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The mission of the Library is to provide common ground to explore the power of ideas throughout history to inspire individuals and transform the world; the ongoing search for life's deeper meaning; and the ideas, life, and achievements of Mary Baker Eddy.

Founding

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a look inside

The Magazine of

THE MARY BAKER EDDY LIBRARY for the BETTERMENT of HUMANITY



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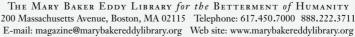
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From the Executive Editor

Mary Baker Eddy's accomplishments as an author, founder, religious reformer, and leader illustrate her conviction that women were capable of more than nineteenth-century society and conventions prescribed. Yet Mrs. Eddy's stance vis-à-vis the woman suffrage movement has proved elusive.

In this issue's groundbreaking "Pennings" article, however, researchers Sherry Darling and Janell Fiarman draw on recently uncovered documents in the Library's vast collections to show that Mrs. Eddy was a longtime supporter of the suffrage movement, sharing vision and friendship with Mary A. Livermore, president of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.

Perhaps it should not be surprising that religious and social reformation were conjoined in nineteenth-century America. In this issue's "Contexts" article, Northwestern University's Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford describes the linkages between the two, and the energy created—moving thousands of men and women to join the struggles for temperance and woman suffrage.

In "Collections," writer Cathy Armer provides a behind-the-scenes glimpse of the Library's Research Room staff at work, noting that findings such as Mrs. Eddy's involvement in woman suffrage prove once again the value of opening the Library's collections.

And we are pleased to inform our readers that this value is about to multiply. We have recently been notified that the Library's quarterly magazine (the one you're now reading) will soon be available to scholars around the world through the leading history databases AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE and HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS. This is an important accomplishment for the Library. Coupled with this summer's fellowship program, we are beginning to glimpse the possibilities for exponential growth in scholarship related to Mary Baker Eddy's life and ideas.

None of this would have been possible without the support of you, our readers and Friends of the Library. Thank you for being there for this new and ever-expanding institution.

Stephen I. Danzansky
Executive Editor
Chief Executive Officer of the Library

VOL. VI.

BOSTON, MASS., FEBRUARY 11, 1803.

No. fl.

The Woman's Column.

Published Workly at 3 Park Street, Scaton, Mans.

BUILDON

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Subscription, . . . Advertising Rates,

25 cents per annem. 30 cents per line.

Entered as associal-class matter, at the Boston, Mass Tool Office, Jan. 1905, 1886.

A BAD BILL.

A bill for the State regulation of vice has been introduced in the Missouri Legislature. It provides for the licensing of the social evil in all cities having a population of more than one hundred thousand. Such legislation is morally iniquitous on the face of it. Moreover, it has been fruitful of bad results wherever introduced. In St. Louis it was tried for a year or two, and was then abolished by an almost unanimous vote, only a single member of the city council voting to retain it. In England it was tried for seventeen years, and was then abolished by a very large Parliamentary majority. Italy has abandooed the system, after some years' trial; and there is a growing opposition to it in every European country where it still exists. The experience everywhere is the same; the increase of vice resulting from fancied security more than neutralizes any sanitary benefits from the very imperfect medical supervision which is all that can, in the nature of the case, be given. The consequence is an actual deterioration in the public health, besides the inevitable deadening of the public conscience and lowering of the moral tone of the community. It is no time for America to take up this bad legislation when even Europe is abandoning it. Every man and woman in Missouri should write to his or her member of the Legislature, protesting against this bill. If women could vote, it would never have been introduced.

MRS. STOWE ON WOMAN'S SPHERE.

The question was lately raised whether Mrs. Harriot Beecher Stowe had ever publiely declared herself in favor of suffrage for women. The following extract from Mrs. Stowe's "House and Home Papers," a volume copyrighted by her in 1864, shows that, even in very early days, she expressed herself upon this question with no uncertain sound;

Woman's Rights Conventions are a protest against many former abourd, unreasonable, ideas,—the mere physical and culinary idea of womanhood as connect-ed only with puddings and shirt buttons, the unjust and unequal burdens which the laws of harsher ages had cast upon the sex. Many of the women connected with these movements are as superior in everything properly womanly as they are in exceptional talent and culture. There is no manner of doubt that the sphere keen, Sharks.

of woman is properly to be enlarged, and that republican governments in particular are to be saved from corruption and failure only by allowing to woman this en-larged sphere. Every woman has rights as a human being first, which belong to no sex, and ought to be as freely conceded to her as if she were a man,—and first and foremost, the great right of doing anything which God and nature evidently have fitted her to excel in. If she be made a natural orator, like Miss Dickinson, or an astronomer, like Mrs. Somerville, or a singer, like Grisi, let not the technical rules of womanhood be thrown in the way of her free use of her powers. Nor can there be any reason shown why a woman's vote in the State should not be received with as much respect as in the family. A State is but an association of families, and laws relate to the rights and

immunities which touch woman's most private and immediate wants and dear-est hopes; and there is no reason why sister, wife and mother should be more powerless in the State than in the Nor does it make a woman unwomanly to express an opinion by dropping a slip of paper into a box, more than to express that same opinion by conversa-tion. In fact, there is no doubt that in all matters relating to the interests of education, temperance and religion, the State would be a material gainer by receiving the votes of women.

The Colorado House of Representatives has passed the bill granting municipal suffrage to women, 39 to 21.

The Central Labor Union, a congress of delegates from the trades - unions of Boston and vicinity, at its meeting last Sunday in Type Hall, with more than 100 representatives of organized tradesunions present, voted to petition the Legislature for the extension of municipal sufflage to women.

Miss. F.W. Sanborn is editor, manager and publisher of the Oxford (Me.) County Admertiner. When the paper came into her hands in 1882, it was a small affair with "patent insides" and limited circulation. It is now one of the best and most successful county papers in the State, and has a large subscription list.

"The eye of the law" is a correct expression; the law has only one eye, and that is the male eye. In law, in politics, in the church, in the schools, we bungle At the last election, she asked a group of sadly for want of the other-the female gentlemen, acquaintances of hera, who eye, and nothing will ever be fully and clearly visible until it is wide awake and at its post. It would be sharp enough to catch the male eye napping; only, when that vigilant eye is astir, the male eye will not nap; it, too, will be vigilant and she replied, an answer which was greeted



The Governor of Missouri has appointed thirteen women as notaries public.

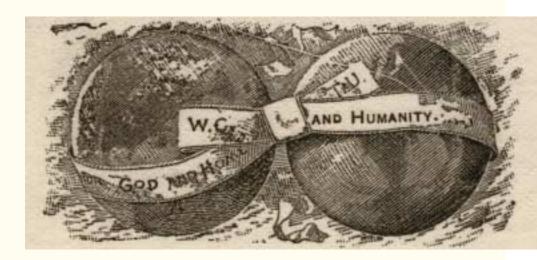
The New England Women's Club will celebrate its 25th birthday on Feb. 15.

DR. SARAH E. SHERKAN, of Salem, was elected president of the Massachusetta Surgical and Gynascological Society. at its revent annual meeting. All the other officers are men.

The Ann Arbor college girls, on a stormy day not long since, came out in force wearing the Jenness Miller rainyday dress. The skirt reached half way between the knee and ankle. Long gaiters covered the shoe tops and extended to the knee. The girls declared they really enjoyed walking in the mud and rain with

MISS LOUISE ALDRICH BLAKE, eldest daughter of a Herefordshire clergyman, bas just achieved the highest distinction as a student in medicine over won by a woman. She has taken a "double first" in the examinations at the London University. It is said that she attained excellence not by special cramming, but by steady, persevering hard work.

MRS. FLORA ELLICE STEVENS, of Chama, New Mexico, as a notary public recently administered the oath of office to her husband, Wm. L. Stevens, who had been elected justice of the peace. Mrs. Stevens has for several years administered the oath of office to all the election and returning boards, precinct officers, etc. were standing on the side-walk, if the election would be held in a certain building. "Are you going to vote?" they asked. "No, I am going to swear in the judges, so that the rest of you can vote," with a shout and laughter.



By Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford

The New Woman and the Vote

At points where the nineteenth-century suffrage and temperance movements overlap, we find a rich story of American women, religion, and social reform.

LEFT: From 1887 to 1905, editor Alice Stone Blackwell sent suffrage news updates called *The Woman's Column* to newspapers across the United States. The February 11, 1893, issue explains author Harriet Beecher Stowe's position on woman suffrage. Blackwell's parents were reformers Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell.

ABOVE: A detail from the stationery on which Frances E. Willard wrote to Mary Baker Eddy, October 30, 1884. Willard's letter thanks Eddy for her donation to The World's Woman's Temperance Union.

he first six decades of the nineteenth century were an era of social reform in the United States. During this time, many Americans joined reform movements in order to refine and deepen the moral dimensions of their beliefs and values, and to make their new republic a more just, egalitarian, and compassionate society. Both men and women participated in efforts to improve education at all levels from elementary school to college; provide better care for the ill, insane, and handicapped; address the widespread drunkenness in the country through temperance measures that discouraged the use of alcohol; revise the prison system and eliminate capital punishment; abolish slavery; promote the better treatment of American Indians; and find alternatives to war.



The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

THE FIRST CONVENTION

EVER CALLED TO DISCUSS THE

Civil and Political Rights of Women,

SENECA FALLS, N. Y., JULY 19, 20, 1848.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

A Convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., on Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th of July current; commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. During the first day the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen, will address the Convention.*

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A significant cluster of reforms aimed to improve women's lives and win them equal rights with men. An early public demand for such reforms was articulated at the women's rights convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848. This watershed event was organized by Lucretia Coffin Mott (1793–1880), a Quaker minister, and her friend Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902), an antislavery supporter. Both of these women's rights pioneers were deeply concerned by the inequalities and disabilities women faced in every aspect of American society, and their concerns were reflected in the convention proceedings. Delegates issued a powerful Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions written by Stanton, which proclaimed the fundamental equality of women and men. The document insisted that women's equal status was one to which they were entitled by "the laws of nature and of nature's God."1

Above, Left: Portrait of Lucretia Mott, circa 1870. Mott organized the Seneca Falls women's rights convention, along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Above, Right: This unsigned notice announcing the Seneca Falls women's rights convention appeared in *The Seneca County Courier*, July 14, 1848.

Stanton's Declaration echoed the language of the 1776 Declaration of Independence but included a substantial list of injustices suffered by American women that had not even been considered by America's founding fathers. The small band of women's rights advocates—both female and male—who attended the convention unanimously passed many resolutions that addressed a wide range of women's educational, legal, religious, and economic disabilities. They also passed—though not unanimously—a resolution stating that "it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise." ²

Conflicting notions of womanhood

The egalitarian ideas of the first women's rights convention, embodied in its resolutions and the Declaration of Sentiments, seem, in retrospect, courageous and visionary. Yet they were profoundly shocking and unacceptable to most men and women of the time, who held a very different view of the nature of womanhood. While the understanding of womanhood in the Declaration of Sentiments was based on the notion that women and men were the same with equal rights, the reigning notion of womanhood in mid-nineteenth-century America—the ideal of the "true woman"—was based on the assumption

THE TRUE WOMAN:

A SERIES OF DISCOURSES

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REV. J. D. FULTON, (TREMONT TRAPLE, BOSTON.)

TO WHICH IS ADDED

WOMAN VS. BALLOT.

BOSTON: LEE AND SHEPARD. 1869.



Library of Congress

of women's fundamental difference from men. The vast majority of middle-class Americans believed that this difference was both rooted in nature and ordained by God, buttressed by Scripture and centuries of Christian teaching.

The essential differences between man and woman were understood as complementary; each had attributes that the other lacked. The true woman's prime virtues were her moral nature, gentleness, compassion, and self-sacrificing love; the virtues of her complement—the "true man"—were physical strength, courage, and the ability to direct and govern. Woman's sphere of activity was the domestic world of home and church; man's was the business and political realm. In all male/female relationships, man was to be the ruler or head and woman was to submit to his rule.

This understanding of male/female duties and relationships was reiterated and expanded upon in countless sermons, political speeches, advice books, novels, and poetry, until it was woven into the social fabric of American life. Challenges to this reigning notion of womanhood were seen as a threat to a cherished ideal. The notion of womanhood and equality that early women's rights leaders championed was definitely such a threat. Particularly frightening, and even horrifying, to mainstream Americans was the idea of woman suffrage.

If women gained the right to vote, they would be assuming male prerogatives of authority and trespassing into the male sphere of governance. Powerful injunctions against women assuming the male role of governing were to be found in New Testament verses such as 1 Timothy 2:11, 1 Corinthians 11:3 and 14:34-35, and Ephesians 5:23.

Even female prominent reformers such as Catharine Beecher (1800–1878) opposed woman suffrage. Beecher disagreed with her siblings author Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896) and Congregationalist minister Henry Ward Beecher (1813–1887), both supporters of woman suffrage. Although she supported teaching as a career for women allowing them economic independence, Beecher did not look with favor on women's entry into the political realm, seeing this as trespassing into male territory. Not only did Beecher object to women voting, she even questioned the activity of petitioning, in which women had participated

ABOVE, LEFT: The mid-nineteenth-century notion of the "true woman" appeared in literature, speeches, and sermons. The Reverend J.D. Fulton's book *The True Woman* (1869) forcefully argued against woman suffrage.

ABOVE, RIGHT: Daguerreotype portrait of Catharine Beecher, 1848, possibly by W. & F. Langenheim.





Library of Congress

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

from the 1820s on. She viewed petitioning as moving too far into the male sphere of governance. Beecher did modify her position on woman suffrage toward the end of her life, but did not believe that the vote would be a panacea for the many economic disabilities that women faced.³

Writing in the 1860s, several decades later than Catharine Beecher, the Reverend Horace Bushnell (1802–1876), an influential Congregational theologian, argued for similar reasons against women's right to vote. A chapter in his *Women's Suffrage*; *The Reform Against Nature* (1869) titled "Woman Not Created or Called to Govern" pointed out that women's essential difference from men made them unfit to govern. Their proper role was one of submission to male government. Although he endorsed the growth of educational and economic opportunities for

 ${
m Above,\ Left:\ A\ portrait\ of\ Lucy\ Stone,\ taken\ between\ 1840}$ and 1860. Stone founded the AWSA with her husband, Henry Blackwell.

 $\label{eq:Above} Above, Right: Frances E. Willard writing in the den of her "Rest Cottage," Evanston, Illinois, circa 1889.$

 $R_{\rm IGHT}$ $P_{\rm AGE}.$ An undated photo of Frances E. Willard in Boston.

women, Bushnell remained adamantly opposed to woman suffrage precisely because it was "unwomanly." ⁴

Bushnell's opinion carried much weight with mainstream American Protestants. Yet in the quarter century after the Seneca Falls convention, support for woman suffrage and for a new understanding of womanhood had grown significantly. Bushnell's ideas were countered by equally influential preachers, such as Henry Ward Beecher, who believed that women were called by God to develop their gifts, regardless of any narrow notion of women's sphere. As early as 1860, Beecher advocated women's right to vote in an address published in *The Independent*, a liberal Protestant newspaper.⁵

During the 1850s, more women's rights conventions were held and local suffrage organizations began to spread throughout the northern and western United States, slowly at first, but gathering momentum as time went on. New voices emerged to champion the vote for women, among them Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906), a prominent Quaker temperance activist who traveled tirelessly speaking for woman suffrage and organizing local and state suffrage groups.

In 1869, two national woman suffrage groups were organized: the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), led by Stanton and Anthony and headquartered



National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

in New York, and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone (1818–1893) and Henry Blackwell (1825–1909) and based in Boston. The two organizations differed in size—the NWSA was much larger—and, to some extent, in approach and tactics. But together they kept the issue of woman suffrage before the public and built a network of grassroots suffrage organizations that raised the issue at the municipal level, in state legislatures, and before the U.S. Congress.

The WCTU and woman suffrage

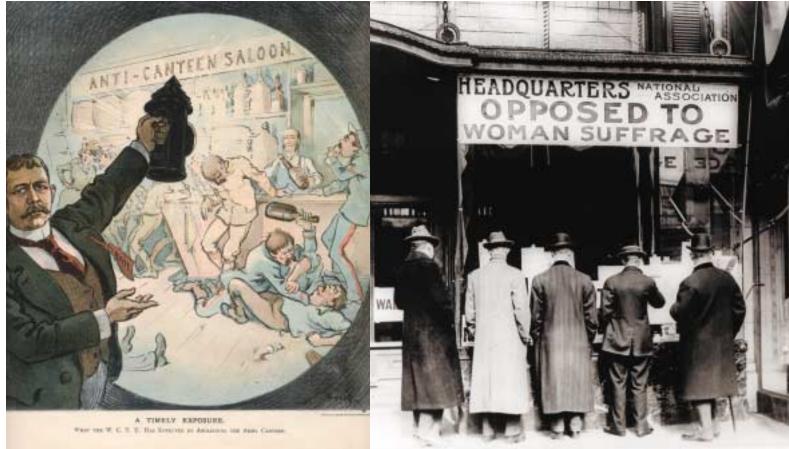
By the mid-1870s another organization had appeared, one that would grow far larger than either of the two suffrage organizations and would bring many thousands of mainstream Protestant women into the struggle for woman suffrage. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was founded in 1874, in the wake of the Woman's Temperance Crusade, a series of hundreds of churchwomen's demonstrations against liquor dealers that sprang up spontaneously, first in Ohio and western New York, and spread rapidly throughout the Midwest and beyond. Crusaders had limited success in closing down a few saloons, but as the demonstrations waned, they quickly realized that a permanent organization would be necessary to carry on the temperance reform they envisioned.

The crusaders who flocked to become part of this new women's temperance group were joined by other women who had been active in various older temperance organizations. From its beginnings, the membership of the WCTU was overwhelmingly evangelical Protestant. Mostly drawn from Methodist, Baptist, and Disciples of Christ congregations, members were also from Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, and a few came from other denominations. The WCTU members' strongly held religious faith was based on the authority of the Bible and their personal experience of conversion to belief in Jesus Christ. The vast majority of them accepted the ideal of the true woman that they had been taught by parents, pastors, and the customs of the society in which they lived. For the most part, these women were not suffragists, and they did not wish to be identified with what they saw as the radical aims of women's rights reformers.

For its first five years, the WCTU was led by president Annie Wittenmyer (1827-1900), a Methodist actively involved in women's benevolent work. During her tenure, the organization continued the types of strategies and tactics that female temperance reformers had been pursuing during the mid-nineteenth century. Wittenmyer encouraged the establishment of gospel prayer meetings whose members worked to persuade individual drinkers to sobriety; garnered the support of religious groups; churned out temperance literature for children and adults; brought WCTU influence to bear on the political process of choosing male temperance candidates for office; and petitioned at all levels of government to enact laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol. All these activities were viewed as suitable for women. Like most of the WCTU constituency at that time, Wittenmyer opposed woman suffrage.

By the late 1870s, however, the attitude toward women voting began to change within the WCTU. Methodist educator Frances E. Willard (1839–1898), the WCTU's corresponding secretary, challenged the organization to support the vote for women. Willard had been raised to conform to the ideal of the true woman, but she had also been influenced by more liberal notions about the nature of womanhood and women's space developing during mid-century. From her late teens on, she read articles and attended lectures on women's rights and became convinced that her vocation was to work for what she called "the cause of woman." After hearing a speech in 1868 by Theodore Tilton (1835–1907), a popular women's rights lecturer, in which he championed woman suffrage, Willard wrote in her journal:

Somehow since I heard Tilton lecture, my purpose is confirmed—my object in life clearer than



National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

Library of Congress

ever before. What I can do in large & little ways, by influence, by pen, by observation for woman, in all Christian ways, that I will do. And may God help me!⁶

Frances E. Willard and the "new woman"

During the 1870s, Willard became more and more certain that advocating the vote for women was a powerful way that a committed Christian woman like herself could further women's cause and bring about a better future for women. She looked forward with hope to "The Dawn of Woman's Day," when women would be equal to men in all areas of life and would share the responsibility of creating an egalitarian future. Willard began to speak out on the "Ballot for Home Protection," melding together the traditional notion of woman as guardian of the domestic sphere with the more radical idea of woman as voter.

A persuasive orator who shared the evangelical Protestant faith of WCTU members, Willard was able to convince them that it was God's will that they vote. She often recounted her experience of God's call to advocate for woman suffrage: "Upon my knees alone... there was borne in upon my mind, as I believe from loftier regions, the declaration, 'You are to speak for woman's ballot as a weapon of protection to her home and tempted loved

ones from the tyranny of drink." Woman suffrage would be a strong weapon in the war for the nation's sobriety, Willard claimed, and one, moreover, sanctioned by God. If women could vote, they could join with male reformers to support temperance candidates for political office and pass laws prohibiting the sale of liquor.

Willard's election to the WCTU presidency in 1879 signaled the organization's shift toward support of woman suffrage as well as a broadening of its understanding of the roles that women could take in reform. Willard was encouraged in her effort by several prominent WCTU state presidents who were suffragists, including Mary A. Rice Livermore (1820–1905), from Massachusetts; Zerelda Gray Wallace (1817–1901), from Indiana; Mary Torrans Lathrap (1838–1895), from Michigan; and Judith Ellen Horton Foster (1840-1910), from Iowa. By 1881 the WCTU had endorsed the vote for women as a powerful tool in the struggle for temperance. Over the next two decades, Willard succeeded in presenting an alternative to the image of the true woman that had been so pervasive during the mid-nineteenth century. In her 1887 presidential address to her organization, she declared: "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is doing no work more important than that of reconstructing the ideal of womanhood."10 The "new woman" that Willard and



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others envisioned would be active in the political, legal, and economic arenas as well as the home, and would share with men the rights of citizenship and the responsibility of creating a just and equitable society.

By the first decades of the twentieth century, a groundswell of support for woman suffrage was developing, thanks to the efforts of woman suffrage organizations, the WCTU, and many other women's groups that emerged during the last third of the nineteenth century. These organizations had been aided from the beginning by many male reformers who joined them in the call for women's vote. In 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment granting woman suffrage passed, after more than seventy years of struggle. With its passage, women had not only won the right to vote; they had also succeeded in presenting a new, expanded image of womanhood and woman's place.

Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford is a research associate in gender studies at Northwestern University. She is the editor of "Writing Out My Heart": Selections from the Journal of Frances E. Willard, 1855–1896 (University of Illinois, 1995) and co-editor of Gender and the Social Gospel (University of Illinois, 2003) and "Let Something Good Be Said": Speeches and Writings of Frances E. Willard (University of Illinois, forthcoming). She has also authored many articles on American women's religious experience and social reform activities.

- Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Conventions, Held at Seneca Falls and Rochester, N.Y., July and August, 1848 (1870; 1969) 5.
- ² Ibid., 4.
- ³ See, for example, C.E. Beecher, An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism with Reference to the Duty of American Females (1837) 100–101.
- ⁴ H. Bushnell, Women's Suffrage; The Reform Against Nature (1869).
- ⁵ H.W. Beecher, "Woman's Influence in Politics," *The Independent*, 16 February 1860.
- ⁶ F.E. Willard, journal, 21 March 1868, in C.D. Gifford, ed., "Writing Out My Heart": Selections from the Journal of Frances E. Willard, 1855–1896 (1995) 266.
- F.E. Willard, "The Dawn of Woman's Day," Our Day, 2 November 1888, 345–360.
- ⁸ F.E. Willard, Home Protection Manual: Containing an Argument for the Temperance Ballot for Woman.... (1879; 1987) 6–26.
- ⁹ F.E. Willard, Glimpses of Fifty Years: The Autobiography of an American Woman (1889) 351.
- ¹⁰ F.E. Willard, "President's Annual Address," Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1888) 90.

Left Page, Left: An anti-temperance cartoon printed in Puck, May 29, 1901.

Left Page, Right: Headquarters of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, New York City, 1911.

ABOVE: A woman suffrage parade in New York City, May 6, 1912.



Mary Baker Eddy, Mary A. Livermore, and Woman Suffrage

BY SHERRY DARLING AND JANELL FIARMAN

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were not the only women—and their ideas not the only ideas—that fueled the drive for women's right to vote.

ecause Mary Baker Eddy calls for the acknowledgement of women's rights "morally, civilly, and socially" in her text Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, researchers have naturally looked for connections between Eddy and the late nineteenth-century woman suffrage movement.1 While Eddy's main cause was Christian Science, she clearly supported female social reformers in the decades following the Civil War. And, we now know that Eddy actively engaged with woman suffrage leaders over a period of thirty years.

ABOVE: Detail of "Jesus, What Precept is Like Thine" from the 1905 edition of the Christian Science Hymnal. The hymn (#163) was adapted from text written by Mary A. Livermore.

Eddy wrote to one of her early students of Christian Science, Clara Choate, on March 15, 1882,

It is glorious to see what the women alone are doing here for temperance, more than ever man has done. This is the period of women, they are to move and to carry all the great moral and Christian reforms, I know it. Now darling, let us work as the industrious Suffragists are at work who are getting a hearing all over the land.²

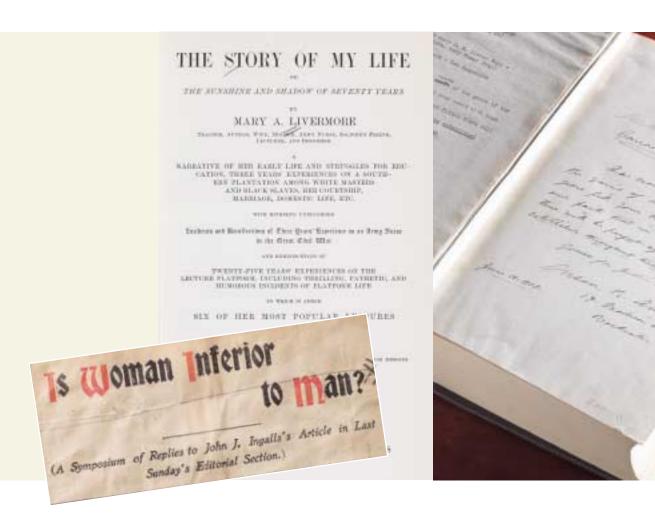
RIGHT PAGE: An August 7, 1904, Boston Sunday Globe article featuring Mary Baker Eddy, Mary A. Livermore, and Susan B. Anthony, among other prominent and influential American women of their time. (Photo by Mark Thayer)

VENERABLE HEROINES OF AMERICA.

Artists, Educators, Poets, Reformers Who Have Helped Revolutionize the World and Who Have Lived to See Immense Success-All Now Over 80.

ANNE WHITNEY, Sculptor. JULIA WARD HOWE, Port. MARY BAKER GLOVER EDDY, Religious Leader. SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Reformer, MARY A. LIVERMORE. Author. FANNY J. CROSBY, Hymn Writer. EDNAH DOW CHENEY, Educator,





Certainly Eddy's endorsement of women's rights was rooted in the spiritual, as she states in her 1891 pamphlet No and Yes, designed to answer theological questions on Christian Science:

Let it not be heard in Boston that woman, "last at the cross and first at the sepulchre," has no rights which man is bound to respect. In natural law and in religion the right of woman to fill the highest measure of enlightened understanding and the highest places in government, is inalienable, and these rights are ably vindicated by the noblest of both sexes. This is woman's hour, with all its sweet amenities and its moral and religious reforms.³

Eddy's interest in women's rights stemmed from her larger theological focus on human progress and the relationships of women and men to God and to each other.

ABOVE: Clockwise from left, a heading to several November 19, 1899, New York Journal articles, including one in which Susan B. Anthony cites Mary Baker Eddy as an example of an important female religious leader; the title page from Mary A. Livermore's The Story of My Life; the copy of The History of Woman Suffrage Vol. IV that Susan B. Anthony inscribed to Mary Baker Eddy in 1902.

This focus led her to support social programs promoting dignity and equality, such as temperance and aid for the poor. In each edition of Science and Health, from the very first in 1875 through the final one thirty-five years later, Eddy repeats these words almost verbatim,

Civil law establishes very unfair differences between the rights of the two sexes. Christian Science furnishes no precedent for such injustice, and civilization mitigates it in some measure. Still, it is a marvel why usage should accord woman less rights than does either Christian Science or civilization.

Our laws are not impartial, to say the least, in their discrimination as to the person, property, and parental claims of the two sexes. If the elective franchise for women will remedy the evil without encouraging difficulties of greater magnitude, let us hope it will be granted.4

Looking back from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, the nineteenth-century woman suffrage movement appears to be a unified group working together for the same goal, but in fact it was made up of many different groups and approaches. Victoria Woodhull, for example, combined her support of woman suffrage with a campaign for free love. In Eddy's view, the danger in mixing suffrage and free love, which "outrages decency, insults human nature and disgraces the name of woman,"5 outweighed the benefit of suffrage.

Eddy also rejected the views of suffrage advocates who attacked the Bible as the source of women's oppression. In her notes on The Woman's Bible edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eddy wrote, "The man's Bible is the woman's bible. We cannot have two if the sexes are equal."6

Points of connection do exist between Eddy and Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the most familiar nineteenth-century women's rights leaders. Stanton's name and address appear in one of Eddy's address books and, as observed above, Eddy made critical notes on The Woman's Bible. In 1887 Anthony took a course of lectures on Christian Science healing from Laura Lathrop, a student of Eddy's, and, in 1888, she went to hear Eddy lecture in Chicago. Eleven years later in an article reprinted in the Christian Science Sentinel, Anthony is quoted asking, "What of Mrs. Eddy? No man ever obtained so large a following in so short a time. Her churches are among the largest and most elegant in Boston, Chicago, and other cities." Anthony also corresponded briefly with Eddy and inscribed for her a volume of The History of Woman Suffrage.

In the nineteenth century, association with any organization that supported woman suffrage put one's reputation and respectability at risk, but Eddy did find a group working within a Christian framework that she could join: the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA), co-founded by Mary A. Livermore.

Little known today, Livermore was a major figure in the nineteenth-century campaign for woman suffrage as an organizer, speaker, and writer. She was the first woman awarded an honorary degree by Tufts University, and she was also founder and/or president of several beneficent and reform organizations, including the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the MWSA. Patterns in Livermore's long life paralleled those of Eddy's in many striking ways. Both women were writers, publishers, organizers, and public speakers, and both were deeply religious.

Mary A. Livermore, "of a grand and noble order"

Born in Boston in 1820, a year before Mary Baker Eddy, young Mary A. Livermore struggled for a sense of God that would give her life meaning.8 Obedient and reverent, she endured her father's teachings of a frightening, inflexible God. Like Eddy, Livermore suffered with the anxiety that her siblings might not be among the elect few whom God had determined to save from damnation. Prayer and Bible readings were part of each day for her, and she met her father's requirement of reading the entire Bible annually. But more comforting to her was the Christianity modeled by her mother, focused in a practical way on living the love for others that Jesus had taught. Similarly, Eddy wrote that her own father, a staunch Calvinist, had "an iron will" and that she felt closer to her "sainted mother," whose "life was a living illustration of the Christian faith."9

Livermore encountered another view of God and his creation quite different from her father's when she met the man she would marry. In her autobiography she tells of the Christmas service in a Duxbury, Massachusetts, church where she first heard the Universalist minister Daniel Livermore present, in a new way, parables that she knew almost by heart—the prodigal son, the shepherd and the lost sheep. For the first time she found biblical confirmation of a tender, loving God, a God of forgiveness rather than punishment. Later Livermore would write a hymn that refers to this vision of a world transformed by forgiveness, of wrath and sin dying away, and of the divine plan "to bring the wanderer back by love." (An adapted version of this hymn, "Jesus, What Precept Is Like Thine," appears in the Christian Science Hymnal.)

As a minister's wife, Livermore not only kept house and raised her children, but also wrote stories and poems for temperance publications and co-edited a Universalist monthly, New Covenant, with her husband. During the Civil War, Livermore stepped into a more public role when she took on co-leadership of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission, providing hospitals of the Union army in the Western Theatre with supplies and fresh food, as well as much-needed oversight of the volunteer relief effort.

While Livermore had long campaigned for a change in the status of women (opening colleges to them, repealing unjust laws, and enlarging industrial opportunities), she had felt that many reforms could be accomplished without woman suffrage. But her experiences during the war changed her mind; she wrote, "I became aware that a large portion of the nation's work was badly done, or not done at all, because woman was not recognized as a factor in the political world." ¹⁰ Livermore came to see the legal right to vote as both a symbol of equality and an assertion that property and family law needed to be revised and women's educational and occupational opportunities expanded.

Convener of Chicago's first woman suffrage convention in 1868, Livermore became president of the Illinois



Book source: Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School

Woman Suffrage Association, 11 an outgrowth of the convention, and began her own suffrage journal, *The Agitator*, in 1869. Later that year her place in the national movement for woman suffrage was confirmed when she became vice president of the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). AWSA, headquartered in Boston and organized by former abolitionists, differed in part from the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), headed by Stanton and Anthony, by supporting the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which extended suffrage to African American men but not to women. The AWSA also differed from the NWSA in focusing on suffrage rather than collateral issues, such as marriage and divorce.

In 1869 Livermore was invited by Lucy Stone and the other leaders of the AWSA to become editor of *The Woman's Journal*, and Livermore and her husband moved back to Massachusetts so she could accept this position. In

ABOVE, LEFT: Mary A. Livermore in the study of her Melrose, Massachusetts, home, circa 1898. Image from *The Story of My Life*.

ABOVE, RIGHT: Calvin A. Frye took this photo of Mary Baker Eddy in her study at Pleasant View, Concord, New Hampshire, circa 1903.

doing so, she joined a group of women's rights advocates that included Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and William Lloyd Garrison, with whom she co-founded the MWSA (the Massachusetts branch of the AWSA). Livermore described the group as reformers "of a grand and noble order ... and the ideal reformer whom they sought to emulate was Jesus, the Christ." ¹²

During this time, Livermore took her message of concern for women to an even larger audience by becoming a lyceum lecturer and speaking across the country on issues of significance to women: suffrage, women's education, marriage, as well as temperance and other topics. In fact, the first concrete evidence we have of Eddy's interest in Livermore's work for woman suffrage, an interest that grew into respect and continued over three decades into the twentieth century, relates to a Livermore speaking engagement.

Eddy and Livermore: In full sympathy

In early November 1871, Mary Baker Eddy mailed her friend Mary Ellis an invitation to come from Swampscott to Lynn, Massachusetts, to hear Livermore debate women's rights with General James A. Hall from Portland, Maine:

Now [Livermore] is talented and I thought you might enjoy hearing her notwithstanding the subject is not what you or I care much about, but I took a season ticket to help the cause, 'tis for the "Woman's Union" in this city to support the poor and help such as need help.¹³

It is interesting to note that, in her letter of invitation to Ellis, Eddy qualified her enthusiasm for Livermore's subject matter. But whatever her own position on woman suffrage before the debate, within a few weeks of hearing Livermore speak on the issue, Eddy had visited the Woman Suffrage Bazaar and joined the MWSA, paying her initial membership dues to Livermore herself.¹⁴ While we cannot say whether Eddy paid dues every year after 1871, Library documents do confirm that her secretary Calvin A. Frye paid \$1 in suffrage dues for Eddy on March 27, 1888, in response to a renewal notice she had received from the MWSA.15

Something about Livermore's presentation of woman suffrage so connected with Eddy's views that it brought her to the Woman Suffrage Bazaar and persuaded her to become a member of the organization. It is easy to imagine that Livermore's forceful arguments for the education of women and for custody rights for women resonated with Eddy's own history as a widow unprepared to earn a living and a mother unable to obtain or determine the custody of her child. In her lectures, for example, Livermore proclaimed,

If I were able, I would change the public sentiment so radically, that no girl should be considered well-educated no matter what her accomplishments, until she had learned a trade, a business, a vocation, or a profession. Self-support would then be possible to her, and she would not float on the current of life, a part of its useless driftwood, borne hither and thither by its troubled waters.16

Perhaps more fundamental, Eddy shared the Christian framework of Livermore's suffrage views, and both preached the equality of the sons and daughters of God from the pulpit as well as the lecture platform. In Livermore, Eddy found a suffragist she could identify with and respect, and, through her, a suffrage organization she wished to support.

Two letters from Livermore to Eddy in the 1880s indicate a mutual respect had developed between them. In a letter dated April 11, 1887, Livermore wrote that she would not be able to use a complimentary ticket to a lecture by Eddy, but added, "With your permission, I will retain the Complimentary Ticket, as my husband, or my son-in-law may be able to use it. Either of them would be glad to hear the lecture, and through either I should obtain a better report than the press ever furnishes."¹⁷

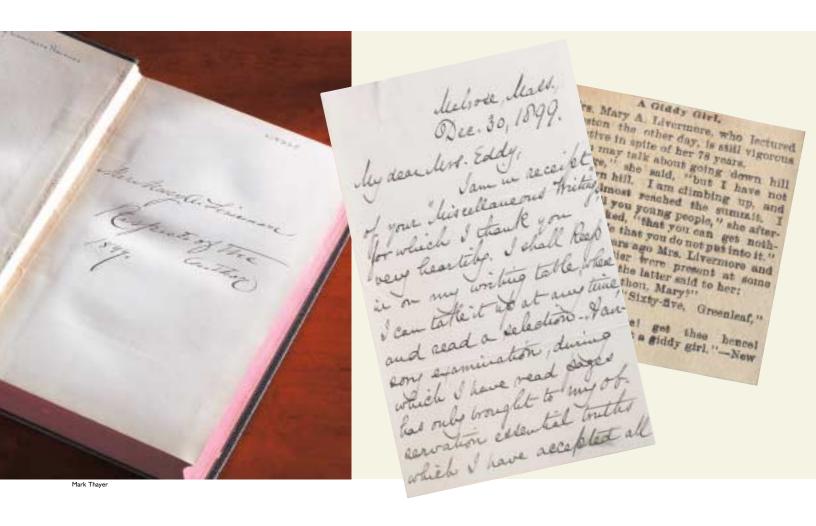
Two years later, on December 2, 1889, Livermore wrote from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a probable lecture tour stop. She was evidently writing in response to a letter from Eddy's adopted son, Ebenezer J. Foster Eddy, about where Eddy's dues for the MWSA should be paid. After directing him to the office of the society in Boston, Livermore wrote of Eddy's support for the cause of woman suffrage:

While we have known she was in full sympathy with our work, we have hardly expected her active cooperation, her own work is so large and absorbing. But we shall always be grateful for any service she can render.18

During this same period, we know of at least one additional Livermore lecture that Eddy attended, this time in Boston in 1888. Eddy writes of Foster Eddy, "After his adoption the first of my going out with him to entertainments was in a Hall to hear Mrs. Livermore. Before the evening came I charged him to get me a front seat and not a side seat—and one near the platform."19

In several instances we can see the high regard Eddy had for Livermore. Eddy wrote a letter on January 5, 1893, to Foster Eddy, who was in New York City to oversee the preparation of a biographical entry on Eddy in the National Cyclopedia of American Biography. After explaining to Foster Eddy why she was editing the copy to describe herself as the "discoverer" of Christian Science rather than as a minister, Eddy writes of some misgivings she has about the proposed entry, and uses the presence or absence of Livermore as her measure of the project's integrity: "Is Mary Livermore named in their Cyclo.? And why not? You know I had a strong invitation to let my autobiography appear in a recent publication. But took special care to find out all that I did and then I refused it."20

In 1899, when a libel suit against Eddy was being widely publicized,²¹ she encouraged Irving C. Tomlinson, a young Universalist minister who had become a Christian Scientist, to continue his contacts with Livermore. Eddy wrote to Tomlinson on October 26, 1899, "Your good work begun with Mrs. Livermore may be strengthened by sending her 'Miscellaneous Writ' and send me the bill or call and get the book at [Pleasant View]."22



Tomlinson writes in his reminiscence of Eddy, "In her relationships with non-Scientists Mrs. Eddy endeavored to alleviate any misconceptions which they might entertain about her or her Cause. Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, at the time one of the foremost women leaders in America, was known by Mrs. Eddy to be an old friend of [Tomlinson's]." After learning that Livermore was a family friend of his, Eddy sent Tomlinson to speak with the esteemed women's rights leader on her behalf "to encourage a friendly feeling" and "to remove any misunderstanding which might possibly exist."23

A copy of Miscellaneous Writings 1883–1896, inscribed with the respects of the author, was presented to Livermore by Tomlinson around Christmas of 1899, and Livermore was prompt in thanking Eddy and noting their shared ideologies:

Above, Left: The copy of Miscellaneous Writings 1883–1896 (1899) that Mary Baker Eddy inscribed to Mary A. Livermore.

ABOVE, RIGHT: A December 30, 1899, letter in which Mary A. Livermore thanks Mary Baker Eddy for sending Miscellaneous Writings. The letter overlays a New York Tribune tidbit about Livermore clipped for one of Eddy's scrapbooks.

I am in receipt of your "Miscellaneous Writings," for which I thank you very heartily. I shall keep it on my writing table, where I can take it up at any time, and read a selection. A cursory examination, during which I have read pages has only brought to my observation essential truths which I have accepted all my life.²⁴

Fulfilling the Scripture, equalizing the sexes

Clearly Mary A. Livermore valued Mary Baker Eddy's ideas and they shared a mutual appreciation for one another's work. In the months and years that followed, Eddy occasionally gave direction to send copies of significant issues of her periodicals to "the prominent people such as Rev Talmage, Edward Everett Hale, Mrs. Livermore etc."25

A final note on Eddy's regard for Livermore appears in an undated bit of dictation Eddy gave to Frye: "Mrs. Livermore, in a lecture says that, every new idea has three stages first ridicule then consideration then adoption." 26 This progression seems an apt description of the successful woman suffrage movement. First the idea of women voting seemed ridiculous, then it was considered reasonable after presentation by people like Mary A. Livermore, and finally, in 1920, it was ratified as the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

History is often selective in recording the people and events that have helped to shape our society. Looking back from the twenty-first century, we focus on Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton as the leaders of the woman suffrage movement, while other major figures of their time, representing a wide spectrum of views, alliances, and associations, have dropped out of our view. Mary A. Livermore, an important player in her own day, needs to be recovered in ours for us to better understand the complex struggle for woman suffrage. Her erasure from our historical memory also means the loss of a significant aspect of Mary Baker Eddy's story, because Livermore provides the strongest link between Eddy and the movement for equal rights for women.

Understanding this connection also enriches our understanding of Eddy's theology. In 1908, the *Christian Science Sentinel* reprinted an article by Alice Hubbard, a progressive journalist who helped her husband, Elbert Hubbard, manage The Roycroft Press. Alice Hubbard wrote of Eddy in the Roycroft publication *The Philistine: A Periodical of Protest*,

I believe that the crowning glory of this woman is that she has demonstrated towards the equality of the sexes as no other human being has. She has been most effective because she has not worked directly for it ... Had Mrs. Eddy taken up the work for equal suffrage as did Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and that excellent band of workers, she could not have done for it what she has by quietly assuming and silently living equal rights for women and men, and by making such provision for it as she has in her religion.²⁷

One such "provision" was Eddy's statement of universal human rights:

One infinite God, good, unifies men and nations; constitutes the brotherhood of man; ends wars; fulfils the Scripture, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" annihilates pagan and Christian idolatry,—whatever is wrong in social, civil, criminal, political, and religious codes; equalizes the sexes; annuls the curse on man, and leaves nothing that can sin, suffer, be punished or destroyed.²⁸

Sherry Darling, Ph.D., is a staff researcher at The Mary Baker Eddy Library. Janell Fiarman, a former Library staff researcher, is teaching English in China during the 2004–2005 school year.

- ¹ Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures (1911) 587.
- ² M.B. Eddy to C.E. Choate, 15 March 1882, Outgoing Correspondence of Mary Baker Eddy (hereafter cited as OC) L04088.
- ³ No and Yes (1891) 45.
- ⁴ Science and Health (1911) 63.
- ⁵ Letter to the Editor in the Lynn [Massachusetts] Transcript, 14 October 1876, signed Mary Baker Glover.
- A10873.
- New York Journal, 19 November 1899. Reprint, Christian Science Sentinel, 14 December 1899.
- ⁸ Biographical information about Livermore can be found in M.A. Livermore, *The Story of My Life: or The Sunshine and Shadow of Seventy Years* (1898).
- In her autobiography *Retrospection and Introspection* (1891) 5–6,
 Eddy quotes these words from the eulogy for her mother given by Rev. Richard S. Rust.
- ¹⁰ Livermore, My Life, 479.
- ¹¹ In 1887 Eddy donated one Science and Health and six copies of her pamphlet "Historical Sketch of Metaphysical Healing" to this group, Incoming Correspondence of Mary Baker Eddy (hereafter cited as IC) 970.
- ¹² Livermore, My Life, 586.
- ¹³ M.B. Eddy to M. Ellis, November 1871, OC L05668.
- ¹⁴ The first Woman Suffrage Bazaar held in Massachusetts ran from December 11 to 22, 1871. M.A. Livermore to E.J. Foster Eddy, 2 December 1889, IC 593.
- ¹⁵ C.A. Frye, Account Book 1, May 1887–May 1891, SF; MWSA renewal notice dated 15 March 1888, IC 726(a).
- ¹⁶ M.A. Livermore, What shall we do with our Daughters? (1883) 61.
- 17 M.A. Livermore to M.B. Eddy, 11 April 1887, $\bar{\rm IC}$ 593.
- 18 M.A. Livermore to E.J. Foster Eddy, 2 December 1889, IC 593.
- ¹⁹ A10580. Eddy adopted the adult Dr. Ebenezer J. Foster in November 1888.
- ²⁰ OC V01186. In fact, Mary Livermore did appear in the Cyclopedia and Eddy decided not to withdraw.
- The suit, brought by Josephine C. Woodbury, was decided in Eddy's favor in June 1901.
- ²² M.B. Eddy to I.C. Tomlinson, 26 October 1899, OC L03693.
- ²³ Reminiscences of I.C. Tomlinson, 683.
- ²⁴ M.A. Livermore to M.B. Eddy, 30 December 1899, IC 593.
- OC L10224. See also OC L18670. DeWitt Talmadge was a prominent preacher whose sermons Eddy read and had clipped for her scrapbooks. Hale was an influential Unitarian minister.
- A11555. This quote has sometimes been attributed to Arthur Schopenhauer. In 1903 Eddy attributed a similar statement to Louis Agassiz.
- ²⁷ A. Hubbard, *Christian Science Sentinel*, 8 February 1908, 446.
- ²⁸ Science and Health (1911) 340.

Research Opportunities

The Mary Baker Eddy Library for the Betterment of Humanity collections include more than 28,000 letters, manuscripts, copybooks, and scrapbooks, and approximately 9,000 historical photographs and 9,000 artifacts. Interested members of the public may view these materials in the Library's Research Room. Appointments are available by calling 888-222-3711, ext. 7218, or via the Library Web site, www.marybakereddylibrary.org.

Behind the Scenes at the Library

Recent discoveries highlight the importance of opening the Library's collections to the public.

By Cathy Armer



his spring, Library researchers discovered a substantial link between Mary Baker Eddy and the nineteenth-century woman suffrage movement. Beginning with a name and historians' curiosity, Sherry Darling and Janell Fiarman pursued clue after clue, gradually uncovering letters, receipts, scrapbook clippings, reminiscences, and inscribed books to piece together the details of Eddy's public support of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.

The result is significant. American women's historian and Library adviser Judith Wellman states, "By the late nineteenth century, Americans all across the country gave widespread support to woman suffrage. Thanks to the careful detective work of Library historians, we now know that Mary Baker Eddy was among them."

Previously, the Library's researchers had been dissatisfied with the standard response they provided to questions about Eddy and suffrage. This response mentioned Eddy's association with Susan B. Anthony because of a letter from Anthony and a book that Anthony had inscribed and given to Eddy. The collections also include a note that Eddy paid suffrage dues; the assumption was that she paid them to Anthony's organization.

The recent discovery of documentation firmly connecting Eddy with woman suffrage started with an e-mail query that arrived in fall 2003. Janell Fiarman, a six-year researcher of the collections, began work on the query, which sought information relating to Mary A. Livermore and Eddy in the context of the development of nursing. Fiarman's initial search yielded little material on Livermore, but what she learned about this contemporary of Eddy's surprised her. "I was struck by the similarities between her life and that of Mrs. Eddy-struggling as girls with the fierce Calvinism of their fathers, spending time as young women in the pre-Civil War South, becoming public figures as mature women," Fiarman says. "Both were moving from a God of judgment toward a God who is love. That was huge—a whole different worldview and Livermore went through the same experience."

"It seemed that Mrs. Eddy would have felt a kinship with Mary Livermore," Fiarman adds. But the Library collections contained only hints of that kinship: Livermore's name appeared among others on notes Eddy wrote asking her staff to send her texts to certain people, and clippings about Livermore appeared in Eddy's scrapbooks.

Fiarman mentioned the religious connection she saw between Eddy and Livermore to her colleague Sherry Darling. Darling, who joined the research staff a month before the Library opened in September 2002, was intrigued. Following a hunch that the Library collectons held Livermore correspondence, Darling consulted a finding aid that led to three letters from Livermore to Mary Baker Eddy and Ebenezer J. Foster Eddy in an unlikely file descriptively named "Very Old Correspondence (A–L)." The letters built on the Livermore clippings and Eddy's notes.

The "Very Old Correspondence" file was created by Calvin A. Frye when he became Eddy's secretary in 1882. In general, he placed into this file correspondence that predated his appointment, though by this logic, the Livermore letters, which date from 1887 on, should not have been housed there. Darling and Fiarman surmise that another document in the file prompted Frye to place Livermore's correspondence in it. Whatever that document was, it may have been removed in Eddy's time by a member of her staff.

Shortly after reading these letters, Darling happened across a list of various businesses with which Eddy corresponded. Here she found a reference to the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. In a file folder labeled "Wolcott to Woodland," she encountered the subfolder "Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association" (filed under "W" for "Woman"). It held the substantial link: records that Eddy paid renewal dues to the association in 1888. At last, a clear connection could be drawn between Eddy and the woman suffrage movement of her time.

"This is just a wonderful start to what's possible. Nobody has fully explored Mary Baker Eddy's involvement in various social movements—there are many areas that need to be plumbed," Darling says.

The Library Research Room staff numbers four people, and—in addition to overseeing and assisting Library visitors and independent researchers exploring the collections—this small group often fields 70-80 telephone, e-mail, and letter queries per week, responding to topics that run the gamut from ancestors involved in the Christian Science movement to the authentication of works attributed to Eddy. The researchers also answer questions, check facts, and undertake larger research projects, not to mention the research and writing they perform for the Library magazine.

In addition to Darling, current Research Room staff members are Michael R. Davis, Patrick A. Bowmaster, and senior researcher Judy Huenneke. Manager of the Archives Lesley Pitts oversees the group. Since this article was written, Fiarman has left the Library to teach English in China for the 2004-2005 academic year.

Cathy Armer is a Boston-based writer and editor. She is the former managing editor of The Magazine of The Mary Baker Eddy Library and a graduate of Harvard Divinity School.







Thank you, Friends!

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COVER, ABOVE: A renewal notice requesting Mary Baker Eddy's suffrage dues, from the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, March 15, 1888. (Photo by Mark Thayer)

COVER, BELOW: Woman suffrage headquarters on Upper Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. At extreme right is Miss Belle Sherwin, president, National League of Women Voters; Judge Florence E. Allen is holding the flag; Mrs. Malcolm McBride stands to Allen's left, facing the camera. (Library of Congress)

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