

The Truth About Susan B. Anthony
Long Live Benazir Bhutto
Why I Am a Pro-Life Feminist

**NEW Brochure:
Voices of Our Feminist Foremothers**



THE AMERICAN FEMINIST®

Feminists for Life of America

MARCH
forth!™

“When a man steals to satisfy hunger, we may safely conclude that there is something wrong in society—so when a woman destroys the life of her unborn child, it is an evidence that either by education or circumstances she has been greatly wronged.”

—Mattie Brinkerhoff, *The Revolution*, September 2, 1869



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Established in 1972, Feminists for Life of America is a nonsectarian, nonpartisan, grassroots organization that seeks real solutions to the challenges women face. Our efforts are shaped by the core feminist values of justice, nondiscrimination, and nonviolence. Feminists for Life of America continues the tradition of early American feminists such as Susan B. Anthony, who opposed abortion.

Feminists for Life of America recognizes that abortion is a reflection that our society has failed to meet the needs of women. We are dedicated to systematically eliminating the root causes that drive women to abortion—primarily lack of practical resources and support—through holistic, woman-centered solutions. Women deserve better than abortion.

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MARCH *forth!*

When I think of women who inspired me growing up, my mother and aunt immediately come to mind.

But as far as historical figures, women were largely omitted from textbooks.

Feminists for Life historians have been illuminating our rich pro-life feminist history so that the next generation can benefit from the work of trailblazing women who lit the world on fire before us.

Their shining example also provides a challenge to each of us.

We are taking up the torch and running with it.

Every Feminists for Life member, each donor and volunteer, fuels the resources and support for pregnant women and parents—who can't find the help they need and deserve.

March forth.

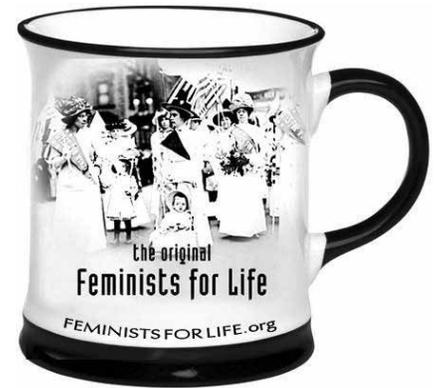
Because women deserve better,



Serrin M. Foster
President



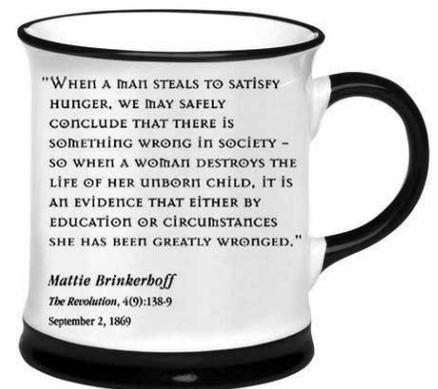
Despite a driving icy rain, more than 1,000 women marched seven times around the White House on the eve of President Wilson's second inauguration, March 4, 1917.

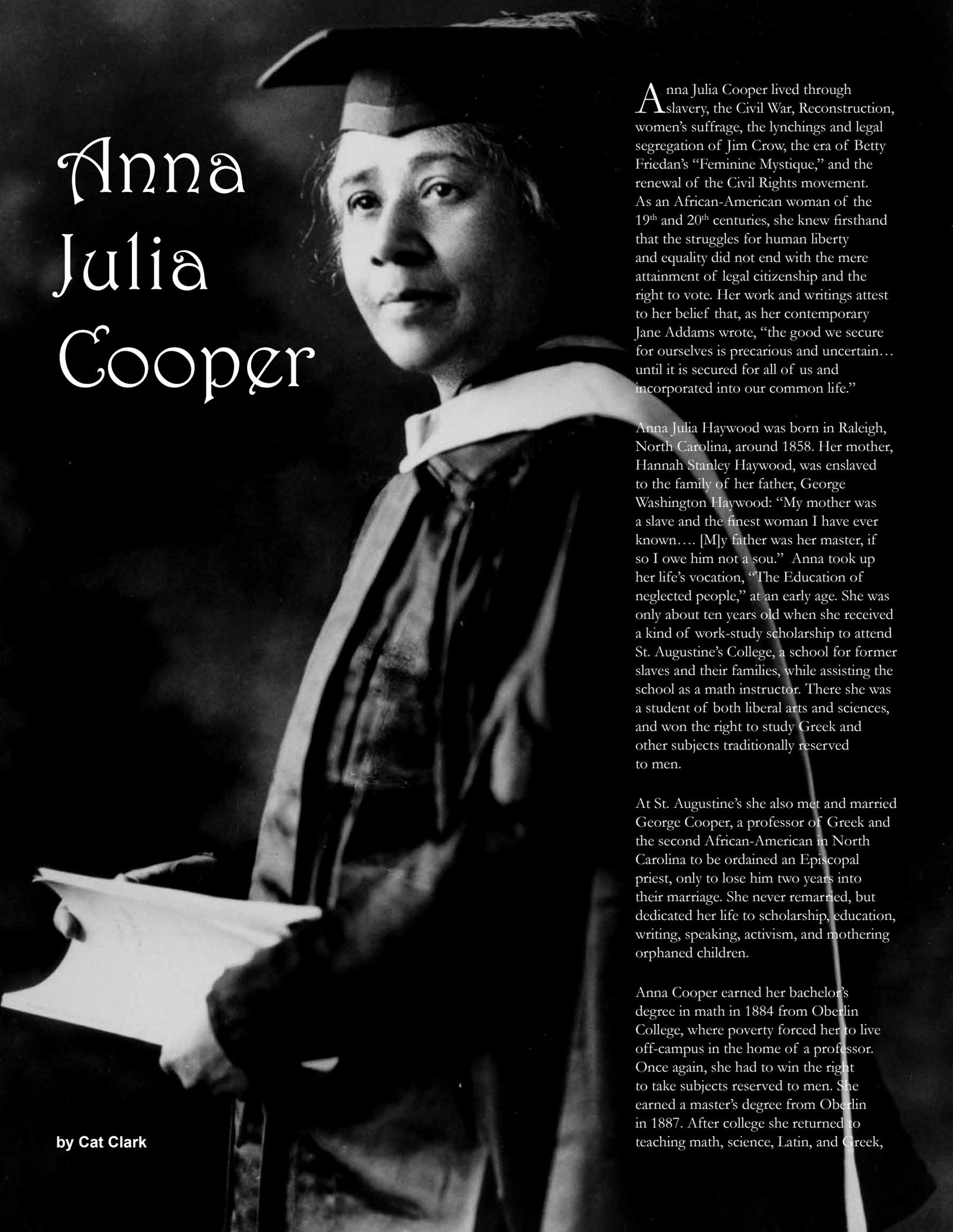


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Anna Julia Cooper

Anna Julia Cooper lived through slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, women's suffrage, the lynchings and legal segregation of Jim Crow, the era of Betty Friedan's "Feminine Mystique," and the renewal of the Civil Rights movement. As an African-American woman of the 19th and 20th centuries, she knew firsthand that the struggles for human liberty and equality did not end with the mere attainment of legal citizenship and the right to vote. Her work and writings attest to her belief that, as her contemporary Jane Addams wrote, "the good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain... until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life."

Anna Julia Haywood was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, around 1858. Her mother, Hannah Stanley Haywood, was enslaved to the family of her father, George Washington Haywood: "My mother was a slave and the finest woman I have ever known.... [M]y father was her master, if so I owe him not a sou." Anna took up her life's vocation, "The Education of neglected people," at an early age. She was only about ten years old when she received a kind of work-study scholarship to attend St. Augustine's College, a school for former slaves and their families, while assisting the school as a math instructor. There she was a student of both liberal arts and sciences, and won the right to study Greek and other subjects traditionally reserved to men.

At St. Augustine's she also met and married George Cooper, a professor of Greek and the second African-American in North Carolina to be ordained an Episcopal priest, only to lose him two years into their marriage. She never remarried, but dedicated her life to scholarship, education, writing, speaking, activism, and mothering orphaned children.

Anna Cooper earned her bachelor's degree in math in 1884 from Oberlin College, where poverty forced her to live off-campus in the home of a professor. Once again, she had to win the right to take subjects reserved to men. She earned a master's degree from Oberlin in 1887. After college she returned to teaching math, science, Latin, and Greek,

and became a renowned public speaker. Cooper was one of only two women to speak at the 1890 Pan-African Conference in London, and one of few African-American women to speak at the World Congress of Representative Women at the 1893 World's Fair, the racism of which she did not hesitate to criticize.

Cooper's most famous written work, a collection of speeches and essays on subjects including women's rights and racial progress called *A Voice from the South*, was published in 1892. In what is by far her most quoted essay, "Woman Versus the Indian," Cooper respectfully but forcefully warned fellow feminists, especially white feminist leaders, that they must not take too narrow a view of their mission. Their true cause, she wrote, could not be reduced to the enfranchisement and empowerment of women; they must not set themselves against other people, even for a moment, but must promote the dignity and equality of all people. Oppressed and marginalized people should be allies in their work for justice—this, she believed, was the only way feminist goals can truly be achieved (see page 7).

While living in Washington, DC, and teaching at the M Street High School (formerly the Preparatory High School for Colored Youth, later Dunbar High School), Cooper became involved in the Negro Women's Club Movement and co-founded both the Colored Women's League and Colored Women's YWCA. She quickly rose to principal of the school, but after she served for five years, the board of education opted not to renew her contract in 1906. Cooper was publicly accused of having an illicit affair, but this appears to have been a cover—Cooper said that the real reason for her dismissal was her "revolt...waged against a lower [less academic] 'colored' curriculum for M Street School."

After five years teaching at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, a new superintendent asked Cooper to return to M Street School in Washington, where she would teach until her first "retirement" in 1930. Her academic efforts allowed many young women and men of color to gain admittance to prestigious

colleges and universities even before desegregation. During her second tenure at M Street, Cooper created a YWCA chapter of the Camp Fire Girls. She also began her doctoral work at Columbia University, but put this on hold when, at the age of 57, Cooper adopted five children orphaned by her relatives in 1915.

for interchange of ideas and agreeable association of sympathetic spirits." Cooper not only raised children in this home, she also entertained and collaborated with literary friends such as the Grimké's, and taught high-school-level business courses as well as college-level classes in the liberal arts and sciences to



At the same time, Cooper was a trustee, together with Francis Grimké and Mary Church Terrell, of the District of Columbia's Colored Settlement House. As an active supervisor, she worked with the poor and marginalized in her school's neighborhood. The settlement house was comparable to Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago, featuring classes, clubs, recreation, and neighborhood visiting and improvement. Cooper hoped building a community of solidarity would "stimulate ambition, raise moral standards, strengthen character and develop capacity for self-help," leading to "complete emancipation."

Cooper's own home at 201 T Street NW was, like her previous home on 17th Street, "not merely a house to shelter the body, but a home to sustain and refresh the mind, a home where friends foregather

working-class African-Americans through Frelinghuysen University.

Charles Lemert, editor of *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*, explains, "Though she lived well, she lived frugally and was never a woman of means. She chose and furnished her homes, traveled to Europe, and raised her foster children as a single woman whose annual income never much exceeded eighteen hundred dollars. While in the 1930s this sum (her retirement benefit) would have put her in the modest middle class, it was hardly a substantial income. What is more, Cooper pursued her intellectual and teaching work throughout her life with none of the financial or domestic supports a spouse (even then) would have provided."

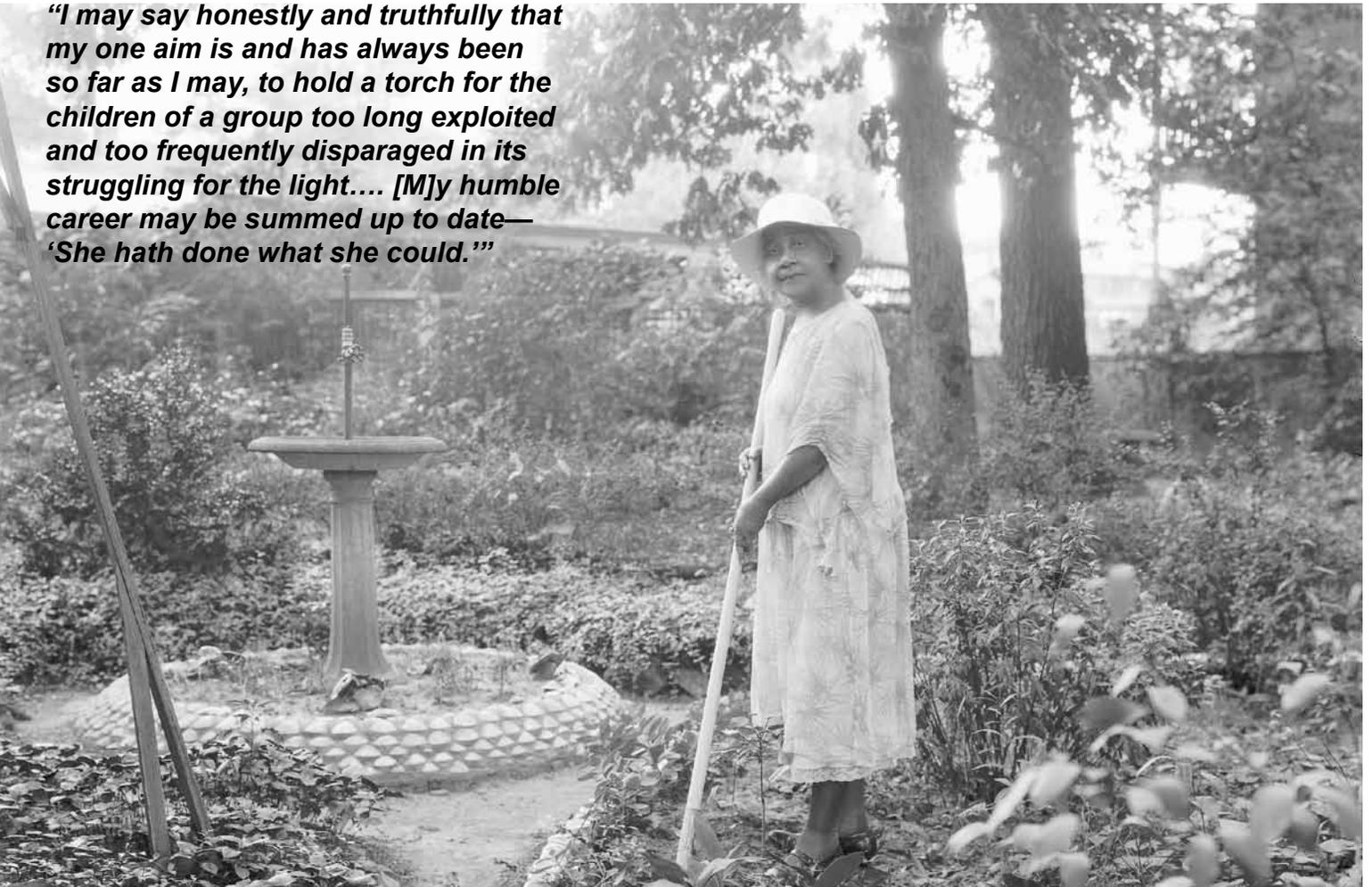
In 1925, at the age of about 66 years, Cooper defended her French-language doctoral thesis, “The Attitude of France Toward Slavery During the Revolution,” at the Sorbonne in Paris, becoming the fourth African-American woman ever to earn a PhD.

When she retired from teaching at M Street High School, Cooper became the president of Frelinghuysen University for a decade, renting her home to the financially insecure school when it could not afford space elsewhere, and continued there as a teacher

approximately 106 years old. A memorial was held at St. Augustine’s College in Raleigh, and Cooper was buried next to her husband in the City Cemetery.

Cooper was an exemplary educator and activist who believed that each person possesses her own dignity and voice, and something to contribute to the common good. She spent a lifetime working to give people the opportunity and means to realize their own potential. There can be no question that this great feminist is worthy of the recognition and celebration

“I may say honestly and truthfully that my one aim is and has always been so far as I may, to hold a torch for the children of a group too long exploited and too frequently disparaged in its struggling for the light.... [M]y humble career may be summed up to date— ‘She hath done what she could.’”



and registrar until 1950—just eight years shy of her 100th year. She was still writing and publishing.

Anna Julia Cooper died on February 27, 1964, ten years after *Brown v. the Board of Education* desegregated American schools, three years after the freedom rides began in Washington, and not a full year after Dr. Martin Luther King wrote his famous *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*. She was

she now receives. She has recently been memorialized on a U.S. postage stamp, and every new American passport bears her most famous quote: “*The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or a sect, a party or a class,—it is the cause of human kind, the very birthright of humanity.*” ●

Photos: Scurlock Studio Records ca. 1905-1994, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

Anna Julia Cooper

in her own words...

Woman should not, even by inference, or for the sake of argument, seem to disparage what is weak. For woman's cause is the cause of the weak; and when all the weak shall have received their due consideration, then woman will have her "rights," and the Indian will have his rights, and the Negro will have his rights, and all the strong will have learned at last to deal justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly; and our fair land will have been taught the secret of universal courtesy which is after all nothing but the art, the science, and the religion of regarding one's neighbor as one's self, and to do for him as we would, were conditions swapped, that he do for us.

It cannot seem less than a blunder, whenever the exponents of a great reform or the harbingers of a noble advance in thought and effort allow themselves to seem distorted by a narrow view of their own aims and principles. All prejudices, whether of race, sect or sex, class pride and caste distinctions are the belittling inheritance and badge of snobs and prigs.

The philosophic mind sees that its own "rights" are the rights of humanity....

The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or a sect, a party or a class,—it is the cause of human kind, the very birthright of humanity. Now unless we are greatly mistaken the Reform of our day, known as the Woman's Movement, is essentially such an embodiment, if its pioneers could only realize it, of the universal good. And specially important is it that there be no confusion of ideas among its leaders as to its scope and universality. All mists must be cleared from the eyes of woman if she is to be a teacher of morals and manners... it is important and fundamental that there be no chromatic or other aberration when the teacher is settling the point, "Who is my neighbor?"

It is not the intelligent woman vs. the ignorant woman; nor the white woman vs. the black, the brown, and the red,—it is not even the cause of woman vs. man.... Hers is every interest that has lacked an interpreter and defender. Her cause is linked with that of every agony that has been dumb—every wrong that needs a voice....

Is not woman's cause broader, and deeper, and grander, than a blue stocking debate or an aristocratic pink tea? Why should woman become plaintiff in a suit versus the Indian, or the Negro or any other race or class who have been crushed under the iron heel of Anglo-Saxon power and selfishness? If the Indian has been wronged and cheated by the puissance of this American government, it is woman's mission to plead with her country to cease to do evil and to pay its honest debts. If the Negro has been deceitfully cajoled or inhumanly cuffed according to selfish expediency or capricious antipathy, let it be woman's mission to plead that he be met as a man and honestly given half the road. If woman's own happiness has been ignored or misunderstood in our country's legislating for bread winners, for rum sellers, for property holders, for the family relations, for any, or all the interests that touch her vitally, let her rest her plea, not on Indian inferiority, nor on Negro depravity, but on the obligation of legislators to do for her as they would have others do for them were relations reversed.... [T]hen woman's lesson is taught and woman's cause is won—not the white woman nor the black woman nor the red woman, but the cause of every man or woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong.... [The] wrongs [of the American woman] are thus indissolubly linked with all undefended woe, all helpless suffering, and the plenitude of her "rights" will mean the final triumph of all right over might, the supremacy of the moral forces of reason and justice and love in the government of the nation. ●

Excerpted from "Woman Versus the Indian," published in 1892.





by Serrin M. Foster
President

Long Live Benazir

*The Underreported Pro-Life Feminist Herstory of
Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, 1953-2007*

*"I come before you as a
Woman; as a Mother; and as
a Wife.*

*"I come before you as
the democratically elected
Prime Minister of a great
Muslim nation—the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan.*

*"I come before you as
the leader of the ninth largest
population on earth."*

Address by H.E. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan, before the 1994 United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Egypt

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, born on June 21, 1953, was no stranger to politics or personal danger. Political reformer Zulfikar Bhutto became the first democratically elected prime minister of Pakistan in 1973, and his convent-, Radcliffe-, and Oxford-educated daughter planned to follow in his footsteps. In 1977, two weeks after Benazir's return from school, Zulfikar Bhutto was arrested in a bloodless coup, and his daughter was placed under house arrest.

Benazir spent the next 18 months in and out of house arrest, trying to muster support for her father. On April 4, 1979, she and her mother embraced each other in a police camp prison cell while her father was executed by hanging. At 25 years of age, Benazir became chair

of the center-left Pakistan People's Party (PPP) her father had founded.

The young leader of her party spent the next six years in a series of prisons and house arrest placements. In her autobiography, *Daughters of Destiny*, she described her solitary confinement in a desert cell in the Sindh province of Pakistan during the summer of 1981: "The summer heat turned my cell into an oven. My skin split and peeled, coming off my hands in sheets. Boils erupted on my face. My hair, which had always been thick, began to come out by the handful." Released in January 1984 for medical reasons, the leader of the PPP remained in exile in London, raising her voice against the human rights violations of General Zia and his regime until martial law was finally lifted in Pakistan in 1986.

She returned to Pakistan, as she would time after time, “to right a wrong.”

Bhutto later recalled the bitter reactions of some to her political aspirations in an interview with the BBC. “I found that a whole series of people opposed me simply on the grounds that I was a woman,” she said, adding, “I found that my opponents reduced themselves to verbal abuse rather than discuss issues. The very mere fact that I was a woman seemed to drive them into a frenzy. So that was the biggest challenge. I don’t know how to deal with that. I can deal with political differences, but how do you deal with it when someone says ‘I don’t like you because you’re a woman and you’ve taken a man’s place?’”

As a feminist, Bhutto shocked many when she accepted an arranged marriage to Asif Ali Zardari in 1987. “I couldn’t have a love match,” Bhutto explained. “I was under so much scrutiny. If my name had been linked with a man, it would have destroyed my political career. Actually, I had reconciled myself to a life without marriage or children for the sake of my career.... So, keeping in mind that many people in Pakistan looked to me, I decided to make a personal sacrifice in what I thought would be, more or less, a loveless marriage, a marriage of convenience. The surprising part is that we are very close and that it’s been a very good match.”

Choosing her marriage and the children that followed presented new political challenges for Bhutto. “[In November 1988] General Zia called the first democratic elections since 1977 when he learned that I was pregnant, thinking that a pregnant woman couldn’t campaign; I could, I did, and I won, so that disproved that notion... **I was brought up to believe that a woman can do anything that a man can,**” she explained to the BBC. “**But there are certain things that only women can do, such as carry a child,** and I found myself in a very strange position because each time I was pregnant my political opponents somehow thought I would be paralyzed and would plot particularly against me at those points.”

In December 1988, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto became the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan. “[T]he most exciting moment in my life was when I was sworn in as Prime Minister,” Bhutto reminisced. “I remember walking down the red carpet in the presidential palace and I felt as though an invisible army of all those who had died fighting for freedom walked with me, and it was a tremendous moment of vindication. I also felt a tremendous sense that Pakistan had showed the way for other Muslim countries, that a woman could be elected as chief executive.”

Even after she was elected, not everyone accepted a woman as Prime Minister—especially a woman with a family. “When we first started out I think that...women had to show they were as tough as men. I certainly felt that I was a woman operating in a man’s world, and so I had to prove to the men that I had all the male qualities, and so I could be quite

aggressive, particularly in terms of speech,” she later told the BBC.

Rather than accept the limitations others would have forced on her, Bhutto made the choice to juggle both her family responsibilities and her leadership duties as prime minister. She persevered, even when her political opponents subjected her to tear gas while she was pregnant with her youngest child. She and her husband eventually had three children, a son named Bilawal and two daughters named Bakhtwar and Aseefa.

“When I was growing up I thought a woman could have it all and now I find that, yes, a woman can have it all, but she has to be prepared to pay the price,” she said. “So you find you can have a husband, you can have a family, you can have a career, but...you have very little time left for yourself. That’s a choice I made and it brought me a lot of satisfaction, but...I would say there is a price that has to be paid.”

In a society dominated by men, Bhutto forced those in her own nation and around the world to remember women and children. During her two terms as prime minister, she advocated a holistic approach to addressing their unmet needs.

The 1994 United Nations International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo, was rife with





debate over issues of population control and family planning. In her remarks, Benazir Bhutto, one of only two women to address the assembled delegates, spoke as a pro-life feminist: “I dream of a Pakistan, of an Asia, of a world, where we can commit our social resources to the development of human life and not to its destruction. That dream is far from the reality we endure,” she said. The champion of progressive solutions warned participants that “this conference must not be viewed by the teeming masses of the world as a universal social charter seeking to impose adultery, abortion, sex education and other such matters on individuals, societies and religions which have their own social ethos.” She said that “the conference’s document contains serious flaws in striking at the heart of a great many cultural values,” and added that she, like many Muslims, rejected “abortion as a method of population control.”

Bhutto sought to address the question of population control by promoting development and the empowerment of women: “by tackling infant mortality, by providing villages with electrification, by raising an army of women...to educate our mothers, sisters, daughters in child welfare and population control, by setting up a bank run by women for women, to help women achieve economic independence, and to have the wherewithal to make independent choices.”

The following year, Bhutto again took up the cause of women at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, because, as she said, “women are denied rights all over the world, whether developed or developing.... Today more women than men suffer poverty, deprivation and discrimination.... All over the world women are subjected to domestic violence. Often a woman does not walk out, for she has nowhere to go.” Bhutto called for the protection of women from the violence of war, condemning “the use of rape as a weapon of war and an instrument of ‘ethnic

cleansing,’” calling it “as depraved as it is reprehensible.” Deeply affected by the pain and sorrow felt by victims of war, she declared, “The enormity of the tragedy dwarfs our other issues—urgent though they are. This Conference must therefore express its complete solidarity with our sisters and daughters who are victims of armed conflict, oppression and brutality. Their misfortunes must be our first priority.”

Bhutto refused to choose between meeting the needs of women and protecting their unborn children from abortion. At the Beijing conference, she noted, “To please her husband, a woman wants a son. To keep her husband from abandoning her, a woman wants a son. And, too often, when a woman expects a girl, she abets her husband in abandoning or aborting that innocent, perfectly formed child. As we gather here today, **the cries of the girl child reach out to us.**” Bhutto challenged UN delegates “to create a climate where the girl child is as welcomed and valued as a boy child.”

Bhutto’s definition of empowerment echoed the long list of rights for women outlined by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who in 1848 organized the first women’s convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Bhutto’s holistic solutions were also reminiscent of the great feminist organizer Susan B. Anthony, who



advocated for the rights of women while urging both women and men to eradicate the root causes of abortion. Like all pro-life feminists throughout history, Benazir Bhutto recognized both the lack of support and resources for women and our responsibility to work together in order to address them.

“Today in this world, in the fight for the liberation of women, there can be no neutrality,” said Bhutto. “But we have learned that democracy alone is not enough. Freedom of choice alone does not guarantee justice.... Social justice is a triad of freedom, of equality, of liberty: Justice is political liberty.

freedom and independence; where we are equal partners in peace and development.”

Accusations of egregious corruption led to the dismissal of Bhutto’s government in both 1990 and 1996. Denouncing these charges as false and politically motivated, Bhutto left Pakistan in 1998 and lived in self-imposed exile in London and Dubai until she could safely return to Pakistan.

In 2007, a few months before Bhutto returned to Pakistan with the hope of restoring democracy, she reflected on her



Justice is economic independence. Justice is social equality. Empowerment is not only the right to have political freedom. Empowerment is the right to be independent; to be educated; to have choices in life. Empowerment is the right to have the opportunity to select a productive career; to own property; to participate in business; to flourish in the marketplace....

“We must shape a world free from exploitation and maltreatment of women, a world in which women have opportunities to rise to the highest level in politics, business, diplomacy and other spheres of life; where there are no battered women; where honor and dignity are protected in war and conflict; where we have economic

work in a conversation with Richard N. Haass, President of the Council on Foreign Relations. “[I]n my early years, I think, as one of the first... woman prime ministers in a Muslim world, and one of the first group of women leaders on the world stage, I was so concerned with trying to appear as tough as a man and as strong as a man, and to judge myself to be a good leader by such decisions,” she told Haass. “I think I should have been true to what I was. The people wanted me to be there as a woman leader, somebody who was more nurturing, who could take care of our people, our women, our children, redress their needs, build them hostels and schools

and provide them with basic nutrition. I wish I had focused more on that.”

On October 18, 2007, in Karachi, the place of Benazir Bhutto’s birth, throngs of Pakistani women and men welcomed her home. Her young guards wore red shirts that declared, “I give my life for Benazir.” When a bomb targeting her motorcade exploded, they were among the 170 of her supporters who did just that, though Bhutto herself was unharmed.

Despite constant threats of violence in the weeks leading up to the election, people continued to fill the streets, chanting, “Ben-a-zir, zindabd!” (“*Long live Benazir!*”) On December 27, just twelve days before the scheduled election, Bhutto attended another large rally of her supporters. Another suicide bomb exploded, this time accompanied by a blaze of gunfire that killed the former Pakistani Prime Minister. Benazir Bhutto, the world’s most visible pro-life feminist in her time, the leader who heard the cries of the abandoned and aborted girls around the world, would speak no more in defense of women.

Benazir Bhutto lived a life of extremes and apparent contradictions. A born leader who went from prison cell to palace. A well-educated feminist who accepted a husband chosen for her. An advocate of women and unborn children who risked her own health giving birth to a premature son after 15-hour-long days on her campaign. A military leader who nonetheless believed that “victims of armed conflict, oppression, and brutality... must be our first priority.” A legacy of good deeds marred by charges of corruption. A champion of democracy who inherited the leadership of her party from her father, and chose her young son to carry on in her place. A democratically elected woman prime minister of a Muslim nation.

A shocked world mourned the assassinated leader who had represented hope for so many. Bhutto had once told the BBC that “above all, I want to be remembered for what I did for women. My identity comes ultimately from being a woman, and I felt that my life has to make a difference to the lives of other women.”

Words written by Susan B. Anthony in 1860 ring especially true when remembering Benazir Bhutto: “Cautious, careful people, always casting about to preserve their reputation and social standing, never can bring about a reform. Those who are really in earnest must be willing to be anything or nothing in the world’s estimation.”

In November 2008, Benazir Bhutto was posthumously named one of seven winners of the United Nations Prize in the Field of Human Rights.

Ben-a-zir, zindabd. Long live Benazir. ●



Editor’s note:

In 1998, Feminists for Life recognized then-exiled Benazir Bhutto, naming her a Remarkable Pro-Life Woman® for her advocacy of women and children around the world.

An excerpt of Bhutto’s speech delivered to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing was included in an anthology called Women’s Rights, part of a series entitled “Great Speeches in History,” along with those by Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Sarah Weddington, Kate Michelman, Secretary of State (then First Lady) Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Feminists for Life President Serrin M. Foster.

Photo credits: pp.2 & 8 Khan Israr Ahmed, p.10 Kashif Mardani (upper) & Brajeshwar Oinam (lower), p.11 Guilhem Vellut, p.12 Dav Yaginuma.



THE SCHLESINGER LIBRARY

A FITTING HOME FOR FFL'S RECORD OF ADVOCACY
ON BEHALF OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

by Jane M. Rohan

When Feminists for Life President Serrin M. Foster returned to Boston in spring 2010 to address students at several area universities, she and other FFL board members paid a special visit to the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America. The Schlesinger Library, which is part of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, is located on the former campus of Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This newly renovated, state-of-the-art facility houses the world's largest and most prestigious archive of women's history.

Established in 1958 with a single donation, the Schlesinger Library now includes the correspondence of many of the first women doctors, lawyers, activists, and missionaries. Dedicated

to documenting the lives and historical endeavors of women, the library is organized into three major categories: manuscripts (approximately 2,500 in number), books and periodicals (more than 80,000), and photographic and audiovisual material (roughly 90,000). Personal items of well-known and influential women—such as Amelia Earhart's baby book—are among the rich collection of artifacts housed at the Schlesinger, and a portrait of the aviation pioneer who disappeared while flying over the Pacific graces the wall of the library.

Julia Ward Howe, a prominent American abolitionist and social activist, is featured in another portrait within the library. The poet most famous for writing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" later became a pacifist. This suffragist is also credited

with the founding of Mother's Day with her "Mother's Day Proclamation."

The library has two highly distinguished special collections. The first is the culinary collection, which spans five centuries of global cuisine and includes 15,000 books, letters, and papers from such famous chefs as M.F.K. Fisher, Elizabeth David, and Julia Child. When Serrin Foster and FFL Board member Nina Jurewicz first toured the library in March 2009, they were able to view its beloved donation from Julia Child, which includes one of her copper pots, her whisk, and her silver serving spoon. The Schlesinger Library was an important resource for Nora Ephron's recent popular film *Julie and Julia*.

The second special collection, the archives of Radcliffe College, documents



the evolution of women’s participation in higher education in America. It includes donations from officers, alumnae, and students of the college from 1879 until its closing in 1999.

Although the Schlesinger Library is devoted to the history of American women, it also includes an abundance of material from women of other nations. Letters from missionaries in China, as well as the writings and speeches of Shirley Graham Du Bois, a writer and activist whose work extended far beyond American borders, are found among the Schlesinger’s collections. The world travel collection includes donations from the 1800s to the modern era, providing accounts of women’s travels on foot, in covered wagons, by ship, car, and plane. Travels from the U.S. to Europe, South America, Asia, Africa, and Australia are shared by women of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds and motivations ranging from activism to personal exploration.

Of special interest to members of Feminists for Life are three diaries, seven speeches, and several items of correspondence from Susan B. Anthony. Some collections contain correspondence from Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Alice Paul. Anthony died before she achieved her most cherished goal—women’s suffrage—and passed the responsibility on to Paul and other leaders of the movement, who successfully advocated for passage of the 19th amendment in 1920.



Dr. Mildred Jefferson, the first African-American woman to graduate from Harvard Medical School and the co-founder and past president of the National Right to Life Committee, recommended that the Schlesinger seek Feminists for Life’s archives for inclusion in their collection. The Schlesinger Library has also invited Serrin to donate her personal records for a separate collection.

The executive director of the Schlesinger Library, Marilyn Dunn, told Foster and Jurewicz that she is excited about the prospect of Feminists for Life’s archives joining the library collection. She later wrote: “Here at the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America we are very excited about the possibility of adding the papers of the powerful national organization Feminists for Life. Your organization and its records encapsulate a large and very important part of the story of women’s issues and struggles in the postwar 20th century era. We hope that researchers looking to tell the story of feminism in the 20th century will have access in one repository to records that document the most important organizations and women of the time period. We believe that Feminists for Life will complement the existing feminist collections and add a

Photos: Radcliffe College commencement (previous page), Amelia Earhart (two photos above), Julia Ward Howe (right), Alice Paul (facing page above), Julia Child (facing page below), and a letter from Susan B. Anthony (following page).

powerful story of strong women and their efforts.”

On April 30, 2010, Kathryn Allamong Jacob, Curator of Manuscripts, led FFL’s Board of Directors, Serrin Foster, and me on a tour of the Schlesinger. During our visit, Ms. Jacob revealed boxes of exquisitely made suffragist buttons and other precious memorabilia, and carefully explained how the collections are preserved as she took us through a maze that included records from the “Speculating Squirrels” (women investors from the mid-20th century), the Boston YWCAs, Lamaze, and other women’s organizations, as well as a special collection of cookbooks.

The highlight was a special exhibit thoughtfully displayed for our visit by reference librarian Sarah Hutcheon. The first table focused on suffragists of the 1800s, and included a letter from Julia Ward Howe criticizing the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* for not including her poetry, a letter from Elizabeth Blackwell to her sister Emily (who was also a doctor), one of Susan B. Anthony’s diaries, a letter written by Victoria Woodhull from jail, and Volume IV of the *History of Woman Suffrage* by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Jocelyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper with an inscription by Susan B. Anthony.



The second group of historical documents was from the 20th century, and included a letter from suffragist Alice Paul when she was just 25 years old, informing her mother that Paul was well after a recent prison stay. Another letter from Alice Paul to a “captain” (perhaps a police captain), however, told the real story. In this letter, Paul described how she was sentenced to hard labor in Holloway Jail in England and her hunger strike, which resulted in force-feeding. We also viewed a letter from Jane Addams written on Hull House stationery and Julia Child’s handwritten omelet recipe.

The last section of the exhibit displayed Feminists for Life’s own publications—both *Sisterlife* (which was published until 1994) and *The American Feminist* (1994-present). FFL’s donation to the Schlesinger will also include archival photographs, press clippings, the text of the FFL-drafted Elizabeth Cady Stanton Pregnant and Parenting Student Services Act, Serrin’s landmark speech “The Feminist Case *Against* Abortion,” and audio and video recordings of speeches and interviews with Honorary Co-Chairs Patricia Heaton and Margaret Colin, as well as the lectures of additional Feminists for Life speakers.

These donated materials will highlight the organization’s history of advocacy on behalf of pregnant women and parents, women living in poverty, and women who are victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. The collection will include a description of the many achievements of FFL’s flagship College Outreach Program, focused on educating students about more than two centuries’ worth of pro-life feminist history and developing on-campus resources for pregnant and parenting students.

Feminists for Life’s advocacy efforts on behalf of college-age women—those at highest risk of abortion—have inspired many within the pro-life movement to redirect their efforts and likewise focus on the need to provide support and services to pregnant women and parents. Sharing our country’s rich pro-life feminist history with hundreds of thousands of college students through its lectures, conferences, and pregnancy resource forums, FFL has challenged those on college campuses to refuse to choose between women and children. During the first 10 years of FFL’s College Outreach Program, the abortion rate declined in only one group—college graduates—by a remarkable 30%.



Suffragist Sarah Norton, who together with Susan B. Anthony argued for women’s admission to Cornell University, dreamed of a day when “an unmarried mother will not be despised because of her motherhood... and when the right of the unborn to be born will not be denied or interfered with.” In recent years, FFL has seen a surge of pro-woman, pro-life student groups on campus. From Wellesley, Harvard, and Stanford to Georgetown, Berkeley, and Loyola, student activists have been empowered by our conviction that women deserve better than abortion. Through their impassioned work to ensure the rights of women and the protection of children from all forms of violence, these students, working alongside Feminists for Life, are writing yet another chapter of women’s history, one that may someday take its place at the Schlesinger Library. ●



Editor’s note: If you have any copies of *Feminists for Life’s Sisterlife* newsletter, Green Sheets, other early publications or correspondence, pre-1994 press clippings, or FFL memorabilia that you would be willing to add to FFL’s historical archives, please send them to *Feminists for Life*, P.O. Box 320667, Alexandria, VA 22320. Librarians request that you do not send anything directly to the Schlesinger Library; all contributions must be sent through *Feminists for Life*. Thank you!

National Woman Suffrage Association.

President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
Rochester, N. Y.
Ch'rs. Dr. Mrs. MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,
Fayetteville, N. Y.
Cor. Sec'y, JANE GRAHAM JONES,
100 Prairie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Hon. Sec'y, MARY F. DAVIS,
Orange, New Jersey.
For. Cor. Sec'y, LAURA CURTIS BULLARD,
10 East Thirty-ninth St., New York.
Treasurer, ELLEN C. SARGENT,
Washington, D. C.

Rochester Sept. 10th 1872.

Dear young friend

35 The best service you can give in return for this moment of mine is that you will study the great principles of justice and equality to woman and work to establish them in the Constitutions of state & nation -- The ballot only can secure equal rights & equal chances.

Respectfully yours

Susan B. Anthony

Rochester Sept. 10th 1872

Dear Young Friend,

The best service you can give in return for this moment of mine is that you will study the great principles of justice and equality to women and work to establish them in the Constitutions of state and nation--
The *ballot only can* secure equal rights and equal chances.

Respectfully yours,
Susan B. Anthony

Photos of Radcliffe commencement, Earhart, Howe, Child, and Anthony's letter are reprinted with permission of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

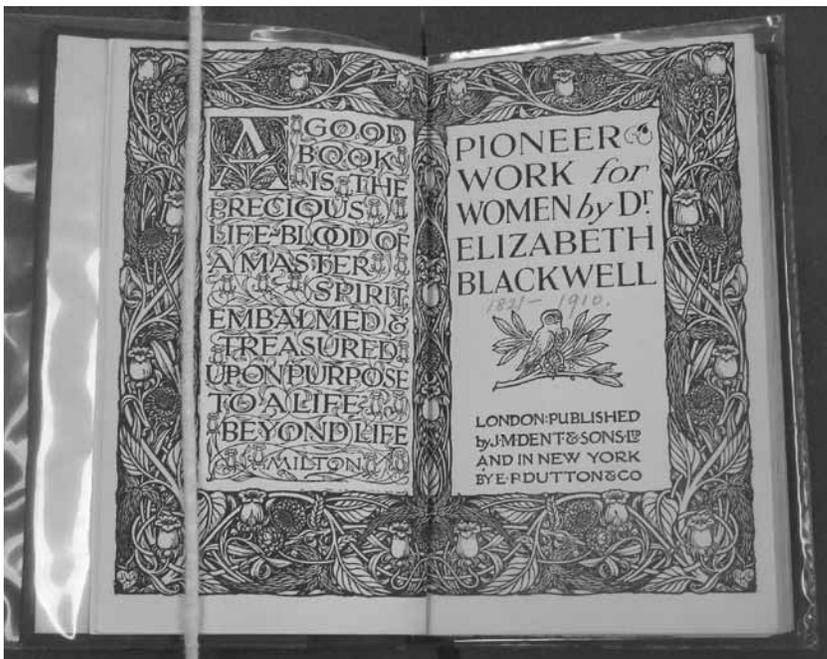


Left: Letters by Julia Ward Howe, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, and Victoria Woodhull were among the items displayed on the first table of the special exhibit by Schlesinger librarian Sarah Hutcheon. In the foreground, a handwritten inscription by Susan B. Anthony in the fourth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*: “you and I have done the best we knew—and so must rest content—leaving all to younger hands.”

Right: Feminists for Life’s *Sisterlife* newsletter and *The American Feminist* magazine were displayed among other works of 20th century women.

The Schlesinger Library houses a large collection of Betty Friedan’s papers and work, including the displayed first edition of *The Feminine Mystique*, which did not mention abortion. It was not until 1966 that the National Organization for Women included abortion in its list of goals.

The records of NOW are also found at the library. Feminists for Life was founded in 1972 after Pat Goltz was ejected from a NOW meeting in Ohio for distributing pro-life literature.



Left: *Pioneer Work for Women* by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to receive a medical degree from an American medical school. She wrote in her diary that her medical career was inspired, in part, by her opposition to abortion:

“The gross perversion and destruction of motherhood by the abortionist filled me with indignation, and awakened active antagonism. That the honorable term ‘female physician’ should be exclusively applied to those women who carried on this shocking trade seemed to me a horror. It was an utter degradation of what might and should become a noble position for women.”

Below: This displayed letter from Victoria Woodhull closes with the words:

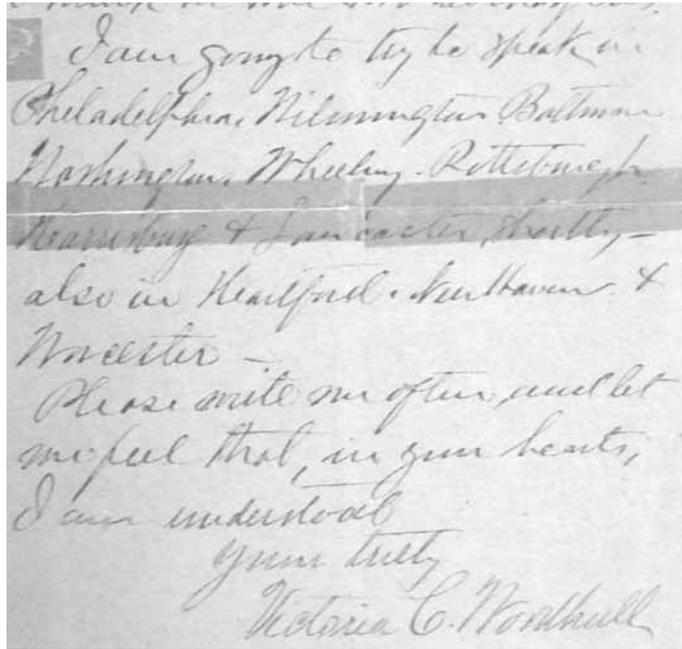
"I am going to try to speak in Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, Washington, Wheeling, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg & Lancaster, shortly—also in Hartford, Newhaven & Worcester—

"Please write me often, and let me feel that, in your hearts, I am understood.

Yours truly,
Victoria C. Woodhull"



Above: Amelia Earhart's baby book, *Queer Doings and Quaint Sayings of Baby Earhart*, informed members of the tour that her first photograph was taken at four and a half months.



Lower left: Serrin found this box of antique "Votes for Women" buttons and pins breathtaking.

Lower right: Back row, left to right: FFL Board member Susan Zeigler, President Serrin M. Foster, Secretary Michael A. Sciscenti. Front row, left to right: author of the accompanying article Jane M. Rohan, Vice Chair Cindy P. Brown.



It was the summer of 2006. Cat Clark called me from Feminists for Life's national office. We had received a postcard from a realtor: "Susan B. Anthony's birthplace is for sale!" I knew immediately who to call: Carol Crossed.

Carol Crossed lives in Rochester, New York, where Susan B. Anthony lived and died before her most cherished dream of women's suffrage was realized. Carol had toured Anthony's Rochester home many times, and she immediately grasped the historical significance of preserving the home where Anthony was born in Adams, Massachusetts.

It wouldn't consume her life, Carol promised her husband Dick, when they discussed the purchase of the house.

That promise would prove difficult to keep.

Carol had only seen the house from the outside. Perhaps it was fortunate that she wasn't able to enter the home before plunking down the one and only bid at auction.

The purchase price of \$167,000, she said later, was more like a down payment on "the money pit."

Soon after the purchase of Anthony's birthplace in August 2006, Feminists for Life speaker and former Vice President Sally Winn, National Office Manager Cat Clark, and I went to tour it for ourselves. Carol made arrangements for us to see the home—inside and out.

Despite the dilapidated state of the house, we couldn't help but feel as though we were walking on hallowed ground. Together we wandered through a home that had housed many generations since textile factory owner Daniel Anthony first built it in 1818, installing his general store on the first floor. The march of time and people through the home was evident. "Modern conveniences" introduced over time had undermined the simple beauty of the Federal-style home. The old hearth in the kitchen that once warmed the Anthony family had been torn out and replaced with a full bath in the latter half of the 20th century. The only sections of the house that remained in their original condition were the basement with exposed rock in the foundation, and the attic three stories above with handcrafted

Susan B. Anthony Was Born **HERE.**

by Serrin M. Foster
President





crooked chimneys, where up to eleven girls and young women who worked at Daniel Anthony's factory used to sleep.

For the next three and a half years, Carol and other museum supporters poured heart and soul—and an additional \$650,000—into restoring the house. When I revisited the Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum for its grand opening in February 2010, their hard work could be seen everywhere I looked. A new roof had been completed, with two restored chimneys. Two new furnaces had been installed. Windows edged in black accented the bone-colored exterior of the house. Original pine floors and new supports for beams, previously undermined by an invasion of hungry termites, had been revealed.

The south-facing front parlor where Susan B. Anthony was born is now filled with period furniture typical to Quaker homes of the day. The front left room is once again a general store. Cross sections of paint chips examined under a microscope revealed a great surprise: four complementary shades of green used for the trim throughout the house, along with pigment-free white and three colors of brown on the floors. One of the rooms off the kitchen is dedicated to showing how the house was constructed, including a view of the slats inside the wall that make up the “bones” for the house. An enormous fireplace and hearth have once again become the centerpiece of the kitchen, complete with a bread oven to the side, as described in the first volume of Ida Husted Harper's *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*.

The back left room of the house has become “the Legacy Room.” Visitors to the museum should plan on spending some time in this room, where Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum board members Lynn Lewandowski and Colleen Spelley carefully, lovingly, and thoughtfully crafted a timeline of Susan B. Anthony's life. They dedicated one wall after another to her many efforts—abolition, suffrage, and temperance—including excerpts from her newspaper *The Revolution* against “Restellism,” a term of the day referring to both abortifacients and surgical abortions. One wall is dominated by a display case filled with cherished treasures from the suffrage era. The Legacy Room is a powerful testament to the tireless advocacy efforts of this extraordinary suffragist.





Excitement over the new museum was palpable at the ribbon cutting ceremony on February 14, 2010, the eve of Susan B. Anthony's 190th birthday. As assembled guests and museum supporters waited for the ceremony to begin, we congregated in the adjacent gift shop filled with carefully selected items including Susan B. Anthony dolls and exquisite handmade quilts that celebrate Anthony's life and women's suffrage by local fabric artist Kathy Williamson. Numerous books on Anthony's contributions—along with *ProLife Feminism: Yesterday and Today* and some of Feminists for Life's *Covetable Stuff*[®]—grace the shelves.

Visitors and guests came primarily from Feminists Choosing Life, formerly FFL of New York (based in Rochester), and from across Massachusetts. Dr. Mildred Jefferson (see page 14) was among the latter. The visitor who traveled farthest to attend the ceremony was Mary Krane Derr, the Chicago-based historian who, while teaching women's history, has perhaps done most to uncover the truth about the early American suffragists' opposition to abortion.

Sally Winn acted as master of ceremonies at a later celebration at the Adams Library. A descendant of Daniel Anthony, Eric Anthony, and his wife Patricia provided period music. Twelve-year old Gabriella Holland delighted the crowd with a dramatization of Susan B. Anthony's life. Sally led a round of "Happy Birthday," and a day of joyous festivities concluded with birthday cake in the Susan B. Anthony Room.

Editor's note: This year we celebrate both the 190th birthday of Susan B. Anthony and the 90th anniversary of the 19th Amendment.

Photos across the top: Carol Crossed cut the ribbon at the museum's grand opening. Daniel Anthony's store. The kitchen hearth. The room in which Susan B. Anthony was born. Photo left: Carol welcomes visitors. Photo right: Feminists for Life speaker Sally A. Winn, her daughters Hannah and Emily, and FFL president Serrin M. Foster gather at the Adams Library for the festivities.

Photos reprinted with permission of the Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum.

During the celebration, Carol's husband Dick—along with their children and grandchildren—beamed with pride for Carol's accomplishment. The day felt *victorious*. My cheeks hurt from smiling. Yours will, too, when you visit Susie B's birthplace.

It is impossible to underestimate the passion and dedication of Carol, the Board of Directors, and the volunteer team at the museum. Thanks to their years of work and sacrifice to reveal the way Susan B. Anthony and her family lived in the home of her birth, we can better understand and appreciate her legacy today. The restoration of the Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum is a gift for many generations to come.

Brava, Carol. You and your team have earned a standing ovation, and in the tradition of Susan's day, we wave our handkerchiefs in applause. You are indeed remarkable! ●



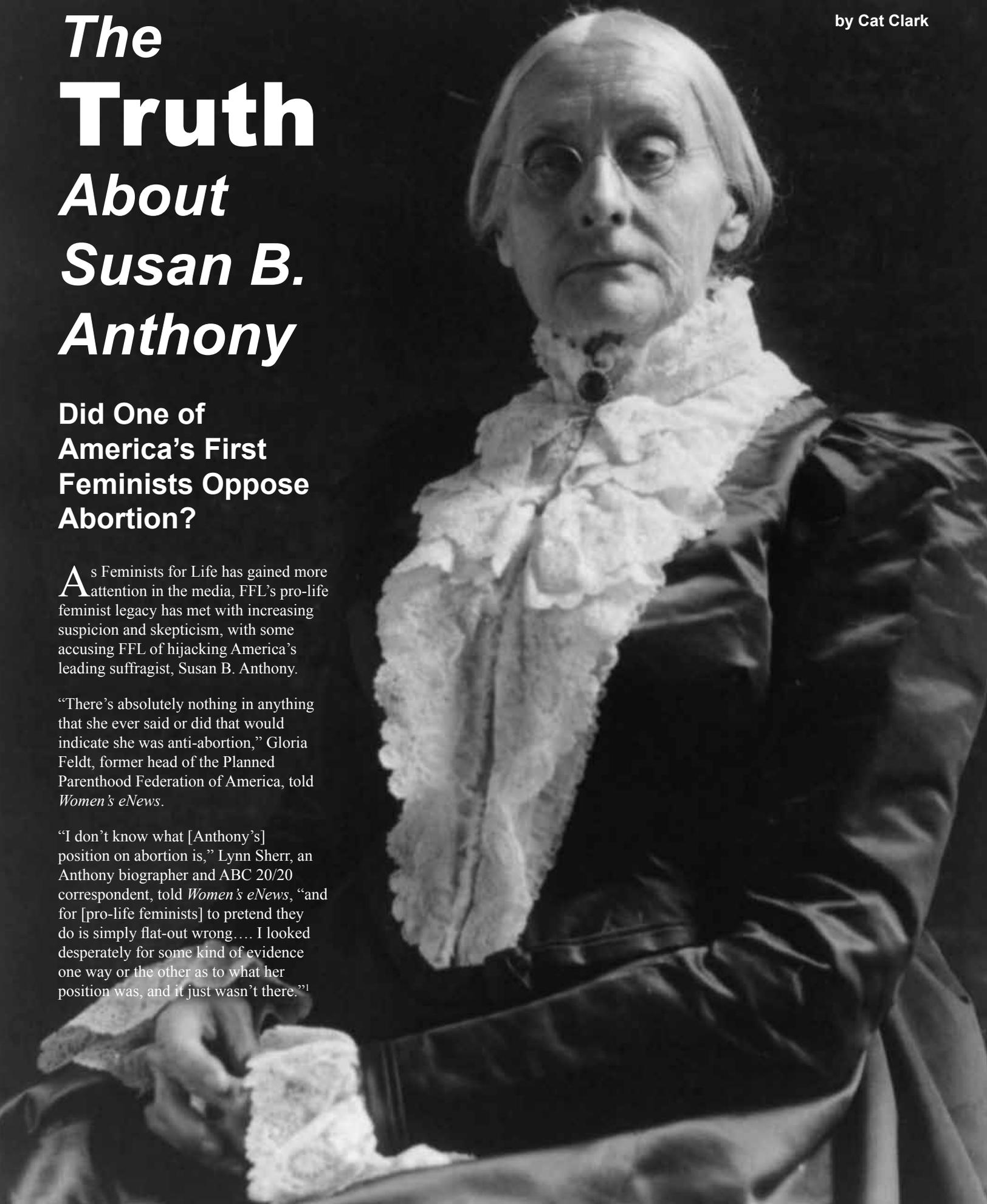
The Truth About Susan B. Anthony

Did One of America's First Feminists Oppose Abortion?

As Feminists for Life has gained more attention in the media, FFL's pro-life feminist legacy has met with increasing suspicion and skepticism, with some accusing FFL of hijacking America's leading suffragist, Susan B. Anthony.

"There's absolutely nothing in anything that she ever said or did that would indicate she was anti-abortion," Gloria Feldt, former head of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, told *Women's eNews*.

"I don't know what [Anthony's] position on abortion is," Lynn Sherr, an Anthony biographer and ABC 20/20 correspondent, told *Women's eNews*, "and for [pro-life feminists] to pretend they do is simply flat-out wrong.... I looked desperately for some kind of evidence one way or the other as to what her position was, and it just wasn't there."¹



Abortion was not an issue to which Anthony devoted much time. But the historical evidence that does exist points to her opposition to abortion.

“Her stance on abortion was one integral expression of her commitment to undo gender oppression, just like her sheltering of a woman and child fleeing domestic violence,” notes pro-life feminist historian Mary Krane Derr. “Susan B. Anthony identified socially entrenched patterns of male sexual and reproductive violence (often fueled by alcohol abuse; hence many early feminists’ concern, including hers, with temperance) as the root cause of abortion and many other miseries of women.”

However, Derr cautions, “While it’s not outrageous to speculate that today Anthony would vigorously champion women’s right to make nonviolent choices regarding their bodies and lives, no one can ever know with absolute certainty what any person from the past would say and do now.”

What did Susan B. Anthony say about abortion? How do modern pro-life feminists continue her legacy?

Her Friends and Colleagues Denounced Abortion

“Without known exception,” FFL President Serrin Foster says in *The Feminist Case Against Abortion*, “the early feminists condemned abortion in the strongest terms.”

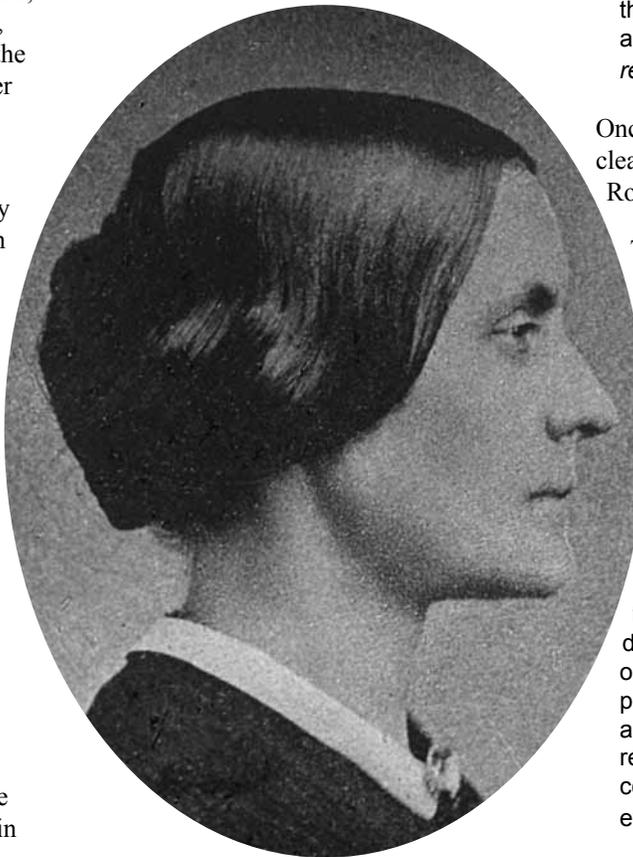
Early 18th- and 19th-century suffragist writings regularly referred to abortion as “ante-natal murder,” “child murder,” “ante-natal infanticide,” or “infanticide,” as Derr points out in *ProLife Feminism Yesterday and Today*.² These early feminists regarded abortion as violence against women and their children, and attributed its practice to the denial of their rights and a dearth of nonviolent choices for women.

While early feminists were indeed concerned about abortion’s physical and psychological dangers to women, as

advocates of abortion point out, they also opposed abortion itself—as their use of the term “child murder” implies.

Sarah Norton, who challenged Cornell University to admit women, for example, wrote that she looked forward to a day “when the right of the unborn to be born will not be denied or interfered with.”³

Like Feminists for Life today, the early feminists saw abortion as a symptom of, not a solution to, the struggles women face. And the early feminists, like FFL,



sought to eradicate abortion by addressing its root causes.

Susan B. Anthony and Abortion: In Her Own Words

The most important evidence regarding Anthony’s own stance on abortion are those writings which may be attributed to her with certainty. Her comments relating to abortion are few, but considered in the broader context of early feminist writings, it is reasonable to conclude that Anthony was truly both pro-woman and pro-life.

The earliest relevant comment appears in a letter Anthony wrote to Antoinette Brown Blackwell on September 4, 1858. A schoolteacher, doting aunt, and willing babysitter, Anthony loved children, but she expressed frustration that her friends’ family responsibilities limited their availability for suffrage activities. When Elizabeth Cady Stanton was expecting her seventh child, Anthony wrote:

I only scold now that for a moment’s pleasure to herself or her husband, [Stanton] should thus increase the load of cares under which she already groans—but *there is no remedy now*....⁴

Once pregnant, the nonviolent choice was clear: Stanton would give birth—to a son, Robert, in March 1859.⁵

The second comment, much more explicit, appears in Anthony’s famous speech “Social Purity,” delivered on March 14, 1875. Here, abortion is listed with infanticide and other murders among the negative consequences of the “evils” perpetrated by men:

The prosecutions on our courts for breach of promise, divorce, adultery, bigamy, seduction, rape; the newspaper reports every day of every year of scandals and outrages, of wife murders and paramour shooting, of abortions and infanticides, are perpetual reminders of men’s incapacity to cope successfully with this monster evil of society.⁶

This speech clearly presents abortion as a symptom of the problems faced by women, especially when subjected “to the tyranny of men’s appetites and passions.” Anthony argues that it is not sufficient to address these effects; “the cause must be removed...the tap-root must be severed” by enfranchising women, acknowledging their rights in family and society, and empowering them to make nonviolent choices.

A third piece of evidence comes from a pair of entries in Anthony’s diary, written while she was visiting her brother Daniel during a speaking tour in 1876. Daniel’s

wife was apparently suffering the effects of an abortion:

[March 4] Sister Annie in bed—been sick for a month—tampering with herself—and was freed this A.M. what ignorance & lack of self-government the world is filled with. [March 7] Sister Annie better—but looks very slim—she will rue the day she forces nature—⁷

The latter entry is reminiscent of one that appeared in Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, which Anthony serialized in her own newspaper *The Revolution*.⁸ Regarding women who “either destroy the embryo in the womb, or cast it off when born,” Wollstonecraft wrote: “Nature in everything demands respect, and those who violate her laws seldom violate them with impunity.”⁹

A final relevant comment is recorded by fellow suffragist Frances Willard. When complimented by a man, “you, of all women I have met, ought to have been a wife and mother,” Anthony replied:

I thank you, sir...but sweeter even than to have had the joy of caring for children of my own has it been to me to help bring about a better state of things for mothers generally, so that their unborn little ones could not be willed away from them.¹⁰

In Anthony's day, if a father willed custody of his children to someone other than his wife and then died while she was pregnant, the mother would be denied custody of her child as soon as the child was born. Anthony's statement shows concern for the lives and wellbeing of both the mother and the yet unborn child.

Anthony's Newspaper Opposed Abortion

Among her many forms of activism, Susan B. Anthony was the proprietor and business manager of the early feminist newspaper *The Revolution*. From the very beginning, *The Revolution* had a known policy that “no quack or immoral advertisements [for patent medicines] will be admitted,” though these ads were



Susan B. Anthony (right) with her sister Mary.

a large source of revenue for periodicals of the time.¹¹

The women and men who produced the paper were not opposed to alternative and self-help medicine, nor advertisements for doctors, but refused such advertisements because “Restellism [a period term for abortion] has long found in these broth of Beelzebub, its securest hiding place.”¹²

This policy undermines the belief held by some advocates of abortion that the early feminists' opposition to abortion was due to the dangers of the procedure performed late in pregnancy. In fact, the patent medicines that *The Revolution* refused to advertise were often abortifacients designed to induce early miscarriage.



“Restellism,” a period term for abortion, was named for Ann Lohman, who became notorious for advertising and selling abortifacient medicines and performing surgical abortions under the name “Madame Restell.”

Parker Pillsbury, co-editor with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, explained *The Revolution's* advertising policy in the context of criticizing less principled publishers. In an article titled “Quack Medicines,” he wrote:

Quack advertisements may lie never so fearfully about the stuffs offered for sale; but they speak truly of those who make and sell them, and not less truly of their accomplices of the press that for gain and greed, will advertise and puff their foul preparations. When conductors of public journals are so poor in pocket and principle as to lend themselves to so foul a work, they should be read always between their lines. They and their advertising patrons in such business should be read out of their

occupation by a wholesome regard for the moral and material health of the community.... Sword, pestilence and famine combined, are to be preferred to such a presence....

Quack Medicine venders, however rich, proud, and pretentious, Foeticides and Infanticides, should be classed together and regarded with shuddering horror by the whole human race....

Let us learn to read authors between their lines, and to judge of newspapers largely by their advertisements. Thus we shall get an autobiography of all the authors, and learn the true quality and character of our newspaper press.¹³

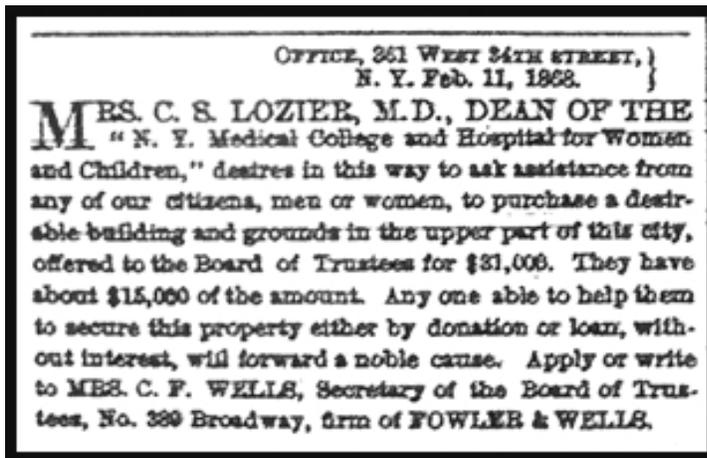
The Revolution ad policy could only be implemented with Anthony's approval. As the paper's masthead shows, her responsibilities included selling advertising space, and the policy remained in place despite the newspaper's financial problems. When the newspaper went bankrupt in 1870, Anthony assumed responsibility for the \$10,000 debt, which she paid off through "terrible struggle" over a period of seven years.¹⁴

Another possible piece of evidence regarding Anthony's stance on abortion may be found in a *Revolution* article "Marriage & Maternity," which is simply signed "A."¹⁵ The best known passage says:

Guilty? Yes, no matter what the motive, love of ease, or a desire to save from suffering the unborn innocent, the woman is awfully guilty who commits the deed. It will burden her conscience in life, it will burden her soul in death; but oh! thrice guilty is he who, for selfish gratification... drove her to the desperation which impelled her to the crime.

As advocates of abortion have correctly pointed out, the article does not favor a law punishing abortion. But it is clearly not an endorsement of abortion:

Much as I deplore the horrible crime of child-murder, earnestly as I desire its suppression, I cannot believe... that such a law would have



The Revolution published advertisements from homeopathic physicians like Dr. Clemence Lozier, fellow women's rights activist and mother-in-law of Dr. Charlotte Lozier, but refused ads from abortion providers. (February 26, 1868)

the desired effect. It would only be mowing off the top of the noxious weed, while the root remains.

We want *prevention*, not merely punishment. We must reach the root of the evil, and destroy it.

The article argues that a law, in that time and place, would only be used to punish the wrong people: "All the articles on this subject... denounce women alone as guilty, and never include man in any plans proposed for

the remedy of the evil.... If man takes [woman's] individuality [by subjecting her to his demands] he must also take her responsibility. Let him suffer."

Was this article, which appeared in Susan B. Anthony's newspaper, written by Anthony? Ann Gordon, editor of *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, told *Women's eNews* that Anthony did not write the article, and Lynn Sherr concurred. But Mary Krane Derr, co-editor of *ProLife Feminism Yesterday and*



Susan B. Anthony (right) with friend and fellow feminist leader Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Today, has argued that the article may indeed be Anthony's.

At the time, members of *The Revolution* staff frequently signed articles with their initials: Elizabeth Cady Stanton as "E.C.S.," Paulina Wright Davis as "P.W.D.," and Susan B. Anthony as "S.B.A." Anthony was also known in the writings of others as "Miss A." Sherr's reported claim that "Anthony didn't sign her pieces 'A.'"¹⁶ presumes a conclusion that needs to be proven.

The "Marriage & Maternity" article bears striking resemblance to Anthony's "Social Purity" speech in language, concepts, and themes. Laws, according to both, were wrongly used to punish people whose actions were impelled by desperate circumstances—people who could not support themselves financially, vote, or even, in many cases, testify in court. Both pieces regard abortion as a social ill, a consequence of wrongs perpetrated by men against women that is best eradicated by addressing its root causes and expanding nonviolent choices. Both uphold the right of women to refuse the sexual demands of their husbands as a necessary part of the solution. Despite their different subjects and modes of communication, the similarities are remarkable.

Nevertheless, Feminists for Life is cautious about the attribution of "Marriage & Maternity." In FFL materials, it is simply said to have appeared in Susan B. Anthony's publication, *The Revolution*.

"If one reads the actual text of *The Revolution*, and every mention of abortion in Anthony's newspaper opposed abortion, then how can anyone come to the conclusion that she was in favor of it?" asks Serrin Foster.

The Logical Conclusion: Anthony Was Pro-Woman and Pro-Life

Susan B. Anthony's words and actions, in the broader context of early American feminism, point to the logical conclusion that Anthony was truly pro-woman and pro-life.

Feminists for Life, just as Anthony and our other feminist foremothers, recognizes that abortion is a reflection that our society has failed to meet the needs of women. In response, we are dedicated to systematically eliminating the root causes that drive women to abortion—primarily lack of practical resources and support—through holistic, woman-centered solutions. We promote the resources women want and need to

make nonviolent choices, and our own efforts are shaped by the core feminist values of justice, nondiscrimination, and nonviolence.

FFL's mission increasingly resonates with those who find abortion to be an unacceptable "solution" to the difficulties that pregnant women and parents face.

"It is not enough to say 'no' to abortion. We say 'yes' to life," says Serrin Foster. "While we would be pro-life feminists whether or not Susan B. Anthony and the other early American feminists opposed abortion, we are proud to continue their legacy. By giving birth to new solutions, Feminists for Life builds on the foundation they created. We are working to realize their unfulfilled vision for the world." ●

The author is grateful for the research and assistance provided by Mary Krane Derr, co-editor of ProLife Feminism Yesterday and Today: Expanded Second Edition.



1 Quoted in "Susan B. Anthony's Abortion Position Spurs Scuffle" by Allison Stevens, *Women's eNews* (October 6, 2006), <http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm?aid=2915>.

2 *ProLife Feminism Yesterday and Today: Expanded Second Edition*, Mary Krane Derr, Rachel MacNair, and Linda Naranjo-Huebl, editors (Xlibris; 2005).

3 *Woodhull's and Claflin's Weekly*, November 19, 1870.

4 Derr et al., 43, emphasis added. The passage also appears in Lynn Sherr's *Failure Is Impossible: Susan B. Anthony in Her Own Words* (New York: Random House; 1995), 4.

5 The author called the Women's Rights National Park in Seneca Falls, New York, to confirm Robert Livingston Stanton's birth on 14 March 1859.

6 "Social Purity," http://www.pbs.org/stantonanthony/resources/index.html?body=social_purity.html.

7 *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, vol. III, Ann Gordon, ed. (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press; 2003), 213-214. The volume's editor notes that "tampering" is "inducing an abortion."

8 Anthony's copy of Wollstonecraft's classic resides in the Library of Congress' Susan B. Anthony Collection (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awrbc4/>).

9 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London: Penguin Books; 1985), 249.

10 Derr et al., 43, quoting from Frances E. Willard's *Glimpses of Fifty Years: The Autobiography of an American Woman*.

11 "What the Press Says of Us," *The Revolution*, February 5, 1868. See also James C. Mohr, *Abortion in America* (New York: Oxford University Press; 1978), 47ff.

12 "Important Movement," *The Revolution*, April 8, 1869.

13 *The Revolution*, March 26, 1868.

14 Sherr, 200-201.

15 *The Revolution*, July 8, 1869. A significant excerpt appears in *ProLife Feminism Yesterday and Today: Expanded Second Edition*, 44-47.

16 Stevens.



SOROSIS

SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL

by Cat Clark and
Cayce D. Utley

In January 1869, Susan B. Anthony's *The Revolution* newspaper reprinted two articles from the *New York World* about a professional women's club, not yet a year old, named Sorosis. Like the word "sorority," the name was derived from the Latin word *soror*, meaning "sister." Sorosis also refers to a composite fruit with multiple flowers, such as the pineapple. The Sorosis club's membership included women engaged in many fields—as editors, poets, musicians, authors, physicians, professors, painters, teachers, lecturers, historians, science writers, and philanthropists. The club sought to champion the cause of all women, especially by supporting the "large amount of beneficent work" done, publicly and privately, by "individual members in any field of labor to which they felt attracted."¹

At a meeting on December 7, 1868, reported in the first article, Sorosis had made the following observations and resolutions:

Whereas, Recent developments in this city [New York] and in other places, have called the attention of Sorosis to the homeless and unprotected condition of those upon whom, by misfortune or crime, is laid the burden of illegalized [unmarried] maternity; and,

Whereas, The [male] partners in their crime, or, as is too often the case, the authors of their misery, are unrebuked by society, and are not prevented by public opinion from pursuing the same free and dishonorable career as if virtuous, while their [female] companions, or victims, are bereft of social position and debarred from all opportunity to retrieve their error and to rise to honor and preferment in respectable communities; and as by this most unjust relative position woman is driven to despondency, loss of self-respect, and that deep despair which ultimates in recklessness and ruin; therefore,

Resolved, That we give this subject serious and humane consideration, and that, to facilitate this purpose, a standing committee be appointed whose duty it shall be to investigate the causes of descent into this great evil of our civilization, and, if possible, to discover the means of protection and redemption from this bottomless pit of agony and shame.

Resolved, That the first work of the committee shall be to ascertain what public provision has been made by way of hospitals and asylums, in this city and elsewhere, for the protection and care of the unfortunate woman approaching maternity in consequence, it may be, of the first downward step; and if such wise and humane guardianship shall not be found, to consider the question of the erection of such asylums and hospitals with the hope that the divine "quality of mercy" may be extended to the erring woman no less freely than to the erring man, and that the desolate and despairing, through whom society has dishonored the holy office of maternity by degrading its entire significance, and neglecting its most imperative and sacred claims, may be rescued from misery and vice, and her offspring saved to fill an honorable place in our great, intelligent, and virtuous commonwealth.²

Dr. Anna Densmore, a hospital reformer and founding member of Sorosis, was a member of the committee established by these resolutions. In addition to being a physician, Dr. Densmore was an educator who, in the words of a teacher who wrote to *The Revolution*, "proposed to form a class for [public school] teachers exclusively, to qualify them to instruct young women and girls in those departments of Physiology and Hygiene." The teacher continued:

Every woman physician, [Dr. Densmore] said, should herself be a teacher, and make it a cardinal rule to spread the knowledge she has gained.... The class was formed in a few days.... The Board of Education granted us the use of the main hall of the Twelfth Street Public School by a unanimous vote, and we are progressing rapidly, to say nothing of the engrossing interest with which the entire subject is invested by Dr. Densmore. All teachers are cordially invited to partake of these advantages without money and without price....³

The Sorosis Committee of Hospitals held its first regular meeting at Dr. Densmore's home on December 17, 1868. Her first report of their findings, "Report on Hospitals and Asylums," was reprinted in *The Revolution* on January 21, 1869. After

reviewing the meager free and inexpensive resources available to unmarried women and their children, Dr. Densmore lamented:

The very limited check upon the growing crime of infanticide which this small movement would be capable of exercising must awaken earnest convictions in the heart of every true woman that there is a field of labor opening up to her from which she *cannot* recede without outraging both conscience and womanhood. When we think of the despair that must sink deep into the soul of an erring woman in her dark hour of trial, as the stern hand fast forces itself with chilling intensity upon her spirit, that the babe she has passed through such overwhelming agony to evolve will be to her but the passport of exclusion from every hearth and home, from every friend, from every social privilege, from every honorable position, we can no longer wonder that the promptings of maternity are sometimes driven back to their source—that the brain reels—that the mother ceases for a time to be human, because of our inhumanity, and that a little life is so often immolated on its shrine. Where lies the deepest blame?

Densmore's commentary continued:

We hear it urged that if asylums were erected for the promiscuous admittance of all infants presented, the birth of illegitimate children would be largely increased, that the only effectual check upon its almost overwhelming advance lies in wholesome dread of the penalty—Ostracism and lasting disgrace. This may in part be true, but not for the reasons advanced. Women as a class are not so utterly lost to principle and womanly instincts as this assertion implies. More children might for a time be born, but fewer souls would be stained with the crime of abortion, now become one of the most demoralizing features in American life. The poor unfortunate candidate for motherhood nearly always grasp [sic] eagerly for this supposed immunity from guilt—in her ignorance thanking God that deliverance from tangible proof of her misfortune or sin came without bloodshed, and that she is free to recommence life without the dreaded millstone about her neck. We believe that the organization of well conducted institutions for the reception of babes born alive would materially lessen the crime of infanticide, by rendering it possible for young mothers out of wedlock to resume their place in society, and to command reputable employment when needed—and *all* unmarried mothers are not included in the class needing to labor I need not remind you.

She concluded:

I cannot close without saying a single word more on the crime of abortion, now so frightfully prevalent, and to ask you each and severally to stretch out a helping, saving hand in this direction, that its suppression may to

some extent at least be accomplished. It is only through ignorance that it has become such a wide-spread evil. But few women, even among the educated and intelligent, realize that the embryo child is imbued with the life element prior to the moment when its physical movements become conscious to her. No greater error exists: if lifeless, it could no more become developed into the hungry, breathing child, than could the lifeless seed of a plant or flower spring up and ultimately bud and blossom. The living principle is there from the first moment of fecundation, and should be fostered and nourished and brought into the world in every instance that conception takes place—at *no* period can it be interfered with, from the first to the last moment of *utra uterine* life, without tampering with a life that God alone can give.⁴

Dr. Anna Densmore and the other members of Sorosis saw that the needs of women and the needs of their children, born and unborn, were inextricably linked. To defend the cause of the unborn was to urge justice and support for the women of their day.

Today's pro-life feminists continue to connect and address these needs at a time when people on both sides of the abortion debate have occasionally pitted women's interests against their children's. Pro-life feminists' unique philosophy allows us to bring people together to celebrate motherhood and empower women to make better choices for themselves and their children. ●





Feminists for Life advocates resources and support for mothers and their children. As in the past, women today often feel forced to choose between sacrificing their education and career plans and sacrificing their children. Feminists for Life, like Sorosis, investigates the causes and seeks to empower women to refuse to choose. Through tools like Feminists for Life's Pregnancy Resources Survey,TM FFL enables students and faculty to evaluate resources available to pregnant women and parents on college campuses. FFL's groundbreaking study "Perception Is Reality" draws attention to the nationwide scarcity of resources. Through guides including "Raising Kids on a Shoestring" and "You Have Better Choices" we direct pregnant women and parents to existing support and provide smart, progressive solutions to the challenges they face.

In 1869, Dr. Densmore wrote that "the brain reels" when a woman discovers an unplanned pregnancy. Chaunie Brusie, in a series of letters collectively titled "Chaunie's Journey," recalled similar feelings nearly 140 years after Densmore wrote those words:

Four weeks into my senior year I took a pregnancy test, sure that the result would be negative, that I was just easing my mind. I looked down to find two bright blue lines staring back at me. Frantic and disbelieving, I immediately took another test. Positive again.

In that instant, staring down at the two tiny lines that represented the most dramatic change in my life, I understood how women facing unplanned pregnancies can turn to abortion. In that moment of panic and fear, it does not feel like a new life, but rather the end of life as you know it. A million questions race through your mind—what will people think, what will I do, how can this be happening? You just wish it wasn't happening, wish you could rewind time, wish it would go away.

It's easy to understand women in crisis wishing that the baby isn't real, so they can make it go away.⁵

FFL is working to remove the panic and fear from this experience because, as Honorary Chair Patricia Heaton says, "Women experiencing an unplanned pregnancy also deserve unplanned joy." Margaret Colin, FFL's Honorary Co-Chair, echoes the sentiment, saying, "Remember the woman."

The issues raised by Sorosis have neither faded nor been resolved. Today, Feminists for Life asks and addresses the 21st century version of these questions through the lectures of FFL speakers and publications such as *The American Feminist*. We educate the leaders of tomorrow about our rich history of pro-life feminism, and provide the same information in our e-tutorials *Herstory of the Week*TM and *Pro-Woman Answers to Pro-Choice Questions*.TM FFL also advocates creative and practical policy changes that value the contributions of mothers and parents.

FFL is dedicated to systematically eliminating the root causes that drive women to abortion—primarily lack of resources and support—through the empowerment of all women, including birthmothers, single mothers, married and partnered parents, and adoptive and foster families. FFL's Pregnancy Resource ForumsSM bring college students, faculty, administrators, and community representatives together to develop and create holistic, woman-centered solutions to eliminate systemic

problems and barriers facing pregnant women and parents on campus.

Today Feminists for Life proudly continues to pursue the goals of these early feminists. All our efforts are shaped by the core feminist values of nondiscrimination, nonviolence, and justice for all. ●

- 1 "Sorosius," *The Revolution*, March 31, 1870.
- 2 "Sorosius," *The Revolution*, January 14, 1869.
- 3 "Much Delighted With the Valuable Instruction," *The Revolution*, March 19, 1868.
- 4 "Sorosius," *The Revolution*, January 21, 1869.
- 5 "Chaurie's Journey: A Happy Beginning," *The American Feminist*, Fall/Winter 2008.

Monthly Donors Provide Core Support

Help FFL help women and children! Your monthly donations provide essential support as FFL works to bring about positive, holistic change. To begin your monthly contributions, visit www.feministsforlife.org/support or fill out the electronic transfer form below and send it (along with a voided check) to FFL. Donations will be debited on the first business day of each month and will be put to work immediately by FFL. Your participation helps FFL continue the tradition of the early feminists—pro-woman and pro-life!

I want my bank to transfer monthly donations to Feminists for Life of America. My authorization to charge my account shall be the same as if I had personally signed a check to FFLA. This authorization shall remain in effect until I notify FFLA or my bank in writing that I wish to end this agreement and FFLA or my bank has had a reasonable amount of time to act on my request. A record of each charge will be included in my regular bank statements and will serve as my receipt.

\$ _____ Amount of monthly pledge (\$5 minimum)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (Day) _____ (Eve) _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Please enclose a voided check from your account to show the bank's address and your account number.

Send to: Feminists for Life of America
PO Box 320667, Alexandria, VA 22320

Electronic fund transfers will begin immediately upon receipt.

Thank you!

TAF6-10



On This Day in Herstory (Mark Your Calendar!)

January

- 1-3-1793 Early feminist leader Lucretia Mott was born.
- 1-8-1868 Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Parker Pillsbury published the first issue of *The Revolution*.
- 1-10-1878 A U.S. constitutional amendment for women's suffrage was introduced in Congress, and reintroduced every year until it became law in 1920.
- 1-10-1917 Hundreds of women peaceably picketed the White House between January 1917 and June 1919, many of whom were harassed, arrested, imprisoned, and even tortured. Among those named in Doris Stevens' contemporary account, *Jailed for Freedom*, the youngest was 19 years old and the eldest was 73.
- 1-11-1871 Victoria Woodhull argued before the House Judiciary Committee that women had a right to vote under the 14th Amendment.
- 1-11-1885 Alice Paul, author of the original Equal Rights Amendment, was born.
- 1-21-1648 Margaret Brent demanded a vote for herself in the Maryland Assembly, but was refused.
- 1-22-1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision invalidated all legislation protecting women and children from abortion.
- 1-22-2003 An ad campaign was launched featuring FFL's slogan, "Women Deserve Better® than Abortion," for the 30th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.
- 1-23-1849 Elizabeth Blackwell graduated first in her class, becoming the first female doctor in the United States.
- 1-30-1973 Human Life Amendment was first introduced.

February

- 2-3-1821 Elizabeth Blackwell was born.
- 2-15-1820 Feminist leader Susan B. Anthony was born in Adams, Massachusetts.
- 2-21-1978 Clare Boothe Luce withdrew from the Women's Lobby due to their support for abortion.

2-23-1963 *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan was first published. Abortion was not mentioned in the first edition. "I am not for abortion, I am for the choice to have children" was added after Friedan founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966.

2-26-1997 FFL President Serrin Foster moderated the first-ever FFL Pregnancy Resource ForumSM at Georgetown University. (See page 30.)

March: Women's History Month

- 3-3-1879 Belva Lockwood became the first female attorney admitted to the U.S. Supreme Court Bar.
- 3-3-1913 The first national suffrage parade in Washington, DC, was organized by Alice Paul and led by Inez Milholland Boissevain the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration.
- 3-8 International Women's Day



Doris Stevens, author of *Jailed for Freedom*, was herself sentenced to sixty days at the Occoquan Workhouse in the summer of 1917.

3-9-1928 Graciela Olivarez, Civil Rights advocate, director of the Community Services Administration, and charter member of the National Organization for Women before the organization advocated abortion, was born.

3-10-1913 Former slave, Underground Railroad conductor, abolitionist, and suffragist Harriet Tubman died.

April: Sexual Assault Awareness Month

4-1-2004 The Unborn Victims of Violence Act, also known as Laci and Connor's Law, was signed into law. Earlier Serrin Foster provided supporting testimony to Congress.

4-2-1917 Jeanette Rankin of Montana took her seat as the first U.S. Congresswoman.

4-4-1887 Susanna Medora Salter of Argonia, Kansas, became the first woman mayor.

4-4-1994 Serrin M. Foster became executive director (later president) of Feminists for Life of America.

4th Thursday Take Our Daughters & Sons to Work Day

4-30-1977 First mothers' rally for disappeared children in Plaza de Mayo, Argentina.

May

5-1-1866 American Equal Rights Association for universal suffrage was founded by Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Frederick Douglass.

2nd Sunday Mother's Day, inspired by feminist Julia Ward Howe's "Mother's Day Proclamation," which encouraged women to work for peace

5-10-1872 Victoria Woodhull was nominated for President of the United States by the Equal Rights Party. Frederick Douglass did not acknowledge his nomination as her running mate.

5-15-1869 Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). In May 1890, NWSA merged with the American Woman Suffrage Association to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

5-29-1851 Sojourner Truth delivered her speech now known as "Ain't I a Woman?" at a Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio.

June

6-5 to 7-1916 National Woman's Party was formed in Chicago at a convention of women voters.

6-11-1964 Equal Pay Act took effect, making it illegal to pay a woman less money than a man working in the same position.

3rd Sunday Father's Day, conceived by Sonora Smart Dodd to complement Mother's Day



Victoria Woodhull wrote: "I have deliberately and of my own accord placed myself before the people as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, and having the means, courage, energy and strength necessary for the race, intend to contest it to the close."

6-17 to 18-1873 Susan B. Anthony was tried and convicted for voting in November of 1872. She received a \$100 fine, which she refused to pay, and a six-month jail sentence, which was suspended.

6-22-1917 "Silent Sentinels" Lucy Burns and Katherine Morey became the first suffragists arrested for picketing in front of the White House.

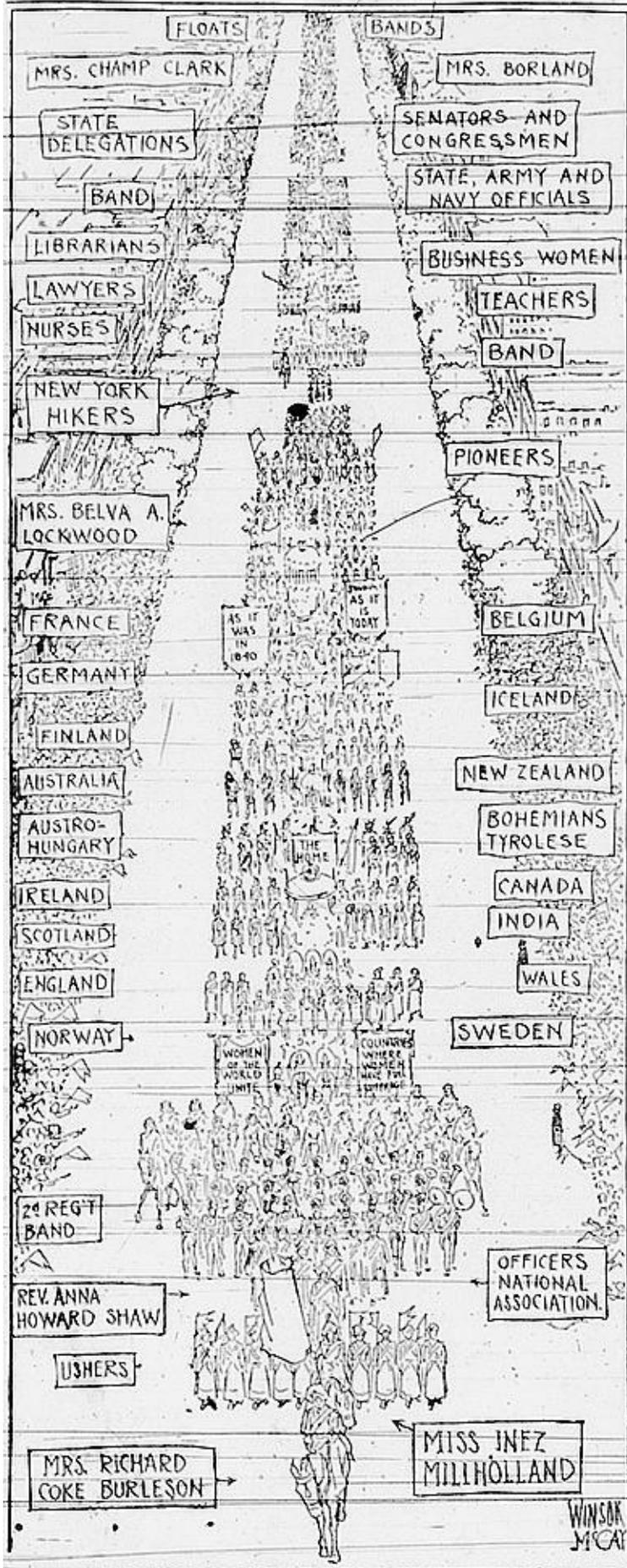
6-27-1917 Six "Silent Sentinels" were sentenced to three days in jail, the first women to serve prison time for suffrage activities in the United States.

July

7-3-1989 U.S. Supreme Court's *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* decision declared that the government has a fundamental interest in the life of the fetus.

7-19 to 20-1848 First Women's Rights Convention in the United States was held in Seneca Falls, New York, organized by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others.

How Thousands of Women Parade To-day at Capital.
SUFFRAGE MARCH LINE



7-21-1972 Title IX, the Equal Opportunity in Education Act, was enacted in the United States.

7-23-1890 Wyoming was admitted to the Union, becoming the first state since New Jersey (1776-1807) to recognize women's right to vote in its state constitution. Many Western states did the same in following years.

August

8-5-1993 The Family and Medical Leave Act, advocated by FFL and other pro-family, pro-woman organizations, became law.

8-10 to 12-1916 The National Woman's Party decided not to endorse a candidate in the upcoming presidential campaign but to "hold the party in power responsible" for failure to pass the suffrage amendment.

8-14-1917 District of Columbia police refused to intervene when a mob attacked peaceful suffrage protesters.

8-18-1920 The 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution was finally ratified, recognizing women's right to vote. Celebrate by making sure you and your friends and family are registered to vote!

8-26 Women's Equality Day, observed on the day the U.S. Secretary of State certified the adoption of the 19th Amendment in 1920.

September: Feminists for Life's College Outreach Program Kickoff

9-6-1837 Oberlin became the first college to admit women by granting admission to Mary Hosford, Mary Fletcher Kellogg, Elizabeth Smith Prall, and Caroline Mary Rudd.

9-10-1797 Mary Wollstonecraft, author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, died a few days after giving birth to her second daughter, Mary (later known as Mary Shelley, author of *Frankenstein*).

9-13-1994 The Violence Against Women Act, supported by a coalition of women's organizations including FFL, became law.

9-18-1915 Susan La Flesch Picotte, first Native American physician, died.

9-23-1838 Feminist Victoria Woodhull was born.

October: Respect Life Month; Breast Cancer Awareness Month; Domestic Violence Awareness Month

10-1-1847 Maria Mitchell, suffragist friend of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, discovered a comet.

She became the first woman member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

10-2-1919 Anti-suffragist and First Lady Edith Wilson assumes “stewardship” after President Woodrow Wilson suffers a stroke. She referred to the suffragists arrested by her husband in 1917 as “those devils in the workhouse,” a reference to their imprisonment at Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia.

10-3 National Mammography Day

10-6-1917 Civil Rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer was born.

10-10-1866 Elizabeth Cady Stanton declared herself a candidate for Congress from the 8th Congressional District of New York.

10-17 International Day for the Eradication of Poverty

10-18-1929 The Privy Council of England overruled the Supreme Court of Canada, recognizing women as “persons” with the right to be appointed to the Senate of Canada.

10-20-1917 Alice Paul was arrested while picketing the White House and sentenced to seven months’ imprisonment at Occoquan Workhouse. On November 5, she and other suffrage prisoners “decided upon the hunger strike, as the ultimate form of protest left us.”

10-25-1774 Fifty-one women in Edenton, North Carolina, declared they would forgo tea in opposition to “taxation without representation.” The Edenton Tea Party was one of the earliest organized women’s political actions in American history.

November: National Adoption Month

11-1-1848 Boston Female Medical College opened as a school for midwives, enrolling 12 students.

11-2-1920 Women across the United States voted for the first time.

Tuesday after the first Monday, in even-numbered years Election Day in the United States. Exercise your right to vote!

11-5-1872 Susan B. Anthony successfully voted in the presidential election in New York, leading to her arrest two weeks later. Sojourner Truth demanded a ballot in Michigan, but was turned away.

11-11-1744 Abigail Adams, early American advocate of women’s education and property rights and First Lady of the United States, was born.

Editor’s note: Persons and groups in this calendar are not necessarily pro-life.

11-11-1865 Surgeon Mary Walker received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

11-12-1815 Early feminist leader Elizabeth Cady Stanton was born.

11-25 International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women

11-25-1916 Inez Milholland Boissevain died at the age of 30 while touring the American West as a suffrage speaker. Her last public words, before collapsing onstage on October 3, were, “Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?” She became the first woman memorialized in the nation’s Capitol.

11-26-1883 Former slave, abolitionist, and women’s rights activist Sojourner Truth died.

11-30-1880 Belva Lockwood became the first woman attorney to present a case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

December

12-2 International Day for the Abolition of Slavery

12-2-1916 Women’s rights activists flew over President Wilson’s yacht, dropping suffrage amendment petitions.

12-10-1931 Jane Addams, pioneer American social worker and feminist, became the first woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize.



Inez Milholland Boissevain, a feminist speaker who led many suffrage parades, was also hailed as a martyr for women’s suffrage.

Why I Am a Feminist for Life

"I caught the wave of feminism in college, but felt distant when abortion was included. The 'Herstory' articles in *The American Feminist* assure me that my place as a pro-life feminist is neither new nor solitary."

Jaclyn Orozco, Wisconsin

"...I was so grateful to learn about a group who believed that 'feminist' didn't automatically mean 'pro-choice'." *Kelly Shealer, Maryland*

"For the first time I thought of unexpected pregnancy (and honestly, babies in general) as something positive, something to be happy about. I never realized how much I had been encouraged to think of pregnancy—even a planned one—as something that would ruin your life." *Katie Chowdhury, Quebec*

"[D]uring a *Roe v. Wade* anniversary commemoration in high school, I read FFL's literature. This organization was being radical for the right reasons: life for the unborn and the woman." *Elizabeth Musser, Ohio*

"One day, a curtain was raised from my eyes. I was not ASKED if I believe a woman has a right to choose (of course she does), I was being asked if I believed we have a right to end another person's life. I immediately said, 'No, we don't.'" *Monica, California*

"I heard about FFL at a babies play group. [As FFL Honorary Chair Patricia Heaton says] Unplanned pregnancy could mean unplanned joy. It was the exact opposite of what I was hearing in this culture." *Janet Moncada McAdoo, New York*

"FFL's ultimate secret weapon is a mirror which it holds up to the woman's face so she can see for herself what a strong woman looks like!" *A Supporter, Illinois*

"One day, teaching my biology classes life traits and human chromosomes, I admitted what I'd always known: that an

embryo is alive and a human right from conception." *Kathryn Lykins, Georgia*

"When I first realized that my mother was a teenager when I was born, I wondered if she'd thought about abortion. She said 'never.' That's when I decided I would always be pro-life. People asked me if I ever felt like a mistake. I have always felt like a special gift to her & my dad." *Rebecca Eaker, United States*

"Two miscarriages and two successful pregnancies opened my eyes to biological facts I simply never considered before." *Ellen Judith Reich, North Carolina*

"As a medical student in the late 80's, I assisted in the emergency room with a patient undergoing a miscarriage at 14 weeks. The tiny fetus was delivered entire, and the heart was visibly beating for some time. At that instant, I knew that

abortion was wrong, and as a resident, I refused to participate in terminations of pregnancy. FFL and the principle that *Women Deserve Better* I support wholeheartedly." *S.W., United States*

"I've been there. I've seen the unexpected positive on the pregnancy test. I've fallen in love with the 'lima bean' on the sonogram. I've sat, terrified, telling my family. I've seen the difference support makes. Having my son is the best thing I've done, but I so easily could have missed out. Choosing adoption was hard, but my sweet boy is happy, healthy and loved... and I'm an active part of that. I wouldn't want less for anyone." *Britney Parcher, Texas*

"My crisis pregnancy and single parenting brought pro-life feminism to the practical level. As grandmother, educator and health care provider, I embrace FFL." *Debra Nickell, Colorado*

"It became personal when I discovered I was conceived out of wedlock. My father's first suggestion was an illegal





Walk for Life West Coast

abortion. I will always be grateful that my mother chose to give me life and that he chose to marry her and be a real father to me.” *K.G., Washington*

“I love that FFL sponsors programs and education so pregnant women don’t have to sacrifice a child or education and dreams. With resources and support, a woman can choose both.” *T.J. Bellafore, California*

“Encouraging young women with an unplanned pregnancy to parenthood or adoption has more credibility because of my own adoptions and my membership in FFL. I want to fully support my children’s birth mothers’ brave decisions.” *Brandon Fredenburg, Texas*

“Pregnancy can stand in others’ way of getting what they want from a woman. She might no longer be a model employee, sexy girlfriend, dutiful wife, fun friend, or perfect daughter. Women are often subtly coerced into abortion by people who withhold support or manipulate them.” *Julia Phillips, Kentucky*

“The key question is not about abortion laws, but rather, how we are going to welcome children into this world. FFL understands that and works to respond to it.” *Rev. Andy Cribben, Wisconsin*

“In 1987, I was newly sober, 34 years old, and pregnant, and did not really

feel like I had any ‘choice’ but abortion. I did not have the resources to raise a child, to tell my parents or to adopt. I had no counseling. I just asked the doctor without blinking an eye, ‘How do I get an abortion?’ It was a nightmare experience and would later form my belief in the sanctity of life.” *S.F., Washington*

“I am a childless mother. Pregnant during my first semester at college, I went home. They suggested abortion, but I did not tell them that I had specifically come to them because I did not want that. Afterwards, I could not cry for 5 years. Now, 43 years later, I still miss her. I am a feminist for life because I know how much abortion hurts.” *J.R., Massachusetts*

“Young men think abortion is a non-issue for them, since it is a woman’s choice.... After reading the FFL approach, I was able to help these young men connect with the plight of women, based on the reasons why women have abortions. With newfound compassion about how abortion hurts women’s present and future relationships with men, they can more readily see their own role.” *Dn. Joseph Stickney, Arizona*

“While a devout church member, I didn’t want a religious group in my fight against abortion. Many pro-life people support capital punishment. I don’t. Euthanasia? Not. Violence against women (or men): not acceptable. Women’s Lib sounded

good: equal pay, equal partnership, equal opportunity. Susan B. got it right. So does FFL—Efficient!” *Jean Ver Hoeven, New Jersey*

“Protection of life can best be accomplished when both mother and child are cherished, supported, and served. Your approach avoids the traps of ideological extremism and puts service to real people with real needs above political agendas and divisiveness.” *Jim DiPeso, Washington*

“FFL is a strong, passionate advocate for women and children in ways that are creative, constructive, and respectful. We are bridge-builders.” *Gerry Rohrkemper, California*

“I applaud all of you for your devoted intelligent outreach and refreshing approach. May you reach innumerable hearts and minds for many years to come.” *Mary Lou (80 years old), Florida*

“Alongside the original feminists who fought to give women a voice, guard children with sound labor laws, secure the abolition of slavery and protect the unborn child, women today increasingly stand in solidarity with FFL to defend ALL those whose voice is not heard.” *Rachel Medefind, California*

“I love the way this organization breaks the mold!” *Gina Merritt, Illinois*

“FFL builds coalitions and lobbies for legislation that meets the needs of pregnant and parenting women, decreasing the pressure for abortion. Susan B. Anthony would be proud!” *Sharon Soderlund, Minnesota*

“Being a feminist included being ‘pro choice.’ As I was against abortion, I thought that I could not call myself feminist. In ‘Feminists for Life,’ I was very glad to find people who think like me. There, I learned that even the first feminists were against abortion.” *Claudia Witt, Germany* ●

PEARL S. BUCK

by Cat Clark

Pearl S. Buck, renowned author of *The Good Earth*, believed “herstory” was worth repeating. In her 1941 collection of feminist essays, *Of Men and Women*, she wrote:

The truth has never been told about women in history: that everywhere man has gone woman has gone too, and what he has done she has done also. Women are ignorant of their own past and ignorant of their own importance in that past. In curiosity a few months ago I asked a haphazard score of women of my acquaintance if they had heard of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Only one had even heard her name, and she had no recollection of more. Yet only a generation ago Elizabeth Cady Stanton was called the greatest woman in the United States, and by some the greatest in the world... [I]f the aim of education is to be enlightening of men and women about each other, of course history must be taught truthfully about both, and truthfully rewritten.

Many people know Pearl S. Buck as a prolific writer of bestselling and award-winning books, especially novels. The author of more than seventy books in a variety of genres, Buck was one of the most popular novelists of the 20th century. She was the first woman to win both the Pulitzer and Nobel Prizes for literature and the first of only two American women to win the Nobel. She broke new ground in American fiction, especially in her sympathetic and honest portrayals of Asian people, cultures, and societies.

Others know Pearl S. Buck as an ardent humanitarian activist and promoter of intercultural and interracial harmony. Because she believed “the test of a civilization is the way that it cares for its helpless members,” Buck founded several organizations devoted to improving the quality of life and opportunities available to children – particularly refugees and those displaced by war or famine, orphans and impoverished children, the disabled and the ill – as well as other marginalized and

disadvantaged people. One of the organizations she established, Welcome House, was the first international, interracial adoption agency.



Buck was a devoted civil rights activist, a lifetime member of the NAACP who served on the board of the National Urban League and an active trustee of Howard University. She was a passionate advocate for Asian immigrants, publisher of *Asia* magazine, and founder of the East and West Association. A pacifist and an outspoken campaigner for disarmament, Buck was also a member of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.

Today few people may recognize Pearl S. Buck, who was both a mother of eight and an independent public figure and leader among women, as a pro-life feminist. “Press steadily for human equality, not only for yourselves, but for all those groups who are not given equality,” she told Howard University students in her 1942 commencement address. Buck’s tireless efforts as a champion for people in need extended to both women and their unborn children.

Though she was not inclined to label herself a “feminist,” Buck was a vocal supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment during a time when most organized women’s groups opposed it. As a novelist she gave voice to the experiences of women in different cultures, as a pacifist she critiqued the devastating effects of war on women, and as an advocate for children she showed particular concern for young girls, who were often among the most vulnerable.

Pearl S. Buck’s firm belief in the equal dignity and value of all human beings and her commitment to empower and aid the most vulnerable members of every society inspired her pro-life stance. The following essay, “Every Life Is a Gift,” was written near the end of her life as a foreword to Robert E. Cooke’s 1968 book *Terrible Choice: The Abortion Dilemma*. •

Every Life is a Gift, 1968

Editor's note: Language and words used to respectfully describe people with disabilities have changed since 1968, when this essay was first published.

As the mother of a child retarded from phenylketonuria, I can ask myself, at this reflective moment, if I had rather she had never been born. No, let me ask the question fully. Could it have been possible for me to have foreknowledge of her thwarted life, would I have wanted abortion?

Now with full knowledge of anguish and despair, the answer is No, I would not. Even in full knowledge I would have chosen life, and this for two reasons: First, I fear the power of choice over life or death at human hands, I see no human being whom I could ever trust with such power—not myself, not any other.

Human wisdom, human integrity are not great enough. Since the fetus is a creature already alive and in the process of development, to kill it is to choose death over life. At what point shall we allow this choice? For me the answer is—at no point, once life has begun.

At no point, I repeat, either as life begins or as life ends, for we who are human beings cannot, for our own safety, be allowed to choose death, life being all we know. Beyond life lie only faith and surmise, but not knowledge. Where there is no knowledge except for life, decision for death is not safe for the human race.

The principle thus established, I go to my second reason for rejection of abortion, in my own case. My child's life has not been meaningless. She has indeed brought comfort and practical help to many people who are parents of retarded children or are themselves handicapped.

True, she has done it through me, yet without her I would not have had the means of learning how to accept the inevitable sorrow, and how to make that acceptance useful to others.

Would I be so heartless as to say that it has been worthwhile for my child to be born retarded? Certainly not, but I am saying that even though gravely retarded it has been worthwhile for her to have lived.

It can be summed up, perhaps, by saying that in this world, where cruelty prevails in so many aspects of our life I would not add the weight of choice to kill rather than to let live.

A retarded child, a handicapped person, brings its own gift to life, even to the life of normal human beings. That gift is comprehended in the lessons of patience, understanding, and mercy, lessons which we all need to receive and to practice with one another, whatever we are.

For this gift bestowed upon me by a helpless child, I give my thanks. ●



Like Susan B. Anthony and other early American feminists, today's pro-life feminists envision a better world, where no woman would be driven by desperation to abortion.

If you have been wondering where you fit in, please consider this your invitation to

join Feminists for Life.

Become a member, renew your membership, or give the gift of membership today!

Membership is still \$25 for regular members and just \$15 for students.

Sign up now at www.feministsforlife.org/support.

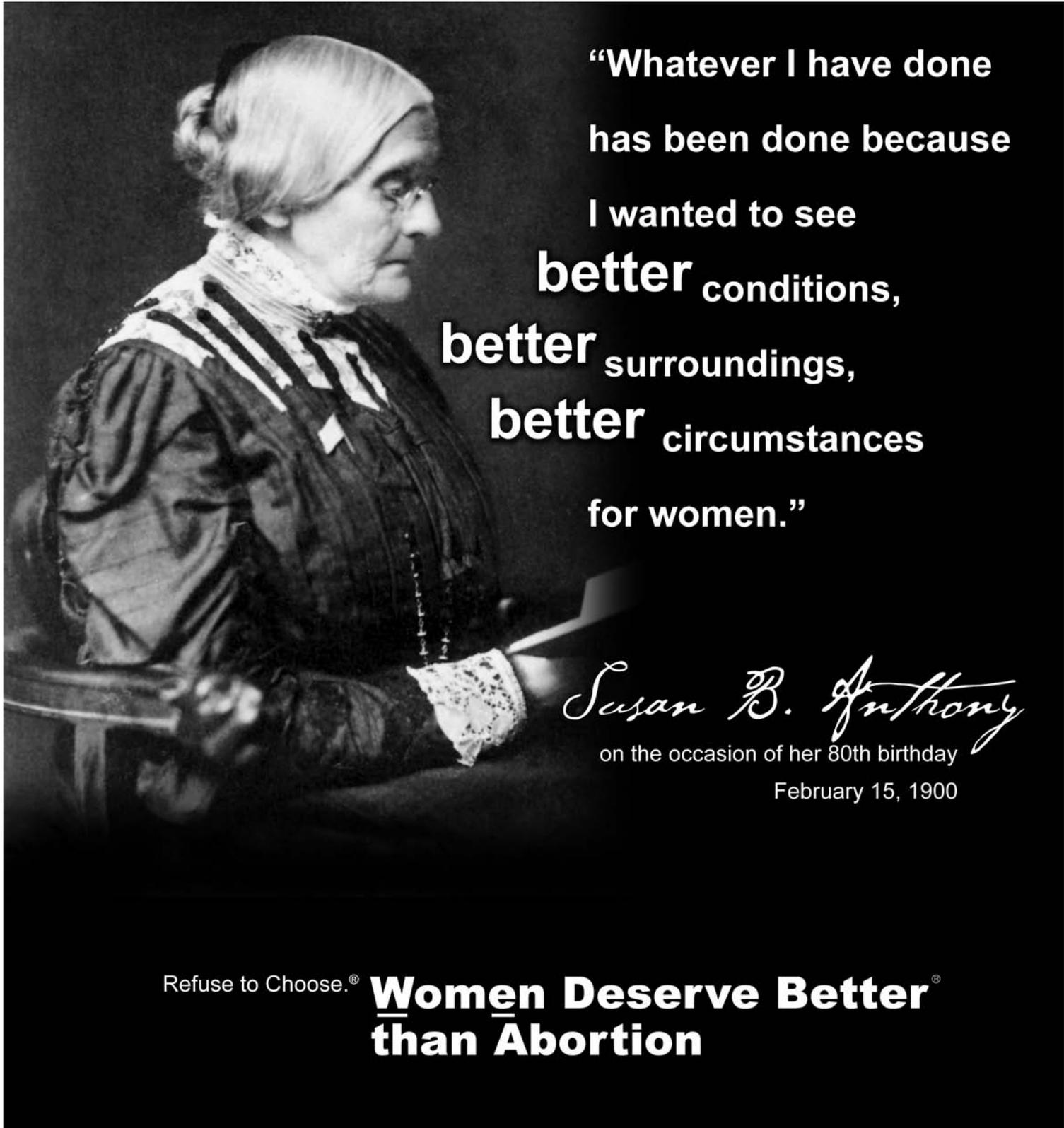
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“Whatever I have done
has been done because
I wanted to see
better conditions,
better surroundings,
better circumstances
for women.”

Susan B. Anthony

on the occasion of her 80th birthday

February 15, 1900

Refuse to Choose.® **Women Deserve **Better**
than Abortion**