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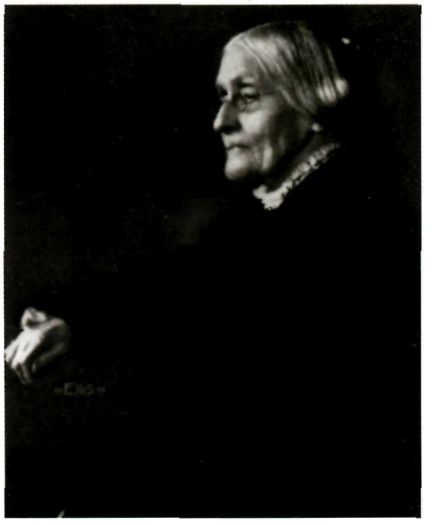

Susan B. Anthony House

Special Resource Reconnaissance Study

This report has been prepared to provide Congress and the public with information about the resources in the study area and how they relate to criteria for parklands applied by the professional staff of the National Park Service. Publication and transmittal of this report, including any discussion of a preferred course of action, should not be considered an endorsement or commitment by the National Park Service to seek or support either specific legislative authorization for a project, or appropriations for its implementation. Authorization and funding for any new commitments by the National Park Service will have to be considered in light of competing priorities for existing units of the National Park Service and other programs.

This report was prepared by the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.

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Front cover:	The Susan B. Anthony House, Rochester, New York; Susan B. Anthony
Inside cover:	The Susan B. Anthony House
Divider pages:	Susan B. Anthony standing on the porch of her house at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York, circa 1904

SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE

Special Resource Reconnaissance Study

Prepared by:
Boston Support Office
Northeast Region
National Park Service
September 2001

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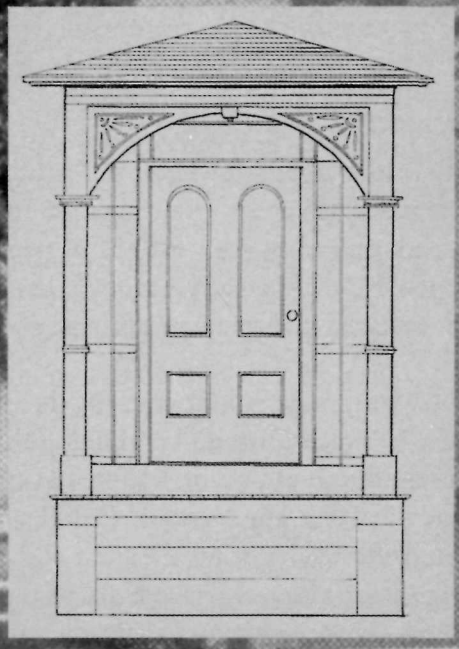
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The house at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York, was built in the mid-nineteenth century and was home to Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906) for the last forty years of her life. After her sister Mary died in 1907, the house was bought by a private party and held in private ownership until 1945, when it was purchased by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc. The Memorial continues to own and operate the house but its name was changed in 1997 to the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc. Assembling over time a collection of furnishings and artifacts associated with Anthony, the organization has maintained the building as a house museum since 1945.

Purpose and Background of this Study

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the Susan B. Anthony house for possible inclusion in the National Park System and to report this evaluation to Congress. Under guidelines for such studies, a potential park unit must meet criteria of national significance, suitability, and feasibility; if the proposed unit meets these criteria, the National Park Service (NPS) study team develops and evaluates management options.

Anthony's prominence in American history keeps the house in the limelight. In 1965, the house was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL). The National Park Service is responsible for monitoring the condition of National Historic Landmarks, and, based on a brief reconnaissance study in 1979, the National Park Service concluded that the house, owned by an organization dedicated to its preservation and open to the public, was sufficiently protected. Although there was real concern about the viability of the Memorial—many members were elderly—that reconnaissance study report noted:

> Some of the individuals who initially purchased the site are still members of the memorial group. They are fiercely proud that they have accomplished this on their own and have been reluctant to accept any kind of outside help such as government grants or loans, which they feel might bring unwanted interference with management of the site.[1]

In a letter transmitting the study to the director of the National Park Service, the regional director concluded that there was no need for National Park Service management, however uncertainty about the future of the Susan B. Anthony House suggested monitoring the situation and providing technical assistance.[2]

In the late 1970s, the National Park Service studied the Elizabeth Cady Stanton house in Seneca Falls, fifty-five miles east of Rochester, which was then a private residence and closed to the public. That study ultimately led Congress to create Women's Rights

National Historical Park. The park's 1991 General Management Plan Amendment said that the park "was authorized by Congress on December 28, 1980 to commemorate the 1848 Women's Rights Convention and the continuing struggle for women's rights."[3] The park contains the homes of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mary Ann M'Clintock, the remains of the Wesleyan Chapel where the Declaration of Sentiments from the nation's first women's rights convention was promulgated in 1848, a visitor center, a suffrage print shop, and a women's suffrage museum. In 2000, Congress amended the park's legislation to authorize the acquisition of the Jane and Richard Hunt house, site of the planning activities for the 1848 convention.

In the early 1990s, the National Park Service provided technical assistance in resource preservation and visitor services to the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc. In 1991, new concern about the Memorial's continued viability prompted the National Park Service to schedule a special resource study to look in more depth at the house and its future management.

Susan B. Anthony at her front door at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York, circa 1900

In 1993 and 1994 the special resource study team, based in the Boston Support Office, conducted site visits, interviews, meetings, and carried out research. The process involved close consultation with the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., whose board members and staff provided invaluable information and perspective; and the National Park Service study team arranged visits for staff of the Susan B. Anthony House to several historic sites in the Boston area. The study team also included staff members of Women's Rights National Historical Park, whose knowledge of the themes and connections between Anthony and Stanton is critical. A site visit by the NPS regional curator in 1993 confirmed the direction of the Memorial in pursuing funding for cataloging and managing its collections. The study team received public input at a neighborhood meeting and through meetings with city officials and historic preservationists in 1994, as well as with various members of the Memorial board. A draft report was written in 1996 reflecting research and analysis to that time. This final report is a revision of the earlier draft, updated as warranted.

Since 1996, the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc. has carried out a capital campaign, raised $1.5 million, acquired three adjacent houses for administrative and visitor services, expanded visitor and school programs, and constructed a visitor and education center. Through the National Historic Landmarks program, the House received $500,000 in federal funds in 1998 for the preservation of the site. The House, with a current endowment of $9,000 and no debt, has gone from a budget of $100,000 in 1996 to $220,000 in 2001.

Conclusion

The NPS has determined on the basis of this study that the Susan B. Anthony house meets the criterion of significance, but because it is successfully managed by the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., it does not meet the criterion for suitability and thus there is no need to investigate feasibility. The study was conducted at the reconnaissance level and no alternatives were considered. Thus there is no consideration of environmental impacts.

This report does not recommend incorporating the Anthony house in the National Park System at this time. It explicates the significance of Anthony, her work with Elizabeth Cady Stanton on women's rights, her connection to 17 Madison Street, and suggests a range of potential partnerships between the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc. and the National Park Service, particularly with staff at the Women's Rights National Historical Park. The report recommends formalizing and regularizing a relationship between the National Park Service and the Anthony house through cooperative agreements with Women's Rights NHP and the Susan B. Anthony House, which will further the preservation and interpretation of women's rights sites.

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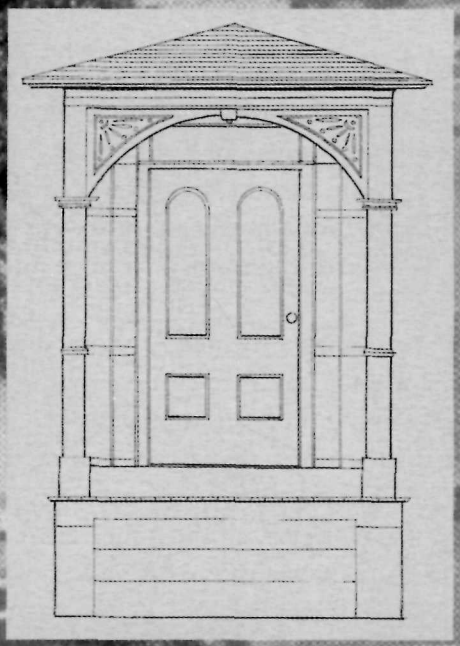
1 National Park Service North Atlantic Region, "Susan B. Anthony House Reconnaissance Survey" (May 1979), 7.

2 Memorandum signed by Jack E. Stark, Regional Director North Atlantic Region, to Director, National Park Service, Mar. 30, 1979.

3 National Park Service, *Women's Rights National Historical Park, Amendment to the General Management Plan of 1986*, January 1991.

Susan B. Anthony's Place in History



SUSAN B. ANTHONY'S PLACE IN HISTORY

It will be always a matter of the keenest regret that she did not live to see the complete realization of her three-score years of heroic endeavor, but she died in the perfect faith that, in the not distant future, women will surely be protected by the law in their political rights as they are today in all others. . . . All the vast army of women who are now carrying forward her work to completion, all who shall hereafter take it up, will receive as a blessed inheritance something of her indomitable will, dauntless courage, limitless patience, perseverance, optimism, faith.

—Ida Husted Harper, September [4]

Susan B. Anthony at age 28

Susan B. Anthony was called by many names — the Napoleon of the woman's rights movement; the Gladstone among women; the great Liberator of women. She was to the cause of woman's emancipation what William Lloyd Garrison was to abolition. Anthony is recognized universally today, nearly a century after her death, as the person most associated with the woman suffrage movement.

When Susan Brownell Anthony died at the age of eighty-six in 1906, women had made great progress in their quests for equality. They were entering professions previously denied them, they were obtaining higher educations, they were entering trades and industry, and they were eliminating many legal obstacles to access and opportunity for their sex. However, all the honor credited to Anthony at her death did not change the reality that American women of all classes and races were not enfranchised.

The Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, known as the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment," was not ratified by the required state legislatures until 1920, exactly one hundred years after Anthony's birth. At its passage, American women were indebted to the woman who labored for that vote for more than fifty years. Susan B. Anthony had worked for many human-rights struggles, but more than anyone else it was she who organized the women's rights movement, trained its leaders, and focused its efforts on obtaining the vote.

The Anthony Family

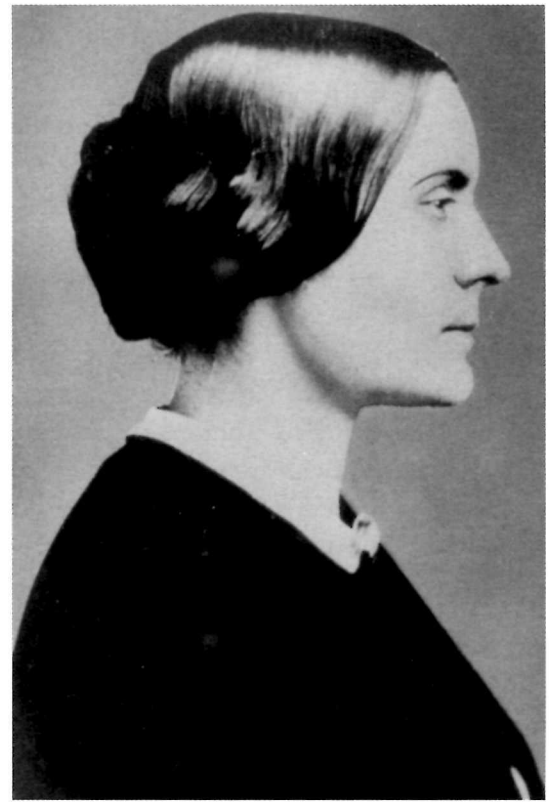
Susan Brownell Anthony was born on February 15, 1820, in Adams, Massachusetts, a wealthy community of orthodox Quakers. Anthony was profoundly affected both by her Quaker background and her family's independence. Born of a Quaker father and a Baptist

mother, Susan was the second oldest of seven children, six of whom reached adulthood — Guelma, Susan, Hannah, Daniel, Mary, and Jacob Merritt. She was also born within years of the births of two other future leaders of the women's rights movement — Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Lucy Stone (1818-1898).

Anthony came from an ordinary, hard-working family. Her education was limited, and her domestic duties were many in a house filled with children and boarders. She occasionally worked in her father's textile mill, but in the late 1830s during an economic depression she became a teacher, the only profession open to middle-class women. During the 1840s Anthony held positions in several different schools, including head of the "female department" of the academy in Canajoharie, New York. By the late 1840s she was weary of teaching and turned her energies to the temperance reform movement.

Reformers of the Time

For most of the nineteenth century numerous economic, religious, social, and political movements swept American society. Western New York State was especially affected by several religious and reform movements from 1830 to 1870. Rochester was a boom town after the opening of the Erie Canal, both a commercial center for an agricultural area and an avenue for goods, people, and ideas traveling from east to west. Many women's worlds were affected by these changes during the century, and Rochester was home to activists from a variety of religious, economic, and other backgrounds. Many of these activists were women working in temperance, benevolence, abolitionism, and women's rights, all movements of national scope by the 1850s.



Photograph taken between 1848 and 1865

By 1850 Anthony had returned to her family, now living in Rochester, New York. Her parents' farm was a gathering place for reformers such as William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass. Anthony met other reformers, including Lucretia Mott, Amelia Bloomer, Lucy Stone, William Henry Channing, Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and her temperance activities soon gave way to antislavery and women's rights work.

Several incidents document Anthony's staunch defense of equal rights for blacks. She once fired her secretary for refusing, on the basis of race, to take dictation from the prominent black woman reformer, Ida B. Wells, who was a guest in Anthony's home. Anthony was also friends with Frederick Douglass despite their differences over strategy. She spoke at his funeral, and later, the black community in Rochester was the first to memorialize her

with a stained glass window in their church.

Anthony's successful effort to enroll women at the University of Rochester shows how she and her community supported each other. For many years Susan and Mary Anthony had tried to generate public interest in admitting women to the university, and in 1898 the board of trustees agreed to admit women if $50,000 were raised for the purpose. In 1900 Susan Anthony almost single-handedly raised the last $8,000 of this total, $2,000 of which she pledged with her own life insurance. Her attempt to vote in 1872 also illustrates her support within the community: more than sixty other local women risked censure to follow her lead.

In 1892, Anthony was appointed a trustee of the State Industrial School, located in Rochester. In 1893 she was responsible for the organization of Rochester Women's Educational and Industrial Union, to aid working women, including legal aid. Also, in addition to her Quaker ties, Anthony and her sister Mary were for more than fifty years faithful members of the congregation of the First Unitarian Church of Rochester, a center of the abolitionist and women's rights movements.

Having lived in or around Rochester for sixty years, Anthony associated with other local activists including Rhoda DeGarmo, Sarah Fish, Amy Post, Mary Hallowell, Catharine Fish Stebbins, Sarah Hallowell Willis, and other reformers both before and after the Civil War. By the 1870s women's public participation in and efforts toward promoting social change was commonly accepted in Rochester, and during Anthony's later years of residence there she was constantly sought after as a speaker and organizer for local causes. In the 1880s, 17 Madison Street served as the office of the Rochester Political Equality Club.

The women's rights movement that developed before the Civil War emerged from women's growing awareness of their common economic, legal, and social problems. The movement was an outgrowth of antebellum reform politics, especially the antislavery movement. The women and men involved with women's rights reform borrowed from anti-slavery ideology and envisioned equality and independence for women. Their most radical proposal was suffrage for women. More than any other achievement, women's rights reformers believed that woman suffrage would improve women's status in society and end their dependence upon men. Her desire to speak and shape the agendas of temperance and teachers' conventions met with strong resistance, and she soon came to believe that women could effectively work for reform of any sort only when they had equal rights.

Demand for woman suffrage first found a voice in Seneca Falls, New York. The Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 was the first political meeting in the United States to deal with women's rights. Out of this convention, attended by 300 people, came the "Declaration of Sentiments," modeled on the Declaration of Independence. Convention attendees unanimously approved the resolutions accompanying the Declaration of Sentiments—except for the one demanding the vote. This convention was followed two weeks later by an even larger meeting in Rochester, New York. Anthony's father Daniel, mother Lucy, and sister Mary attended the Rochester convention, while Susan was teaching in Canajoharie.

The Leadership of Anthony and Stanton

In 1851 Anthony was introduced to Elizabeth Cady Stanton by Amelia Bloomer, reportedly as they met on a street corner in Seneca Falls after Anthony had attended antislavery lectures in Syracuse, New York. Anthony and Stanton became "fast friends," referred to each other as "Mrs. Stanton" and "Susan," and together led the women's rights movement for the next fifty years.

First working together in temperance reform, Anthony and Stanton were soon frustrated by the limited roles they, as women, were allowed to play; conservative temperance clergy and women reformers turned a deaf ear on their request that their political and reform ideas be heard. As a result Anthony and Stanton founded the Woman's State Temperance Society of New York in April 1852, a precedent for several later organizations they would form, with Stanton as president and Anthony as secretary or vice-president.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Anthony gained a reputation among reformers as an exceptional organizer. Between 1854 and 1860 she, with various committees, planned and managed many state and national women's rights conventions held in New York. She also organized county-by-county, door-to-door canvasses seeking signatures for woman suffrage and for reforms in the Married Woman's Property Law. She was determined to bring women into the women's rights movement. In every community she visited she found people sympathetic to women's rights and encouraged women to participate in meetings, often while spending the night as a guest in their homes, where she might draw out women reticent to speak in public. One Anthony biographer described her approach:

> Here was the core of Anthony's organizing strategy: Take a concrete issue, such as intemperance; analyze the problem; formulate a specific demand . . .; then urge women to take practical, confrontational, and effective actions that logically followed from her analysis of the issue. She was determined not only to act on behalf of women, but to mobilize women to act for themselves.[5]

Anthony and Stanton were active in the antislavery movement in the 1850s. Anthony became the first female paid organizer for the New York Anti-Slavery Society in New York while at the same time she directed the women's rights campaigns in New York. Armed with her political organizing experience in temperance reform and then in women's rights, Anthony was an effective abolitionist. She and her companions lectured against slavery in western New York and on several occasions in 1861 faced hostility and violence.

During the Civil War Anthony and Stanton organized the National Women's Loyal League to demand the constitutional abolition of slavery and the emancipation of women.

They gathered four hundred thousand signatures on a petition that was instrumental in the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment (prohibiting slavery). At the end of the war, however, they learned that Republican Reconstruction policy included suffrage for African-American males, but not for women. Even though she was a supporter of black male enfranchisement, Anthony feared women's demands would never be met if black men received the vote before women, including black women. African-American women were effectively separated from the women's rights movement because many chose, under pressure, to support first, suffrage for black men over suffrage for women.

Anthony set out to convince Congress that it was the woman's hour as well, and in 1866 she and Stanton offered a petition to Congress with thousands of signatures supporting woman suffrage. In an effort to secure women's enfranchisement, women's rights supporters merged with the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1866 to form the American Equal Rights Association. In 1867 in New York, Anthony submitted petitions for woman suffrage to the state legislature. That same year, she and Stanton campaigned in Kansas where black male suffrage and woman suffrage referenda were offered for popular vote; both met with failure.

Tension increased between former abolitionists promoting black male suffrage and those trying to tie black suffrage and woman suffrage together. Reformers split bitterly over the issue. In 1868 Anthony founded and published a newspaper, the *Revolution.* Edited by Stanton and Parker Pillsbury, the paper promoted Anthony's and Stanton's views not only about woman suffrage but about other women's issues as well. With the Fifteenth Amendment (forbidding states from denying the vote on the basis of race, color, or previous servitude) under consideration, the two women cut ties with their Republican allies and organized the first woman suffrage society, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), in 1869.

By the 1870s and 1880s both Stanton and Anthony considered themselves to be the "old war horses" of the movement. Throughout her years of travel Anthony had earned a reputation for drawing new adherents, especially women, into the movement for women's rights. Anthony's strength was in actively recruiting younger women to take up the work in their respective states. Her efforts brought much success, according to Harper:

> ...So many new and efficient workers had been developed and the cause had acquired a standing which made its advocacy an easy task compared to what it had been in the past, when only a few women had the courage and strength to take the blows and bear the contumely.[6]

As they aged, Anthony and Stanton's interests and activities diverged but their personal bond remained strong. Stanton, for example, worked on *The Woman's Bible*, while Anthony kept at suffrage activities. With Matilda Joslyn Gage's help, they recorded the history of the women's rights movement by writing, financing, and publishing three volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage* in 1881, 1882, and 1886. Anthony and the journalist Ida Husted Harper issued a fourth volume in 1902.

According to historian Ellen Carol DuBois, "The creation of this independent women's movement was the greatest achievement of feminists in the postwar period, and its significance continued to be felt well after Reconstruction and the reform pretensions of the Republican party had passed into history."[7] The National Woman Suffrage Association worked for a federal constitutional amendment to give women the vote. Other women including Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe, who believed that suffrage was best achieved through state legislatures, organized the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in the same year. The two suffrage groups remained divided for twenty years.

In her later years Anthony spent less time traveling and more time at home directing ongoing political activities and writing the history of the women's rights movement. Yet her leadership in the 1880s and 1890s was critical, for she had been at the center of the movement since 1850. All of the pre-Civil War petitioning, political organizing, and public speaking had helped her and other women activists gain some acceptance in the public eye, and by the 1870s Anthony and other organizers had gained confidence in their own abilities. Women engaged in these activities did not face as much public ridicule in the 1870s as they had before the war. Women's reform activities grew tremendously during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, and under Anthony's leadership suffragists attempted to unify and consolidate various organizations into a single, unified suffrage movement, NAWSA.

Suffrage Campaigns and Anthony's Arrest for Voting

Throughout the years of both organizations, NWSA and AWSA, Anthony was both the NWSA coordinator of the National Campaigns and Conventions, usually held in Washington, D.C., and a field worker and lecturer across the United States and territories. She traveled thousands of miles every year but effectively lobbied in Washington also. The first suffrage success came in 1869 when Wyoming Territory granted women the vote.

Back home in Rochester, to test her conviction that women's rights as citizens were guaranteed by the post-Civil War amendments, Susan B. Anthony cast a Republican ballot in the 1872 presidential election. She and her sisters Guelma, Hannah, and Mary registered to vote at a local barbershop, and they were followed by other women in their ward, fifteen in all. The evening papers noted their efforts, and during the next day fifty women in other wards also registered. But because of an ongoing newspaper attack on the election inspectors, calling for the women's prosecution, most inspectors were frightened into refusing to accept the women's votes. The only votes that were eventually accepted on election day, November 5, were those of the original fifteen.[8]

On Monday, November 18, Deputy United States Marshal E.J. Keeney came to 17 Madison Street and arrested Anthony in her front parlor. Her subsequent trial placed her and her cause in the national limelight, but it did not have the effect Anthony desired. She wanted to have her case heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, but her lawyer, who could not bear to see her go to jail, paid her bail bond; without a jail sentence, she could not appeal.

Anthony was arrested in her front parlor by a U.S. Marshall for voting in 1872

"Nineteenth Amendment Desk" from collection of National American Woman Suffrage Association given to the Anthony House by Carrie Chapman Catt

In the years that followed her arrest Anthony participated in state campaigns across the nation, including California, Oregon, Michigan, Colorado, and others. In 1878 she and Stanton convinced a California senator to introduce a woman suffrage amendment in Congress, a piece of legislation that was reintroduced every year.

Anthony sought support of woman suffrage not only from federal legislators but also from the multitude of women's groups formed in the latter half of the century. Anthony preached the necessity of the vote to college women, reformers, and women's clubs, many of whose members were more conservative than she. She also established an alliance with Frances Willard, leader of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Focus on Woman Suffrage

In 1890 Anthony encouraged the unification of the NWSA and the AWSA into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Under Stanton and Anthony's leadership, the NWSA had advocated a wide range of rights for women. After the combination into NAWSA, however, the women's rights movement became more conservative and focused primarily on woman suffrage. NAWSA's leadership now demanded the vote based on women's "purifying" influence on society, rather than on women's equality with men.

After Elizabeth Cady Stanton retired from active public work, Anthony's contact with her lessened and she turned to Carrie Chapman Catt and Rev. Anna Howard Shaw (both later presidents of NAWSA) for assistance with NAWSA's work. In 1900 Anthony retired from the presidency of the NAWSA and passed the torch to the younger generation of women she had nurtured, including Shaw, Catt, and Rachel Foster Avery. Anthony called NAWSA's Business Committee her "Cabinet," and she brought its members individually and collectively into her home for both social and professional gatherings. Anthony wanted to share her home and her work with others, and she and Mary Anthony created a friendly atmosphere for the association's work. Her biographer Harper described the NAWSA board meeting in August 1900 hosted by Anthony and attended by the entire NAWSA national board (Catt, Shaw, Avery, Alice Stone Blackwell, Harriet Taylor Upton, Laura Clay, and Catharine Waugh McCulloch):

Gavel used by Anthony as president of NAWSA

> Those were three happy days for Miss Anthony. The business meetings were in session from early morning until late at night, but when, in the midst of their weighty discussions, the members discovered they were hungry, thanks to ever watchful Sister Mary, they always found the table spread and every want provided for. None of that little company ever will forget the hospitality of this simple, refined Quaker home.[9]

Anthony did not let advanced age affect her activities or her determination, but she had tired of repeating the same arguments. Biographer Harper described one effort Anthony made when she was seventy-seven years old:

> The 24th [March 1897] she went to Albany with Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, Mrs. Catt, Elizabeth Burrill Curtis . . . Mrs. Chapman, State president; and all addressed the senate judiciary committee in behalf of a woman suffrage amendment. Miss Anthony went to this hearing much against her will and, at its conclusion, declared she never again would stoop to plead her cause before one of these committees. She had made her appeals to their fathers and grandfathers, and she was tired of begging for her liberty from men not half her own age and with not a hundredth part of her knowledge of State and national affairs.[10]

Documenting the Rights Movement

In addition to being active with wide-ranging activities, speeches, and correspondence, Anthony found the time to document the past achievements and failures of the women's rights movement based upon the primary materials—newspaper accounts, manuscripts of speeches, published reports, and correspondence—she had collected and preserved over the years. Documenting women's suffrage history was a foremost concern for both Anthony and Stanton. In the early 1880s, with Matilda Joslyn Gage, working from Stanton's homes in Johnstown and Tenafly, they produced a three-volume *History of Woman Suffrage.* These volumes were published in 1881, 1882, and 1886.

With assistants and a typewriter, Anthony documented the women's rights movement

Later in life, Anthony was urged to prepare her reminiscences, but she was torn between recording her work and staying active in the suffrage campaigns. Finally, in the spring of 1897, she collaborated with journalist Ida Husted Harper to produce a biography. The attic of the house was remodeled for Harper's office, and here Susan B. Anthony began to reconstruct her life in words. She was aided by diaries, letters, and scrapbooks she had kept over sixty years. Harper described what she found in Anthony's attic when they started the project:

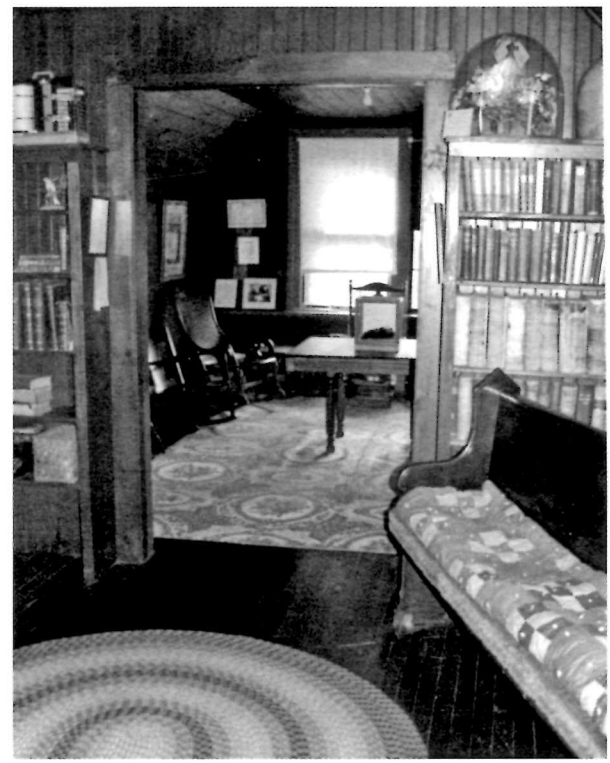
> Ranged around the walls were trunks, boxes and bags of letters and other documents, dating back for a century and tied in bundles just as they had been put away from year to year. There were piles of legal papers, accounts, receipts and memoranda of every description, and the diaries and notebooks of sixty years. The shelves were filled with congressional, convention and other reports; there were stacks of magazines and newspapers, large numbers of scrap-books and bushels of scraps waiting to be pasted. There was, in fact, everything of this nature which can be imagined, all carefully saved and put away, waiting for the leisure when they could be sorted and classified.[11]

With the help of a secretary the two women organized, sorted, copied, culled, and condensed the most important material, all the while keeping up with current correspondence. The attic workrooms were an ideal space, secluded from interruption. The effort lasted throughout 1897 and 1898, and two volumes of Anthony's biography were published just before Christmas 1898.

After her resignation from the NAWSA presidency in 1900, Anthony began work with Harper on the fourth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. By summer 1902 Anthony was doing the final reading of the manuscript and the printer's proof. Harper described this final effort:

> Miss Anthony seemed stimulated and sustained by this work. Each morning she would come up to the pleasant attic rooms fresh and buoyant, would hold one copy, the present writer a second, while one of the secretaries would read from a third, and not the smallest item would escape her watchful eye. Sometimes she would question a date or a statement and then proceedings had to stop till the authority was forthcoming. After dinner she would most unwillingly go to her room for the needed nap, but in a short time her head with its smoothly-combed silver hair would appear at the top of the stairs and she would present herself neatly dressed for the afternoon and eager to resume the reading.[12]

Anthony's visitors were invited to sit in the attic and listen to the readings. Most of them being ardent suffragists, they were honored to attend these "authors' readings" of the history. Harper continued to document the woman suffrage campaigns after Anthony's death. She wrote the third volume of Anthony's biography in 1908, and her fifth and sixth volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage* (1922) detailed the final drive for the vote.



The attic of Anthony's house at 17 Madison Street became her workrooms for writing the history of the women's rights movement

The Final Drive for the Vote

Successes were meager: between 1870 and 1910 suffragists promoted 480 efforts to get the vote on individual state ballots, but only a few referenda were granted, and just two were successful. A change in strategy occurred after 1910 when Carrie Chapman Catt, former president of NAWSA, aggressively organized state campaigns and appealed to immigrant and working-class women, an effort transcending NAWSA's traditional middle-class base of support. Her efforts paid off: between 1910 and 1912, six states gave women the vote, and more followed each year.

The suffrage movement received increased support from national reform groups. In Washington, D.C., Alice Paul and the Congressional Union introduced militant tactics, based on the British suffragists' model, to the federal amendment campaign. In 1915 Catt and NAWSA promoted the "Winning Plan," pushing states that granted women the vote to support a federal amendment. Catt additionally sought President Woodrow Wilson's support. In 1919, twenty-six state legislatures petitioned Congress on behalf of woman

suffrage, and the Nineteenth Amendment passed by a large majority. It was ratified in 1920.

Neither Elizabeth Cady Stanton nor Susan B. Anthony lived to see the amendment's passage; Stanton died in 1902, Anthony in 1906. On Tuesday, March 13, 1906, shortly after celebrating her eighty-sixth birthday, Susan B. Anthony died in her home at 17 Madison Street, Rochester. The next day her body was brought into the front parlor to be laid out, following the tradition of the time. At the head of her casket stood the round mahogany table on which the "Declaration of Sentiments" was written at the 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls. On Thursday, March 15, her casket was taken to Rochester's Central Church, from which she was buried.

Anthony had never married and had supported herself all her life. Susan B. Anthony never separated her public work and private life. She broke her own path and made her own way.

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4 Ida Husted Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (1908; reprint, New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969), 3:vii-viii.

5 Kathleen Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New University Press, 1988), 70.

6 Ida Husted Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (1898; reprint, New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969), 2:706.

7 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), 164.

8 Susan B. Anthony, Mary S. Anthony, Guelma Anthony McLean, Hannah Anthony Mosher, Rhoda DeGarmo, Sarah Truesdale, Mary Pulver, Lottie B. Anthony, Nancy M. Chapman, Susan M. Hough, Hannah Chatfield, Margaret Leyden, Mary Culver, Ellen S. Baker, and Mary L. Hebard.

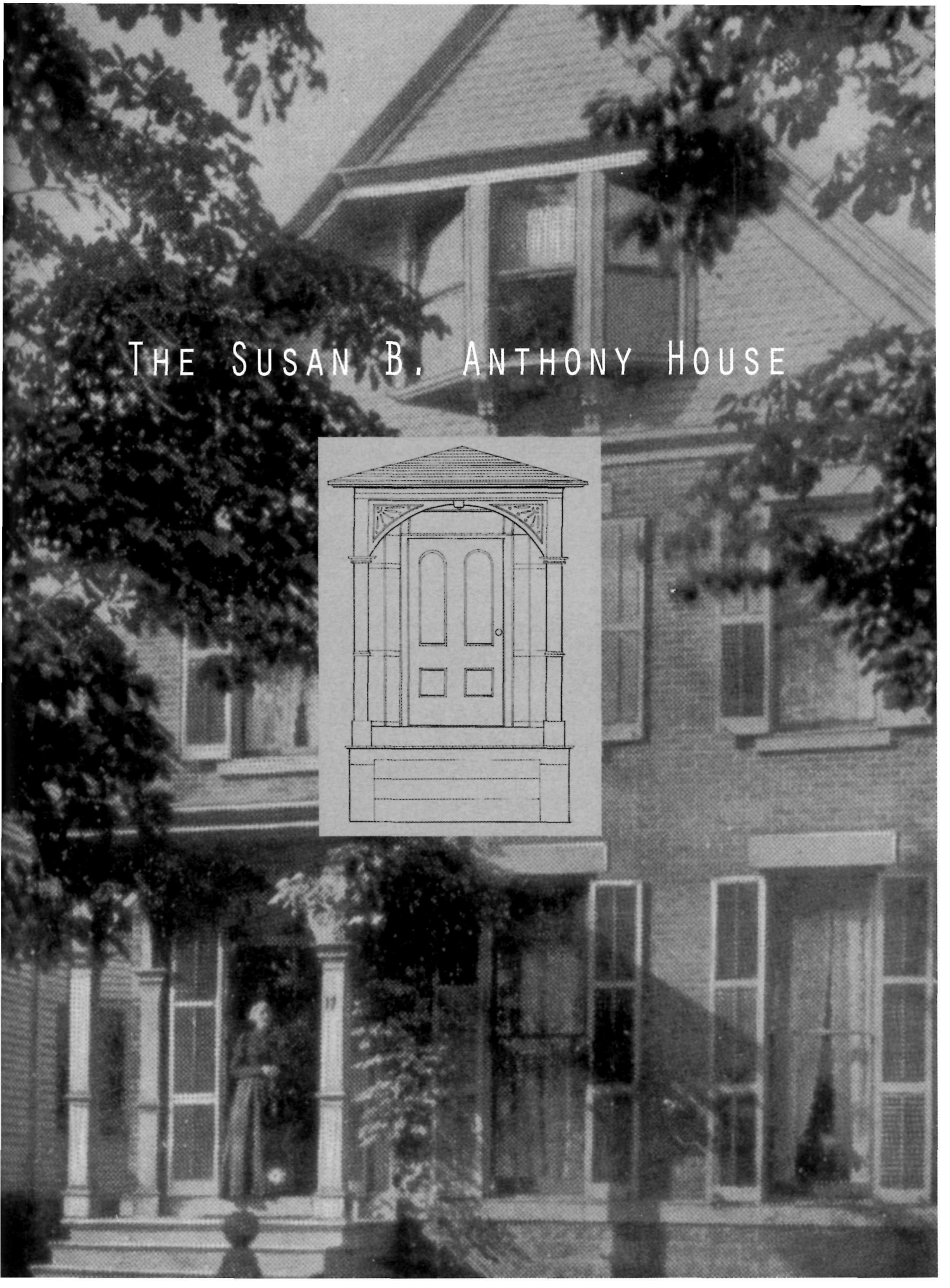
9 Harper, *Life and Work*, 3:1221.

10 Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:914.

11 Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:909.

12 Harper, *Life and Work*, 3:1257.

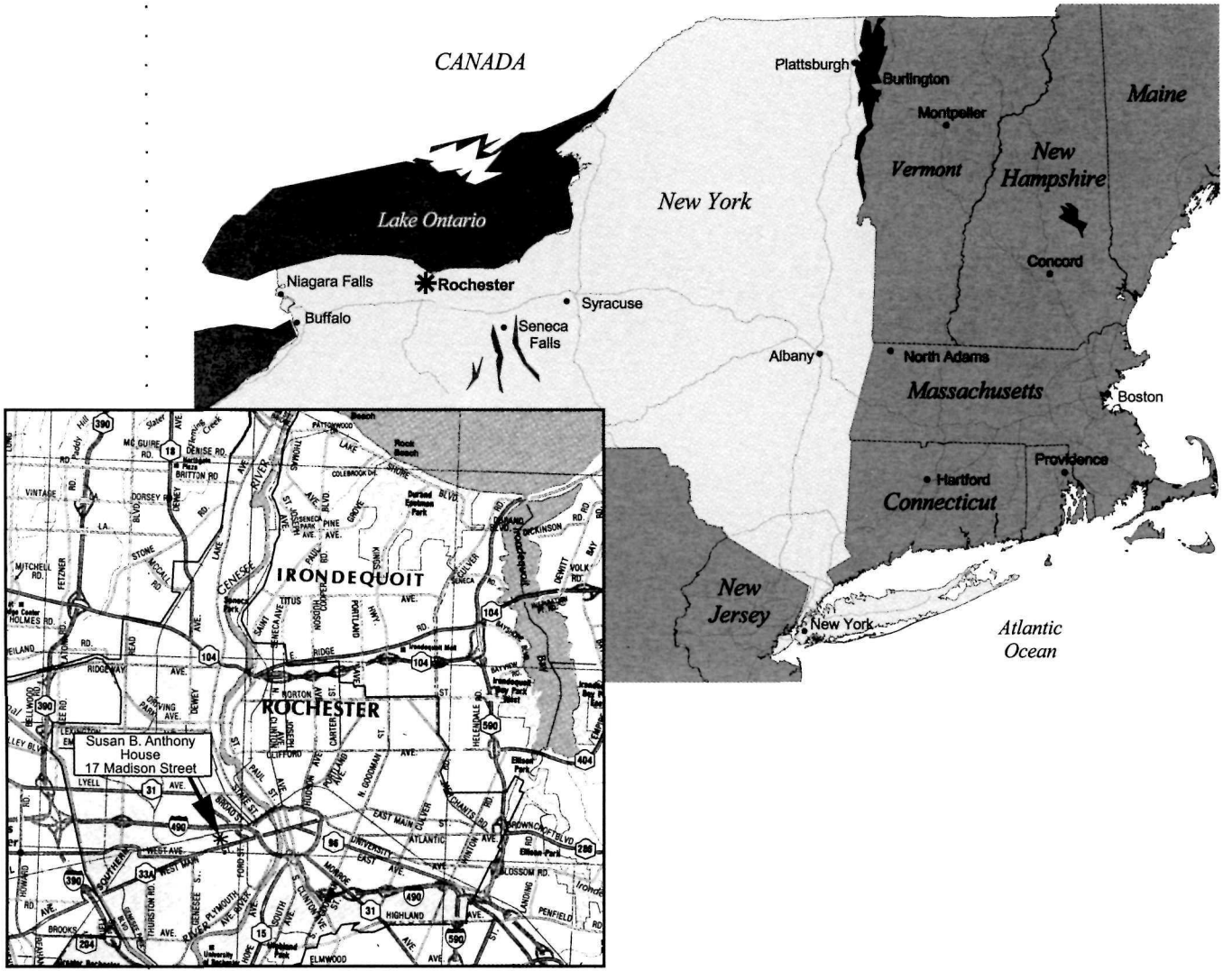
The Susan B. Anthony House



THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE

Setting

Rochester is a city with a population of 250,000 in upstate New York, near the southern shore of Lake Ontario and approximately seventy miles east of Buffalo. Home to the corporate headquarters of Kodak and Bausch & Lomb (and formerly Xerox, which is still a major employer), its tourist promotion today calls it "The World's Image Centre." The University of Rochester is a major focus of cultural life and scholarship as well as a major employer. Home to the National Technical Institute for the Deaf and Rochester School for the Deaf, the city is also a major center of deaf education in the United States. Like most older eastern cities, Rochester has experienced center-city decline as suburbs draw away population and wealth.



The Susan B. Anthony House National Historic Landmark, at 17 Madison Street, is in the Madison-King neighborhood near downtown Rochester. The neighborhood has been extraordinarily stable for decades but has undergone changes in recent years from mostly owner-occupied to rental homes and from a largely white to a racially mixed area.

On a similar lot next door, at 19 Madison Street, is Anthony's sister Hannah's home. With a Community Development Block Grant, the Memorial purchased the house in 1994 for development as a visitor center and administrative offices; also purchased was the badly deteriorated house at 21 Madison Street, now demolished for parking.

Madison-King is a small, rather isolated neighborhood containing nineteenth-century houses similar in scale and architectural character to the Anthony House. A focal point of the neighborhood is an 1839 park known by various names, including Madison Square; the park was redesigned in 1904 by the Olmsted Brothers firm and in 1971 was renamed the Susan B. Anthony Square. Today the Madison-King neighborhood is bounded by interstate highways on the north and east, Main Street on the south, and industrial areas on the west.

The neighborhood is part of the Madison Square/West Main Street Historic District, nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1985. This district covers three and one-half city blocks on the west side, adjacent to the city's central business district and about one mile west of the Genessee River, the north-south waterway that bisects

Susan B. Anthony's gravestone at Mt.Hope Cemetery, Rochester, New York

Rochester's downtown. The commercial area of West Main Street has experienced higher vacancies and increased crime in recent decades.

The local Susan B. Anthony Preservation District, expanded to be contiguous with the Madison Square/Main Street District in 1988, provides some protection for the area's character: a dignified, middle-class, urban 19th century neighborhood. As a result of the Memorial's plans for the adjacent Madison Street property, the surrounding area has shown signs of restabilization, including the efforts of two adjacent planning districts to begin collaboration to improve the larger area.

Approximately two miles from the Madison Street house is Mt. Hope Cemetery, site of Susan B. Anthony's grave, part of a family plot. The city parks department owns and manages the cemetery, and garden groups maintain the Anthony family plot intermittently.

The House

In 1866, Susan B. Anthony's widowed mother, Lucy, purchased 17 Madison Street. Two brick houses, sitting side-by-side, were for sale at Nos. 7 and 9 (later 17 and 19) Madison Street. Lucy Anthony paid $3,500 for one of the houses and signed the deed on March 31, 1866. This became a home for herself and her single daughters Susan and Mary. Another daughter, Guelma McLean, and her husband and two daughters also lived in the two-story house as tenants. The adjacent house was purchased by daughter Hannah's husband, Eugene Mosher, for $2,500. Mary acquired the house after her mother's death in 1880, and the Susan and Mary Anthony lived there for the rest of their lives.

The house,[13] which faces east, measures 40 by 127 feet and is set on a quarter-acre lot. It is a two-and-one-half story brick residence in vernacular Italianate style with a cross-gable plan. The gables have scalloped wood shingles, and the front projecting gable has an oriel window. The Italianate porch contains chamfered posts and decorative brackets; the front door has round-headed panels. The front parlor has two full-length windows with stone lintels and sills and louvered shutters. The house was built about 1859. To create an attic office, Anthony had the roof raised in 1895 and added a larger gable in Queen Anne style with projecting window bay (oriel) and scalloped wood shingles. The main roof is covered with modern asphalt shingles.

Lucy Anthony is said to have brought the English ivy growing at the back of the house from Adams, Massachusetts, where Susan was born in 1820. A wisteria vine, possibly historic, grows on the front of the house, and there are shrubs around the house foundation. With the development of 19 Madison Street in 1998, a fir tree planted in 1949 by the Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, was removed along with driveways on both sides of the house and a concrete garage foundation. All were additions after Anthony's residence and have been replaced by lawns. Today a picket fence matching one from an existing

late 19th century fence further down Madison Street extends across the three adjacent properties, 17, 19, and 21 Madison Street. Behind 19 Madison Street is a new carriage house built as an education and visitor center in 1998.

The basement is divided into three sections and is used to store architectural elements and some nonhistoric furnishings. Most of the floor is modern concrete. Moisture infiltration on the external walls is apparent. In the basement is a coal bin, a small toilet room that may date from about 1900, and a former root cellar.

The first floor contains a front hall, front and back parlors, Mary Anthony's study and former office of the Rochester Political Equality Club, a dining room, a kitchen, and a lavatory. The kitchen, which has been modernized, had been used as an office for staff of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., and the small study contained a sales area for books, t shirts, and other gifts until the new buildings next door were opened in 1998. Front and back staircases lead to the second floor.

On the second floor is Susan B. Anthony's study on the south, with a two-and-a-half story bay added around 1897, and bedroom in the back of the house, largely as she left it; Mary Anthony's bedroom; a bathroom added just before 1900; and a front room. Now called the "museum room," this front room contains displays, exhibit cases, and photographs mounted on the walls, mostly from a collection contributed by Carrie Chapman Catt. Catt sent the collection from the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) with drawings and instructions for their placement. As president of the NAWSA, Anthony had held some of this collection herself. An alcove off the front room features a bust of Anthony on loan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A single, narrow staircase leads from the second floor to the third. Anthony added this third floor attic to serve as an office. It is divided into two large rooms with closets under the eaves. The walls are covered in matched-board siding. Visitors are allowed to tour this story. The rear (west) window contains an air conditioning unit. City building regulations allow a maximum of thirty-seven persons to assemble at a time inside the house.

Cast-iron radiators throughout the house are probably historic. Most of the floors have wide pine boards; on the first floor these boards are covered with area rugs. All the rooms were painted and wallpapered around 1945-46. Smoke detectors are installed throughout the house, hardwired into the alarm system.

Modernization has included 200-amp, 240-volt electric service; plumbing upgrades; a gas boiler firing a hot-water heating system; storm windows; and, in the kitchen, cabinets and new appliances added in the 1970s and 1980s. Some modernization took place in the early 1970s for live-in caretakers.

A conditions report requested by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., and funded by the Institute of Museum Services in 1993, documented certain concerns and suggested methods of treatment. It was noted that wood has deteriorated in window sashes, the front

porch, side steps, and the bulkhead to the basement. Cement stucco added to the foundation is cracked in places. Loose paint is evident throughout. Gutters and downspouts, which had deteriorated or were wrongly pitched, have been repaired or replaced and now channel water away from the house. (Previously, one downspout had introduced water into the basement.) Site work is needed to alter drainage patterns and to repair uneven and possibly hazardous walkways.

Prominent nonhistoric elements include front metal railings, modern aluminum storm/screen doors, an exposed electric conduit attached to a brick wall, modern concrete front steps, and a modern chain-link fence attached to the rear porch.

Inside, walls in south rear rooms have cracks. Water damage appears through roof sheathing in the attic crawl space. Venting systems that use a capped chimney are unsafe and ineffective. In winter 1995 a radiator on the second floor burst and caused $12,000 worth of damage to the walls and ceiling of the back parlor on the first floor. The damage was quickly repaired by contractors guided by consultant John Bero, Historic Architect. Also, volunteer technical assistance came from the Strong Museum, the Landmark Society of Western New York, and the National Park Service.

The Collection

The 17 Madison Street home contains an extensive collection of Anthony artifacts and archival materials. The collection consists of furnishings and other objects that are associated with Susan B. Anthony during her time in this house —furniture, draperies, quilts, decorative items, paintings, prints, clothing, and other personal belongings— as well as other objects of whose association with Anthony is unclear. The archives consist of papers, books, and photographs related to Anthony and her reform activities. The process of cataloging the collection also involves determining the authenticity of each item and whether it fits the scope of collection.

Most of the artifact collection is composed of furnishings returned to the house and other objects acquired over the last fifty years. Some of the furnishings used in the house when the Anthony sisters lived here are a crystal lamp; a mahogany table; a Morris chair; a rocker; a kitchen table; and all the bedroom furnishings of the two sisters. The collection also includes two locks of Susan B. Anthony's hair and a brown alligator bag she used when she traveled. Among other items yet to be authenticated are a horsehair sofa and four chairs; first floor draperies; a pier mirror and pedestal; a table from the Adams, Massachusetts, home; a commode; and a bookcase.

Other artifacts associated with Anthony and her cause include the "19th Amendment Desk" from which Carrie Chapman Catt organized the final successful drive for woman suffrage; Catt later gave the desk to the Susan B. Anthony Memorial. The artifact collection also includes textiles, prints, and paintings.

In addition to furnishings, the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc. owns and manages an archive of photographs, books, personal papers, correspondence, bills, pamphlets, scrapbooks, and ephemera from the individuals and groups involved in the women's rights movement of Anthony's time. Records relating to the founding of the Memorial and the maintenance of 17 Madison Street as a historic house museum are also part of this archive. Most of Anthony's papers have been loaned to the University of Rochester, where they are accessible to researchers.

A report and recommendations from a Western New York Conservators Group survey in October 1992, which made recommendations for stabilizing the collection, noted that the collection was in good condition but that many items were due for cleaning.

Under an agreement with the Susan B. Anthony House, the Strong Museum provides technical assistance and space for meetings. For a number of years, the Museum director of conservation has overseen monthly monitoring of temperature and humidity of the collections at the house and in storage at 19 Madison Street.

Residence and a Political Headquarters

Seventeen Madison Street, Rochester, New York, was Susan B. Anthony's home for 40 years (1866-1906). Anthony's ties with the house evolved over the years. At first, it was a place where she could rest and where she could enjoy her family. In time, her physical and emotional attachment to the house grew as she and her sister Mary created an environment in support of, and conducive to, Susan's suffrage and historical tasks. With the continued help of her sister Mary, Anthony carried on her political organizing efforts and other activities from the Rochester home until her death in 1906.

Mary Anthony inherited the Rochester home after their mother Lucy died in 1881. Mary taught school and by this time shared the home with Aaron McLean and Eugene Mosher, the widowed husbands of her sisters Guelma and Hannah, and with several nieces (the Moshers' daughter Louise; Merrit Anthony's daughter Lucy E., and later Lucy's sister Anna O.). For some years, Mary rented part of the home and kept some upper rooms for herself and Susan. This situation changed as Anthony aged and redirected her personal working habits:

> [Susan B. Anthony] had long wished for the comforts and conveniences of her own home, and she concluded that perhaps her friends were right and she should settle down in one place and direct the work, rather than try to do so much of it herself. . . . So Miss Mary took possession of the house; masons, carpenters, painters and paper-hangers were put to work, and by June [1891] all was in in [*sic*] beautiful readiness.[14]

Susan B. Anthony's alligator travelling bag

Supporters in the Rochester Political Equality Club took part in the renovations. When Anthony came home from an eastern campaign in June 1891 she found that "handsome rugs had been laid on the floor, lace curtains hung at the windows, easy chairs placed in the rooms, a large desk in Miss Mary's study, a fine oak table in the dining-room, all the gift of the club."[15] Other friends and family sent a desk for Anthony, a set of china, cutlery, spreads, bolts of muslin, table linen and towels, pictures, silver, and bric-a-brac. The Anthony sisters responded by hosting a reception at the home the next evening for three hundred visitors.

Anthony continued to travel until she died. However, she considered Rochester her home and she returned there whenever possible to continue her political work and her writing. The home was architecturally altered in 1895 to accommodate the latter task:

> Miss Anthony had decided to rest from "field work" during 1896, and to arrange her papers for the writing of the history of her life, which her friends felt was now the most important thing for her to do. To this end a roomy half-story had been built on the substantial Rochester home, and therein were placed all the big boxes and trunks of letters and documents which had been accumulating during the last fifty years and stored in woodshed, cellar and closets.[16]

Mary Anthony (left) worked alongside her more famous sister in the women's rights movement

The 17 Madison Street home served as the headquarters for Susan B. Anthony's political organizing for the women's rights movement. Twenty-one years after founding the first woman suffrage association, Anthony brought the headquarters of the new united organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, to her home in 1891 where it was located during most of the first great successes, when between 1890 and 1896 the states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho gave full voting rights to women. The house continued to be the primary headquarters during Anthony's presidency from 1892 until her resignation in 1900.

In 1892, Anthony used her home as the central office in a campaign to add a woman suffrage amendment to the New York State constitution, under revision that year in the legislature. The house saved the always underfunded movement the cost of rent, and Harper recalled how it was used in that effort:

> Practically every room in the house was called into requisition. The parlors became public offices; the guest chamber was transformed into a mailing department; Miss Anthony's study was an office by day and a bedroom by night, and even the dining-room and kitchen were invaded. Here Mary S. Anthony, . . . and Mrs. Martha R. Almy, . . . with a force of clerks, worked day and night from December, 1893, to July, 1894, sending out thousands of letters, petition blanks, leaflets, suffrage papers, etc. The letter boxes were wholly inadequate, and the post-office daily sent mail-sacks to the house, which were filled and set out

> on the front porch to be collected. Hither came every day the state president, Mrs. [Jean Brooks] Greenleaf, who toiled without ceasing from daylight till dark; and into this busy hive Miss Anthony rushed from the lecture field every Saturday to get the report of the work and consult as to the best methods for the coming week. It is not possible to describe in detail the vast amount of labor performed at these headquarters.[17]

The 17 Madison Street home had become the site of the transfer of the women's rights movement from one generation to another. Obviously, campaigns of such scale could not be carried out by Anthony and her sister alone. They depended upon the time and energy of NAWSA members and supporters to move forward. Even though Anthony had consistently brought new women into the work, it was during her last years that she transferred her power, her organization, and her personal vision to younger women.

A "Memorial" Site

During Anthony's lifetime her home became a destination for those who supported and endorsed her cause. A visit to the Anthony home was more than a simple matter of a tourist's curiosity—it was an expression of political conviction. On a major east-west highway, Rochester became "a veritable Mecca for women, who look upon a visit at its shrine as the event of a lifetime, and arrange their journeys, often at great inconvenience, to spend a night under the roof of Susan B. Anthony."[18] Together, Susan and Mary offered food, shelter, and encouragement to all those suffrage supporters who passed their way.

Mary S. Anthony died in 1907, a year after her sister's death. The home then passed into private ownership. At the time, women's rights advocates considered purchasing and protecting the home, but the task seemed impossible in light of tenuous financial condition of the suffrage movement, as Harper pointed out:

> It was indeed a sorrow that this consecrated home could not be preserved without change in order that it might stand as a shrine to which women should come in all the future years to offer thanks for their freedom and opportunities. The matter of thus preserving it received the most careful consideration but for many reasons this was found to be wholly impracticable. It must remain a blessed memory to those who have known its inspiring influences, and from the written page future generations must learn to reverence it as they love and revere the two noble women who sanctified it by their pure and beautiful lives.[19]

Sign commemorates the Anthony House as a National Historic Landmark

After the house had been in other private hands for

forty years, a campaign led by the Rochester Federation of Women's Clubs, founded by Susan B. Anthony in 1899, raised $10,000 locally to purchase the house. Chapter members contacted the Anthony family and friends to secure the return of many of the furnishings, personal items, and memorabilia that had been in the house when Anthony occupied it. Catt, Anthony's successor in leading the NAWSA, assisted in the search for materials related to Anthony and to suffrage; she also donated NAWSA's collection of framed photographs of noted suffragists and international women's rights leaders (some of which had belonged to Anthony) and her desk, from which she organized the final campaign for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., an all-volunteer organization for its first forty-seven years, has cared for the Anthony home since its incorporation in 1945.

Sixty-sixth Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the nineteenth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), **That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.**

"ARTICLE ————.

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

F. H. Gillett

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Thos. R. Marshall

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

13 Information on the physical condition of the house and site is current to 1996.

14 Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:706.

15 Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:707.

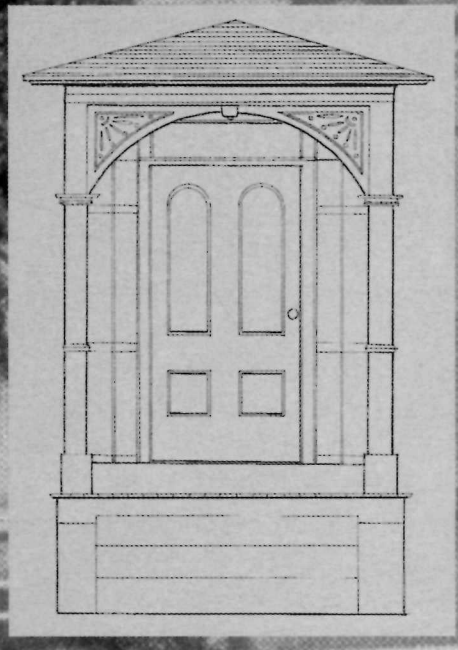
16 Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:860.

17 Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:760.

18 Harper, *Life and Work*, 3:1300.

19 Harper, *Life and Work*, 3:1517.

Management of the Susan B. Anthony House



MANAGEMENT OF THE ANTHONY HOUSE

The Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc.

The house at 17 Madison Street had been a private residence from Mary Anthony's death in 1907 until 1945, when it was purchased by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., itself formed by prominent members of the Rochester Federation of Women's Clubs, to preserve the home and honor the work of the home's most prominent resident. In the early years of the Memorial, much of the interior was refinished, often accomplished room by room as teachers and business and professional women donated funds. In these years, too, caretakers lived in the house, which accounts for some of its modernization. Over the years, many furnishings used in the house by the Anthonys have been returned, especially by family members.

In the 1970s and 1980s, as membership numbers and funds for maintaining the site dwindled, the Memorial confronted the question of its viability. Stimulated by both public and private debate about the legacy of Susan B. Anthony, the Memorial in the 1990s found the wherewithal to regroup and revive itself. As of 1997 the renamed Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., had a board with many new members, a membership of more than 500, and a focus on the education of young people (who will be encouraged to become future members). Site managers used the collection and the site to help visitors understand the life and work of Susan B. Anthony.

Perhaps most significant was that by 1997 the leadership had tackled long-range strategic planning, major fund-raising, evaluation of the historic structure and the collections, and preservation strategies. The members of the House remained "fiercely proud" of their accomplishment and had not only resisted government management but demonstrated their own management capability.

In 1992, after 47 years, the House began the transition from an all-volunteer organization to one with paid staff. The executive director was a full-time employee, who managed the capital campaign and oversaw operations, which were handled by part-time staff in education, resource management, administration, collections, and public relations.

The capital campaign was initiated in 1995 with a goal of $1.5 million, and between 1995 and 1997, fund-raising produced $500,000, including $300,000 from a Rochester foundation. The plan laid out in 1995 was to purchase 19 and 21 Madison Street, rehabilitate 19 Madison, build a small carriage house, raze the derelict building at 21 Madison and use the parcel for a small parking lot. The House reached its capital campaign goal and opened its new visitor and education center, administrative offices, and curatorial and col-

lections space at 19 Madison in 1998. The operations budget had gone from $6,000 in 1991 to $100,000 in 1996. In 2000, the house at 16 Madison Street, across from the Anthony house, was donated to the organization for administrative space. The size of the Anthony site has quadrupled, the operating budget for fiscal year 2001 is $222,000, the endowment has reached $9,000, and the House has no debt.

In a departure from its previous fund raising, the House was the recipient of $500,000 from the federal government in October 1998 under the National Historic Landmarks program. These funds are being used for a thorough historic structures evaluation, treatment and interpretive recommendations for the house.

The house at 17 Madison Street has continued to be part of a residential setting

The House's deliberations and planning for the future of the site done in 1996 are presented in its strategic plan, whose goals are summarized in the Appendix. As of 2000, a new strategic plan in under way. Another measure of the House's vitality is it annual 19th Amendment Festival, an important Rochester event which draws hundreds of people to celebrate the August 25, 1920 ratification of the constitutional amendment giving women the vote.

The Anthony house is open to the public each week from 11 a.m. until 5 p.m. on Tuesday through Sunday in the summer and 11 a.m. until 4 p.m. Wednesday through Sunday in the winter. The admission fee is $6 for adults and less for children and elderly persons. The site receives approximately 10,000 visitors each year, of which school groups and tour groups form the largest share. Special group rates are available. Some twenty vol-

unteer docents are available to take individuals and groups through the house on a forty-minute tour. Docents receive orientation and training. Visitors are taken through all three floors of the house, but the grounds are not interpreted. Offsite programs continue to be in demand as are special programs at the site, such as a "tea and tour" program. A volunteer program has grown to more than 100 active volunteers each of whom receive a handbook, training, and volunteer benefits.

In the last four years, the number of visitors has doubled, visitors hours have increased by two days in the winter and three days in the summer. and there is heavy demand for offsite educational programs.

Management Challenges of the 1990s

Several studies were undertaken by the Memorial in the early 1990s. The National Park Service was asked to assess the building condition in 1991, and private historic architects and preservationists were commissioned to do other evaluations. The studies raised several management issues at that time and provided a planning tool for future preservation of the house and development of its potential for visitors. Following are some of the issues raised by the mid 1990s, most of which have been or are being addressed by 2000.

RESOURCE PROTECTION: The presence of administrative activities in the house caused undesirable wear and tear on the resource. The security system, although not state of the art, included motion detectors, heat sensors, and smoke detectors that were hard-wired into the alarm system, notifying police and fire through a security company. Crime was also a potential threat to the resource, but its severity was minimized, however, because neighbors, who have been loyal supporters of the Susan B. Anthony House, have done a great deal to help protect the house.

VISITOR EXPERIENCE: The location of the house was not widely known or promoted in the Rochester community, and there were few highway direction signs. Because it is so much a part of its neighborhood, the house is not easily visible on the usual approach from the west. Vehicles must negotiate a complicated traffic pattern on neighborhood streets when they arrive, try to park, and leave. Visitor parking was limited to spaces available on the street. In addition, public perceptions about center-city crime at least potentially detracted from the visitor experience.

The Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., had limited staff to support interpretation and tour demands. The house was open only nine hours a week. School and other groups were scheduled separately so as not to dominate regular tour hours. There was no wheelchair access to the house. The managers were unable to serve special populations, especially the large concentration of deaf and hearing-impaired residents in the Rochester area.

ADMINISTRATION: Management of the house had grown more professional, but as the staff grew and visitation increased, demands for more space and modern equipment

increased. The role of the House in the neighborhood and the city is evolving as the site continues to build links with other historic sites and museums. As knowledge about and cataloging of the collection began, better understanding and more professional management of the collection has heightened demands for conservation and storage.

Meeting the Challenges

As of 2000, the Susan B. Anthony House with the success of its $1.5 million capital campaign had completed renovations at 19 Madison Street, constructed an adjacent carriage house as part of a complex for administrative offices, curatorial and research work space, archive and collections storage, accessible visitor amenities, exhibit space, and museum shop. The House also razed a derelict structure at 21 Madison for parking (changes are envisioned in architect's sketch below, 1997). Addressing conservation and storage concerns identified in studies of the 1990s was a major thrust of the capital expansion project.

A 1998 federal grant of $500,000 through the National Historic Landmarks program enabled the House to launch a historic structures study in preparation for restoring the Anthony house, which is expected to cost more than $1.5 million.

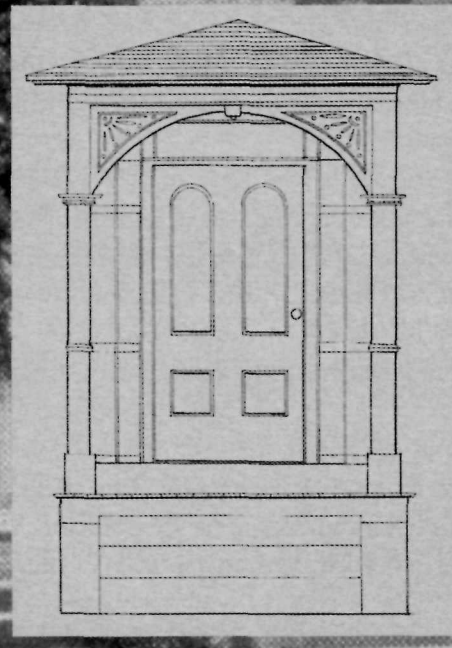
By 2000, signage had been installed to direct visitors easily to the site. The city of Rochester had included the Susan B. Anthony Historic District on its maps of the center city and, as a result of the increase in visitors and growth of the site, the city had begun a comprehensive study of the area including infrastructure, traffic impacts, and safety.

17
MADISON STREET
Susan B. Anthony House
National Historic Landmark

19
MADISON STREET
Visitor and Education Center

21
MADISON STREET
Landscaped
Off-Street Parking Area

EVALUATION & RECOMMENDATIONS



EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Park Service uses established criteria for determining whether a new area should become a park unit. Proposed new units are evaluated against standards for national significance, suitability, and feasibility.

National Significance

Susan B. Anthony's prominence in the women's rights movement deems her nationally significant. While the national significance of the Susan B. Anthony House was established when it was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 1965, this study presents a fuller picture of the tangible resources associated with Anthony at the Rochester house and reinforces that designation.

Under criteria for the National Register of Historic Places, "eligible properties generally are those associated with the productive life of the individual in the field in which (s)he achieved significance."[20] Guidelines for such inclusion say, "Retirement homes may qualify if the person continued significant activities in that home, or if it can be documented that the house is significant in representing the culmination of an important career."[21]

Further, National Register criteria require that a site associated with a significant national figure be the best representative example of a site associated with that person's productive life and important achievements. The 17 Madison Street house is the best representation of a property associated with Anthony in the country.

Of the half-dozen or more homes in which Susan B. Anthony lived, the house at 17 Madison Street by far best exemplifies the woman and her cause. Today it retains the character, integrity, and historic qualities that reflect Anthony's life there. Other homes are either no longer extant or were associated with her life during shorter and less significant times than was her home on Madison Street, including her birthplace. In 1970 the National Park Service, commenting on a legislative proposal to acquire Anthony's birthplace, said that the house at 17 Madison Street "clearly has much more meaningful ties to the life and work of Miss Anthony, than does the birthplace house in Adams, Massachusetts, and has been so recognized" as a National Historic Landmark.[22]

Susan B. Anthony spent her eighty-six years in several family homes, the homes of friends and associates, and commercial lodging places. She never owned a house in her own name. Her family moved several times during her childhood, and later Anthony's extensive travel in pursuit of various reforms prevented her from considering any house to be "home"

until late in her life. The house at 17 Madison Street was Anthony's home for the longest, most politically active period of her life. Other residences between 1820 and 1866 are either no longer standing or in private ownership and much altered.

From her birth in 1820 until she was six years old Anthony was raised at the family home in Adams, Massachusetts. Her father moved the family in 1826 to Battenville, New York (the house is now a private residence), and in 1839 to Hardscrabble (now Center Falls), New York. When Anthony taught school in the late 1830s and throughout the 1840s, she boarded in different places; for two years during this time she lived with her cousin Margaret in Canajoharie, New York.

From 1845 to 1865, the Anthony family lived on a farm on Brooks Avenue, on the outskirts of Rochester. By 1849 this site was the base of Anthony's temperance and anti-slavery work. The farm was a stop on the Underground Railroad and the Anthonys, including Susan, aided fugitive slaves during these years. After her father's death, Susan's mother Lucy sold the farm (now demolished) and bought a house in town, at 17 Madison Street.

From 1866 to 1881 Anthony stayed with her mother and sister in the family home in Rochester whenever she was in town, but traveling across the country and to Europe in support of suffrage kept her away for extended periods of time. During her suffrage campaigns, Anthony stayed in hotels and in the homes of single and married supporters of the cause. She returned to her home between campaigns, but sometimes she was able to stay only for days or weeks. She frequently stayed at Stanton's home in Tenafly, New Jersey, and at the home of Stanton's father in Johnstown, New York. When in Philadelphia she stayed at Lucretia Mott's home; she also spent time with her brothers, Daniel and Merrit, in Leavenworth and Fort Scott, Kansas.

Over the course of twelve years (1879-91), whenever she was in Washington, D.C., on suffrage work, Anthony resided for days or weeks in a suite of rooms set aside for her by Jane Spofford at a hotel known as the Riggs House, a building no longer standing. In 1891 Anthony wrote of her visits there:

> Left Washington and the dear old Riggs House today [May 1]. For twelve winters this has been my home, where I have had every comfort it was possible for Mr. and Mrs. Spofford to give. For as many winters it has been the National Association's headquarters, but now both will have to find a new place, for the hotel is to pass under another management.[23]

Her home at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, was her anchor and headquarters for forty years. There she spent her last highly productive years, and there she carried out the organizing activities for which she was so widely known. It is clearly the best site to exemplify the woman and her political and humanitarian work.

Suitability and Feasibility

Nationally significant sites being considered for addition to the National Park System must also meet criteria for suitability and feasibility. According to National Park Service guidelines, "To be suitable for inclusion in the System, an area must represent a natural or cultural theme or type of resource that is not already adequately represented in the National Park System or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by another land-managing agency. Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the proposed area to other units in the National Park System for differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resources, and opportunities for public enjoyment."

The Anthony house in Rochester with its many artifacts conveys a powerful image of Anthony and her work. The site illustrates two themes in the National Park Service thematic framework. *Creating Social Institutions and Movements* "focuses upon the diverse formal and informal structures such as schools or voluntary associations through which people express values and live their lives. Americans generate temporary movements and create enduring institutions in order to define, sustain, or reform these values. Why people organize to transform their institutions is as important to understand as how they choose to do so. Thus, both the diverse motivations people act on and the strategies they employ are critical concerns of social history."

'Reform movements' is a topic that helps define this theme, and the Anthony house illustrates the topic well. Within the National Park System a number of units represent this theme: Boston National Historical Park; Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site; Clara Barton National Historic Site; Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site; Frederick Douglass National Historic Site; Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; Johnstown Flood National Memorial; Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site; Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site; Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site; and Women's Rights National Historical Park. However, only the last two illustrate reform movements focused on women.

The second applicable theme, *Shaping the Political Landscape*, "encompasses tribal, local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape both policies and institutions. Sites associated with political leaders, theorists, organizations, movements, campaigns, and grassroots political activities all illustrate aspects of the political environment."

Under this theme, the topic of 'parties, protests, and movements' is most closely reflected at the Susan B. Anthony House. In the National Park System, Benjamin Franklin National Memorial; Boston National Historical Park; Charles Pinckney National Historic Site; Frederick Douglass National Historic Site; Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site; and Women's Rights National Historical Park are representative of Shaping the Political Landscape. Again, only Women's Rights National Historical Park and Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site represent aspects of the women's rights movement. Neither includes a focus on Susan B. Anthony.

Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site, located in Washington, D.C., was the home of the suffrage activist Alice Paul and headquarters of the National Woman's Party. Not a unit but an "affiliated area" of the National Park Service, it balances its roles of museum and party headquarters. It is open to the public on a limited schedule.

Women's Rights National Historical Park was established to preserve and interpret the nationally significant historical and cultural sites, structures, and events associated with the struggle for equal rights for women. "This struggle is one of the most critical and influential social movements in North American history starting in the 19th century and continuing today."[24]

Women's Rights NHP tells only part of the story of the women's rights movement: it honors one-half of the partnership of the two most important women who led the 19th century movement for women's rights, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The other partner was, of course, Susan B. Anthony. The park in Seneca Falls was established in 1980 to commemorate women's struggle for equal rights at the site of the first Women's Rights Convention in 1848. It includes the homes of woman suffrage leaders Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mary Ann M'Clintock. The homes of M'Clintock and Jane Hunt (authorized for acquisition by the National Park Service) were planning sites for the Declaration of Sentiments, which was signed at the 1848 Seneca Falls convention.

The Anthony house would qualify as a suitable addition to the National Park System in representing two themes that are not adequately represented. Anthony deserves to be represented in the National Park System by virtue of her long-term leadership of the women's rights movement including her political organizing, lobbying, and extensive writing, and because of her enormous public recognition as the leader of the women's rights movement.

However, since suitability also examines whether a site is already "protected for public enjoyment by another land-managing entity," the conclusion is that the Anthony house does not fulfill the requirement of suitability. While the Anthony house represents themes not adequately represented in the National Park System, the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., was established to preserve the Anthony house and make it available to the public for educational purposes. It has preserved the house and collection for more than 50 years. It has demonstrated its capability, especially in recent years, to raise sizeable funds, to undertake long-term planning, and to reach out in many directions to bring the story of Susan B. Anthony to a diverse national as well as regional audience. Since the Susan B. Anthony house is already protected for public enjoyment, it is not an appropriate addition to the National Park System at this time.

Because this reconnaissance study has determined that the Anthony house is so protected, no investigation of feasibility is necessary. If current management changes, the National Park Service should reexamine this study and develop alternatives to examine the feasibility of incorporating the Anthony house. Under current conditions and expected conditions in the foreseeable future, an exercise in alternatives development is unnecessary.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has concluded that there is no need for the National Park Service to incorporate the Susan B. Anthony house into the National Park System at this time. The Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., manages the resource sufficiently well to protect it and make it available to the public. If however, management capabilities decline in the future, the National Park Service should revisit this conclusion. The study also concludes that stronger links could be made between Women's Rights National Historical Park and the Anthony house, and that the two sites could work together more closely. Recommendations include making use of cooperative agreement authority by Women's Rights NHP, continuation of National Park Service technical assistance, and a revision of the National Historic Landmark nomination.

Enhancing Partnerships

The political, professional, and personal bond between Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the women's rights movement is worthy of interpretation at both historic sites, and neither site can fully express this theme without the other.[25] Visitors at each site should be referred to the other site for a complete picture of Anthony's and Stanton's relationship and significance. Anthony's activities in and association with the 17 Madison Street house should anchor interpretive programming at the house. An appendix in this report suggests ways in which the Susan B. Anthony House could conduct and plan for expanded visitor experience and interpretation.

Women's Rights National Historical Park has larger exhibit space and thus could house temporary exhibits. Each site has collections that relate closely to the other and could be loaned or exchanged for temporary exhibits. The Susan B. Anthony House is especially good at these functions which are of increasing interest to the National Park Service: marketing, advertising, volunteer development, museum management, and private-sector fundraising in support of joint programming.

The National Park Service offers expertise in operating and developing historic sites throughout the country, in providing visitor and educational services, and in resource protection and preservation. It could lend technical assistance, on request and as funds allow, for building preservation, collections management, interpretation and education, and other visitor services issues.

Finally, particular events or activities to be shared might include some of the following.

- Women's Rights NHP and the Anthony House could participate in "Teaching with Historic Places," a program of the National Park Service and the National Trust for Historic Preservation which offers short lesson plans that are ready-to-use in the classroom. Each lesson uses a place listed in the National Register of Historic Places or a National Historic Landmark to teach a topic usually included in the social studies curriculum. The lesson plan is distributed throughout the

country. National Park Service interpreters and Anthony House docents could take a one-week training program together and develop a lesson plan. Or they could develop the lesson plan from their home sites through correspondence and materials from the "Teaching with Historic Places" staff.

- Both sites could hold an event commemorating the 1851 Anthony-Stanton meeting in Seneca Falls.
- Staff and volunteers from the Anthony House could attend various training programs run by the National Park Service when space is available, such as training for seasonal interpreters.
- Each site could sell reduced-price tickets to the other.
- The sites could coordinate the schedules of their annual Nineteenth Amendment celebrations by holding them on successive days of the same weekend.
- Both sites could sell items related to each other in their stores.

Opportunities abound for an effective partnership between the Susan B. Anthony House and the National Park Service at Women's Rights National Historical Park.

Cooperative Agreement Authority

To facilitate a partnership between the two sites, Women's Rights NHP cooperative agreement authority could be used to foster partnerships with the Anthony house on many levels. Because the goals and capabilities of the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., coincide well with those of the National Park Service, opportunities exist for strengthening the thematic relationship between Women's Rights National Historical Park and Susan B. Anthony House.

NHL Update

The Anthony House National Historic Landmark form completed in 1965 contains several inaccuracies. It should be reviewed and reevaluated by the National Park Service for the purpose of correcting and amending it, and such revision could make use of recent scholarship on Anthony and the women's rights movement.

NPS Technical Assistance

Under the existing National Historic Landmarks program, the National Park Service will continue its responsibility for monitoring the condition of the house and, through technical and financial assistance when possible, help prevent its deterioration.

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20 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin, No. 32*, 16.

21 Ibid.

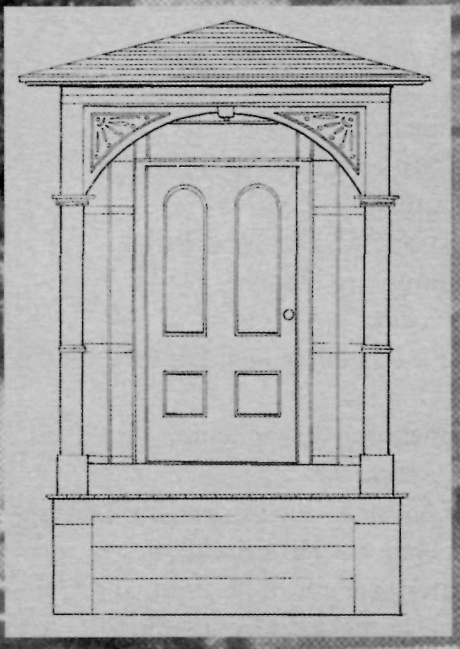
22 Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D.C., to Chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Mar. 2, 1970.

23 Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:705.

24 Women's Rights National Historical Park, "Park Goals and Vision," May 1995.

25 Filmmaker Ken Burns highlighted this point for a national audience in a documentary film (on public television, fall 1999) on the lives of Anthony and Stanton, their friendship and their leadership in women's rights.

APPENDICES



APPENDIX A STUDY TEAM AND CONTRIBUTORS

National Park Service

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Justin Berthiaume, Landscape Architect
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Linda Krinsky, Education Coordinator
Elizabeth C. Moore, Resource Coordinator
Cindy Rosenbloom, Administrative Assistant

APPENDIX B SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE: NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK AND NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

Form 10-317
(Sept. 1967)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. STATE: New York

2. THEME(S). IF ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE, WRITE "ARCH" BEFORE THEME NO.: XXII, Social and Humanitarian Movements

3. NAME(S) OF SITE: Susan B. Anthony House

4. APPROX. ACREAGE:

5. EXACT LOCATION (County, township, roads, etc. If difficult to find, sketch on Supplementary Sheet): 17 Madison Street, Rochester, Monroe County

6. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRESENT OWNER (Also administrator if different from owner): Mrs. Wesley Kubal, President, Susan B. Anthony Memorial Corporation (same address)

7. IMPORTANCE AND DESCRIPTION (Describe briefly what makes site important and what remains are extant):

Susan B. Anthony's prominent role in the woman's rights movement in the United States from the early 1850's to the 1890's first caused her to be reviled, and then hailed as one of America's outstanding women. Today, she continues to be recognized as one whose life-long devotion to the cause of woman's rights has enabled modern women to live more interesting, useful, and satisfactory lives.

Born on February 15, 1820, in Adams, Massachusetts, Miss Anthony's family life and early career induced her to attach herself to the reform movement afoot in the United States. Her father, who was a very liberal Quaker, encouraged an independent spirit in Susan and her sisters as they grew up in a home infused with a strong moral quality. After Susan, who possessed a fine mind, had finished schooling, she began to teach, occupying several positions before becoming headmistress of the Female Department of the Canajoharie Academy in 1846. By 1849, she not only felt some frustration in teaching, but chafed at her inferior position in the academy because of her sex. Unhappy, she resigned and returned to her family, which was now living in Rochester, New York, where she met William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglas, Lucretia Mott, and Lucy Stone, all of whom were involved in reform movements. Disenchanted with teaching and angry over the lowly position of women, Susan, influenced by a growing knowledge of reform activities, decided to devote herself to reform.

Susan's early undertakings in behalf of reform further convinced her that it was a man's world. First working for temperance, she having been raised in an abstemious home, the young reformer experienced a humiliating rebuff in attending a meeting of the Sons of Temperance in Albany in 1852. When she rose to speak, she was silenced because of her sex. That stimulated her to help organize the Woman's State Temperance Society of New York, which established a precedent in the nation. But as she labored in behalf of temperance, she became

8. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES (Give list sources; give location of manuscripts and rare works):

Katharine Anthony, Susan B. Anthony (New York, 1954) 132, 212-13;
Constance B. Burnett, Five for Freedom (New York, 1953) 185, 212, 216-17, 228, 230, 245;
Dictionary of American Biography;
Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Mass., 1959) 84-86; Alma Lutz, Susan B. Anthony (Boston, 1959) 57,60,67, 68-71,80,101-02,223,226-27, 229,245.

9. REPORTS AND STUDIES (Mention best reports and studies, eg., NPS study, H.A.B.S., etc.):

10. PHOTOGRAPHS* ATTACHED: YES ☑ NO ☐	11. CONDITION: Excellent	12. PRESENT USE (Museum, farm, etc.): Museum	13. DATE OF VISIT: Nov. 1964
14. NAME OF RECORDER (Signature): Sidney Bradford	15. TITLE: Staff Historian	16. DATE: 3/17/65	

* DRY MOUNT ON AN 8 X 10½ SHEET OF FAIRLY HEAVY PAPER. IDENTIFY BY VIEW AND NAME OF THE SITE, DATE OF PHOTOGRAPH, AND NAME OF PHOTOGRAPHER. GIVE LOCATION OF NEGATIVE. IF ATTACHED, ENCLOSE IN PROPER NEGATIVE ENVELOPES.

(IF ADDITIONAL SPACE IS NEEDED USE SUPPLEMENTARY SHEET, 10-317a, AND REFER TO ITEM NUMBER)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—74010-1

Form 10-317
(Sept. 1957)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. STATE	2. THEME(S). IF ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE, WRITE "ARCH" BEFORE THEME NO.	
3. NAME(S) OF SITE		4. APPROX. ACREAGE
5. EXACT LOCATION (*County, township, roads, etc. If difficult to find, sketch on Supplementary Sheet*)		
6. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRESENT OWNER (*Also administrator if different from owner*)		

7. IMPORTANCE AND DESCRIPTION (*Describe briefly what makes site important and what remains are extant*)

increasingly distressed over the prevailing conception of woman's role in life and the arrogance of the male. She also encountered hostility in her work as an abolitionist, especially when in 1856 she became an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. As she criscrossed New York, planning abolitionist meetings, displaying posters, and sponsoring various speakers, she experienced hostility both because of her cause and sex. In addition ot the preceding activities, Susan also participated in woman's rights activities, which she began to concentrate on as a result of the abuse and insult she had received as a female agitator.

The young woman who was to become one of the boldest crusaders for woman's rights possessed a keen intelligence and a strong personality, both of which were supported by courage, resourcefulness, and persistence. Undaunted bythe invective and abuse from all ranks of society, she never abandoned her cause, and in the end worked a moral and practical triumph over her bitter adversaries. Miss Anthony's tremendou vitality also helped her in her struggle, she in one year giving 171 lectures and numberless impromptu talks. She never married; indeed, she sometimes expressed irritation when cohorts momentarily abandoned the fight in order to marry.

Susan entered the woman's rights movement in 1851, after meeting Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was already prominent in the cause. The two women became fast friends and extremely effective co-workers in the crusade to encourage the rise of "the new woman," or "the true woman," as they described her. Generally, Elizabet developed their ideas in speeches and plans, which Susan, in her indefatigable way gave or carried out. As Mrs. Stanton's husband once remarked,

> Well, my dear, another notice of Susan. You stir up Susan and she stirs up the world.[1]

[1] Quoted in Alma Lutz, Susan B. Anthony (Boston, 1959), 70.

8. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES (*List not in alphabetical order the number of manuscripts and rare works*)

9. REPORTS AND STUDIES (*Mention best reports and studies, as, NPS study, HABS, etc.*)

10. PHOTOGRAPHS * ATTACHED: YES ☐ NO ☐	11. CONDITION	12. PRESENT USE (*Museum, farm, etc.*)	13. DATE OF VISIT
14. NAME OF RECORDER (*Signature*)		15. TITLE	16. DATE

* DRY MOUNT ON AN 8 X 10½ SHEET OF FAIRLY HEAVY PAPER. IDENTIFY BY VIEW AND NAME OF THE SITE. DATE OF PHOTOGRAPH. AND NAME OF PHOTOGRAPHER. GIV LOCATION OF NEGATIVE. IF ATTACHED, ENCLOSE IN PROPER NEGATIVE ENVELOPES.

(IF ADDITIONAL SPACE IS NEEDED USE SUPPLEMENTARY SHEET, 10-317a, AND REFER TO ITEM NUMBER)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—74016-1

Form 10-917
(Sept. 1962)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. STATE	2. THEME(S). IF ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE, WRITE "ARCH" BEFORE THEME NO.

3. NAME(S) OF SITE	4. APPROX. ACREAGE

5. EXACT LOCATION (*County, township, roads, etc. If difficult to find, sketch on Supplementary Sheet*)

6. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRESENT OWNER (*Also administrator if different from owner*)

7. IMPORTANCE AND DESCRIPTION (*Describe briefly what makes site important and what remains are extant*)

Susan especially contributed organization and direction to the crusade for the new woman. She soon saw, for example, that petitions to legislatures for a redress of rights would be more meaningful if they carried lists of signatures. In 1854, she organized a drive in New York for signatures to a petition pleading for the right for women to control their own earnings, for the custody of children in event of divorce, and for the ballot. She selected a woman in each of New York's counties as a captain and then urged them to solicit signatures, and within six weeks some 6,000 names had been garnered. In order to add to the impact of the preceding, she then organized a New York State Woman's Rights Convention to be held in Albany while the legislature was in session. As could have been expected, the legislature refused to act on the petition, but the significant thing is that Susan had devised a method for agitating for her cause that grew in effectiveness as the years passed.

Signatures and conventions--between the two, more and more women became aware of the woman's rights movement and involved in its activities. In 1876, Susan stimulated petitions from twenty-six states bearing 10,000 names in behalf of the vote for women. Seven years earlier, in 1869, she had played the main role in organizing the National Woman Suffrage Association, which became a militant force in the fight as it held annual meetings. Perhaps the culmination of this aspect of Susan's work was the meeting of an international congress on woman's rights in Washington in 1888, with delegates in attendance from many other countries than just the United States.

Although Susan had decided that the key to the movement of the female's position lay in obtaining the vote and thus made that the paramount issue in the campaign, she spoke out on all of woman's social ills. In The Revolution, a magazine published by Susan between 1868-1870 and whose motto was, "Down with politicians,

8. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES (*Give best sources, the location of manuscripts and rare works*)

9. REPORTS AND STUDIES (*Mention best reports and studies, as: NPS study, HABS, etc.*)

10. PHOTOGRAPHS* ATTACHED: YES ☐ NO ☐	11. CONDITION	12. PRESENT USE (*Museum, farm, etc.*)	13. DATE OF VISIT
14. NAME OF RECORDER (*Signature*)		15. TITLE	16. DATE

*DRY MOUNT ON AN 8 X 10½ SHEET OF FAIRLY HEAVY PAPER. IDENTIFY BY VIEW AND NAME OF THE SITE, DATE OF PHOTOGRAPH, AND NAME OF PHOTOGRAPHER. GIVE LOCATION OF NEGATIVE. IF ATTACHED, ENCLOSE IN PROPER NEGATIVE ENVELOPES.

(IF ADDITIONAL SPACE IS NEEDED USE SUPPLEMENTARY SHEET, 10-917a, AND REFER TO ITEM NUMBER)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—74016-1

Form 10-317
(Sept. 1957)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. STATE

2. THEME(S). IF ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE, WRITE "ARCH" BEFORE THEME NO.

3. NAME(S) OF SITE

4. APPROX. ACREAGE

5. EXACT LOCATION (*County, township, roads, etc. If difficult to find, sketch on Supplementary Sheet*)

6. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRESENT OWNER (*Also administrator if different from owner*).

7. IMPORTANCE AND DESCRIPTION (*Describe briefly what makes site important and what remains are extant*)

up with people," she defended women who had been seduced and abandoned, spoke up in behalf of women in divorce cases, and generally flinched at nothing in attacking the domination of the male. Utterly fearless, in 1875, she lectured on the tacit approval of prostitution in a talk entitled "Social Purity," which she first presented at the Chicago Grand Opera House.

As decade after decade passed, Susan continued to lead in a growing movement dedicated to bettering woman's position inlife. She died on March 13, 1906, fourteen years before the ratification of the XIX Amendment, but that amendment, in a sense, will always memorialize her role in its adoption.

Present Condition of the Site

The Susan B. Anthony House, which Susan lived in from 1866 to 1906, a two - story brick structure, has an attic beneath a gabled roof. Two full length windows on the right of the entrance enhance the parlor and its furnishings, most of which were Susan's, including the window's lace curtains. As in the front parlor, the back parlor contains mostly Susan's furnishings, except for the rug and one or two other items.

The two most interesting rooms on the second floor are her study and bedroom. The study is over the back parlor and contains Susan's desk and typewriter, plus other possessions of the reformer. Her bedroom is in back of the study and is largely just as she left it. The bed, bureau, and rug, all used by Susan, make the room exceptionally interesting. A large study is in the attic, and it again contains many of Susan's possessions.

The house is in good condition and is well maintained. It is open daily, except on Wednesday.

8. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES (*Give best sources; give location of manuscripts and archives*)

9. REPORTS AND STUDIES (*Mention best reports and studies, as, NPS study, HABS, etc.*)

10. PHOTOGRAPHS* ATTACHED: YES ☐ NO ☐	11. CONDITION	12. PRESENT USE (*Museum, farm, etc.*)	13. DATE OF VISIT.
14. NAME OF RECORDER (*Signature*)		15. TITLE	16. DATE

* DRY MOUNT ON AN 8 X 10½ SHEET OF FAIRLY HEAVY PAPER. IDENTIFY BY VIEW AND NAME OF THE SITE, DATE OF PHOTOGRAPH, AND NAME OF PHOTOGRAPHER. GIVE LOCATION OF NEGATIVE. IF ATTACHED, ENCLOSE IN PROPER NEGATIVE ENVELOPES.

(IF ADDITIONAL SPACE IS NEEDED USE SUPPLEMENTARY SHEET, 10-317a, AND REFER TO ITEM NUMBER)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—740[illegible]-1

REGISTRY OF NATIONAL
HISTORIC LANDMARKS

Summary Data for
Susan B. Anthony House

Location: 17 Madison Street, Rochester, Monroe Co., N. Y.

Owner: Susan B. Anthony Memorial Corporation

Landmark Record

Date of:

Site Description 3/19/65

Designation by Secretary 6/23/65

Owner Agreement 8/17/65

Cert. & Plq. Presented 5/20/66

Significance:

Use:

Description:

Physical Condition:

Form No. 10-300 (Rev 10-74) NHL Theme: Social and Humanitarian Movements

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

FOR NPS USE ONLY
RECEIVED
DATE ENTERED

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC
SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE

AND/OR COMMON
Susan B. Anthony House

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER
17 Madison Street — NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN
Rochester — VICINITY OF — CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 35

STATE
New York — CODE 36 — COUNTY Monroe — CODE 55

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE	
x DISTRICT	x PUBLIC	OCCUPIED	AGRICULTURE	x MUSEUM
BUILDING(S)	PRIVATE	UNOCCUPIED	COMMERCIAL	PARK
STRUCTURE	BOTH	WORK IN PROGRESS	EDUCATIONAL	PRIVATE RESIDENCE
SITE	**PUBLIC ACQUISITION**	**ACCESSIBLE**	ENTERTAINMENT	RELIGIOUS
OBJECT	IN PROCESS	x YES: RESTRICTED	GOVERNMENT	SCIENTIFIC
	BEING CONSIDERED	YES: UNRESTRICTED	INDUSTRIAL	TRANSPORTATION
		NO	MILITARY	OTHER

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME Susan B. Anthony Memorial Corporation, Mr. and Mrs, Joseph Hilbert, ~~Resident Curators~~

STREET & NUMBER
19 Madison Street

CITY, TOWN
Rochester — VICINITY OF — STATE New York

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC. Monroe County Courthouse

STREET & NUMBER
Plymouth Avenue

CITY, TOWN
Rochester — STATE New York

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE
None

DATE — FEDERAL — STATE — COUNTY — LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS

CITY, TOWN — STATE

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
x EXCELLENT	_DETERIORATED	_UNALTERED	x ORIGINAL SITE
_GOOD	_RUINS	x ALTERED (minor)	_MOVED DATE_____
_FAIR	_UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Susan B. Anthony House is a two story rectangular brick house with wood trim and a steep, shingled, gable roof, as well as a basement and an attic. Built in 1845, the house, which is located on a small residential street, served as a private residence until 1945, when it was acquired by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial corporation and adapted to museum use. The house consists of two rectangular sections; the front section, which is organised on a side hall plan, is two rooms deep, and has an attic over its second floor; and the rear section which is slightly narrower and lower, without an attic, and contains a dining room and kitchen on the first floor and bedrooms on the second floor. The first floor of the front portion consists of the front parlor with its two full length windows, and the back parlor behind it, and the hallway and dining room on the other side. Bedrooms occupy the second floor, except for Susan Anthony's study, which is located above the back parlor. The attic rooms were used as study and office space during Miss Anthony's occupancy.

Since the house was acquired for use as a museum, a wide range of the feminist's belongings including furnishings, clothes and personal effects have been donated. Such items as the lace curtains in the front parlor, and most other items of furniture belonged to Miss Anthony. The basement of the house is the only area which is not maintained as part of the house-museum.

There have been no structural changes in the house, the only significant alterations being the installation of electricity for gas, a new kitchen and other modernization of the utilities. Certain items such as a vertical tube radiator are still in service.

The Anthony House is the only structure on a standard 40' x 127' house lot.

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW			
__PREHISTORIC	__ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	__COMMUNITY PLANNING	__LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	__RELIGION
__1400-1499	__ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	__CONSERVATION	__LAW	__SCIENCE
__1500-1599	__AGRICULTURE	__ECONOMICS	__LITERATURE	__SCULPTURE
__1600-1699	__ARCHITECTURE	__EDUCATION	__MILITARY	X SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN
__1700-1799	__ART	__ENGINEERING	__MUSIC	__THEATER
X 1800-1899	__COMMERCE	__EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	__PHILOSOPHY	__TRANSPORTATION
__1900-	__COMMUNICATIONS	__INDUSTRY	__POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	__OTHER (SPECIFY)
		__INVENTION		

SPECIFIC DATES 1866-1906 BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Susan B. Anthony's prominent role in the woman's rights movement in the United States, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, at first caused her to be reviled along with her cause, but then hailed as one of the country's outstanding women. Today she continues to be recognized as one whose life-long devotion to the cause of woman's rights has enabled modern women to live more productive and satisfactory lives.

Miss Anthony's house at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York, which served as her home for forty years, is presently maintained as a memorial house-museum, in her honor. The two story brick house, which is owned by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Corporation, is relatively unchanged from the time of Miss Anthony's occupancy.

BIOGRAPHY

Susan Brownell Anthony was born on February 15, 1820, in Adams, Massachusetts. Her family life and early career induced her to attach herself to the reform movement afoot in the United States. Her father, who was a very liberal Quaker, encouraged an independent spirit in Susan and her sisters as they grew up in a home infused with a strong moral quality. After Susan, who possessed a fine mind, had finished schooling, she began to teach, occupying several positions before becoming headmistress of the Female Department of the Canojoharie Academy in 1846. By 1849, she not only felt some frustration in teaching, but chafed at her inferior position in the academy because of her sex. Unhappy, she resigned and returned to her family, which was now living in Rochester, New York, where she met William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Lucretia Mott, and Lucy Stone, all of whom were involved in reform movements, Disenchanted with teaching and angry over the lowly position of women, Susan, influenced by a growing knowledge of reform activities, decided to devote herself to reform.

Susan's early undertakings in behalf of reform further convinced her that it was a man's world. First working for temperance, she having been raised in an abstemious home, the young reformer experienced a humiliating rebuff in attending a meeting of the Sons of Temperance in Albany in 1852. When she rose to speak, she was silenced because of her sex. That stimulated her to help organise the Woman's State Temperance Society of New York, which established a precedent in the nation. But as she labored in behalf of temperance, she became increasingly distressed over the prevailing conception of woman's role in life and the arrogance of the male. She also encountered hostility in her work as an

(continued)

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(Rev. 10-74)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

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CONTINUATION SHEET Anthony House ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 2

abolitionist, especially when in 1856 she became an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. As she crisscrossed New York, planning abolitionist meetings, displaying posters, and sponsoring various speakers, she experienced hostility both because of her cause and sex. In addition to the preceding activities, Susan also participated in woman's rights activities, which she began to concentrate on as a result of the abuse and insult she had received as a female agitator.

The young woman who was to become one of the boldest crusaders for woman's rights possessed a keen intelligence and a strong personality, both of which were supported by courage, resourcefulness, and persistence. Undaunted by the invective and abuse from all ranks of society, she never abandoned her cause, and in the end worked a moral and practical triumph over her bitter adversaries. Miss Anthony's tremendous vitality also helped her in her struggle, she in one year giving 171 lectures and numberless impromptu talks. She never married; indeed, she sometimes expressed irritation when cohorts momentarily abandoned the fight in order to marry.

Susan entered the woman's movement in 1851, after meeting Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was already prominent in the cause. The two women became fast friends and extremely effective co-workers in the crusade to encourage the rise of the "new woman," or "the true woman," as they described her. Generally, Elizabeth developed their ideas in speeches and plans, which Susan, in her indefatigable way gave or carried out. As Mrs. Stanton's husband once remarked,

> Well, my dear, another notice of Susan. You stir up Susan and she stirs up the world![1]

Susan especially contributed organization and direction to the crusade for the new woman. She soon saw, for example, that petitions to legislatures for a redress of rights would be more meaningful if they carried lists of signatures. In 1854, she organized a drive in New York for signatures to a petition pleading for the right for women to control their own earnings, for the custody of children in event of divorce, and for the ballot. She selected a woman in each of New York's counties as a captain and then urged them to solicit signatures, and within six weeks some 6,000 names had been garnered. In order to add to the impact of the preceding, she then organized a New York State Woman's Rights Convention to be held in Albany while the legislature was in session. As could have been expected, the legislature refused to act on the petition, but the significant thing is that Susan had devised a method for agitating for her cause that grew in effectiveness as the years passed.

Signatures and conventions--between the two, more and more women became aware of the woman's rights movement and involved in its activities. In 1876, Susan stimulated petitions from twenty-six states bearing 10,000 names in behalf of the vote for women. Seven years earlier, in 1869, she had played the main role

1. Quoted in Alma Lutz. Susan B. Anthony, p. 70.

(continued)

Form No. 10-300a
(Rev. 10-74)

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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in organizing the National Woman Suffrage Association, which became a militant force in the fight as it held annual meetings. Perhaps the culmination of this aspect of Susan's work was the meeting of an international congress on woman's rights in Washington in 1888, with delegates in attendance from many countries other than just the United States.

Although Susan had decided that the key to the movement of the female's position lay in obtaining the vote and thus made that the paramount issue in the campaign, she spoke out on all of woman's social ills. In the Revolution, a magazine published by Susan between 1868-1870 and whose motto was, "Down with politicians, up with people," she defended women who had been seduced and abandoned, spoke up in behalf of women in divorce cases, and generally flinched at nothing in attacking the domination of the male. Utterly fearless, in 1875, she lectured on the tacit approval of prostitution in a talk entitled "Social Purity," which she first presented at the Chicago Grand Opera House.

As decade after decade passed, Susan continued to lead in a growing movement dedicated to bettering woman's position in life. She died on March 13, 1906, fourteen years before the ratification of the XIX Amendment, but that amendment, in a sense, will always memorialize her role in its adoption.

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Katharine Anthony, Susan B. Anthony (New York, 1954).
S. Sydney Bradford, "Susan B. Anthony House," National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Form 10-317, 3/19/65.
Constance B. Burnett, Five For Freedom (New York, 1953).
Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, the Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
Alma Lutz, Susan B. Anthony (Boston, 1959).

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY less than 1 acre

UTM REFERENCES

	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING		ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
A	18	286310	4780980	B			
C				D			

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The Susan B. Anthony House national historic landmark consists of the house lot at 17 Madison Street on which the house stands. The lot measures 40' from north to south along the west curb of Madison Street, and 127' west from said curb to east curb of the throughway to the rear of the house. This rectangular lot is located approximately 350' north of the intersection of the west curb of Madison Street and the north curb of West Main Street. These boundaries enclose the house and property as they existed while in Miss Anthony's possession.

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE Richard Greenwood, Historian, Landmark Review Task Force

ORGANIZATION Historic Sites Survey, National Park Service DATE 1/13/76

STREET & NUMBER 1100 L Street TELEPHONE 202-523-5464

CITY OR TOWN Washington, D.C. STATE

12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL ___ STATE ___ LOCAL ___

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE SIGNATURE

TITLE DATE

FOR NPS USE ONLY
I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE 1/3/78

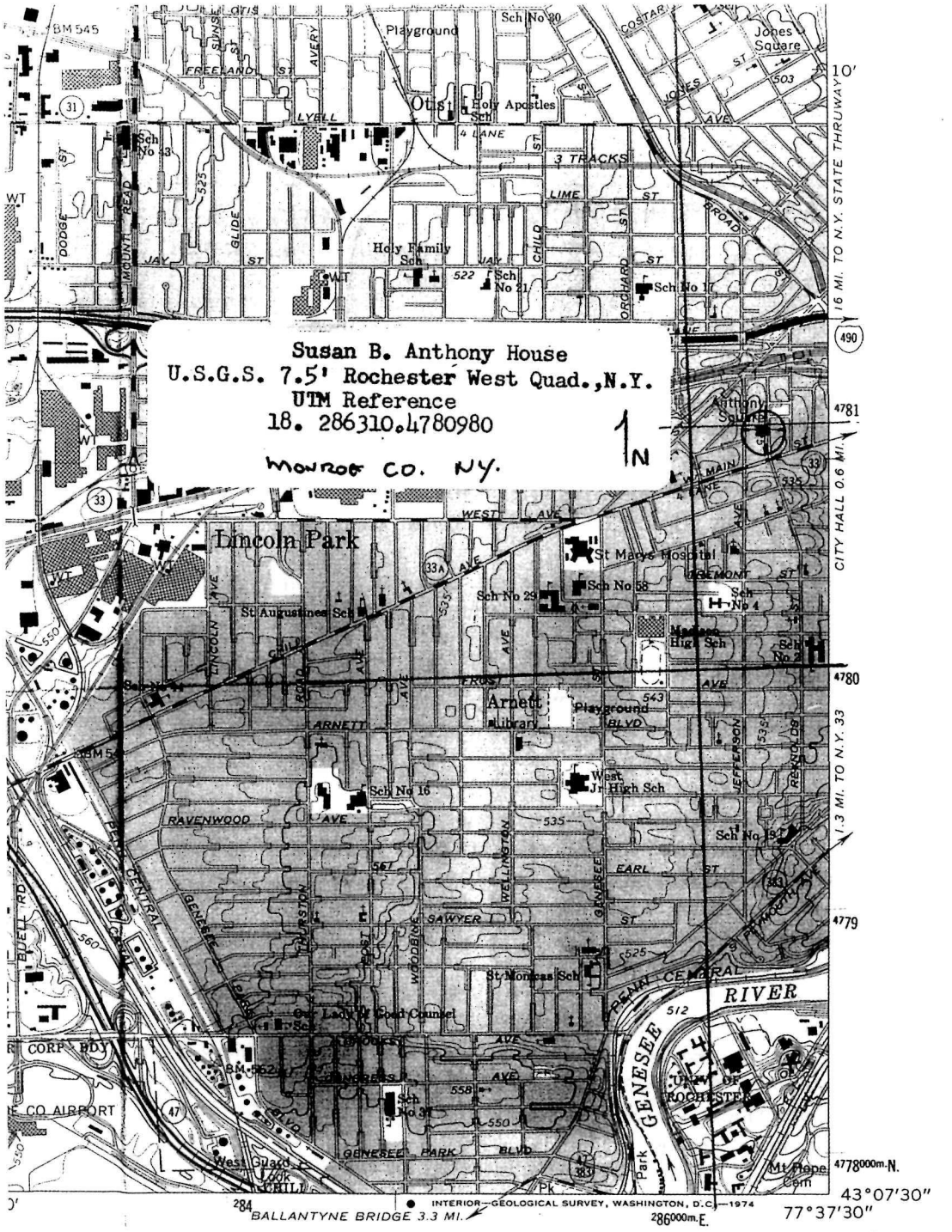
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST: Bill Lebovich DATE 1/3/78

~~KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER~~

(NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS)

(NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS)


Susan B. Anthony House
U.S.G.S. 7.5' Rochester West Quad.,N.Y.
UTM Reference
18. 286310.4780980
Monroe Co. N.Y.
N
Lincoln Park
Arnett
Otis
Playground
Jones Square
Anthony Square
St Marys Hospital
St Augustines Sch
Holy Apostles
Holy Family Sch
Madison High Sch
West Jr High Sch
St Monicas Sch
Our Lady of Good Counsel
Mt Hope Cem
UNIV OF ROCHESTER
GENESEE RIVER
PEARL CENTRAL
3 TRACKS
4 LANE
16 MI. TO N.Y. STATE THRUWAY
CITY HALL 0.6 MI.
1.3 MI. TO N.Y. 33
BALLANTYNE BRIDGE 3.3 MI.
4778000m.N.
286000m.E.
43°07'30"
77°37'30"
INTERIOR—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, WASHINGTON, D.C.—1974
ROAD CLASSIFICATION
Primary highway, hard surface
Light-duty road, hard or improved surface
Secondary highway, hard surface
Unimproved road
Interstate Route
U. S. Route
State Route
NEW YORK
QUADRANGLE LOCATION
ROCHESTER WEST, N. Y.
N4307.5—W7737.5/7.5
1971

APPENDIX C NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Susan B. Anthony House, Rochester, New York
Clara Barton National Historic Site, Glen Echo, Maryland
Margaret Fuller House, Cambridge, Massachusetts
General Federation of Women's Clubs HQ, Washington, D.C.
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper House, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Samuel Gridley and Julia Ward Howe House, Boston, Massachusetts
Kimberly Mansion (home of Abby and Julia Smith), Glastonbury, Connecticut
Liberty Farm (Foster House, home of Abigail Kelly and Stephen S. Foster), Worcester, Massachusetts
Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
Orchard House (Alcott House, home of Louisa May Alcott), Concord, Massachusetts
Paulsdale, Alice Paul Birthplace, Mount Laurel, New Jersey
Frances Perkins House, Washington, D.C.
Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, New York
Race Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Rankin Ranch (home of Jeanette Rankin), Avalanche Gulch, Montana
Sewall-Belmont House, Washington, DC
Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, Tenafly, New Jersey
Elizabeth Cady Stanton House (Women's Rights NHP) Seneca Falls, New York
Harriet Beecher Stowe House, Brunswick, Maine
Ida Tarbell House, Easton, Connecticut
Mary Church Terrell House, Washington, D.C.
Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged, Auburn, New York
United Charities Building Complex, New York, New York
Harriet Taylor Upton House, Warren, Ohio
Maggie L. Walker House, Richmond, Virginia
Wyoming State Capitol, Cheyenne, Wyoming

APPENDIX D AN EXPANDED VISITOR EXPERIENCE

The National Park Service calls the gamut of activities designed for the public "the visitor experience." This appendix outlines one potential scenario for an enlarged visitor program at the Susan B. Anthony House. It is an example of the type of technical assistance that NPS could provide as the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., desires and as funds allow. A comprehensive interpretive planning process could be undertaken based on this foundation.

The Visitor Experience

Much of what a visitor can see from the front porch of the Susan B. Anthony House has not changed since Anthony's time. The view of houses across the street is the same view Anthony saw; the slate sidewalk in front of the house is the same one from which she swept snow. Looking north the visitor sees the small green park, dating from the 1830s, that Anthony knew as Mechanic Square. Only the cars parked along Madison Street are modern; indeed a visitor might imagine that Susan B. Anthony herself will answer the door.

"Visitor experience" is what people take home with them after visiting a natural park or a historic site. Part of this experience at Susan B. Anthony's home is a strong physical sensation of Anthony's presence that people retain and remember long after their visit. This sensation comes from the smell of the old house; the sight of Anthony's clothes, bed, trunk, lock of hair; the knowledge that here Anthony sat day after day as she organized countless campaigns to secure women's right to vote and as she documented her life, her dreams, her struggles, and the history of the suffrage movement.

> . . . a few minutes with her [Susan B. Anthony] gave me the feeling of wanting to do something worthwhile and also the feeling that I had the ability to do it.
>
> — Seneca Falls photographer Grace Woodworth, 1905 [1]

Another aspect of the visitor experience at the Susan B. Anthony House is the past and present celebration of her life and her achievements. Her love of woman kind, her patience with women and her understanding of their lives was a source of her strength. Although people may be aware of her public writings and correspondence, Anthony's private letters can open their eyes to the condition of women in the nineteenth century. According to Anthony's biographer, "Standing for half a century as the friend and defender of women, and known so widely through her travels and newspaper notices, she is overwhelmed with appeals for advice and assistance."[2]

Anthony lived in this house for forty years, with her widowed mother Lucy for

fourteen years, and with her sister Mary. Susan and Mary were unmarried in a world having little tolerance for independent, single women. In this house at 17 Madison Street visitors can understand how these two sisters cheered, comforted, supported, and loved each other. Susan B. Anthony could not have traveled America and Europe several times over without the support of Mary, a notable reformer in her own right. Mary Anthony was president of the Rochester Political Equality Club and the first female school principal in Monroe County, getting equal pay to males. She was also the corresponding secretary for the state and local suffrage associations.

Susan B. Anthony's strength also was built on her love of her family. On Mary's seventieth birthday in 1897, Susan remarked: "I can not tell you how she has helped and sustained me.... She is the unseen worker who ought to share equally in whatever of reward and praise I may have won."[3]

Seventeen Madison Street was a busy house because it was home to the continuing campaigns for women's rights and suffrage. In this house visitors can see where Susan B. Anthony documented the years of struggle to gain the vote. Here she passed on the legacy of action to succeeding generations of women who passed through this house. In this house, too, people can learn about Susan B. Anthony's personal life. Here she entertained friends and family, worked in the garden, wrote hundreds of personal letters; here she received word of the death of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her longtime friend and colleague; here, too, she died.

People have many opportunities to learn about Susan B. Anthony's political life. They can read her letters and papers at the Library of Congress, take an American history class, or read through the multi-volume *History of Woman Suffrage*. But only in this house, at 17 Madison Street, can visitors develop a more intimate sense of Anthony's life and character.

Susan B. Anthony's life and work can have personal meaning for everyone who is struggling to overcome adversity, who will not give up in the face of opposition, or who fights for a better life. Women and girls especially might gain the courage and strength to dream, to try, and to succeed because of Susan B. Anthony's example, and because of her lasting slogan, "Failure is impossible."

Programmatic Aspects

The house next to Susan B. Anthony's, at 19 Madison Street, was the home of Anthony's sister Hannah and her family. The Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., purchased this house to serve as visitors' entry into the site. At 19 Madison Street staff will provide orientation, information, and contextual interpretation about Susan B. Anthony's life and work.

Visitors would then be guided through the Susan B. Anthony House. To enhance and support an intimate experience in the house, and to protect household contents, touring groups should be kept small, possibly ten to fifteen people. The second and third floors of the house are not fully accessible to the mobility impaired; interpretive media, such

as videos, audio tapes, or photographs, would offer other ways for the upper floors to be presented to those unable to climb stairs.

Throughout the tour, visitors could see and hear evidence of Susan B. Anthony's close collaboration with Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The two were friends, supporters, colleagues, and collaborators for half a century. Stanton lived in Seneca Falls, fifty-five miles away. The multiple levels of connections between the two women suggest linkages between the Susan B. Anthony House and the Women's Rights National Historical Park, where Stanton's home is preserved and open to the public.

The visitor experience could be expanded into the surrounding neighborhood, which dates from the late 1830s. The west side of Madison Street contains a wide variety of residences built from the 1830s to 1926. The east side of Madison Street has fifteen residential buildings, dating from the 1840s to about 1900. North of the house, across Madison Street, is the Susan B. Anthony Square, a small rectangular park dating from about 1839, which reflects the park-like town common found in many northeastern communities. Through histories of her neighbors and community, visitors could learn about community support for Anthony, as well as about her interactions with Rochester reform activities.

Visitor Experience Goals

The Susan B. Anthony House could provide opportunities for visitors to

- develop an understanding of the daily, personal life of Susan B. Anthony when she was at home at 17 Madison Street
- sense the presence of Susan B. Anthony when visiting her home and seeing her furniture and other personal belongings
- heighten their awareness of American women's historic legal, economic, and social conditions
- understand why suffrage was important to Susan B. Anthony and other suffrage leaders
- appreciate Susan B. Anthony's emphasis on preserving and recording history, particularly women's history, and to make personal efforts to pass on this legacy to the next generation
- find personal meaning in Susan B. Anthony's independence, self-determination, and perseverance in the face of opposition
- come to value the strong connections between Anthony and Stanton in their common pursuit of woman suffrage.

The Susan B. Anthony House has, through its strategic planning, identified goals for the next ten years. Many of these goals relate to the visitor experience. In the future, when its support facilities have been expanded and its visitor programming enhanced, the house will have the potential to attract more visitors. The site will also be able to balance visitor needs with resource protection.

As a result of discussions for this study, one additional goal seems appropriate: establish multiple links with Women's Rights NHP, not only to illuminate the bond between Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, but to exploit the benefits of cooperation between two sites.

Interpretation Topics

Interpretation is part of the larger visitor experience, and is a process of education that stimulates curiosity and conveys ideas and stories to the visiting public. Several major stories, or topics, could be presented to the public through a variety of media at 17 Madison Street, 19 Madison Street, and in the surrounding neighborhood. Aspects of all of these topics could be told at, or matched with, the Anthony houses and neighborhood.

- Anthony's family background, and devotion to family throughout her life
- Anthony's interaction with and support of people of many racial and socioeconomic groups
- The context for Anthony's suffrage activism, based on her experiences in the temperance and abolition reform movements
- Anthony's personal and professional relationship with Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- The legal, social, marital, and economic condition of women in nineteenth century America

Subsequent interpretive planning would further define these topics to develop interpretive themes. These themes should reflect the purpose and significance of the house and should identify the key stories about Susan B. Anthony and her home that every visitor would have the opportunity to learn. These themes should also provide the basic framework for all interpretive programming.

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1 Quoted in Barry, Susan B. Anthony, illustration caption facing 205.

2 Harper, Life and Work, 2:936.

3 Ibid., 2:915.

APPENDIX E SUMMARY OF STRATEGIC PLAN FOR SUSAN B. ANTHONY MEMORIAL, 1996

Under the direction of a facilitator, Michael J. Ripton, the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., began a process in 1992 of self-study, goals setting, and the establishment of strategies to accomplish the goals. This strategic planning has been ongoing, and this is a summary of that plan as of May 1996. As an outgrowth of the planning process, the Memorial board has committed to a capital campaign with a goal of $1.4 million. Appendix F contains a case statement for this capital campaign. The National Trust for Historic Preservation helped fund the strategic plan.

Mission Statement (taken from the bylaws)

1. To gather and disseminate information concerning the life and times of Susan B. Anthony.
2. To gather and preserve books, manuscripts, papers, furniture, and personal effects, that were connected with the work and interests of Susan B. Anthony.
3. To acquire by purchase, gift or devise or otherwise, items and funds and to maintain and control the home of Susan B. Anthony at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, Monroe County, New York.
4. To promote the interest of Susan B. Anthony in education for women by setting aside whatever fund the Trustees consider available for scholarships for women at whatever college the Trustees shall approve.

Planning Process

The twenty-one-member board of trustees met monthly with the facilitator, reexamined the house operations, and set short and longer-term goals. The board has standing and ad hoc committees. The former president was hired in 1992 as a full-time executive director, the first paid staff person after 47 years. Volunteers continued to do the rest of the work — mainly running tours for visitors and planning events. Some volunteers were professionals from other museums who assisted with conservation assessments and treatments.

The planning process identified issues and opportunities. Among the issues were low or no growth in membership; incomplete data on the structure and collections; lack of a collections catalog; inadequate records of the Memorial; lack of parking; low visitation; restricted hours; lack of space for collections storage; outdated security system; lack of marketing; low board-level fund-raising; and absence of common board goals.

The opportunities the site presents are many. The Memorial has had continuity of leadership from the start; owns real property; has attracted positive media attention; maintains an emotional and intellectual commitment to own, preserve, and manage the site; has increased income and visitor interest; and has secured a high membership renewal rate. The site is a catalyst for development of the historic district; its collections are manageable; and it has a competent and dedicated executive director able to lead the organization through an expansion period. Rochester has many potential donors; many museums are interested in helping the Susan B. Anthony House; and the site holds potentially high international interest.

Strategic Goals

1. To develop and maintain a strong fund raising program that provides annual income for the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc.
2. To own and operate a physical plant and facilities capable of showing the Memorial's collection to its best advantage, and of attracting a wide number of visitors to an expanding public program.
3. To develop a comprehensive membership program in the immediate local and regional areas reflecting the entire community which is most served by this institution.
4. To upgrade, develop and maintain a staff and volunteer corps that supports a consistent level of excellence in administration and programming.
5. To restore the historical buildings, structures, garden and landscape associated with the Susan B. Anthony House on Madison Street, Rochester, New York.
6. To develop a collections management program for all historical collections owned by the Susan B. Anthony House.
7. To develop and improve the historic site's interpretation program.
8. To improve the quality of visitor services offered by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial.
9. To develop and increase public awareness of the Susan B. Anthony House by regular promotion and marketing activities.
10. To develop an ongoing program of community relations that provides a diversity of activities, experiences and opportunities for the historic district and the greater community at large.

Implementation Plan

Committees have been established to carry out aspects of the strategic plan. Because the strategic plan was meant to be a dynamic document, the board will evaluate and change the plan as needed, and use it to train new staff and trustees, promote the Memorial, and raise funds.

APPENDIX F SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE, INC. CASE STATEMENT

In 1996, the Anthony House board of directors developed the following case statement to guide its capital development process.

Susan B. Anthony House
Rochester, New York

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

MISSION

Our mission is two-fold: first to preserve and maintain the Susan B. Anthony House, its collection, and the garden as a national landmark museum; second, to interpret and promote the history of Susan B. Anthony's life and work through public tours and educational initiatives.

VISION STATEMENT

The Susan B. Anthony House, National Historic Landmark, is a primary source of information on the life and work of Susan B. Anthony, one of the greatest leaders in American History. The national and local community look to the Anthony House as an active educational resource which provides exhibitions and programs.

The historic site provides guided tours of Anthony's Victorian home, accurately restored to reflect its appearance in the years 1897-1906. Located in a National Register Historic District, it is the ideal setting to educate and inspire the public with the story of this courageous reformer. Its prominent archive and collection of artifacts from Susan B. Anthony's life and the American Woman Suffrage Movement are central to interpretive exhibits. The accessible visitor/education center boasts thought-provoking, interactive exhibits designed with strong educational purpose relevant to peoples lives today.

The Susan B. Anthony House is an intellectually stimulating, friendly, safe, clean, work environment of both paid and volunteer staff. The board, staff, volunteer and community are involved in an active cooperative way to assure the successful operation of the Susan B. Anthony House. The Susan B. Anthony House attracts and generates sufficient funding to enable it to fulfill its mission, meet the demands of the public, and retain a qualified professional staff. The museum is an inclusive, vital element of its urban neighborhood and commercial district.

The Susan B. Anthony House is owned and maintained by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., a not-for-profit, non-partisan, 501(c)3 membership organization.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

"It will be possible for women in the future to draw courage and inspiration by renewing their memories of this courageous and self-sacrificing woman."

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT *in letter with donation to establish the Susan B. Anthony House in August 1945.*

This important chapter of American history comes alive to students and visitors in the place where it happened; unfortunately, due to a severely limited facility, many people are turned away each year.

All operations are currently housed in the historic landmark building. For example, Susan B. Anthony's kitchen is the main operations center, volunteer lounge, and storage area -- furnished with folding tables and chairs. As inspiring as this location may be to work in, the daily wear-and-tear of administration must be removed from the House to preserve it for future generations. In all, five rooms are now dedicated to museum operations, including the 1880's office of the *Rochester Political Equality Club*, which now functions as a museum shop.

"Without adequate, professional, hands-on care, the collection surely -- and regretably -- will suffer over its needlessly shortened term."

RICHARD SHERIN, *Director of Conservation at The Strong Museum*

Removing these activities and equipment from Anthony's landmark home would allow for the repair and restoration so critically needed to preserve the threatened fabric of the House. Equally important, complete restoration will more accurately reflect Anthony's life and work. We are fortunate that our archives have good photographic reference to guide us in the restoration.

Our collection of historic photographs, suffrage materials and personal Anthony artifacts is nationally recognized. Unfortunately, it is at risk in the current storage conditions.

"Some of the material is not available to anyone until proper preservation steps are taken."

LYNN SHERR, *ABC News Correspondent and Anthony Biographer*

Researchers and students are now denied access to archival materials for research. We received nearly 2,000 requests for information and images from out-of state last year. There is *no accessibility for the disabled* and large groups, and we lack a classroom/interpretation area to show videos already produced by A&E, ABC, Schlesinger Video, and Grace Productions. We even have to turn away most bus tours, a good revenue source for many museums.

PROPOSED SOLUTION

The future of the SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE depends on expansion of the site, to provide space for education and inspiration today, and preservation of the national heritage for tomorrow. To that end, we have recently acquired, through a Community Development Block Grant, two adjoining properties, 19 and 21 Madison Street. Our objective is to renovate this real estate as part of the Susan B. Anthony site. The historic site will consist of three adjacent city properties unified by the same type of picket fencing that originally ran all the way down the street.

17 MADISON STREET - RESTORATION AND REPAIR OF *THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE*

The Susan B. Anthony House is a National Historic Landmark. Appropriately, this plan provides for complete repair and restoration of the house and garden to the highest preservation standards.

HOUSE

Our plan is first to procure an Historic Structures Report (HSR). This report is considered a necessity for structures, like the Anthony House, with the highest historic designation in the United States.

The HSR serves as a document of record for the history of the house and the interior/exterior changes that have occurred over the life of the house to the present, and would include a paint analysis. Additionally, it identifies restoration needs, prioritizes work, and prescribes methods for completing that work.

After administrative activities are removed from the landmark house, restoration will begin. Guided by the HSR and a furnishings plan, the house will be restored to the period of significance (1897-1906). We have substantial photographic reference for this period, as well as a written description of the rooms. Our intention is to restore the rooms to the way they appeared during these years, the only exception being the second floor museum room which houses a unique photographic collection documenting the woman suffrage movement. (It was given to the Susan B. Anthony House by Carrie Chapman Catt with architectural plans for hanging.)

GARDEN

An archeological study and historical research will precede the restoration of the gardens, and any general site improvements for drainage concerns.

PROPOSED SOLUTION -continued

19 MADISON STREET - RENOVATION

HOUSE

This house next door was home to Susan B. Anthony's sister, Hannah Anthony Mosher. It will house the visitor/education center and provide administrative spaces. Since there was a great deal of activity joining the two dwellings in Anthony's day, it is a natural step for us to reunite these two red brick houses once more. The 19 Madison Street house will be renovated to create a facility which meets the accessibility requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act. In addition, this visitor center will allow access to tourists on bus tours and other large groups, and provide the following:

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES

LECTURE ROOM for MEETINGS(Rental demand already established)
CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES (Great demand exists)
INTERPRETIVE VIDEO (On loop)

VISITOR SERVICES
- Public Rest Rooms (Handicap accessible rest room)
- Coat Rack
- Drinking Fountain
- Seating

MUSEUM SHOP To provide educational materials and other items related to the historic theme of the site, resulting in increased revenues

COLLECTION AND ARCHIVE STORAGE
(With environmental monitoring and control)

CURATORIAL WORK SPACE

EXHIBIT SPACE

VOLUNTEER LOCKER/LOUNGE AREA

MULTI-PURPOSE WORK ROOM/RESEARCH AND STUDY AREA

GARDEN AND GROUNDS

Archeology on this site will be for the purpose of learning more about the Anthony's daily life. Although the gardens will be designed to complement the Anthony House gardens, restoration is not imperative. The grounds will be used for group assembly and special events.

PROPOSED SOLUTION -continued

21 MADISON STREET - SITE DEVELOPMENT FOR PARKING

This property was acquired to provide off-street parking for visitors. Currently neighborhood residents and visitors vie for street parking spaces.

Planned development of this site:

1)Demolition of the existing, deteriorated wood frame house. It has been classified as "non-contributing historically" by the Landmark Society of Western New York.

2)Construction of Landscaped Parking Area -- designed to complement the surrounding Victorian neighborhood.

MUSEUM DEVELOPMENT

COLLECTION

Environmental Assessment Project

Designed to enhance the Museum's ability to provide an acceptable level of professional care for its building and collection. The assessment will provide data for wise decisions to be made regarding control systems to achieve better seasonal stabilization.

Primary Rehousing Project

Will provide primary conservation measures for the many collection objects -- now exposed directly to environmental, handling, and access abuse. It involves placing artifacts in acid-free conservation materials with custom supports.

Inventory the Collection

Perform the first **complete** inventory of artifacts
(last partial inventory 1979)
Will provide data for insurance purposes

Catalogue the Collection

Employ accepted museum numbering and classification system

PROGRAM

-Develop educational programs for all ages
-Develop exhibits for the visitor center
-Develop off-site programs - particularly important during construction phase.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE
RESCUE AND EXPANSION CAPITAL PROJECT

PHASE 1
1997

BIDDING FOR DEMOLITION & PARKING AREA
ENVIRONMENTAL & SITE ENGINEER STUDIES
DEMOLITION 21 MADISON
PRELIMINARY ARCHEOLOGY FOR 17 & 19 MADISON
CONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS FOR INTERIOR OF #19
BIDDING FOR 19 MADISON ST. CONSTRUCTION
DESIGN OF NEW EDUCATIONAL ANNEX

PHASE 11
1998

RENOVATION OF 19 MADISON ST. TO CREATE VISITOR/EDUCATION CENTER
HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT & PAINT ANALYSIS COMPLETED FOR SBA HOUSE
DEVELOP PROGRAM & EXHIBITS
PARKING AREA CONSTRUCTION & LANDSCAPE
COMPLETE 21 MADISON PARKING SITE
ON-GOING COLLECTION INVENTORY/REHOUSING/CATALOGING
RESEARCH & PLAN SUSAN B. ANTHONY GARDEN RESTORATION
COMPREHENSIVE ARCHEOLOGY OF 17 & 19 MADISON ST.
OPENING OF VISITOR / EDUCATION CENTER
DURING ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF FIRST WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION IN JULY

PHASE 111
1999

PREMIER OF KEN BURNS DOCUMENTARY ON SUSAN B. ANTHONY AND ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
BEGIN RESTORATION OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE & GARDEN
RAISE ENDOWMENT FUNDS TO SECURE THE FUTURE OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY SITE

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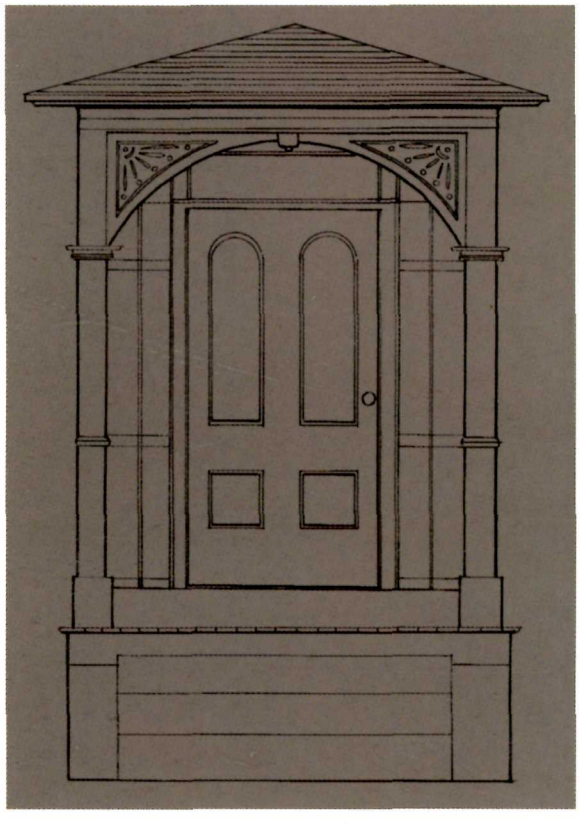
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