerboard of different states with ever-shifting borders.”³⁶ Though Americans might have viewed all of the immigrants as “Italians,” those who came from different regions did not necessarily feel that they had anything in common with their supposed countrymen. The two groups tended to settle in different parts of Seneca Falls—some near Center Street and others near Rumsey Street, in what came to be known as Rumseyville. Second-generation Italian American Anna Vergamini described the Italian American community in the Third Ward as being “very closed,” noting that she didn’t even know there were Italians on the north side of the river in Rumseyville. The “elitist” northern Italians looked down on southern Italians, whom they believed to be peasants.³⁷ Eventually, the northern and southern Italians became a more united group, but this generally did not occur until the second generation.³⁸

Just as the Italians did not live in harmony with their own countrymen, residents of Seneca Falls were not especially welcoming. Many non-Italian Seneca Falls homeowners were reluctant to sell a house to an Italian family. When an Italian family did purchase a house in town, many of the non-Italian residents of that neighborhood would then put their homes up for sale, and vacate the area. This contributed to the transformation of the Center Street and Rumsey Street areas into the Italian neighborhoods of Seneca Falls.³⁹

The Italian immigrants also came into conflict with the Irish who had settled in Seneca Falls. The two ethnic groups first came into contact with one another at St. Patrick’s Catholic Church, which Irish immigrants had established. Many Italian Catholics already felt alienated by the church in Italy, which had allied itself with feudal landowners and counted itself among those landowners.⁴⁰ Others who wished to attend Mass and other church activities found that the Irish Catholics had different religious practices and encountered difficulties of language. Despite the fact that Latin was used during Catholic services, the Latin spoken by Irish priests sounded very different from that of the Italian priests to which the immigrants were accustomed.⁴¹ Irish priests were of little help to Italian Catholics, particularly as they rejected many of the Italian traditions of worship.⁴²

In addition to conflict due to differences in their practice of Catholicism, Irish and Italian immigrants also clashed over secular matters. Anna Vergamini noted that Irish workers had a reputation for failing to show up to work after a weekend (particularly when alcohol was involved), while Italian workers were seen as more reliable in their work attendance. As such, employers favored Italian workers over their Irish counterparts. Vergamini also noted her perception as a child that the Irish “hated the Italians” and saw them as “the plague.” The Irish of Seneca Falls were among those who moved out of their old neighborhoods as the Italians moved into those same neighborhoods.⁴³

While the exact number of Italians and Italian Americans in Seneca Falls is difficult to determine, it appears that their numbers grew rapidly in the early years of the twentieth century

³⁶ Eiseman, *From Many Lands*, 109.

³⁷ Anna Vergamini, informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 25, 2007.

³⁸ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 6, 21; and Mondello, *A Sicilian in East Harlem*, 138–39.

³⁹ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 21.

⁴⁰ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 32–33.

⁴¹ Eiseman, *From Many Lands*, 122.

⁴² Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), xl–xli.

⁴³ Vergamini, interview.

and then settled into a slower rate of increase. At the beginning of the twentieth century, even prior to the large influx of Italian immigrants to Seneca Falls between 1909 and 1915, there were 200 to 400 Italians in the town, which had a total population around 6,500.⁴⁴ By 1914, the numbers of Italians had tripled to more than 900, while the population of Seneca Falls remained near 6,500.⁴⁵ By 1925, there were more than 1,200 Italian residents of Seneca Falls, comprising approximately one-quarter of the population of the town.⁴⁶ In the 1980s, third-generation Italian Americans were said to comprise more than half of the population of Seneca Falls.⁴⁷ The 2000 federal census reported 27.9 percent of the population of Seneca Falls being of Italian ancestry.⁴⁸ This number probably underrepresents the actual percentage of people with some Italian heritage.⁴⁹ Locals today report that intermarriage has rendered residents an admixture of a number of ethnicities, but the general sense is that a large number of people still have Italian roots.

Italian American Culture

As Italian immigrants settled in Seneca Falls, they gradually adopted the ways of their new home. Some early immigrants assimilated into American culture rapidly, partially due to their distance from other Italians. In Seneca Falls in particular, before the mass wave of immigration between 1909 and 1915, many Italian men learned English quickly and could converse with their English-speaking neighbors.⁵⁰ Later immigrants learned English as a necessity—whether they worked or attended school with English speakers, knowledge of the language was essential to their success. Younger generations of Italians, both male and female, many of whom had never lived in Italy, assimilated even more quickly into American culture and often shunned the culture of their parents in favor of being more American.⁵¹

For first-generation Italian women, however, the assimilation process was rarely quick. An Italian mother's domain was the home, and she was responsible for all of the daily concerns of her household and the well-being of her family members. She had little to no contact with English-speaking neighbors. She might learn some English from her family members, but doing so was not necessary to her success. It was only when a woman was widowed that she might need to communicate with English speakers, and many Italian widows found themselves in need of someone who could act as an interpreter. Even after the loss of her husband, an Italian woman still remained largely isolated from the world around her, as friends and neighbors of the family would help to look after her.⁵²

⁴⁴ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 20, 53; and Welch, *1906 Grip's Historical Souvenir of Seneca Falls*, 2. Information in Welch must be taken with a grain of salt, but the photographs are revealing.

⁴⁵ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 17, 55.

⁴⁶ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 17; and "The Cayuga and Seneca Canal," 3, <http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/history/Cayuga%20and%20Seneca%20Canal.doc>.

⁴⁷ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 2.

⁴⁸ "Seneca Falls, N.Y.—Historic Gateway to the Finger Lakes," <http://www.senecafalls.com/economic-demographics.php>.

⁴⁹ See Table 6 for additional census figures. The figures in Table 6 are for the entirety of Seneca County and do not always separate out Italians from other countries of origin.

⁵⁰ Mondello, *A Sicilian in East Harlem*, 138.

⁵¹ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 23; and Eiseman, *From Many Lands*, 128.

⁵² Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 22, 23, 25, 32.

In Seneca Falls, by 1915, a few women could be found working as teachers, clerks, or stenographers—careers traditionally associated with women, though not necessarily with Italian women. Some women also worked in family businesses. The number of Italian women working outside of the home was small,⁵³ and they were likely women of the younger generations. In the 1930s, Italian American women formed an auxiliary of the Società di Mutuo Soccorso club, which gave them a measure of public interaction and social contact. Vergamini is listed as a founding member along with Teresa Avveduti, Adele Nicandri, and Adele and Teresa Giovannini, whose families still live in Seneca Falls.⁵⁴ The Rumseyville Sportsmen's Club was another organization with primarily social goals, and this organization still operates today. The women's auxiliary of the Rumseyville Sportsmen's Club was founded in the 1950s.⁵⁵

Italian Americans largely continued their forebears' practice of Catholicism. As noted above, many Italians had been disillusioned with the Catholic Church in Italy because of the church's ties to landowners and the very conditions which immigrants had hoped to escape. Irish domination of the Catholic Church in Seneca Falls also served to alienate Italian Catholics. Though the Italian immigrants to Seneca Falls were decidedly Catholic, they preferred to practice their religion in their own way—typically in private rather than at Mass. In Seneca Falls, visits by Italian priests were rare, but they marked occasions when the Italian Catholics would come together for Mass, often held at a location other than St. Patrick's Church.⁵⁶

Italian Americans formed organizations for social, beneficial, and other purposes. The Società di Mutuo Soccorso (SMS), which means “society of mutual aid,” was established in 1904 and incorporated in 1906 with about fifty members. While the group was primarily founded to assist Italian families in need, it was also a social club that held dances, picnics, and other events as a form of fundraising for their organization. Membership was (and still is, despite protests from current members⁵⁷) restricted to men whose fathers were or had been members. The women's auxiliary did not form until 1931, and while its purpose claimed to be “to promote mutual aid for members, the men's society, and the community,” its main function was to provide housekeeping services for the social rooms of SMS's Ovid Street hall.⁵⁸ The SMS band, founded in 1913, played for festive and somber occasions both within the Italian community and for other groups in town.⁵⁹ In the year of the SMS band's founding, two Italians were a part of the orchestra that played at the Ancient Order of Hibernians' annual banquet. The SMS is still active in Seneca Falls, and it is jointly responsible for the annual St. Anthony's Italian Festival, along with the Rumseyville Sportsmen's Club.⁶⁰

⁵³ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 58.

⁵⁴ For a description of their founding and a list of past presidents, see SMS Club of Seneca Falls, N.Y., “SMS Auxilliary [*sic*],” <http://www.smslodge.com/auxilliary.php>.

⁵⁵ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 41, 42; and SMS Club of Seneca Falls, N.Y., “Club History,” <http://www.smslodge.com/history.php>.

⁵⁶ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 33; Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 47; and Orsi, *Madonna of 115th Street*, xlii.

⁵⁷ Adriene Emmo, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 12, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁵⁸ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 40; and Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 53.

⁵⁹ Joseph Avveduti remembered that the SMS “always had a band and marched in all the parades.” Vilma Verzillo Avveduti and Joseph Avveduti, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 10, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁶⁰ SMS Club of Seneca Falls, N.Y., “Club History.”

Italians in Seneca Falls also established a chapter of the Sons of Italy, a nationwide mutual benefit organization. Though the Seneca Falls chapter was only active from 1926 to 1933, it helped members to communicate with family still residing in Italy.⁶¹

Although the Seneca Falls chapter of the Knights of Columbus was founded by men with Irish and Anglo surnames, Italians did eventually join this organization and thus intermingled with Irish and other Catholics. Only the Fornesi family was listed among those from the Knights of Columbus who served in World War I. By World War II, however, approximately half of the Knights of Columbus who served had Italian surnames.⁶² Italian women were also involved in Catholic organizations alongside Irish Catholics, including the Catholic Daughters and the Guild and Altar Society. The latter organization counted two daughters of Charles Fornesi as founding members.⁶³

Italian American Participation in Women's Rights Convention Commemorations and with Women's Rights NHP

As local business people, laborers, parents, and citizens, Italian Americans participated in celebrations and pageants both through mutual benefit societies such as the SMS and St. Patrick's Church, and also through such civic organizations as the Rotary Club, Masons, and Odd Fellows. In the twentieth century, local people were involved in the pageantry surrounding anniversary commemorations of the 1848 convention. At the time of the 1923 commemoration, many of the Italian residents of Seneca Falls were relatively new arrivals to America and to the community. Most of these Italians had few or no real or perceived connections to the 1848 convention, much less to the goals of the American women's movement more generally. While there were certainly a few American-born persons of Italian descent in Seneca Falls, the vast majority of these people would have been young children in 1923, and they probably were unaware of the proceedings. At the same time, the older generations remained tied to their traditional, patriarchal ways, and a number of interviewees reported that in their families there was little interest in discussing or advocating for women's rights.⁶⁴

In 1948, Italian Americans participated in more obvious ways in the centennial event than they had in the 1923 commemoration. Members of Seneca Falls' Italian population are immediately noticeable in the 1948 program, which is peppered with names like Beatini, Calarco, Cosentino, Cussamano, D'Aurelio, Depasquale, DeStephano, DiTotto, Leno, Mastreolo, Rizzo, Sabatini, and Sinicropi. The SMS band provided the music, which included performing "America." Mrs. Joseph Calarco represented the SMS Auxiliary, and Mrs. Salvatore Rizzo represented the auxiliary of the Kirk-Casey Post of the American Legion.⁶⁵ At least twenty-five Italian men,

⁶¹ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 41, 42; and SMS Club of Seneca Falls, N.Y., "Club History."

⁶² Leonard, *History of St. Patrick's Parish*, 113–14; and Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 35.

⁶³ Bove, *Early Italian Immigrants*, 35.

⁶⁴ For example, see Vergamini, interview; Avveduti interview; and Carolyn Burtless Roberts, Richard Burtless, Kathy Jans-Duffy, Fran Barbieri, Philomena Cammuso, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcripts on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁶⁵ "Seneca Falls Women Organized to Arrange 'Rights' Centennial," clipping, May 14, 1948, Plans for 100th Anniversary Celebration: Newspaper and Magazine Articles, 1948, (100th Anniversary Celebration articles); "Program," July 20, 1948, Resource File: Woman's Rights Centennial, July 20, 1948—program; and "Seneca Falls Owes Vote of Thanks to Mrs. Emily Knight MacWilliams," typescript transcript of various articles in *Seneca County Press*, July 14, 1948, second section synopsis of articles, p. 3., all in 1848—Anniversary Celebrations, 100th Anniversary—1948, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

women, and children with Italian surnames acted or performed in the pageant (for married women, this might only indicate marriage to an Italian man, rather than Italian heritage).⁶⁶ A quick search of genealogical records reveals that the members of many of these families were first and second generation immigrants to America. And despite traditional Italian gender roles, at least a few Italian daughters and wives participated in the program. Sylvia Cosentino, who played "The Spirit of Womanhood," was twenty years old at the time and the only daughter of Michael and Lillian Cosentino, who had been born in Italy but whose children were born in America.⁶⁷ Some of the Italian Americans interviewed for this study thought that these attendees were a minority of the Italian population and that their participation in the event was linked to larger themes of democracy, patriotism, and assimilation, which were so important in the postwar era.

Local Historians and Historical Organizations

Local historians, most notably County Historian Walter Gable, have felt a strong connection to the history the park interprets, and to a lesser degree to the resources it manages, since long before the park arrived.⁶⁸ Additionally, other museums and local historical societies report having various degrees of interest in the resources the park manages and the history it interprets. Included among these are the Seneca Museum of Waterways and Industry, which is loosely affiliated with the SFHS and whose mission is to illustrate "how the Seneca River and the Cayuga-Seneca Canal powered the rise of industry and fostered cultural development, helping to spread social reform movements."⁶⁹ In Waterloo, representatives of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society (founded in 1830) and associated Terwilliger Museum and National Memorial Day Museum, also indicate strong feelings that the resources the park manages and the history it interprets are inextricably linked with the resources they manage and the history they interpret, much of which overlaps.⁷⁰

Members of the Seneca Falls Historical Society (SFHS), now located on Cayuga Street, serve as the main compilers of knowledge about the county's history. Founded in 1896, the society's mission has been to promote the cultural legacy of Seneca County.⁷¹ Early member Janet Cowing, for example, donated to the historical society an original copy of the 1848 convention

⁶⁶ "Seneca Falls Pageant, 'Woman Awakened,' Sponsored by The Centennial Committee," program, July 19-20, 1948, Resources Files, II.C.2, Plays/Performances Based on Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Life and Writings, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

⁶⁷ "Cosentino" (search term), U.S. Census, 1930, New York, Seneca County, <http://content.ancestry.com/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=6224&path=New+York.Seneca.Seneca+Falls.19.21&fn=Michael%20J&ln=Cosentino&st=r&pid=46233613&rc=&zp=75>.

⁶⁸ Seneca County, N.Y., "County Historian," <http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/dpt-genserv-historian-seneca.php>. For more on personal connections to local history, see Roberts, Burtless, Jans-Duffy, Barbieri, and Cammuso, interview; and Walter Gable, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y., transcripts on file at Women's Rights NHP. Miller also spoke informally with Tanya Warren, from the Terwilliger Museum, over the course of 2007-2008.

⁶⁹ Seneca Museum of Waterways and Industry, "Seneca Museum of Waterways and Industry," <http://www.senecamuseum.com/index.php>.

⁷⁰ [Walter Gable], "History of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society," PDF available at <http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/history>.

⁷¹ New York State Arts, "Seneca Falls Historical Society," http://nystatearts.org/orgs/one?org_id=2995&county=Seneca&page=1&offset=0.

report.⁷² Early members published historical articles and reprinted speeches and lectures given in and about town, more generally, and about the 1848 convention, more specifically. A 1908 volume, for example, entitled *Papers Read before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the Year 1908, Proceedings of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Woman's Rights Convention Held in Seneca Falls in July 1848*, reprinted Harrison Chamberlain's welcome address, Eliza Wright Osborne's lecture on her ancestor Martha Coffin Wright, and Mary Church Terrell's presentations on Frederick Douglass and suffrage, among other items.⁷³ In 1948, the society published another volume of papers for the convention's centennial. Although the numbers of people reading such volumes is unknown, the presence of an active historical society in town has focused the attention of visitors and residents alike on the 1848 convention through its involvement in organizing and promoting such events as the 1948 centennial commemoration and, later, through its support of the creation of the park.

Some members of the historical society feel that the society does not receive enough credit for safekeeping the history of the 1848 convention for nearly 100 years before the park's creation. One SFHS member explained, "The only reason the park is here is because we [SFHS] were here." Others noted that when the park was established in 1980, park staff gathered primary documents from the historical society that they did not then properly attribute to SFHS. While some members of the historical society feel that this was the result of weak leadership within the historical society itself, others report a feeling that the park has an undeserved sense of entitlement to the society's archival resources. Additionally, one member reported (and other echoed the sentiment) that "the park has a mentality that they're an entity all into their own." Historical society representatives worry that the federal model "doesn't leave much room for more innovative thinking." SFHS members retain a strong sense of their institution's historic connection to the resources the park manages and the history it interprets. And they believe the museum has an "extremely important role" to play not only in the interpretation of that same history but also as "keepers of the history of the entire community." The general consensus among SFHS members interviewed for this study is that they hope in the future to work more closely with the park; they wish, though, for the park to recognize that their organization is a repository of valuable historical documents, as well as a local institution having deep historical roots in the community and ongoing associations with the park's resources.

Contemporary Park Neighbor Associations with Women's Rights NHP

On December 28, 1980, President Jimmy Carter signed Public Law 96-607, Title XVI, which authorized the creation of Women's Rights National Historical Park. At that time, nine sites were included in the park: dwellings at 32 Washington Street (Stanton House), 30 Washington Street, and 34 Washington Street, and the lots at 26-28 Washington Street; 126 Fall Street (former Wesleyan Chapel); 128 Fall Street (theater); and 53 East Bayard Street (Bloomer House), all in Seneca Falls; and 16 East Williams Street (M'Clintock House, and its adjacent Young House, which dates to approximately the same period of construction, c. 1833-36). As of this writing,

⁷² Roberts, Burtless, Jans-Duffy, Barbieri, and Cammuso, interview.

⁷³ *Papers Read before the Seneca Falls Historical Society for the Year 1908, Proceedings of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Woman's Rights Convention Held in Seneca Falls in July 1848* (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Historical Society, 1908).

“the house and grounds are mothballed and receive minimal maintenance.”⁷⁴) and 401 East Main Street (Hunt House) in Waterloo. As mentioned in the introduction to this report, of these original sites, the park today comprises the Stanton House and associated parcels, Chamberlain House, Wesleyan Chapel, M’Clintock House, and Hunt House; the Park Service also acquired and renovated 136 Fall Street (Village Hall) in 1985.⁷⁵

Local support for the creation of the park was mixed. One local businessman, who had opened a store on Fall Street in 1976, explained that to him, “it was remarkable and exciting that the National Park Service would choose to put a spot here that really is held in the same regard as Yosemite. . . . It was a wonderful thing. But that wasn’t shared by a lot of people. A lot of my contemporaries didn’t see the purpose of it. . . . [or were] more indifferent [about it].”⁷⁶ Some business owners moved to Seneca Falls after the park was created to be near the park and to cater to the people who would presumably visit it. By the time the chapel block was dedicated in 1993, a large number of local (and even some nonlocal) businesses, governmental bodies, and other organizations took out large ads in the *Reveille* congratulating the park on its new facilities.⁷⁷

M’Clintock and Hunt Houses⁷⁸

Although he built the house in 1835, Richard Hunt likely never lived in it the M’Clintock House, which Thomas and Mary M’Clintock rented between 1836 and 1856. By far the longest resident of the M’Clintock House was the Waterloo Baptist Church, which appears to have used the building as a parsonage almost continuously from 1875 through 1985, when the Park Service acquired the building.⁷⁹ Because the Park Service only recently acquired the Hunt House, less is known about it than about the M’Clintock or Stanton houses and the Wesleyan Chapel, the histories of which have been thoroughly researched and documented. The house was occupied by a succession of families, however, since 1848, until the park acquired it.

Some informants interviewed for this study reported having had knowledge about the historical significance of the M’Clintock House and/or and Hunt House before the creation of the park, but

⁷⁴ Comprehensive Interpretive Plan for Women's Rights

National Historical Park, n.d., quotation on 30-31,
<https://www.nps.gov/wori/parkmgmt/upload/WORICIPFINAL.pdf>.

⁷⁵ Public Law 104-333, Division I, Section 505 removed the Bloomer House from the park’s boundary. See 106-2: U.S. Senate Report No. 106-26, “Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” Calendar No. 498, April 12, 2000, to accompany S. 1910. Note that we do not address the Chamberlain House in this section, as the park is still in the process of developing the house’s history and no subjects interviewed for the study referred to it specifically.

⁷⁶ Ralph Sinicropi, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women’s Rights NHP.

⁷⁷ Included among these were: Goulds Pumps, Bayside Controls (Northvale, New Jersey), Trombley’s Tire, Hooper Home Construction, In House Graphic Design, Joseph Drexler, DDS, Coe-Genung Funeral Home, Robinette Jewelers, Eric Riegel Construction, Stevers Garage, Waterfalls Machine, Matthews International, DA AKA Pedulla’s Liquor, Senecayuga Properties, Steelfab Welding, Seneca Copy, Simone Auto Parts, Hadley’s Hardware, Seneca ARC, Acme United, Seneca Clothing, Augie’s Furniture, the American Legion, Village of Seneca Falls, Seneca Falls Town Board, Seneca County Board of Supervisors, and the Town of Waterloo. See special issue of *Seneca Falls Reveille*, July 29, 1993.

⁷⁸ Since most park neighbors refer to the M’Clintock and Hunt houses collectively because of their location in Waterloo, we address these buildings together here.

⁷⁹ Barbara Yocum, “The M’Clintock House, Historic Structure Report, Women’s Rights National Historical Park, Waterloo, N.Y.” Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, North Atlantic Region, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1993, 15, 29-50, 52-54.

the Hunt House seems to have been a much more recognizable building in people's memories. Its location on the state route and its imposing edifice and grounds make it highly visible to passersby, while the M'Clintock House was located off the main highway and was mostly in use as a part of the Baptist Church complex until 1985. Joyce Brady, who grew up in Seneca Falls, noted that she knew about the Hunt House because her stepmother, who had lived on Church Street in Waterloo and was interested in history, had explained to Joyce that the building was historic and that "women had met there."⁸⁰ Other residents simply remembered thinking that the Hunt House was a mansion in which rich people must have lived. We did not locate any individuals who had previously occupied either house, although speaking with members of the Baptist Church in Waterloo might yield further information about the associations people in that church had with the M'Clintock House.

Wesleyan Chapel Block⁸¹

The building formerly used as the Village of Seneca Falls offices now houses the Women's Rights National Historical Park Visitor Center. Originally constructed in 1915, the building served for twelve years as a garage and auto dealership under the ownership of Adrian H. Boyce.⁸² When Boyce's Garage moved to another location in 1927, the village of Seneca Falls, which had been in need of additional office space for at least a decade, purchased and remodeled the building. When the village moved into the space in 1928, the building housed police, municipal, court, and administrative offices, as well as Fire Department Station #1.⁸³ The village occupied the building, making only minor alterations, until 1986, when the offices and police department moved to the rehabilitated railroad station on State Street. The village donated the building to the National Park Service in 1987.⁸⁴

The Wesleyan Chapel, as it is known today, has been many things in its lifetime at the corner of Fall and Mynderse streets in Seneca Falls. From 1843 to 1872, the building housed the First Wesleyan Methodist Society Church in its various incarnations.⁸⁵ The Wesleyan Chapel was renovated and expanded in 1872 to house stores and a public meeting hall.⁸⁶ Various versions of an opera house occupied parts of the building in the late 1800s; the opera house later began showing films, and by 1915, Fisher Theater was doing business in the space.⁸⁷

Two significant gatherings transpired at the Fisher Theater: the sixtieth anniversary of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention on May 27, 1908, and the 100th birthday celebration of Elizabeth Cady Stanton in November 1915. Although we did not find individuals who were alive at the

⁸⁰ Brady interview.

⁸¹ Since most residents refer collectively to the establishments that historically occupied site of the park's resources on Fall Street, we address these buildings together here.

⁸² Stacey A. Matson, Barbara A. Yocum, Maureen K. Phillips, and Terry Wong, "Village Hall Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York," Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, North Atlantic Region, Boston, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988, 4.

⁸³ Matson, Yocum, Phillips, and Wong, "Village Hall," 13-18.

⁸⁴ Matson, Yocum, Phillips, and Wong, "Village Hall," 21.

⁸⁵ Barbara A. Yocum and Terry Wong, "Wesleyan Chapel, Historic Structure Report, Seneca Falls, New York." Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, North Atlantic Region, Boston, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988 (written)/1992 (published), 9.

⁸⁶ Yocum and Wong, "Wesleyan Chapel," 70-71.

⁸⁷ *Seneca County Courier*, November 6, 1890, quoted in Yocum and Wong, "Wesleyan Chapel," 85.

time of or remembered attending or hearing about these specific events, good historical documentation exists about local and national attendance at them.

Between 1919 and 1961, the building had seven owners, underwent four remodels, and housed a combination of tenants, including a garage, auto dealership, public hall, offices, and a store.⁸⁸ Many of the people interviewed for this report remembered all or some of these different establishments, with most people mentioning the various theaters, car dealerships, and village offices. Richard Burtless, for example, remembered a garage being there during his childhood in the 1950s, as did Joyce and Francis Brady.⁸⁹

From 1961, when Seneca Falls Laundromat rented part of the building, until October 1984, when Frank Ludovico closed his business, the building had housed a laundromat. Ludovico also constructed apartments in the second story and tenants parked in the first-floor garage space behind the laundromat; the apartments remained occupied until NPS acquired the building in 1985.⁹⁰

Almost every resident interviewed for this report remembered Ludovico's Laundromat and the apartments above it, and townspeople reported having done their wash at the laundromat or visiting residents of the apartments above before it was demolished. Fran Barbieri and her family would take their dry-cleaning to Ludovico's, stopping to look at the commemorative plaque or blue marker on their way to the Strand Theater around the corner or to the diner across the street.⁹¹ When asked what he remembered about the block on which the Wesleyan Chapel stands, Joseph Avveduti said, "To us, that building was a garage, a laundromat, and they cleaned it all up and it's the museum. Well, it's pretty hard to accept it as a museum." Losing the Laundromat to the park, he explained, was not really a loss to him.⁹²

Some community members recalled feeling that the importance of the site was diminished by the presence of the laundromat in the same location. Early park supporter and organizer Marilyn Bero remembered moving to Seneca Falls in the 1970s and being "appalled . . . that this community could have allowed that important piece of history to end up as a laundromat."⁹³ Native resident of Seneca Falls Adriene Emmo also remembered thinking in the early 1970s that it was "a shame" a laundromat marked the site of the 1848 women's rights convention.⁹⁴ Ralph Sinicropi, who owned a business on Fall Street from the mid-1970s through the mid-1990s, thought that it was "pretty cool" that people would "come from all over" to stand on the corner by the laundromat and get their picture taken next to the plaque and marker.⁹⁵

Currently, the partial outer walls of the chapel have been restored and covered with a roof to create a sense of what the original Wesleyan Chapel looked like. Between the chapel and the Visitor Center is open space and a water wall on which are etched the signers' names and the Declaration of Sentiments. Local sentiment is mixed about the chapel treatment. Some report

⁸⁸ *Seneca Falls Reveille*, January 16, 1948, quoted in Yocum and Wong, "Wesleyan Chapel," 129.

⁸⁹ Roberts, Burtless, Jans-Duffy, Barbieri, and Cammuso, interview; and Brady interview.

⁹⁰ Yocum and Wong, "Wesleyan Chapel," 160.

⁹¹ Roberts, Burtless, Jans-Duffy, Barbieri, and Cammuso, interview.

⁹² Avveduti interview.

⁹³ Marilyn Bero, interviewed Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at the Women's Rights NHP.

⁹⁴ Emmo interview.

⁹⁵ Sinicropi interview.

that they “love it.” One resident said “I love the contemplative space of the shell of the chapel. I love the interpretation of it, and the water wall.” But he also reported that “people love the water wall, but wonder when they’re going to finish that building,” echoing a number of other residents who said the chapel “looks like a construction site.” Still other park neighbors do not like the look of the structure, but recognize and value the preservation ethic and design process that went into the chapel renovation. Rehabilitation and enclosure of the Wesleyan Chapel is scheduled for summer 2009.

*Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Chamberlain Houses*⁹⁶

Between 1862, when the Stanton family left Seneca Falls, and the early 1970s, when the house was acquired in anticipation of the creation of a possible park, at least six different families owned or occupied the property: John S. and Martha Edwards (1862-1863), William A. Duncan (1863-1864), Peter Taylor (1864-1867), Boardman family members (1866-1900, various occupants), Hugh and Mary Gilmore (1900-1943), Gerald and Mary Ann Pagano (1943-1945), and Stanley and Helen Burroughs (1945-1978). In 1978, Seattleite and Unitarian Ralph Peters and his wife Marjorie Smith bought the house in order to keep it off the market until the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation could purchase it, allowing foundation president Lucille Povero to live in the house and pay rent. Ownership was transferred to the foundation in January 1982, which then transferred it to the National Park Service in July 1982, a month before the dedication of Women's Rights NHP.⁹⁷

The construction date of the Chamberlain House is not clear from the historic record, but the building was standing by 1815, when the west portion of the building may have been used as a warehouse for the Lower Red Mill. The building was converted to a residence by 1833, when mill owners William and Samuel Bayard inhabited the house. The house's significance to the women's rights movement came from Jacob Payson Chamberlain, a signer of the Declaration of Sentiments, who lived in the house with his family between 1844 and 1851.⁹⁸ Between 1851, when Chamberlain sold the house, and 1996, when the NPS took over management of the buildings, local businesses and/or residents owned and occupied the property. Members of the Van Cleef, Cowing, Durling, and Baldwin families are known to have lived in the house during these years, with the Durling family occupying the property for fifty years and the Baldwins another thirty.

Some local residents reported knowing about the history of the Stanton House as youngsters growing up in Seneca Falls; others reported not learning about the significance of the house or its famous occupant until they were adults or until the park was established. Fran Barbieri explained that even if many people didn't know exactly who Elizabeth Cady Stanton was, they knew the house was important for some reason because of the blue marker in front of it.⁹⁹ Others reported

⁹⁶ Since these two buildings are located across the street from each other, we address these buildings together here

⁹⁷ Barbara A. (Pearson) Yocum, “The Stanton House, Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York.” Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, Northeast Region, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1989 (written)/1998 (published), 24-26.

⁹⁸ Barbara A. Yocum, “Chamberlain House, Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York.” Prepared for Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Northeast Region, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Lowell, Massachusetts, 2001, xiii.

⁹⁹ Roberts, Burtless, Jans-Duffy, Barbieri, and Cammuso, interview.

knowing or being related to the families who lived in the house or walking by it regularly on their way to friends or family's homes or to class at Elizabeth Cady Stanton Public School down the street.¹⁰⁰ No park neighbors interviewed for this study mentioned the Chamberlain House by name or indicated that either they as individuals or their families as a group had used the property, visited the house, or felt any connections to the location more generally. However, early SFHS member Janet Cowing is likely from the same family that occupied the house during the 1860s and 1870s and some Hunt descendants are related to the Durling family by marriage.

Findings

As used in this report, the term *park neighbors* refers to individual town residents, ethnic groups, and more formal organizations. Among local residents interviewed, most displayed individualized perceptions of the park. This study could not find any local groups within the community that have a distinctive association with the park and its resources. However, many individuals and more organized groups of park neighbors have sustained associations with the park's resources, for a wide variety of reasons and for varying lengths of duration.

Local historical societies, most notably the Seneca Falls Historical Society, and historians have long been interested in preserving and promoting the knowledge of the events of 1848. Today, these organizations and their members, as well as individual local historians, continue to interact regularly with the pieces of local history the park interprets (e.g., the planning and execution of the 1848 women's rights convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's tenure in Seneca Falls, Quaker connections, and so on), if not as often with the park's managed resources.

In cases where park neighbors have no personal connection to resources the park manages, they often possess varying degrees of knowledge about the historical significance of these resources, which produces a sense of association to those places situated in their community's midst. The Hunt House, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, and the plaque at the corner of the Fall and Mynderse streets stand out most prominently in this category, while residents know much less about the M'Clintock House or the newly acquired Chamberlain House. Most local residents know about the 1848 convention that took place in Seneca Falls or that Stanton was a notable person in U.S. women's history, but no one interviewed for this study knew, prior to the development of the park, that remnants of the Wesleyan Chapel were contained within the walls of the buildings comprising the Fall Street commercial block, which most locals most associate with Ludovico's Laundromat or the movie theater. In other words, their associations with the park arise from knowing and caring about the history the park interprets and feeling an association to that history because they are residents.

¹⁰⁰ Roberts, Burtless, Jans-Duffy, Barbieri, and Cammuso, interview; Avveduti interview; Brady interview; Emmo interview; and Joan Carroll Rogers, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

Chapter 7: Women's Historians and Feminist Organizations

Introduction and Methodology

Women's Rights NHP is dedicated to the preservation of resources related to and interpretation of women's history. It is not surprising, given this topical focus, that women's historians were among the most prominent promoters of the park creation, as well as some of its main visitors, supporters, and constituents. Women's historians in America and feminists more generally (at least those who know about the history of the movement) see the town of Seneca Falls as a shrine to both the early women's rights and later feminist movements and to their collective historical past in this country. As evidenced by the history surrounding the park's creation, park logbooks, media coverage, and interviews, many women's historians and self-identified feminists either have made or intend to make the so-called pilgrimage to Seneca Falls at some point in their lifetimes. Seneca Falls serves as a symbol, or a "trademark," as Judith Wellman has called it; indeed, more than one women's historian interviewed for this study referred to the place as a "Mecca" of sorts for people interested in American women's history, in particular, and the feminist movement, in general.¹ Feminists and the organizations of which they are a part more generally also perceive Seneca Falls as an important place because of the significant step the 1848 convention represented along the path to women's political and social equality in the United States.

This chapter first briefly defines the categories of women's historian and feminist. It then describes how women's historians and feminists have learned about and promoted the history of the 1848 convention and early women's rights movement, and how they participated in the creation of the park. It then turns to a discussion of more recent associations of different feminist organizations and individuals to the park's resources and the history it interprets. Although in many cases, the connections women's historians and feminist organizations have to the park and its resources are literal and physical—in that these individuals visit the park and various organizations attend, support, and participate in park activities—in many cases, the associations women's historians and feminists have with the park resources are more symbolic than literal. In other words, what is key for many women's historians and feminists is less the extant buildings in Seneca Falls or Waterloo that the park manages (although certainly to many feminist visitors these places are imbued with meaning) and more the history the park interprets and the feminist activism that the place and name *Seneca Falls* represents to feminist individuals and organizations.

Defining Women's Historians and Feminists

This study found that women's historians (specifically scholars of U.S. women's history) and organized feminists more generally share a common understanding of Seneca Falls and the 1848 convention: they see themselves as both the historical beneficiaries and intellectual descendants of the convention participants. American women historians, in particular, teach their students how Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were significant historical actors in advocating

¹ Judith Wellman, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

for real political, social, and economic changes that have bettered the lives of women today. Additionally, women's historians and feminists see Stanton, Mott, and others as being profeminists, members of the so-called first wave of feminism, which was the precursor to the second and third waves of feminism of which many contemporary women claim membership today.

Women's historians, as historians, share a very specific set of practices and rituals that govern their analyses of historical sources. They collect sources, analyze them within the context of their times, and construct narratives about the past out of that analysis that (hopefully) provide information relevant to the present and future. Women's historians, as a subset of historians, generally share a feminist outlook and a desire to look at history from "the bottom up."

Women's historians (and women who are historians) make up a loosely cohesive group, many members of which try to regularly attend the triannual Berkshire Conference on the History of Women. The Berks, as attendees refer informally to the conference, is often the only place they see their compatriots, since most women's historians are scattered across the country, one or two to a department. Kathryn Kish Sklar, who is currently writing about the subject, reports that 75 percent of U.S. women who study women's history study U.S. women's history, which creates a national culture of women's historians, most of whom would self-identify as feminists.²

Similarly, women's studies departments have arisen around the country since the creation of the first women's studies department in 1970 (San Diego State), providing a home for feminist scholars from a wide variety of disciplines. Self-identified feminist academics also work outside of women's studies departments, and a number of self-identified feminists either hold joint appointments in their home departments and in the school's women's or gender studies department or program or teach classes that are cross-listed with women's studies. Additionally, it is very likely that the vast majority of academics affiliated with women's and gender studies programs would call themselves feminists.

Women's studies, like ethnic studies and other disciplines evolving during the 1960s and 1970s, developed around a self-defined cultural group, in this case feminists and activists with ties to the second wave of the feminist movement. Founded in 1977, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) is the main professional organization representing and bringing together women's studies scholars. According to the NWSA website, members "actively pursue a just world in which all persons can develop to their fullest potential – one free from ideologies, structures, or systems of privilege that oppress or exploit some for the advantage of others." Women's studies scholars further agree that the discipline is "vital to education"; "comparative, global, intersectional, and interdisciplinary"; and that "scholarship, activism, and teaching are inseparable elements of a single whole."³

Many other self-defined feminists can be found outside of academia in organizations such as the National Organization of Women (NOW), founded in 1966; National Women's Hall of Fame (NWHF), founded in 1969 in Seneca Falls; and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. As this chapter demonstrates, American feminists (whether women's historians or people affiliated with

² Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 5, 2007, Brackney, Pennsylvania. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

³ National Women's Studies Association, "About the National Women's Studies Association," <http://www.nwsa.org/about/index.php>.

organized feminist groups such as those listed above) have recognized the importance of the 1848 convention as the starting place for the modern American feminist movement and its associated causes, beginning with suffrage and moving through the still-unratified Equal Rights Amendment. Large numbers of these men and women visited Seneca Falls and Waterloo starting in the early 1970s and participated in the conceptualization and creation of the park.

Interview Methodology

Interviews for this chapter began at the park itself, with historians Anne Derosie and Vivien Rose. We then tried to identify, locate, and interview founders and early park promoters and members of the Friends of the Women's Rights National Park, many of whom are self-defined feminists and lived locally prior to or from the time the park was founded. We then contacted a number of well-known women's historians who study the women's suffrage movement and/or who are affiliated with nearby institutions of higher education. Additionally, we contacted feminist and women's history organizations in the region, such as the Greater Rochester NOW, Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation (Fayetteville), and Susan B. Anthony House (Rochester). People with whom we conducted formal interviews are listed in Appendix C.

Participant observation opportunities related to feminists and women's historians occurred in conjunction with Convention Days 2007, a community event attracting those interested in Seneca Falls' part in the history of women's rights, at which members of feminist organizations were present and available to talk informally.

Women's Historians and Feminist Activists' Involvement in Promoting the Park's Creation

U.S. Women's History and Historiography

Ever since Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, and later Ida Husted Harper, began compiling and finally publishing (in installments) the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage*, feminists and women's historians have been interested in the 1848 convention at Seneca Falls and its ramifications for women in the United States thereafter.⁴ In the 1890s and early twentieth century, suffragists looked to the volume for inspiration and strategy. Some historians have argued that, after women won the vote, women's rights activism died until the 1960s. Organized activism for gender equality declined in that forty-year span as a result of the Depression, World War II, and the postwar return to some traditional notions of gender. The subdiscipline of women's history as we know it today did not evolve until the 1960s. Nevertheless, some historians have shown that there was "survival in the doldrums."⁵ Individual feminists, such as Amelia Earhart, Eleanor Roosevelt, Molly Dewson, Frances Perkins, and

⁴ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (Vol. 1. 1848–1861; Vol. 2. 1861–1876; Vol. 3. 1876–1885; Vol. 4. 1883–1900; Vol. 5. 1900–1920; Vol. 6. 1900–1920) (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881–1922).

⁵ See, for example, Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Susan Ware, *Still Missing: Amelia Earhart and the Search for Modern Feminism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993); and Bernice McNair Barnett, "Black Women's Collectivist Movement Organizations: Their Struggles during the 'Doldrums,'" in *Feminist Organizations: Harvest of the New Women's Movement*, ed. Myra Marx Ferree and Patricia Yancey Martin (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 199–223.

Margaret Sanger, kept the feminist cause alive, and individual historians, such as Mary Ritter Beard, continued to write about women in the past.⁶

Interest in women's history began to increase in the late 1950s, with the publication of Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle* about the women's suffrage movement, and in the 1960s, with the growing feminist movement. Betty Friedan's *Feminist Mystique* came out in 1963, the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964, and the National Organization of Women formed in 1966. Women of all colors who had been involved in civil rights organizations, Students for a Democratic Society, various antiwar groups, and the communal living experiments of the 1960s became increasingly frustrated with sexism in those organizations. These experiences led women to become involved in women-centered consciousness-raising groups, to identify as lesbians (political and sexual), and to explore their bodies and demand choices when it came to their reproductive rights. By the early 1970s, the so-called second wave of feminism had hit full stride, and an increasingly vocal minority of women began to seek out women's history and to find ways to commemorate the female role models in both the past and the present. Women's Rights NHP was created within, and because of, these trends.

Women's Historians Come to Seneca Falls: 1960s and 1970s

Second-wave feminists created and participated in the earliest women's history and women's studies classes in the 1970s and 1980s. By the 1990s, the 1848 Seneca Falls convention had become a staple subject of women's history courses. For scholars of women's history, Seneca Falls has taken on the status of a shrine, and many of these women have visited the park at least once. As Judith Wellman explained, "People who know anything at all about women's history know about Seneca Falls."⁷ And, indeed, many of the early women's historians of the 1970s and 1980s had close personal connections to Seneca Falls during the time of the park's early conceptualization, creation, and establishment.

The 1965 founding of Eisenhower College in Seneca Falls was a catalyst, a coincidence, or both to the rebirth of interest in Seneca Falls' feminist history. In 1968, a group of women gathered in Seneca Falls to study the feasibility of creating a national hall of fame dedicated to the achievements of U.S. women. Among them were Shirley Hartley and Ann Bantuvanias, who served as the first and second presidents of the National Women's Hall of Fame (NWHF), founded in 1969. Eisenhower College hosted the NWHF until 1979, when the Hall of Fame was

⁶ Perhaps the first "women's historian" in the United States was Mary Ritter Beard, who wrote more general history with her husband Charles Beard, and a number of books about women in history. Although she wrote a number of books about women in the early twentieth century, Beard's best known work in U.S. women's history is *Woman as Force in History; A Study in Traditions and Realities* (New York: Macmillan, 1946). After Beard, Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), Aileen S. Kraditor's *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), and Gerda Lerner's *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels against Authority* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967) sparked what is known today as women's history. Other books followed, including William Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), and Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), among many others.

⁷ Wellman, interview.

able to purchase and move into its current site in a former bank in downtown Seneca Falls.⁸ According to locals, the college still has a mural outside Delevan Theater commemorating the women's history of the region. As the NWHF was getting its feet underneath it, growing numbers of women, local and not, were coming to realize the importance of the village's history.

Eisenhower College continued to be a site of active promotion of the women's history of Seneca Falls. Marking the 50th anniversary of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, 800 women came to the college in 1970, where New York governor Nelson D. Rockefeller addressed the crowd. In his speech, Rockefeller, who was campaigning for reelection, reminded the assembled group (mostly women) of his personal support of women's rights, including the Equal Rights Amendment. Members of NOW marched outside the building with signs supporting the National Strike for Women on August 26, the day on which the Nineteenth Amendment passed in 1920, that year.⁹

In 1972, Judith Wellman taught the first women's history class offered at SUNY Oswego. During that class, she brought her students to Seneca Falls and visited the Stanton House and the Ludovico "Laudermat" (as she remembered it being spelled). For those students and for Wellman, it was a "real occasion for reflection about the ways in which people remembered, or in this case did *not* remember, women's history."¹⁰ Although Wellman did not know it at the time, there was also a strong and growing group of local women (and, to a lesser degree, men) who were keeping the women's history of Seneca Falls alive. Mary Curry, for example, had begun setting up a card table underneath the plaque at the corner of Mynderse and Fall streets, distributing information and chatting with people interested in the 1848 convention.¹¹ Marilyn Bero remembered moving to Seneca Falls in 1972 and being "appalled" that no one was actively promoting the women's history of the town. So she too got involved, first with the NWHF, of which she has been president twice, and later during the creation of the park.¹²

Despite this growing interest in the history of Seneca Falls and the creation of the Finger Lakes Chapter of NOW in May 1973, the town itself did little to mark the 125th anniversary that year of the 1848 convention. Village letterhead heralded the community as the "birthplace of women's

⁸ Martin Toombs, "A Village Discovers its History," National Women's Hall of Fame, flyer/brochure, [1979?], Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 1 (overflow), folder 14, Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls, N.Y. (SFHS); "Women Organize Hall of Fame; Plan Eisenhower College Site," [*Seneca Falls Reveille*], 1970, clipping, Roberta Halden, comp., "Seneca Falls History, Chronicles of Area News and Events, Women's Suffrage," clippings notebooks, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, New York (Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL).

⁹ Hilda Watrous, "Woman's Rights National Historical Park," in *The County Between the Lakes: A Public History of Seneca County, New York, 1876-1982* (Waterloo, New York: Seneca County Board of Supervisors, 1982); Robert H. Staley-Mays, "An American Mecca: Seneca Falls, New York," for presentation to *Redbook* October 27, 1979, typescript, Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 1 (overflow), unnumbered folder, SFHS, 362-63.

¹⁰ Wellman, interview.

¹¹ Curry was recognized for her years of service to convention days in 1980 and again in 1988. See "Women's History Promoter Curry Honored for Community Service," *Seneca Falls Reveille*, 1980; and "For Her Years of Service to Convention Days . . . Mary Curry is the 1988 Convention Days Citizen of the Year," photograph, [1988], both in Seneca Falls History clippings, Women's Suffrage, SFPL.

¹² Marilyn Bero, interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP. Bero also sat on the federally appointed commission (created by the park's authorizing legislation in 1980) that made recommendations on the park's creation; see also Public Law 96-607, Title XVI, signed December 28, 1980.

rights,” but according to the *New York Times*, which covered the “non-event,” a flower vase at the plaque site was the only thing marking the occasion. A local feminist reportedly posted a sign in her car reading “Seneca Forgot.”¹³ On August 26, 1973, however, Eisenhower College was again home to a large gathering of women, this time to commemorate the newly declared Women’s Equality Day and to hear the names of the twenty women to be inducted that year into the NWHF.¹⁴

Throughout the remainder of the 1970s, local feminists and women’s historians advocated the creation of some kind of park or historic district in Seneca Falls. Eisenhower professor Corinne Guntzel, a friend of both Bero and Wellman, played a role in campaigning for the creation of a national park in the area. Guntzel was also associated at one time with Wells College and was very active in the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation before her death in 1986. Both Bero and Wellman remembered when Sherry Berg and Judy Hart from the National Park Service were looking for places to situate a national women’s rights park. Wellman remembered that she, Guntzel, Curry, Bero, and others “threw ourselves at them with tremendous enthusiasm” because they couldn’t believe that someone was finally there “to do something with these wonderful sites.”¹⁵ Sally Roesch Wagner described in an interview how she first came to Seneca Falls in 1976 and returned regularly thereafter, feeling that as a women’s historian and scholar of feminism, it was an important place for her to be. Wellman noted, too, that Wagner was an important player in the inception of the park, doing Elizabeth Cady Stanton reenactments and playing an active role in the Elizabeth Cady Stanton (ECS) Foundation.

By the late 1970s, then, a decade of feminist and women’s history-related events had drawn large numbers of people to Seneca Falls and educated many others, locally and nationally, about the place. Some of these people moved to town; others visited on a regular basis; still others maintained ties to the place through membership in local organizations. The years 1978 to 1980 were especially busy with efforts to create a National Register of Historic Places district in town, a national park, a local park, or some combination thereof.¹⁶ Feminist and Wells College president Sissy Farenthold, brought a group of forty-two high school juniors to Seneca Falls, “the birthplace of the women’s rights movement,” to learn about the importance of preserving the history of women’s rights.¹⁷ In 1979, the Seneca Falls Women’s History Conference attracted a reported 450 attendees to the town; also that year, the NWHF relocated to its permanent home in an old bank building less than two blocks from the 1848 convention site.¹⁸

¹³ Quoted in Watrous, “Woman’s Rights National Historical Park,” 363.

¹⁴ Watrous, “Woman’s Rights National Historical Park,” 364.

¹⁵ Wellman, interview.

¹⁶ See, for example, “Women’s Rights Dist. Nominated for National Historic Register,” “ECS District Misses Park Status but Still in Running,” both c. 1979, and “10 Kilometer Race Begins Convention,” c. 1980, all in *Seneca Falls Reville*, [1979], clippings in Roberta Halden, comp., “Seneca Falls History, Chronicles of Area News and Events, Women’s Suffrage,” clippings notebooks, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, New York (Seneca Falls History clippings, Women’s Suffrage, SFPL).

¹⁷ Laurie Bennett, “Feminist, Wells President—We Need to Preserve the History of Women’s Rights,” *Finger Lakes Times*, August 24, 1978, folder 10, Women’s Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 1, SFHS.

¹⁸ See “History Conference Draws 450; ‘An Absolutely Marvelous Event,’” unattributed newspaper clipping dated 1979, in Roberta Halden, comp., “Seneca Falls History, Chronicles of Area News and Events, Women’s Suffrage,” clippings notebooks, Seneca Falls Public Library, Seneca Falls, New York (Seneca Falls History clippings, Women’s Suffrage, SFPL); and Watrous, “Woman’s Rights National Historical Park,” 364.

Members of NOW had associations with Seneca Falls before the park was founded. Some members were involved in creating or promoting the new park in the late 1970s and early 1980s; some became staff members. Originally the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Chapter of NOW, the ECS Foundation was officially established in 1979 to promote the creation of a "Woman's Rights Movement National Historic Park" with Lucile Povero as its president. The ECS Foundation and other organizations, including the Upstate New York Women's History Conference, the NWHF, and the Women's Studies Department of Eisenhower College, lobbied vigorously for support of the park, which would encompass the Stanton House, the Wesleyan Chapel, the Hunt House, the M'Clintock House, and what was then believed to be the Amelia Bloomer House, which Unitarian and NOW members Robert Staley-Mays and Paula Brooks had recently purchased.¹⁹ The foundation and its growing base of supporters was eventually successful in its campaign for the creation of the park, which was established by legislation passed in 1980—one of the last laws signed by outgoing president Jimmy Carter.²⁰

Women's Historians and the Evolution of the Women's Rights NHP

The park was dedicated at a large celebration that included Alan Alda (who had donated the final \$10,000 needed to purchase the Stanton House from Ralph Peters) as the featured speaker.²¹ Also in attendance were many prominent women's historians who were in town for the related "Women and Community: A Women's History Conference." They included Gerda Lerner, Sara Evans, Peter Filene, Kathryn Kish Sklar, Joan Jacobs Brumberg, Ellen DuBois, Linda Gordon, Elizabeth Pleck, Nancy Grey Osterud, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Mary Beth Norton, Thomas Dublin, Joan Hoff-Wilson, Nancy Hewitt, and Judith Wellman, among many others.²² That summer, Hewitt and Wellman served as the park's first historians.²³

Not everyone was supportive of the growing interest in women's history in Seneca Falls. As Seneca County historian Walt Gable explained it, the 1980s were a time of "great tension" in the area. Manufacturing was in serious decline, Eisenhower College closed in 1983, and the community was in general turmoil because of deindustrialization and the policies of the Reagan era. Congress established Women's Rights NHP in the midst of all this. Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, who attended the 1982 dedication and conference, remembered a "palpable hostility" toward them while they were in town for the events.²⁴

Negative feelings increased in 1983 with the founding of the Women's Peace Encampment in a farmhouse outside the Seneca Depot. Although some people had hoped the coming of the park would turn the town around and draw tourists to the area, many others actively resisted its arrival

¹⁹ Watrous, "Woman's Rights National Historical Park"; Staley-Mays, "An American Mecca," 8; and Wells Staley-Mays, telephone interviews by Heather Lee Miller, October 25, 2007 (informal) and November 1, 2007 (recorded). Transcript of the latter on file at Women's Rights NHP.

²⁰ *Women's Rights National Historical Park Authorizing Legislation*, Public Law 96-607, Title XVI, signed December 28, 1980.

²¹ Watrous, "Woman's Rights National Historical Park," 367.

²² Marsha Pickens, Media Coordinator for the Seneca Falls Celebration, "News from Seneca Falls, N.Y., Birthplace of Women's Rights," press release, June 21, 1982; and National Park Service, "The Second Seneca Falls Women's History Conference, July 16-17, 1982," press release, n.d., both in Women's Rights Commemoration Papers, Collection 36A, Box 3, folder 2a, SFHS; and "Convention Days '82," Souvenir Section, *Seneca Falls Reveille*, July 14, 1982.

²³ Wellman, interview; and Sklar and Dublin, interview.

²⁴ Sklar and Dublin, interview.

and associated its promotion of women's history with the "radical" lesbian/feminist/peaceniks involved in the encampment.²⁵ Almost twenty years later, as evidenced by various comments made to the researchers for this project over the course of our work in town, local people continue to associate these radical feminists with the park.

Despite the tensions of the 1980s, many prominent women's historians came to celebrate the park's dedication and the acquisitions and openings of various resources. Wellman remembered that Sally Wagner was a real force during that time in promoting the history of the place outside Seneca Falls, engaging in activities such as leading a Matilda Joslyn Gage tour around the Statue of Liberty. Wellman, Wagner, and others formed the State of New York Women's History Group. Many women's historians had connections to various local history and women's history groups, and Wellman's goal was to bring everyone together. In 1979, they obtained a grant to hold a conference on women's history in Seneca Falls. Wellman remembered that one of the local women on the planning committee was initially resistant, because she thought that the women were radicals. However, even local people who were initially resistant became interested, and the conference, which was anticipated only to draw 100 people, drew over 400.²⁶

The year of the park's opening coincided with Gerda Lerner's presidency of the Organization of American Historians (OAH) (1981-1982), the first time a woman held that position. Lerner made Wellman the chair of the women's committee of OAH, with the goal of bringing together public history and women's history with a focus on Seneca Falls. At the annual meeting of the OAH, women's historians did an antiphonal reading of the Declaration of Sentiments and the Declaration of Independence. Wellman remembered it being very powerful. It revealed to her how the demands of the Declaration of Independence had so little relevance to contemporary times, whereas the Declaration of Sentiments still resonated with women, who, despite having won the vote, still occupied (and remain in today) a subordinate position in society.²⁷ OAH continued to be a leader in promoting women's history, and Gerda Lerner was instrumental in that. The same year, 1982, another conference was held in Seneca Falls that brought together women's historians, descendants, and local historians.

Contemporary Associations of Women's Historians and Feminist Organizations to the Womens' Rights NHP

Since the founding of the park, women's historians and feminists have continued to visit, move to, and attach significance to the Seneca Falls area. Sklar, Dublin, and Wellman are only a few of the prominent women's historians today who feel a strong connection to the resources managed by the park. Although Dublin and Sklar admit they are "not major visitors" to the park, Sklar refers to Seneca Falls as "sacred ground" and explains that to her the "houses [at the park] are ideas" in that the physical can represent the intellectual spirit of the history of the women's movement.²⁸ Today, Sklar and Dublin continue to teach at Binghamton while also running the Women and Social Movements website.

²⁵ "At Women's Peace Camp, a Presence Remains," and "When It Happened at the Camp," *Finger Lake Times (Geneva)*, December 28, 1989.

²⁶ Wellman, interview.

²⁷ Wellman, interview.

²⁸ Sklar and Dublin, interview.

Wellman thinks that for historians, Seneca Falls has always been “[a] nexus between what we are as human beings—and it challenges us to think about what our goals are as citizens, our relationship to this county and to this world and our own personal lives—and then our role as historians, and how we can use our gifts and our skills as historians in two ways: both to understand what happened here and what it meant to people in the past, and then what it means to us in the present. And those are two different questions with maybe two different answers.” She sees the park as “essential because of its relevance to us as citizens of the country and to the world.”²⁹ Like Sklar, Wellman sees the park’s resources as key to understanding and teaching women’s history: “I don’t think anyone would get the intangible resources as powerfully without the tangible . . . We all learn better if we see the pictures, we all learn better if we walk the streets.”³⁰



Figure 32. Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, Brackney, Pennsylvania. Source: Heather Lee Miller, 2007.

Anecdotal evidence from syllabi posted online indicates that many teachers of women’s history either start or finish their classes with the 1848 women’s rights convention.³¹ In these courses, students read the Declaration of Sentiments and learn about the women’s rights activism of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the others. Many professors teaching women’s history classes create a historical narrative for their class in which the convention serves as the culminating event in American history that belies the promise of American democracy as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and born in the crucible of the Revolutionary War. How could America truly be a democracy, the activists of 1848 asked, if more than half the population of the country (including all women and black men, in addition to Native Americans) could not participate in voting? In other courses, students learn about the 1848 convention as the event that sparked the modern feminist movement. Whether discussed at the beginning, end, or in the middle of a quarter or semester, U.S. women’s history classes without fail include a discussion of the event and its ramifications for women’s rights in the United States and around the world.

Greater Rochester NOW and other NOW Chapters

The National Organization of Women has had an active interest in Women’s Rights NHP since its inception. The ECS Foundation was formed prior to the creation of the park out of what had originally been the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Chapter of NOW, and local people remember that at least two Syracuse chapters and the Greater Rochester chapter were active in the park’s early

²⁹ Sklar and Dublin, interview; and Wellman, interview.

³⁰ Wellman, interview.

³¹ Any Google search for “women’s history syllabus” will yield results to support this point. See, for example, various syllabi listed at H-Women, “Syllabi and Dissertations,” <http://www.h-net.org/~women/syll/>; and “Syllabi on the Web for Women- and Gender-Related Courses,” http://www.umbc.edu/cwit/syl_hist.html.

days.³² According to current president of the Greater Rochester NOW, Alberta Roesser, who participated with other chapter members in the 2007 Convention Days in Seneca Falls, the small chapter that had most to do with the park's founding resides in Syracuse and mostly "keeps to themselves." They did not respond to Roesser's invitation to attend a group interview for this study. Members of Great Rochester NOW, however, did attend the interview and shed light on the many connections among the women who were members of the chapter in the 1970s and 1980s, when the park was just coming to fruition.³³ Other NOW members came to the area too, some more famous than others. Betty Friedan, who helped found NOW with Gloria Steinem and others, came to Seneca Falls and gave a speech at the NWHF in 1989, pointing out the importance of the 1848 convention to feminists of the 1980s and 1990s.³⁴ Wells (or Robert as he was then known) Staley-Mays and Paula Brooks were members of NOW in the 1970s and learned about the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House through the *NOW Times*.³⁵

Friends of Women's Rights

According to their website, the Friends of the Women's Rights NHP was "formed in conjunction with Forum 98," which marked the 150th anniversary of the 1848 convention, under the leadership of Nan Johnson, a co-chair of the forum and director of the Susan B. Anthony University Center in Rochester. A "registered not-for-profit organization to raise awareness and funds to support the Women's Rights National Historical Park and promote the concepts of women's rights and equality for all," the Friends' stated goal is "to preserve the past and provide inspiration for the future."³⁶

Although they do not predate the creation of the park, the Friends of the Women's Rights NHP are very actively interested in the park. Friends' members—for example, Adriene Emmo, Sam Dickieson, Marilyn Bero, Helen Kirker, and Harlene Gilbert—have had longstanding local connections. No African American or Native Americans are actively involved in the local Friends chapter.

National Women's Hall of Fame

The National Women's Hall of Fame was founded in 1969 in Seneca Falls with support from Eisenhower College, in which it was originally housed. The NWHF prides itself on being the first membership organization dedicated to recognizing American women. From its inception, and by locating itself in Seneca Falls, the NWHF has emphasized the importance of the 1848

³² Alberta Roesser, informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 17, 2007.

³³ Unless otherwise noted, all information here comes from Alberta Roesser, Marion Strand, Maureen Murphy, Judy Russell, Barbara Blaisdell, and Catie Faltisco, (Greater Rochester NOW) interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 12, 2007, Rochester, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

³⁴ "Betty Friedan's Speech, National Women's Hall of Fame, August 26, 1989," typescript, III.A.Brown, Women's Rights NHP, Research Files.

³⁵ Information from Wells Staley-Mays (formerly "Robert"), who today lives in Portland, Maine, comes from interviews.

³⁶ Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park, Inc., "History of Friends," <http://www.womensrightsfriends.org/index.php?page=about>.

convention to women in the United States. As former inductee Helen LaKelly Hunt exclaimed at the 2007 induction ceremony, "Mott, Stanton, Stone come alive to us here!" in Seneca Falls.³⁷

Current director of the NWHF Christine Moulton explained that the park and the hall had not previously had a strong history of collaboration, despite their proximity in location and objects of interest. Federal guidelines prevent the park from engaging in certain activities, and nonprofit status does the same for the NWHF. Still, Moulton was proud to note that in 2003, the park and hall came together on a shared educational program and they are now trying to collaborate occasionally through sharing speakers and space.³⁸

Quaker Feminist Scholars

Feminist scholars who are also Quaker, such as Chris Densmore, Ruth Bradley, and Judith Wellman, form a subset of the women's historians group. They feel very connected to Seneca Falls and Waterloo (and the Friends meetings that historical figures attended), both as places of spiritual significance in the past and as places with great significance in the fight for human equality. Bradley, for example, brought her Wells College women's studies classes to Women's Rights NHP, having moved to Wells from Hamilton College in the early 1980s to "get closer to Seneca Falls" and its religious and feminist past.³⁹

Lesbians

Self-identified lesbians comprise a subset of the feminists who began coming to Seneca Falls with the creation of Eisenhower College and the National Women's Hall of Fame, as well as participating in events related to the Women's Encampment for Peace and Freedom, Aqua Festival (a short lived event celebrating the canal in Seneca Falls), and eventually the creation and running of the park.⁴⁰ As one informant explained, these women, too, made pilgrimages to the area, recognizing how historically significant Seneca Falls was both as a place of reform and as symbol of America's feminist movement. Some lesbians grew up in Seneca Falls and moved away but retain a strong sense of connection to the historical significance of the town; some of these women have returned, feeling that the community is now more tolerant if not more open to their sexuality. Other lesbians, who grew up elsewhere, moved to Seneca Falls to be nearer to what they perceived to be a site of significance in the history of women's struggles in American society. Still others moved to Seneca Falls to open businesses that they hoped would benefit by their proximity to the park and its visitors. Additionally, various members of the park staff and the volunteers who have worked there since its inception have been self-identified lesbians.

The growing visibility of lesbians in town for events both related and unrelated to the park since the founding of Eisenhower College in 1965 has been a cause for concern among some

³⁷ Quotation from Heather Lee Miller, handwritten notes taken at the 2007 National Women's Hall of Fame induction ceremony, Seneca Falls, New York.

³⁸ Christine Moulton, informal interview by Heather Lee Miller and Emily Greenwald, March 16, 2007, National Women's Hall of Fame, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

³⁹ Ruth Bradley, Pat White, Dillwyn Otis, Carmen Reynolds, Sally Otis, Trudy Buxenbaum, and Paul Simkin, interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Scipio, N.Y. Transcript on file at Women's Rights NHP.

⁴⁰ Because of the potentially sensitive nature of this topic to informants, we have chosen not to reference anyone by name.

residents.⁴¹ One resident explained that in the 1970s and early 1980s, there was more activism in town than there had been in the (recent) past, “your gay and lesbians were getting very vocal, and this [was] totally foreign to this area.” At the same time, a number of “granola ladies [or] . . . hippie kind of women” were coming to town, further reinforcing the connection between feminists and lesbians. One resident explained that it is the history of the convention that first drew women to the area, but imagined that they then thought, “let’s go to Seneca Falls, women’s rights, so we’re gay, we’ll go to Seneca Falls and do what we want to do,” which shocked the residents of the town, which was in the 1970s, according to another informant, a “very conservative, Italian, Catholic community.” Thus another resident reported that Convention Days became known among locals as “dyke fest” and some local residents would refuse to go to work at establishments near the festival because they might see girls kissing or “something on those dykes might jump off on them.” The prevailing sense among local informants was that many residents of Seneca Falls, which was a conservative community in the 1970s, perceived that their town was being penetrated by a radical group during this time period, and this perception created resistance among townspeople to the park and what, in their eyes, it began to symbolize. As one informant explained, the women who came to Seneca Falls prior to the creation of the park were “crazy ladies.”

While not all feminists are lesbians and not all lesbians are feminist, a strong connection does exist between and among the two groups. Lesbians, feminists, and lesbian feminists generally agree that they have faced and continue to struggle against inextricably linked forms of oppression in U.S. society, usually termed *heterosexism*, which discriminates both against women and against any person who doesn’t adhere to the so-called heterosexual norm. Heterosexuals, who may or may not understand the complex dynamics involved in the formation of gender or sexual orientation, also tend to lump lesbians and feminists into one undifferentiated group. Thus, although the history of the 1848 convention that the park interprets is not specifically about the history of sexuality in the United States, many park neighbors report not being able to separate the nascent feminist history the park interprets with the perceived sexuality of the women who have been associated with feminism and/or the park since 1848.

Findings

Women’s Rights NHP commemorates an event of importance specifically to women’s historians and feminists, who believe that feminist activism was (and remains) essential to broadening women’s rights. It also draws clear parallels between early feminist activism and other reform movements of the day, such as abolitionism and religious reform. Various individuals and groups of people associated with promoting education about women’s history and the history of feminism have expressed an ongoing interest in the park and its resources. There are many women’s history organizations and scholars today with an active interest in the Women’s Rights NHP, such as the National Women’s History Project (founded in 1980) and the Women and Social Movements website.⁴² Even more individual scholars teach students about the significance of the 1848 convention every year in high school, community college, and university courses around the country. Self-defined feminist scholars of Quaker history perceive

⁴¹ Eisenhower College closed in 1983.

⁴² See National Women’s History Project, “Our History,” <http://www.nwhp.org/aboutnwhp/history.php>; and “Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000,” <http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/index.html>.

the Seneca Falls, Waterloo, and their outlying areas to have a significant place in the history of both Quakerism and women's rights in the United States. Feminists generally and subsets of feminists, such as women's historians, women's studies educators, and lesbians, and organizations like the Greater Rochester NOW, the NWHF, and the Friends groups for the park, all report a strong sense of connection to the place. Multiple members of these groups likened their visits to the park to "pilgrimages" and the Waterloo/Seneca Falls area to "Mecca."

The preliminary findings of this study strongly suggest that park resources are important to the identity, beliefs, and pedagogical practices of women's historians and feminists. Indeed, although women's historians and feminists and their organizations do not constitute traditional ethnographic groups, we would argue that they do comprise loosely organized cultural groups with a strong sense of association to the park's resources and the history it interprets. Further research is needed, however, to understand better the nature of this association.

Chapter 8: Recommendations

“What are people fifty years from now going to look back and say we did?”

—Juan Williams, 2007 Underground Railroad Convention, Rochester, N.Y.

The discussion below outlines data gaps in this study and offers recommendations (both historical and ethnographic) for how to fill them. The overall findings of this report indicate that there are few well-defined cultural groups with ethnographic connections to the park's resources but that there are groups and individuals who have strong historical connections to the ideas that the park interprets. As a result, some of the recommendations provided below are more historical than ethnographic.

Native Americans

Our research indicates that contemporary Iroquois feel connected to the nineteenth-century women's rights movement, including the 1848 Seneca Falls convention. We recommend further investigation of both the perception and the actual influence (if any) of Iroquois gender roles on the 1848 convention.

- Research the possible influence of Iroquois gender roles on convention participants. How much did they know about the Iroquois? What was the nature of their prior contacts?
 - Conduct research to determine the numbers and locations of Seneca, Cayuga, or other Iroquois in the Seneca Falls and Waterloo area around 1848.
 - Examine local media (newspapers, sermons) from the 1840s for information about and perceptions of Iroquois in the period.
 - Examine the official records of Quaker bodies associated with work on Iroquois reservations.
 - Collect additional documentation of Lucretia Mott's and James Mott's exposure to and understanding of the Iroquois.
 - Investigate Amy Post's exposure to and understanding of the Iroquois.
 - Search for additional published literature on the Iroquois that convention participants might have read.
 - Read participants' diaries, letters, and other personal writings to see if they mention having been exposed to Native peoples and their cultural practices before, during, or after the 1848 convention.
- Research Iroquois perceptions of association with the women's rights movement; examine whether these perceptions are long-standing or recent and how widely held they are. (It might be difficult to obtain concrete data on these points.)

- Examine Iroquois-produced media (newspapers, informational literature, published speeches) for discussion of this association over time.
- Begin tracking the spread of these perceptions by conducting additional interviews at planned intervals and by monitoring Iroquois-produced media.
- Investigate the influence of Sally Roesch Wagner's work on contemporary Iroquois perceptions.

African Americans

Although research exists on African American residency in Seneca County (Wellman and Warren), we recommend additional investigation of African Americans in the area at the time of the convention and their descendants to better delineate between those black Americans who lived in the area or were involved in the Underground Railroad and abolitionist movement at the time and those who moved to the area later. We also recommend further examination of African Americans' participation in convention anniversary events.

- Further investigate the presence of African Americans in the area before and after the 1848 convention.
 - Verify and add to the data Wellman and Warren present in their study of African American residency in Seneca County.
 - Trace the genealogy and networks of African Americans associated with the 1848 convention and abolitionist movement and find living descendants.
 - Conduct additional research in secondary literature to better understand the reasons for and patterns of outmigration that occurred.
- Further document the presence (or lack thereof) of African Americans at convention anniversary events, their use of the park's resources, or their understandings of the history the park interprets.
 - Look through visitors' logs and comment cards for information about self-identified people of color.
 - Interview past and present park staff to assess their perceptions of African American use and connections to the park.
 - Contact local African American student groups, such as Sankofa: The Black Student Union at Hobart and William Smith College, to assess potential connections with the park's resources.
 - Identify local African American residents of Seneca Falls and Waterloo and interview them about their presence in the area when the park was created and their knowledge of the park's resources and the history it interprets.

Religious Groups

Our research indicates that some Quakers, both in western New York and elsewhere, see the resources of Women's Rights NHP as sustaining their identities and cultural practices. More important is the sense that many Quakers have of being connected to the women's rights and abolitionist movements by a shared intellectual history. Adherents to other religious denominations, however, appear not to have such connections. We do not think that further research is needed to document these connections (or lack thereof) to the creation of the park. However, further historical research on the interrelated religious groups present in the so-called Burned-Over District of upstate New York could help park staff understand the complex network of social reformers with strong religious bases of association that fueled the 1848 convention.

- Conduct documentary research about and interview members of the current Perry City Friends Meeting to determine possible connections among their historic congregation (Hector Monthly Meeting and meeting for worship) and other reformist Quakers associated with the 1848 convention.
- We also recommend doing historical research and interviews with contemporary members of the First Universalist Church in Rochester to determine whether they have traditional associations to the 1848 convention like those of the First Unitarians.

Descendants

Our research indicates that many descendants are developing a stronger sense of connection to the resources of Women's Rights NHP. While it would be a stretch to say that buildings like the Hunt House sustain their identities and cultural practices, family members regularly attend park functions and have ongoing and strengthening relationships with park staff and other family members. We recommend additional research as follows:

- Continue the process of locating descendants by tracing the genealogy of all signers. Interview descendants from other families to assess their sense of connection to the park's resources.
- Conduct further research into Hunt and M'Clintock family traditions about family possessions that played a role in the beginning of the women's rights movement.
- Explore the relationships of descendants from the mid-twentieth century, such as Anna Lord Strauss, to the park's resources.¹

Park Neighbors

Our research revealed that park neighbors have had associations with the resources the park manages and the history it interprets predating the creation of the park. However, once the park took over management of those resources, and in some cases altered their appearance and use, local use of and associations with these resources has changed. Among park neighbors, the local

¹ For Strauss, records are available at the Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, and in the Kathryn H. Stone papers at the University of Virginia.

ethnic groups we studied (Irish and Italians), know of the resources managed by Women's Rights NHP and understand the history the park interprets. These connections, however, like those reported by local residents who do not feel a strong kinship to a particular ethnic community, are primarily the result of having grown up in the town not a function of ethnic heritage or affiliation with local ethnic communities or organizations. To better understand these phenomena, we recommend as follows:

- Conduct further research on local participants in anniversary events and the creation of the park to determine how their ethnic, class, religious, or other cultural affiliations play into their understandings of and connections to park resources.
- Collect additional documentation from local repositories and from secondary literature to better understand how Irish and Italian (and other ethnic) participation in anniversary events related to their expression of ethnic identity.
- Interview town residents and business owners who were present during the 1970s and 1980s to better understand how they used the resources the park now manages and what meanings they attached to those buildings and places within their community before the park was created.

Women's Historians

Strong connections and associations between women's historians, women's studies scholars, feminists, and lesbians and park resources and themes were indicated by informants. Further research into the nature of these groups' connections and associations is needed.

- Organizational records of groups identified by informants should be examined for an understanding of the historical relationship between those groups and park resources and themes.
- Further interviews may be necessary to document how identities, practices, and beliefs are tied to park resources and themes, and whether this varies between groups or is similar for all groups identified in this chapter.

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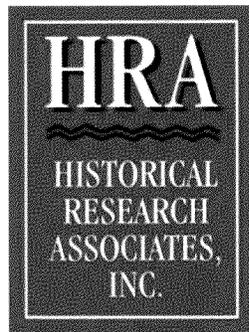
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Appendix A

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,
Women's Rights National Historic Park
Research Plan, Work Plan, and Outline

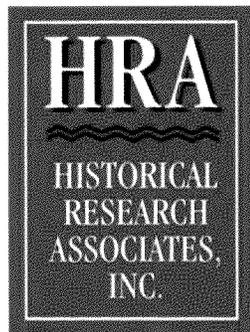
**Ethnographic Overview and Assessment
Women's Rights National Historical Park
Research Plan, Work Plan, and Outline**

Submitted to



Seneca Falls, New York

Submitted by



**Heather Lee Miller, Ph.D.
Emily Greenwald, Ph.D.**

July 5, 2007

Table of Contents

1.0	Research Design	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	General Goals	1
1.3	Ethnographic Method	1
1.4	Spatial Approach	2
1.5	Identifying and Defining Traditionally and Neo-traditionally Associated People	2
1.6	Research Approaches and Priorities for Groups of Interest	4
1.6.1	Native Americans	4
1.6.2	Religious Groups	5
1.6.3	African Americans	5
1.6.4	Convention and Declaration Descendants	6
1.6.5	Park Neighbors and Community Members	6
1.6.6	Park-Associated Women’s Rights Groups	6
1.6.7	Groups for Further Inquiry	7
2.0	Fieldwork Plan	7
2.1	General Schedule	7
2.2	Travel	8
	Trip 1 (March 2007): Seneca Falls, Waterloo, and Rochester	8
	Trip 2 (June 2007): Philadelphia	9
	Trip 2 (June 2007): Convention Days, Auburn, and Geneva	9
	Trip 4 (August 2007): Rochester and Seneca Falls	9
	Trips 5 and 6 (September-October, 2007): Interviews, Participant Observation, Western and Central New York	9
2.3	Literature Review and Document Research	9
2.4	Participant Observation and Interviews	10
3.0	Report Preparation	12
3.1	General Schedule	12
3.2	Draft Chapter (May 30, 2007)	12
3.3	First Draft of Final Report (January 15, 2008)	13
3.4	Second Draft of Final Report (May 1, 2008)	13
3.5	Final Report (August 15, 2008)	13
3.6	Publication of Report (November 15, 2008)	13
4.0	Proposed Report Outline	14

1.0 Research Design

1.1 Introduction

In September 2006, the National Park Service hired Historical Research Associates, Inc. (HRA), to complete an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for the Women's Rights National Historic Park in Seneca Falls, New York. Dr. Heather Lee Miller is the principal investigator and will conduct the bulk of research on African-American, religious, women's rights' organizations, and local traditionally associated people.¹ Dr. Emily Greenwald will assist Miller, focusing primarily on Native American cultural groups. Dr. Shirley Yee, professor of Women's Studies, History, and Ethnic Studies at the University of Washington is serving as an outside advisor on the project and has been actively involved in aiding Miller and Greenwald in their development of the research plan. HRA anticipates that Yee's role will continue as the research and interviewing stages get under way, as well as serving as an outside reader for the draft report. For the purposes of this Work Plan, we use HRA to refer to Miller and Greenwald collectively and individually.

1.2 General Goals

The goals of this project are (1) to use the ethnographic method to delineate, research, and explicate the relationships to the park of traditionally associated people; (2) to gather and analyze data about culturally specific uses of cultural and natural resources within the present park boundaries.

1.3 Ethnographic Method

Ethnographic method incorporates a range of data sources: archival and published documents, historic photographs, census information, interviews, oral and life histories, mapping, site visits, participant observation, surveys, focus groups, and place-name analysis. Our emphasis for the WORI study will be on documentary research, participant observation, and ethnographic interviews with individuals and groups.

The ethnographic method is, by nature, dynamic. While we intend to carry out our field research as outlined in Part 2 of this Work Plan, we recognize that this is inevitably an organic process. HRA will be responsive to what the ethnographic research and collaboration with park staff and traditionally associated people reveals over time.

¹ The National Park Service often abbreviates "traditionally associated people" as TAP. We have chosen not to use the acronym here.

1.4 Spatial Approach

We intend to approach the fieldwork by moving from the center outward in a series of concentric circles. While the focus for this study is a specific place—WORI—and its resources, that place is situated historically in local, regional, and national contexts. For example, planning for the 1848 Seneca Falls convention took place at the Hunt and M’Clintock residences in nearby Waterloo and an adjourned meeting was held in Rochester just two weeks after the July 19-20 meeting in Seneca Falls. This cluster of reform activity was in turn tied to larger events regionally, statewide, and nationally.

Similarly, present-day connections to WORI have a geographical component. In all of our field research and interviews, we will seek to reveal how the 1848 convention and its associated historical resources fit into both local and regional contexts, including relationships to other parks and historical resources, such as the Harriet Tubman House in Auburn or the Ganondagon State Historical Park near Victor. We will also examine how WORI resources interrelate with the NPS’s proposed Votes for Women Trail and Underground Railroad Network to Freedom, and with the Heritage New York’s Underground Railroad and New York’s Women’s History trails.

1.5 Identifying and Defining Traditionally and Neo-traditionally Associated People

An important goal of the WORI Ethnographic Overview and Assessment will be developing a nuanced understanding of what/who constitutes a traditionally associated people for this park unit. The Park Service definition of a traditionally associated people is a “distinct sociocultural communities and groups that (1) assign cultural importance to a National Park or the natural and cultural resources within the park; (2) whose associations precede the establishment of the park and have endured for at least two generations (40 years); and 3) who regard park resources as essential to their development and ongoing identity as a culturally distinct group (that is, closely associated with their sense of purpose, heritage, and existence as a people).”² As Cathy Stanton describes with a useful graphic in her Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Hopewell Furnace NHS (HOFU), traditionally associated people are a subgroup of stakeholders, which is itself a subgroup of the general public.³

Outside the potential traditionally associated people that the NPS has identified, HRA believes that other groups and institutions will also come to light that perhaps fit less neatly into the official definition of such groups. These have been referred to elsewhere as “invisible” or indirectly traditionally associated people. At some NPS locations, finding clear examples of traditionally associated groups has been hard. Stanton, for example, found that none of the identified groups with potential association to HOFU fit the official definition. And yet, there are definite people and groups affiliated with the site. To address this definitional problem, Stanton

² Statement of Work, Request for Quotation #Q1955060002, 4.

³ Cathy Stanton, “Cultures in Flux: New Approaches to ‘Traditional Association’ at Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site,” Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, draft, 4, provided to HRA by Chuck Smythe.

devised a framework containing three fluid subcategories of what she calls neo-traditionally associated people:

1. Traditional (predating the park) and associated (park resources important to identity) people who are not a group: for example descendants of Hopewell Furnace workers.
2. Traditional groups who are not associated: for example, Mennonites.
3. Associated groups who are not traditional: for example, HOFU staff.⁴

The NPS has identified a number of groups as potentially having traditional associations with WORI: Native Americans, certain religious groups, African Americans, convention and Declaration descendants, park-associated women's rights groups and organizations, and park neighbors and community members. However, HRA's preliminary research at WORI indicates that these groups are in some cases similarly ambiguous to those that Stanton found at HOFU and we intend to follow Stanton's model to create a more nuanced view of the groups associated with WORI. Native Americans and African Americans, for example, appear to be traditional but not associated to WORI's resources.

Examples of other neo-traditionally associated people could be, for example, the community of women's history scholars in local master's and PhD programs, such as at SUNY Binghamton (nontraditional or indirectly traditional, but associated); local or nonlocal LGBT community members (traditional and possibly associated, but not necessarily a cohesive group); or scholars who were affiliated at one time with Eisenhower College, which is no longer extant but whose faculty members, many of whom were feminists, advocated the park's creation (nontraditional, but associated).

Another cultural group that defies easy definition in this study is the Italian American community of Seneca Falls, whose presence in the area long postdates the 1848 convention (evidence indicates that few or no Italian immigrants attended the convention or lived in Seneca Falls during that period) but predates the creation of the Park (Italian immigration was on the rise in Seneca Falls by the 1890s). Although Italian Americans comprise a significant percentage of Seneca Falls' population and have throughout the twentieth century, their association with the park and its resources has been both ambiguous and ambivalent. This study seeks to understand the nature of the relationship, both actual and perceived.

The goal of the ethnographic overview and assessment is to use ethnohistorical and ethnographic interview methods to come to a clearer understanding of the complex relationships among the various traditionally, nontraditionally, and neo-traditionally groups associated with WORI. HRA will delineate those people who have associations with the Park and then document each group's past and present relationships with WORI to determine which of these groups fit the NPS definition of a traditionally associated people and which fall into a more ambiguous designation but which merit consideration as the park clarifies and enhances its meanings to and relationships with those cultural groups.

⁴ Stanton, "Cultures in Flux," 5-9.

1.6 Research Approaches and Priorities for Groups of Interest

Each of the potential known traditionally or neo-traditionally associated people and groups is unique, and we will tailor our research strategies and priorities accordingly.

According to the scope of work, HRA considers the first five groups listed below to be of the highest priority. However, we anticipate that covering the vast amount of resources associated with African Americans and religious denominations, about which there is a large universe of secondary and primary literature, will require more work than the other groups. We have already pinpointed the most essential secondary literature pertaining to these traditionally associated people and will confine ourselves as much as possible to those that speak directly to the project at hand both geographically and temporally. Our priority with these groups is not to establish historic connections—these links are well documented—but rather to trace how these connections frayed or were maintained in the years between 1848 and the present.

The connections of declaration signers' descendents to WORI similarly do not need elucidation. Rather, of importance to this study is how family connections persisted or disappeared over the past 160 years.

Available resources pertaining to the potential Native American connection to WORI are narrower in scope. Our priority with Native Americans is to determine whether documentary evidence exists to establish a significant historic connection between early women's rights reformers and Native Americans that were living in the Seneca Falls area at the time of the 1848 convention.

Park neighbors, park-associated women's rights groups, and potential invisible traditionally associated people are of secondary importance to this project, following the four main traditionally associated people identified in the preceding two paragraphs, but they are still a significant part of this study.

Our research approaches for the groups in this study are described in more detail below.

1.6.1 Native Americans

A great deal of historical and anthropological literature exists on the Native American people who once populated the region where the towns of Seneca Falls and Waterloo are now situated. We will use published literature for basic historical and cultural information, including the historic demography of Iroquois people in and around Seneca Falls and Waterloo, as well as the current location of those people who might maintain ties to their traditional homelands and hunting and fishing grounds. We will also search key records repositories for information about specific connections between Native Americans and convention participants.⁵ Concurrent with this work, we will meet with individuals who are knowledgeable about local Indian history and culture who can point us to potential interview subjects. Through interviews, we will ask questions about the nature of contemporary relationships among the various Six Nations and other groups of interest (such as Quakers or women's heritage and historical organizations).

⁵ Particular repositories of interest are the University of Rochester Rare Books and Special Collections and the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore.

Sally Roesch Wagner, Executive Director of the Matilda Joselyn Gage Foundation, has published and delivered public presentations on the influence of local Native American women on the white women's rights movement and first-wave feminists. Her work may be contributing to a new perception of a relationship between the Iroquois that remained in Western New York in the early nineteenth century and the organizers and attendees of the Seneca Falls convention. First, we will assess the literature upon which Wagner has based her claims for a connection between Native American and white women involved in feminist activism. Then we will explore whether and how contemporary feminist or Native American groups with real or perceived associations to WORI might fit into the neo-traditionally associated groups of people described above.

1.6.2 Religious Groups

The groups of potential interest are Quakers, Wesleyans, Methodists, Unitarians, and the AME. Archival research will focus on the literature of these groups around the time of the convention that sheds light on their relationship to women's rights generally or to the convention specifically. We anticipate that published sermons and tracts regarding women's rights and congregational development (for example, the *Basis of Religious Association*, signed by Congregational Friends' clerks Thomas M'Clintock and Rhoda DeGarmo, which erased gender differences in reformed congregations in the Seneca Falls area soon after the first convention) will be useful sources of information.

For the Quakers, we will contact meetings in the area to identify potential interview subjects and to do participant observation work. Prominent women's historian Judith Wellman and some WORI staff and volunteers are Quakers, and we will talk with them about their perceptions the relationship between Quakers and WORI.

For the other religious groups, we will locate congregations that were associated with both the Seneca Falls convention and the Rochester women's rights convention, which happened two weeks after Seneca Falls and comprised a number of the original convention's conveners and attendees. We will explore how these congregations developed over time locally and whether they maintained a connection to the women's rights movement. We will contact pastors to identify who keeps the history of the congregation and to see if they have knowledge of or perceptions of associations between their sect's beliefs and adherents and the women's rights movement. A good example of such a congregation is the Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, which was founded in 1827 and is the oldest black church in Rochester. Also in Rochester is the First Unitarian Church, which was the site of the second women's rights convention as well as the 1878 commemoration of the Seneca Falls Convention.

We will seek to determine whether past/present WORI staff or volunteers see themselves as members of religious groups that have been associated traditionally with the Seneca Falls Convention or who have notice certain groups of park visitors that self-identify as having a traditional association to the park. It is not clear where this research will lead, but it is a starting point.

1.6.3 African Americans

Judith Wellman, Tanya Warren, and others have conducted extensive research on local African Americans, tracing who was present at the time of the convention and where those

people went over time. Their work will serve as an important source of African American history in the area.

We will look for the descendants of Seneca Falls and Waterloo African Americans. Through informal and formal interviews, we will determine what they know of their ancestors' connections to the women's rights movement and to the convention. We will also ask them about their own relationships to and perceptions of WORI.

This research will likely lead us to Auburn, Geneva, Rochester, and other Western New York communities to seek out people who are involved in preserving African American history and historic sites. Examples will likely include the Harriet Tubman House and associated AME church in Auburn; the Geneva County Historical Society; local sites related to Frederick Douglass and other African Americans who supported women's rights or were associated with the resources located at WORI, such as Jermaine Loguen (Whitesboro, N.Y., AME Church) and William C. Nell (Rochester). We will network from there to find people who can tell us more about traditional ties among African Americans to the Seneca Falls convention and WORI resources.

1.6.4 Convention and Declaration Descendants

Park staff have already done a great deal of work to identify convention descendants, and they continue to expand that knowledge through such projects as the "Hunt for the Hunts." We will work with park staff to identify appropriate interview subjects. We will also use records of convention commemorations to determine which descendants have participated over time. We will seek to find out what factors have led some descendants to maintain a relationship with Seneca Falls while others have not.

1.6.5 Park Neighbors and Community Members

Based on our research to date, we anticipate that local groups will not fit the NPS definition of traditionally associated people. But we also know that WORI is interested in its relationship with the local business and cultural communities, so we will investigate these connections. We see three particular groups of interest (although we recognize that they may not see themselves as coherent groups): (1) the Seneca Falls business community, particularly past and present business owners on Fall Street; (2) founders, directors, and staff of other museums and interpretive spaces in Seneca Falls; and (3) the Italian American community.

Identify and meet with community members involved in founding of the park. Identify and meet with business owners on Fall Street to understand their perceptions of and relationship to WORI. Tour other Fall Street interpretive sites and talk with staff about the relationships of their museums to WORI.

Our conversations with park staff and others have revealed some of the connections between Eisenhower College and the park. We will talk with alumni and former faculty to learn more.

1.6.6 Park-Associated Women's Rights Groups

Information from park staff and records of convention commemorations will help us determine which women's rights groups have maintained a relationship with the convention sites. We will contact the leadership of these organizations to network for interview subjects.

Groups of particular interest are the Friends of Women's Rights National Park, Inc., the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation (which seems only to have one member at this time, but which was a strong organization in the 1980s), the Seneca Falls Business and Professional Women's Club, and the National Women's Hall of Fame. We will also contact the National Organization for Women and the National Women's Studies Association to see how they understand their relationships to WORL.

Many women's historians (Miller included) have seen a trip Seneca Falls as a necessary pilgrimage in their training process. HRA's perception is that local graduate programs in women's history, most notably those at SUNY Binghamton and Buffalo, have both generated and influenced ongoing cohorts of women's historians, beginning around the time of the creation of WORL. Although the teaching of women's history did not solidify until the 1970s, early historians of women in the United States such as Mary Beard, Eleanor Flexner, and Gerda Lerner paid close attention to the struggle for woman suffrage and women's rights that began in Seneca Falls, and it was the direct effort of these pioneer feminist historians that led to the creation of the first women's history graduate degrees from which such scholars as Kathryn Kish Sklar and Tom Dublin came forth. Sklar, Dublin, and others have in turn used their knowledge of and proximity to the resources of the early women's rights movement in the form of such places as Seneca Falls to generate not only graduate students but also a plethora of books, articles, and now online sources, such as the Women and Social Movements Website, which continue to inform people interested in women's history today. Thus of interest to this study is how women's historians trained in, influenced by, and often now employed by local women's history programs perceive the importance of Seneca Falls to telling the history of women's rights in the United States. To get at this story, HRA will interview local women's historians both within and outside the park. These women may include Anne Derousie, Vivien Rose, Judith Wellman, Nancy Hewitt, Kathryn Kish Sklar, Tom Dublin, Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, and others.

1.6.7 Groups for Further Inquiry

Preliminary research indicates that other groups and organizations have an interest in WORL, but that they fall well outside the definition of either traditionally or neo-traditionally associated people. While we will not conduct research on these groups specifically, we will track those that come up in conversations with park staff and others. Our report will include a brief discussion of those groups we think merit further inquiry. These might include the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation and organizations promoting tourism in the area (such as Seneca County Tourism).

2.0 Fieldwork Plan

2.1 General Schedule

Work completed to date (this has been updated to reflect work completed by July 5, 2007):

- Heather has made a preliminary visit to WORL to meet staff and to collect records from WORL holdings.

- Heather and Emily have begun compiling a bibliographic database, which also contains their notes on materials collected to date.
- Heather and Emily have collected what they believe to be the bulk of secondary sources to provide background information for the report.
- Heather and Emily visited WORI and surrounding sites in March 2007, conducted research in records repositories, and met with potential interview subjects.
- Draft Chapter submitted May 30, 2007.
- Heather conducted research in the Friend Historical libraries at Swarthmore and Haverford colleges.

Work to be completed between July 2007 and October 2007:

- Conduct research in additional records repositories.
- Participant-observation work with traditionally associated people.
- Attend and observe Convention Days.
- Additional networking to identify interview subjects.
- Interviews.

Work to be completed between October 2007 and January 2008:

- Draft report.
- Follow-up with interview subjects (by phone), if needed.

Work to be completed between January 2008 and November 2008:

- Revise and finalize report according to schedule in Part 3 of this Work Plan.

2.2 Travel

We have organized the repositories and important sites into logical groupings so that each trip can be as efficient as possible. At the same time, we recognize that we will need to be flexible in the field, responding to opportunities for networking and participant-observation work. The final two trips will be dedicated to interviews, although interviewing will also occur on earlier trips (once the interview plan is finalized). Each trip will last a week.

Trip 1 (March 2007): Seneca Falls, Waterloo, and Rochester

Heather and Emily will visit the following repositories and sites, traveling separately (50 hours each, total 100 hours).

- Ganondagon State Historic Site, Victor
- Seneca-Iroquois National Museum, Salamanca
- University of Rochester Rare Books and Special Collections
- Rochester Museum and Science Center
- Seneca Falls Historical Society
- Waterloo Historical Society
- Seneca County Courthouse, Waterloo

(Note: This trip was completed the week of March 12, 2007.)

Trip 2 (June 2007): Philadelphia

Heather will visit Haverford College Library and the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College (40 hours). She will conduct research in Quaker records pertaining to women's rights, connections between Seneca Falls-area Quakers and the Iroquois, and connections between Seneca Falls-area Quakers and African Americans.

- Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library
- Haverford College, Friends Historical Library

(Note: This trip was completed successfully the week of June 4, 2007.)

Trip 3 (July 2007): Convention Days, Auburn, and Geneva

Heather will spend a week in Seneca Falls and the surrounding area (40 hours), and will attend Convention Days, July 19-20. On the same trip, she will speak with people in the surrounding area knowledgeable about African Americans' past and present relationships to WORL. She will visit the following sites in Auburn and Geneva:

- Harriet Tubman House and African Methodist Episcopal Church, Auburn.
- Auburn Public Library
- Geneva Free Library
- Geneva Historical Society

Trip 4 (August 2007): Rochester and Seneca Falls

Heather will spend a week in Rochester and Seneca Falls (60 hours) to follow up on leads pertaining to Quakers and African Americans in the area:

- Roberts Wesleyan College Library
- University of Rochester Rare Books and Special Collections (African American history)
- Rochester Museum and Science Center (African American history)
- Farmington (Quaker) Meeting, Waterloo
- Poplar Ridge (Quaker) Meeting, Poplar Ridge

Trips 5 and 6 (September-October, 2007): Interviews, Participant Observation, Western and Central New York

Heather will schedule two trips for interviews, one to the Seneca Falls/Waterloo area and one to western and central New York (90 hours). Emily will join Heather for one of these weeks, traveling separately, to interview Native American informants and to assist with other interviews as needed (40 hours).

2.3 Literature Review and Document Research

The backbone of this study will be data gathered during a comprehensive review and evaluation of existing ethnohistorical and ethnographic records for people associated with WORL and its resources. This research will provide the chronological framework and historical details for a detailed and systematic ethnohistory of the park's traditionally associated people for the ethnohistorical portion of the report. Information derived from existing archival and published

materials will also serve as background for ethnographic interviews of knowledgeable individuals from park-associated groups. We understand that traditionally associated people for WORI may be national in scope, but it is their local and regional interactions with the park that most matter for this study. Therefore, we will start with local repositories and move outward.

HRA has already begun the process of locating relevant materials and compiling a detailed bibliography of related primary and secondary sources as part of the process of writing this research plan. So as not to duplicate our efforts, we first visited WORI's library and scoured the archives, resource files, and library stacks for relevant materials. As of this writing, we have three banker's boxes full of primary documents and secondary articles, as well as approximately one hundred books checked out or flagged for check out in local libraries. All bibliographical information is being entered into an Access database, created specifically for this project. We are taking notes on these sources in the database for ease of data retrieval at the writing stage. The scope of the literature review cannot possibly encompass the reading of all these sources, but it will allow us to target the best sources to utilize in the ethnohistory. The database should serve as a useful jumping off point for future research by park staff and we hope will add substantially to the park's overall knowledge base regarding its traditionally associated people.

The next phase of documentary research is to locate as yet unknown materials that further illuminate the historical connections of the traditionally associated people to WORI. Preliminary research in repositories that are known to house promising collections has been done and contacts with archivists, such as Chris Densmore at the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, which holds a substantial collection on Native American–Quaker interactions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and Mary Huth at the University of Rochester, which houses many related collections, including the Frederick Douglass, Gerrit Smith, Amy and Isaac Post, and Susan B. Anthony papers, have already helped us efficiently pinpoint places for fruitful research.

2.4 Participant Observation and Interviews

If documentary evidence provides the backbone and skeletal structure of this study, then ethnographic interviews will flesh it out. We have two main goals for these interviews. First, we will attempt to fill data gaps identified during the documentary research and also to gather additional documentary materials that informants may have in their possession or have knowledge of. Second, and of utmost importance to this study, we will seek to reveal the manifestations and perceptions of traditionally associated people's ties to WORI—how their identities as members of each group connect to the park. A group's identity can manifest as symbols, rituals, and practices that are associated with traditional associations. Participant observation and interview methods can reveal information about cultural practices that may be contained in informants' knowledge of genealogy, oral or folk history, traditional uses of sites within the park, place names and associated stories, legends, religious practices, and other past or present use of the park.

We anticipate that western and central New York will be the most fruitful areas for finding interview subjects and for conducting participant-observation work. HRA will attend traditionally associated people group events when possible to learn about their issues, values, and practices. We will seek opportunities to discuss with groups and with individual members their

perceptions and remembrances of past use, present interactions with, and hopes for future use of park resources.

Interviews will begin after we have completed a majority of the documentary background research and have drafted the ethnohistorical sections of the report. During the site visits for the background research, we will begin networking to identify potential interview subjects. Prior to conducting formal interviews, HRA will draft an interview plan that details our interview protocols (including permissions waivers) and outlines the questions we intend to ask interviewees.

On our research trips to archives, repositories, and significant sites, we will seek opportunities to conduct informal interviews. We anticipate that our conversations with archivists and others will be valuable sources of information, as well as providing networking opportunities to further our search for interview subjects.

Our methods for recording formal interviews will take into account the informant's comfort level. Ideally, we would like to record each formal interview on digital audio tape, but we recognize that not all interviewees will allow this and that some settings may not permit audio recording. In cases where we cannot record the interview, we will keep detailed notes of the conversation. We plan to transcribe recorded interviews with key informants, in order to make them more accessible for park use. We plan to conduct complete interviews in person, but if necessary, we will conduct follow-up interviews by phone. In addition, we may identify some interview subjects who live so distant from the park or a town in which we will be conducting research that a phone interview is the only available option.

During the interviews, we will ask subjects about, and try to collect, supporting evidence that might not be readily available elsewhere. Such evidence might include diaries, journals, meeting minutes, photographs, organization rolls, and so on. These sources will complement the documentary evidence found in established repositories and may shed different light on traditional cultural associations with WORL.

3.0 Report Preparation

3.1 General Schedule

The National Park Service and HRA have agreed to the following deadlines for written work:

Date	Milestone
May 30, 2007	Draft chapter due to NPS.
June 30, 2007	NPS comments on draft chapter due to HRA.
January 15, 2008	First draft of final report due to NPS.
March 15, 2008	NPS comments due to HRA.
May 1, 2008	Second draft of final report due to NPS.
July 1, 2008	NPS comments due to HRA.
August 15, 2008	Final report due to NPS.
September 15, 2008	NPS publication review period ends.
November 15, 2008	HRA submits final publication (and all materials) to NPS.

3.2 Draft Chapter (May 30, 2007)

Heather will draft Chapter 6 (Chapter VI: The 1848 Convention: Myth, Memory, and Memorializing) (56 hours). HRA has collected primary documents from WORJ on the 1848 convention anniversary celebrations and other milestone events in women's history that have taken place prior to the creation of the park. We will also rely on contemporary theoretical discussions of the meaning and myth of historical sites to ground our narrative about the changing meanings and myths that Seneca Falls has had for feminists, men and women religious, African Americans, Native Americans, and descendants of signers over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus drafting this primarily historical and theoretical chapter first will allow us to touch on each traditionally associated people to be discussed in the larger study without having completed all of the research.

The objective of the chapter is to discuss how the women's rights movement evolved over time and how the changing emphasis and face of the movement was reflected in each commemoration of the 1848 Convention, as well as in other events that took place in Seneca Falls, such as the celebration surrounding passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. To the extent that sources are available, the chapter will explore the decision-making processes of event organizers about where to hold the event; what and who would be included in each event; how national, regional, and local media outlets portrayed the event; and what the program of each event can tell us about larger trends and tensions within the feminist movement. The content of each commemoration will speak to the involvement of different traditionally associated people over time, and how that involvement waxed and waned as the women's rights movement transformed over time from one firmly rooted in religious, abolitionist, and women's rights rhetoric to one that shunned racial cooperation in favor of an emphasis on white women's political rights and so on. The chapter will also allow us to explore what the meaning of the site of the Seneca Falls convention has meant to those people who have traveled to attend each

commemoration (not all of which were held in Seneca Falls) and how that meaning changed over time.

Emily will review and comment on the chapter (4 hours) and Dave Strohmaier will copyedit (4 hours). Heather will revise the chapter in response to their comments (8 hours).

3.3 First Draft of Final Report (January 15, 2008)

Heather will draft chapters 2-7 and 9-13 (please see the chapter outline in Part 4 of this Work Plan). (160 hours). Emily will draft chapters 1 and 8 (60 hours). They will review and comment on each other's work (Heather 8 hours, Emily 20 hours). Dave will copyedit the report (16 hours).

3.4 Second Draft of Final Report (May 1, 2008)

Heather and Emily will address comments NPS comments on their respective chapters (Heather 40 hours, Emily 8 hours).

3.5 Final Report (August 15, 2008)

Heather and Emily will address NPS comments on their respective chapters (Heather 24 hours, Emily 4 hours). Dave will copyedit the report (10 hours).

3.6 Publication of Report (November 15, 2008)

HRA will submit 100 bound copies of the final comprehensive report, according to the specifications of the Statement of Work.

4.0 Proposed Report Outline

TITLE PAGE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

Objective: Describe purpose of project, methodology, and provide basic description of Seneca County.

- Project Description.
- Methodology.
- Geographical description of region.

PART I: ETHNOHISTORY OF THE SENECA FALLS/WATERLOO REGION

CHAPTER I: NATIVE AMERICANS IN WESTERN NEW YORK

Objective: To provide an overview of the Native experience prior to, during, and after European incursion into western New York.

- Native origin accounts; explanations of who came to be where.
- Precontact lifeways.
 - Subsistence/economy (with attention to how the Seneca Falls/Waterloo area fit into Native economies).
 - Culture (with attention to gender roles).
 - Sociopolitical organization.
- Significant places.
 - Waterloo (Skoiyase – Cayuga fishing village).
 - Seneca Falls (Sha-se-onse – Swift Running Waters).
 - Others TBD.
- Early contact.
 - Jesuit Missions.
 - European settlement.
- American Revolution.
 - 1779, General Sullivan’s campaign.
 - 1784, Red Jacket and Ft. Stanwix.
- Changing land base.
 - Treaties with the U.S.
 - Treaties with New York State.
 - Expansion of Euroamerican settlement.
 - Quaker missionization.
 - Reservations.

- Land claims in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.
 - Seneca and Cayuga claims.
 - Repurchase of lands within traditional territory.

CHAPTER II: THE ROADS TO AND FROM SENECA COUNTY, 1780S-1865

Objective: Describe non-Native groups of people coming to the area and development of region's economy and social fabric through the end of the Civil War.

Early Euroamerican Settlement and Contact with Native Americans.

- Geographical Description – Euroamerican perspective on place.
- Western New York, Finger Lakes and Canal System.
- Seneca County, Seneca Falls and Waterloo.
 - Euroamerican Settlement begins in 1780s.
 - Ethnic, social, religious, political makeup of first settlers.
 - From Eastern states, Pennsylvania, and Great Britain.
 - African Americans arrive in the area.
 - Push/Pull factors.
 - Agriculture and Industry.
 - Religious divisions.
 - Military Tracts.
 - Canal System and water power attracts industry and provides transportation routes.
 - Growing towns in western New York.
 - General overview of area—primarily Seneca County.
 - Seneca Falls, founded 1787 (Sha-se-onse – Swift Running Waters); incorporated 1831/1837.
 - Seneca County created from Cayuga County in 1804.
 - Churches.
 - First Presbyterian, 1807 (current building 1873).
 - First Methodist Church, 1831 (rebuilt in 1871-72).
 - Trinity Episcopal Church, 1831.
 - St. Patrick's Catholic Church (originally St. Jerome), 1836.
 - Irish – arrived in S.F. in 1848-49.
 - Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1843.
 - Industry.
 - Hatmaking.
 - Cooperage, boat building.
 - Paper mills.
 - Flour mills.
 - Clocks.
 - Pumps (Cowing 1807; Gould Pumps 1849).
 - Woolen mills (Seneca Woolen Mills 1844; Seneca Knitting Mills 1860).

- Demographics and ethnic patterns of settlement through 1865.
 - Who came when and why?
 - Employment in industry by race, ethnicity, gender, geography.
- Waterloo, founded 1824 (on site of Skoiyase – Cayuga fishing village).
 - Churches.
 - Industry.
 - Demographics and ethnic patterns of settlement through 1865.

CHAPTER III: THE ROOTS OF WOMEN’S RIGHTS: RELIGION, RACE, AND POLITICS, 1800-1848

Objective: Emphasize essential links between religious reform, abolitionism, and calls for a women’s rights convention.

- Religious Ferment and Dissent in the Burned Over District.
 - Second Great Awakening.
 - Quaker Missionizing.
 - Lucretia Mott and others, ministering to the Indians.
 - Ca. 1820-1830, The Kingdom – Joseph Smith, Mormonism.
 - Trial of Rhoda Bement, Seneca Falls, 1843.
 - Other religious reform.
- Abolition and Underground Railroad.
 - Abolitionism, national and international context.
 - Abolitionism, regional and local context.
 - Who, what, where, when, and how.
 - Language of freedom.
 - Underground Railroad stops and connections.
 - Who, what, where, when, and how.
 - M’Clintocks – Jermain Loguen.
 - Hunts.
 - Others.
- Early women’s rights reforms and reformers arrive in area.
 - Amelia Bloomer and *The Lily*, 1847.
 - M’Clintock family.
 - Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
 - Language of freedom.
 - Others.

CHAPTER IV: THE SENECA FALLS WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION AND BEYOND: 1848-1865

Objective: Discuss the Convention and its impact on women's rights organizing until the end of the Civil War. Discuss where Convention attendees and regional supporters moved and why (or why not).

- Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention, 1848.
 - Who was there? Who wasn't? Why?
 - Women's demands and their relation to ethnicity, religion, and race.
 - Men's support of women's rights.
 - Local and national reactions to the convention.
- Other Woman's Rights Conventions modeled on Seneca Falls.
 - Rochester 1848 – similarities and differences.
- ECS and others, religious connections after the conference.
 - Quaker.
 - Amy Post, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth M'Clintock, etc.
 - 1851, Susan B. Anthony meets ECS.
 - Development in relation to women's rights movement.
 - E.g., Quaker doctrine of spirituality within and without.
 - ECS claims philosophical association with Quakerism.
 - Spiritualism.
 - Posts and Foxes.
 - Development in relation to women's rights movement.
 - AME Church.
 - Seneca County and regional AME churches.
 - Harriet Tubman House and associated AME Church.
 - Development in relation to ongoing women's rights movement.
 - Wesleyan Methodist.
 - Seneca County and regional Wesleyan churches.
 - Development in relation to women's rights movement.
 - Unitarian (later Unitarian/Universalist).
 - Ties to earlier regional denominations.
 - Development in relation to women's rights movement and other reforms.
- ECS and others, African American and abolitionist connections after the convention.
 - Network to Freedom/Underground Railroad.
 - Who was involved?
 - Black feminism and growing tensions among white and black feminists.
 - Douglass family, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Mary Ann Shadd Cary.
- ECS and others, Native American connections after the conference.
 - Who was involved? Where? How?

CHAPTER V: THE CHANGING FACE OF SENECA COUNTY: 1865-1920

Objective: Describe and discuss the changing face of the region in terms of its religious base, ethnic and racial makeup, and reform activities following the end of the Civil War.

Note: changing patterns of Native American settlement are discussed in chapter 1.]

- Euroamericans.
 - Irish leave – When, why?
 - Italians come – 1909-15 (to work on railroads) and bring families over from Italy (by 1976, at least 30% of population of Italian descent)
 - Other white ethnic groups arrive – Who, when, why?
- African Americans.
 - African American exodus to Geneva and other New York towns, such as Rochester, Auburn, and Syracuse – When, why?
 - Impact of segregation on associations with earlier white Quaker and reform communities.
- Religious Communities.
 - Religious groups dissolve and reconstitute.
 - Quaker Meetings.
 - Junius Meeting disappeared, others.
 - Farmington, Poplar Ridge meetings (has persisted since inception and some members today still descended from those in area in 1840s).
 - Rochester/Syracuse meetings (reconstituted in early twentieth century—members not related to those of the 1840s).

CHAPTER VI: THE 1848 CONVENTION: MYTH, MEMORY, AND MEMORIALIZING

Objective: Discuss evolution of women's rights movement over this period by reflecting on how commemorations of the 1848 Convention or events such as passage of the Nineteenth Amendment did or did not include groups associated with the early women's rights movement.

- Thirty Years – 1878.
 - Where was it held?
 - Rochester, N.Y.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who was there? What was emphasized?
 - Growing sense of historical importance.
 - Lucretia Mott attended a couple months prior to
 - Frederick Douglass.
 - Who wasn't there and why?
- Forty Years – 1888.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who was there? What was emphasized?
 - Who wasn't there and why?
- Fifty Years – 1898.

- Where was it held?
 - Washington D.C.
- Media coverage.
- Who was there? What was emphasized?
- Who wasn't there and why?
 - Possible themes:
 - ECS increasingly disgruntled with organized religion.
 - Woman's Bible and responses/tensions within religious groups originally associated with women's rights.
 - Writing of the *History of Woman Suffrage* (1889–c. 1922).
 - Authors and contents.
 - Myth or history?
- Sixty Years – 1908.
 - Where was it held?
 - Seneca Falls.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who was there? What was emphasized?
 - Who wasn't there and why?
 - Possible themes:
 - Mary Church Terrell attended and spoke (last time a black woman attended memorial for many years).
 - Black feminists (womanists) vs. white feminists.
- Seventy-Five Years, Equal Rights Celebration – 1923.
 - Where was it held?
 - Seneca Falls.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who was there? What was emphasized?
 - Who wasn't there and why?
 - Possible themes:
 - National Woman's Party and Equal Rights Amendment.
 - Survival in the doldrums?
- Centennial – 1948.
 - Where was it held?
 - Seneca Falls.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who was there? What was emphasized?
 - Who wasn't there and why?

CHAPTER VII: THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

Objective: Describe the background and founding of the Park in relation to second wave feminism and discuss how it has commemorated the 1848 Convention since its founding.

- National Women's Hall of Fame founded – 1969.
 - Impetus, mission, and focus of the Hall of Fame.
 - Media coverage.

- Who was at the dedication? What was emphasized?
- Who wasn't there and why?
- Why did it get sited there before WORI?
- Background to the creation of the Women's Rights National Historic Park.
 - Genesis of the idea.
 - Congressional debate and public response re: WORI (national and local).
 - Founding legislation passed – 1980.
 - Media coverage.
- Dedication of the Women's Rights National Historic Park.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who was there? What was emphasized?
 - Who wasn't there and why?
- Sesquicentennial of 1848 Convention – 1998.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who was there? What was emphasized?
 - Who wasn't there and why?
- Convention Days.
 - Media coverage.
 - Who attends? What's emphasized?
 - Who isn't there and why?

PART II: TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED PEOPLE

Note: At this point in the research, it is difficult to anticipate the range of associations traditionally associated people may perceive between themselves and Women's Rights National Historical Park. It is also difficult to anticipate the salient subgroupings across which perceptions vary. The outline for chapters in part 2 are thus necessarily more subject to change than those in parts 1 or 3.

Objective of each chapter: To determine each cultural group's historic and contemporary associations to the park using ethnographic interviews, participant observation, and documentary evidence.

CHAPTER VIII: NATIVE AMERICANS

- Tribal/national perspectives.
 - Six Nations.
 - Cayuga.
 - Seneca.
- Traditionalist perspectives.
- Native communities outside New York.
 - Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma.
 - Wisconsin Oneidas.
- Scholarly research/literature review.
 - Native scholars.

- Sally Roesch Wagner.
- Significant sites.
 - Ganondagon State Historic Site.
 - Red Jacket's birthplace.
 - Other sites TBD.
- Formal relationships with WORL.

CHAPTER IX: RELIGIOUS GROUPS

- Quakers.
 - Historically and Traditionally Associated Meetings.
 - Farmington Meeting.
 - Poplar Ridge Meeting.
 - Traditionally Associated Meetings.
 - Rochester Meeting.
 - Syracuse Meeting.
- AME Church.
 - Seneca County and regional AME churches.
 - Harriet Tubman House and associated AME Church.
- Wesleyan Methodist.
 - Seneca County and regional Wesleyan churches.
 - WORL church site.
- Unitarian/Universalist.
- Scholarly research/literature review.
 - Religious scholars.
- Significant sites.
 - TBD.
- Formal relationships with WORL.

CHAPTER X: AFRICAN AMERICANS

- Scholarly research/literature review.
 - African American scholars.
 - Judy Wellman and local scholars tracing black and white associations with Network to Freedom/Underground Railroad.
- Significant sites.
 - Harriet Tubman House.
 - Frederick Douglass-related sites in Rochester.
 - Geneva Historical Society.
- Formal relationships with WORL.

CHAPTER XI: CONVENTION SIGNERS' DESCENDANTS, FEMINISTS AND SCHOLARS, AND AVERAGE AMERICAN WOMEN

- Convention Signers' Descendants.

- Who stayed, who went, and why? Did they export women's rights reform to other parts of the country? What has their link been to the area since 1848? Visibility during creation of Park? Contemporary associations?
 - Hunts.
 - Waterloo.
 - M'Clintocks.
 - Waterloo.
 - Cady Stantons.
 - Douglass.
 - Rochester.
 - Others TBD.
 - E.g., Catherine Paine Blaine (moved to Northwest). Pacific Northwest.
 - Mary Hallowell, last living signer
- Contemporary Feminists (and antifeminists).
 - Who is interested and why?
 - "Pilgrimage" spot for white feminists and women's historians.
 - Second wave feminists different from third wave feminists.
 - NOW.
 - Women and Social Movements website.
 - Lesbians as an invisible traditionally associated people?
 - Who is not interested and why not?
 - African American and other women of color feminists/womanists.
- Antifeminist perceptions of park.
 - Religious fundamentalists and revisionist history.
 - Antiabortion advocates and revisionist history (e.g., have taken over the SBA house as their headquarters).
 - Others TBD.
- Average American Women (and Men) as invisible traditionally associated people?
 - Unknown story, but compelling to most Americans who learn it.
 - Was U.S. a democracy prior to 1920?
 - Schoolchildren.

CHAPTER XII: LOCAL GROUPS

- Italian Americans.
 - Were not here until at least fifty years after Convention. What are their perceived links to the place and event?
- Irish Americans.
 - Any remaining perceived links to first immigrants? Any links to event, which took place the same year as a large influx of Irish?
- Park Neighbors.
 - Park complex.
 - Fall Street businesses and associations.
 - Stanton and Chamberlain houses.

- Hunt and M'Clintock houses.
- Community and Tourist Organizations.
 - National Women's Hall of Fame.
 - Seneca Falls Heritage Area Visitors' Center.
 - Seneca Museum of Waterways and Industry.
 - Seneca Falls Historical Society.
 - Waterloo Historical Society.
 - Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. (or current manifestation thereof)

PART III: ANALYSES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

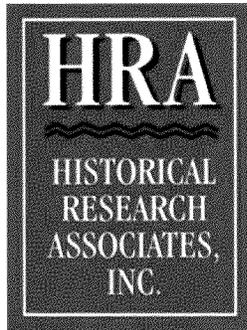
Objective: To provide summary analyses of the study's findings as well as recommendations for the GMP.

- GMP specifications and recommendations.
 - Summary of findings about groups identified and discussed in Part II.
 - Furthering park relationships to traditionally associated people.
 - Expanding collaboration with local traditionally associated people.
 - Local techniques and regional focus (concentric approach).
 - Possible site additions.
 - Recommendations for further research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDICES

- Traditionally and neo-traditionally associated people table.
- Research Design and Interview Plan.
- Interviewees list.



Appendix B

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment,
Women's Rights National Historic Park
Interview Plan

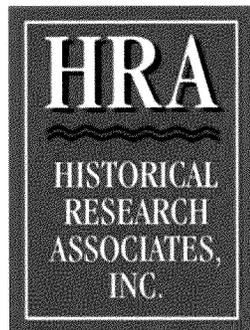
**Ethnographic Overview and Assessment
Women's Rights National Historical Park
Interview Plan**

Submitted to



Seneca Falls, New York

Submitted by



**Heather Lee Miller, Ph.D.
Emily Greenwald, Ph.D.**

last updated: May 12, 2009

Philosophy and General Methodology:

For the interview and observation portion of the Women’s Rights NHP EO&A, HRA will be following closely many of the useful guidelines James Spradley provided in his 1979 *The Ethnographic Interview*.¹ As Spradley notes, an ethnography is the “verbal description of the cultural scenes studied,” with the goal being to achieve this description using the cultural and linguistic terms of the people and groups being studied.² With this in mind, we intend to interview and observe individuals and groups, listening closely to and documenting the *native language(s)* people use to describe their cultural experiences and knowledges of Women’s Rights NHP and its resources. For our purposes, *native language* does not refer to a language other than English. Rather, it refers to the unique cultural terms each person or group uses to categorize their experiences and understandings of the world around them. A native language can be one spoken in English but with semantic differences from the native language of the interviewer (also English) that may be quite subtle—it will be our task to hear these terms and phrases and learn what their meanings are to our informants.³

Informants are cultural teachers from whom we can learn not only factual information, but more importantly, the cultural language they or their group speaks.⁴ We seek in this project to find appropriate informants who can speak the native language of their cultural group and who can also both translate that language to us as ethnographers and then use that language in its context so that we may learn from its use. Our goal will be to translate languages of *discovery* (making maximum use of native languages to learn about the culture) into languages of *description*, which will entail translating encoded meanings in the native language to the ethnographic report.

Selection Criteria

Interviewees have been and will be selected based on the following criteria:

- Specific kinds of knowledge, local experience with park-related activities, or association.
- Length of association with particular resources in the park.
- Willingness to participate in this study.

We will strive in all interviews to establish rapport with our informants, using both friendly conversation and ethnographic questions to elicit information, a method that we hope will create a loosely structured and nonthreatening interview format. In all interviews, we will be mindful of Spradley’s guidelines about the three most important elements of an ethnographic interview. We will continually remind our informants of the *explicit purpose* of the conversation and use *ethnographic questions* (see below for examples). As part of the interviews, we will include *ethnographic explanations* as often as possible, including:

- *project explanations* – “I am interested in you because Women’s Rights NHP sees Quakers as being traditionally associated with the Park and its resources. We’d like to

¹ James P. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979).

² Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*, 21, 24.

³ Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*, 17-24.

⁴ Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview*, chap. 3.

understand better that relationship.” (*Project explanation includes providing all informants with the appropriate project letter.*)

- *recording explanations* – “I will be recording this interview for future reference and it will/will not be transcribed. I am using a digital recorder to do so. Is that OK with you?”
- *native language explanations* – reminders to the informant that she should speak in her native language and not translate so we might learn from this use of native language. “How would you explain African American participation in the early women’s rights movement to your AME church congregation?”
- *interview explanations* – explain how the interview might proceed and what the expectations will be. “Could you draw a map for me of where your ancestors used to live in Waterloo and how they migrated to Geneva when African Americans left the region in X?”
- *ethnographic question explanations* – “I have been asking you questions about your family’s involvement with the 1848 Convention. Now, I’d like to ask you a question about contemporary associations with the Park.”

Although he splits them into different subtopics, which we will also consider, the basic three kinds of *ethnographic questions* Spradley outlines are:

- *descriptive* – “Can you describe how your family has used the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel site over the past 50 years?”
- *structural* – “Which branches of your family still live in the Seneca Falls region?”
- *contrast* – “What is the difference to modern Quakers between Progressive Friends and Orthodox Quakers?”

Procedures

For all interviews of more substance than an informal conversation, HRA will provide the project summary to the interviewees, will ensure there is informed consent prior to each interview, and will ask each interviewee to sign a release form. HRA will submit to Anne Derousie and Chuck Smythe each month a list of people formally interviewed and a list of people contacted informally. The results of less formal interviews will also become part of the written record in the form of notes, which will contribute to the final report. Formal interviews will be digitally recorded, if the subjects are willing. Digital recordings of these formal interviews will be provided to Women’s Rights NHP on CD-rom as part of HRA’s final field notes.

Ethnographic Interviews and Participant Observation

Below is a preliminary listing of individuals to be interviewed and groups to be observed. HRA will add or subtract people/groups as warranted or depending on availability. The principal researchers will conduct interviews throughout the project, with interviews scheduled to coincide with specific research trips as outlined in the Research Plan schedule or as informants are available. HRA anticipates conducting approximately twenty formal ethnographic interviews (30 to 90 minutes long) and approximately twenty informal interviews (15 to 30 minutes long) over the course of the project. We hope to observe at least four of the groups mentioned below during

the project as well. Because we are located physically distant from Seneca Falls, we anticipate conducting a small number of interviews over the telephone as necessary to accommodate the schedules of those involved. We may also use the phone to conduct follow-up conversations once rapport has been established with interviewees and if they are comfortable with speaking to us in this manner.

HRA will conduct interviews to gather information on the traditionally and neo-traditionally associated groups outlined in the research plan. Interviews will range from informal, unrecorded conversations (for example, with park neighbors on Fall Street who interact with Women's Rights NHP's resources on a regular basis) to more formal ethnographic interviews that will be recorded and transcribed. HRA will formulate specific questions based on the documentary evidence conducted at the beginning of the project, and these questions will undoubtedly evolve as interviews are conducted. Key questions for members of associated or potentially associated groups will focus on:

- a) Identifying the specific knowledge that associated individuals have about the planning and execution of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Waterloo, Seneca Falls, and Rochester; the national park itself and its resources (Wesleyan Methodist Chapel; M'Clintock, Hunt, and Stanton houses; and the visitor center), and the meanings individuals ascribe to these resources.
- b) Identifying the extent to which activities, kinds of knowledge, and social groupings connected with the park and its resources contribute to a sense of individual or collective identity for people associated with these activities, knowledge, and groups.

Ethnographic Interviews

Interview Questions: General

HRA believes that the types of interview questions will change and develop as we accumulate knowledge through the interview process. We anticipate asking members of local groups whether they themselves or other members of their cultural group have historical and/or traditional ties to Women's Rights NHP and its resources specifically and/or the Seneca Falls convention in a more general sense (what we consider to be an intangible resource). We will ask them about the nature of their interactions with park resources and their understandings of whether (or how) park resources play a role in shaping or maintaining their group's identity.

General questions will include:

- When did you first learn of the 1848 convention?
- What is the convention's significance to you?
- What did you know about the Wesleyan Chapel, ECS house, etc. prior to the park's creation?
- Do you participate in park events?
 - If yes:
 - Which and why?
 - Do others from your group attend those events with you?
 - If no:

- Why not?
 - Do others from your group or other groups that you know of participate in or attend events at the park?
- Do you utilize park resources aside from park events?
 - If yes:
 - Which and why?
 - Do others from your group utilize those resources with you?

Interview Questions: Specific

More detailed questions pertaining to specific groups and individuals will be devised as background research, reading, and writing progresses. Specific examples of these could be:

- *African Americans*: What is your knowledge of the role citizens of Seneca Falls or Waterloo played in community development in that area? In the Underground Railroad? Which of the park's resources do you associate most with this activity or do you feel most connected to as a result?
- *Quakers*: Who are the most prominent Quakers that come to mind when you think of the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention? The early women's rights movement? African American or Native American reform? What is your knowledge of the Congregationalist Friends/Friends of Human Progress and its connection to Seneca Falls or Waterloo? What is your understanding of the significantly high proportion of Quakers represented in the signers list for the Declaration of Sentiments? Did your family discuss the relationship of Quakerism to feminism or other human rights movement when you were growing up? Which of the park's resources do you associate most with Quaker reform or do you feel most connected to as a Quaker?
- *Italian Americans*: Do you remember the 1948 Centennial celebration of the Women's Rights Conference? Did your family participate? Why or why not? Were there similar events or commemorations of the Park that occurred during your time in Seneca Falls. Did you participate in those? Do you currently participate in any park-related activities? Which of the park's resources have you utilized most or feel most connected to and why?

Participant Observation

The principal researcher will be a participant observer at several events and activities, which may include:

1. Convention Days and related events – July 19-22, 2007
2. National Women's Hall of Fame Induction Ceremony – October 6-7, 2007
3. Friends of Women's Rights NHP meeting – August or September 2007
4. Hunt for the Hunts gathering (or similar type of Park-related descendants event)
5. Quaker Meeting, Farmington (programmed meeting) and Poplar Ridge (silent meeting)
6. Memorial AME Zion Church service

7. NOW Greater Rochester Chapter meeting
8. Society for Mutual Benefit (SMS) meeting

**U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

Legal Release

This agreement is entered into by the interviewee and Women's Rights National Historic Park of the National Park Service. Both parties enter into this agreement in order to facilitate the future use of the oral history interview conducted on this date, _____, for historical and educational purposes.

The interviewee herein grants, relinquishes, and transfers to the National Park Service the following rights:

1. All legal title and property rights for said interview.
2. All rights, title, and interest in copyrights in said interview, and more particularly, the exclusive rights of reproduction, distribution, and public display.

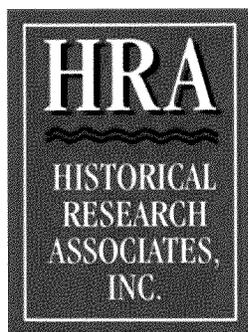
I, _____ (*interviewee*) herein warrant that I have not assigned or in any manner encumbered or impaired any of the aforementioned rights in my oral memoir. I hereby authorize the National Park Service to record, transcribe, and edit the interview, and to use and re-use the interview in whole or in part. I understand that the National Park Service shall have no obligation to use the interview. I further understand that I am to receive no financial compensation for my participation in the project.

Interviewee

Date

Interviewer, on behalf of the NPS

Date



Appendix C
Interview List

Appendix C: Interview List

- Anderson, David. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 10, 2007, Rochester, N.Y.
- Avveduti, Vilma Verzillo, and Joseph Avveduti. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 10, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Bero, Marilyn. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Blue, Rosa. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 13, 2007, Geneva, N.Y.
- Bradley, Ruth, Pat White, Dillwyn Otis, Carmen Reynolds, Sally Otis, Trudy Buxenbaum, and Paul Simkin. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Scipio, New York.
- Brady, Francis, and Joyce Reese Brady. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 2, 2007.
- Brady, Joyce. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 31, 2007.
- Carter, Paul G. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 17, 2007, Harriet Tubman House, Auburn, N.Y.
- Crow, Jen. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 10, 2007, First Unitarian Church, Rochester, N.Y.
- Douglass, Nettie. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 18, 2007.
- Emerson, Dorothy. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, December 6, 2007.
- Emmo, Adriene. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 12, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Fitzgerald, Anita Avveduti. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 11, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Gable, Walter. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Greenberg, Susan. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 12, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Halftown, Clint. Informal telephone interview by Emily Greenwald, October 23, 2007.
- Hartsough, Margaret Herendeen, Ruth Kinsey, and Helen Kirker. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 12, 2007, Farmington Friends Meetinghouse, Farmington, N.Y.
- Hunt, George Truman. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 6, 2007, Fayette, N.Y.
- Kenny, Charles. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Geneva, N.Y.
- Lenhart, Charles. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 14, 2007, Rochester, N.Y.
- Livingston, James, and Sherry Penney. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 6, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- McClintock, VI, Charles "Chip." Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 22, 2008.
- Miller-Smith, Arlette, Colleen Hurst, Vickie Schmitt, Ruth Rosenberg Napersteck, and Jean Czerkas. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y.

- Mochel, Audrey, Ken Mochel, Richard Gilbert, and Joyce Gilbert. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Moulton, Christine. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller and Emily Greenwald, March 16, 2007, National Women's Hall of Fame, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Neely, Deborah. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008.
- Neely, Margaret "Peg." Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 3, 2008.
- Neely, Mary Beth. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008.
- Nicandri, David. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, June 13, 2007
- Norman, Mary. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Osborne, Devens. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Pittsford, N.Y.
- Osborne, Frederik "Erik." Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 13, 2007, "Willow Point," Scipio, N.Y.
- Owen, Nancy. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 29, 2007.
- Roberts, Carolyn Burtless, Richard Burtless, Kathy Jans-Duffy, Fran Barbieri, Philomena Cammuso. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Roesser, Alberta. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 17, 2007.
- Roesser, Alberta, Marion Strand, Maureen Murphy, Judy Russell, Barbara Blaisdell, and Catie Faltisco (Greater Rochester NOW). Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 12, 2007, Rochester, N.Y.
- Rogers, Joan. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Sinicropi, Ralph. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Sklar, Kathryn Kish, and Thomas Dublin. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 5, 2007, Brackney, Pennsylvania.
- Staley-Mays, Wells. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 25, 2007.
- Staley-Mays, Wells. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 1, 2007.
- Swegan, Richard. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008.
- Van Kirk, Peggy Hunt, Carol Hunt Hauf, and Barbara Hunt Knight. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Vergamini, Anna. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 25, 2007.
- Wellman, Judith. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 19, 2007.
- Wellman, Judith. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Wellman, Judith, and Helen Kirker. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 20, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

Interview List by Group

Women's Rights NHP

- Founders and early park promoters.
 - Marilyn Bero. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Friends of the Women's Rights National Park, Inc.
 - Adriene Emmo. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 12, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

Volunteers or affiliated group members working on joint projects

- Quakers
 - Helen Kirker (with Margaret Herendeen Hartsough and Ruth Kinsey). Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 12, 2007, Farmington Friends Meetinghouse, Farmington, N.Y.
 - Helen Kirker (and Judith Wellman). Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 20, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Freedom Seekers' groups working in conjunction with Women's Rights NHP
 - David Anderson. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 10, 2007, Rochester, N.Y.

Women's Historians, Feminists, and Lesbians

- Women's historians.
 - Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 5, 2007, Brackney, Pennsylvania.
 - Judith Wellman. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 19, 2007.
 - Judith Wellman. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
 - Judith Wellman (and Helen Kirker). Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 20, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Feminist and/or associated women's history organizations.
 - Alberta Roesser. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 17, 2007.
 - Alberta Roesser, Marion Strand, Maureen Murphy, Judy Russell, Barbara Blaisdell, and Catie Faltisco (Greater Rochester NOW). Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 12, 2007, Rochester, N.Y.

Signers and Descendants

- Hunt (Richard and George)
 - George Truman Hunt. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 6, 2007, Fayette, N.Y.
 - Peggy Hunt Van Kirk, Carol Hunt Hauf, and Barbara Hunt Knight. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

- M'Clintock
 - Charles "Chip" McClintock, VI. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 22, 2008.
 - Deborah Neely. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008.
 - Margaret "Peg" Neely. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 3, 2008.
 - Mary Beth Neely. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008.
 - Richard Swegan. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 2, 2008.
- Mott/Wright
 - James Livingston and Sherry Penney. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 6, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
 - Devens Osborne. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Pittsford, N.Y.
 - Frederik "Erik" Osborne. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 13, 2007, "Willow Point," Scipio, N.Y.
- Douglass
 - Nettie Douglass. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 18, 2007.
- Maria E. Wilbur
 - Charles Lenhart. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 14, 2007, Rochester, N.Y.
- Amy Post
 - Nancy Owen. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, August 29, 2007.

Native Americans

- Susan Greenberg. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 12, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Clint Halftown. Informal telephone interview by Emily Greenwald, October 23, 2007.

African Americans

- David Anderson. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 10, 2007, Rochester, N.Y.
- Rosa Blue. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 13, 2007, Geneva, N.Y.
- Paul G. Carter. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, July 17, 2007, Harriet Tubman House, Auburn, N.Y.
- Charles Kenney. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Geneva, N.Y.
- Arlette Miller-Smith (with Colleen Hurst, Vickie Schmitt, Ruth Rosenberg Napersteck, and Jean Czerkas). Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y.

Local Heritage/History Groups and Affiliates; Park Neighbors

- Walter Gable. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Colleen Hurst, Vickie Schmitt, Ruth Rosenberg Napersteck, and Jean Czerkas (with Arlette Miller-Smith). Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y.
- Christine Moulton. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller and Emily Greenwald, March 16, 2007, National Women's Hall of Fame, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Carolyn Burtless Roberts, Richard Burtless, Kathy Jans-Duffy, Fran Barbieri, and Philomena Cammuso. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

Religious Groups

- Quaker
 - Margaret Herendeen Hartsough, Ruth Kinsey, and Helen Kirker. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 12, 2007, Farmington Friends Meetinghouse, Farmington, N.Y.
 - Ruth Bradley, Pat White, Dillwyn Otis, Carmen Reynolds, Sally Otis, Trudy Buxenbaum, and Paul Simkin. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Scipio, N.Y.
- Unitarian Universalist
 - Jen Crow. Informal interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 10, 2007, First Unitarian Church, Rochester, N.Y.
 - Dorothy Emerson. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, December 6, 2007.
 - Colleen Hurst (with Arlette Miller-Smith, Vickie Schmitt, Ruth Rosenberg Napersteck, and Jean Czerkas). Interview by Heather Lee Miller, September 11, 2007, Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y.
 - Audrey Mochel, Ken Mochel, Richard Gilbert, and Joyce Gilbert. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
 - Wells Staley-Mays. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 25, 2007.
 - Wells Staley-Mays. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 1, 2007.

Local Ethnic Group Members

- Italian Americans
 - Vilma Verzillo Avveduti and Joseph Avveduti. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 10, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
 - Fran Barbieri and Philomena Cammuso (with Carolyn Burtless Roberts, Richard Burtless, and Kathy Jans-Duffy). Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

- Anita Avveduti Fitzgerald. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 11, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- David Nicandri. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, June 13, 2007.
- Ralph Sinicropi. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
- Anna Vergamini. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 25, 2007.
- Irish Americans
 - Francis Brady and Joyce Reese Brady. Telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 2, 2007.
 - Joyce Brady. Informal telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 31, 2007.
 - Mary Norman. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, November 8, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.
 - Joan Rogers. Interview by Heather Lee Miller, October 9, 2007, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
Ethnography Program
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