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No Witch Is a Bad Witch: a Commentary on the Erasure of Matilda Joslyn Gage

Zanita E. Fenton
University of Miami School of Law, zfenton@law.miami.edu

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I. INTRODUCTION

There is something unreal about living in a world replete with borders, bias, and a seemingly infinite range of inequality. Where do Truth, Rationality, Equality, and Justice reside? Is there a Land of Oz where this is true? Can our imaginations create the reality to which we aspire? Will this place ever be Home? I wonder if I will ever find it or if it is only fantasy. Someone clearly forgot to give me my silver shoes.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz, by L. Frank Baum, is an enduring children's story, notable for its progressive messages. The most obvious of these include the release of the munchkins in a post-abolitionist society.
and later the release of the yellow Winkies\textsuperscript{6} from bondage. These events from the story can be seen as referencing the treatment of the Philippines after the Spanish American War in 1898,\textsuperscript{7} the plight of Chinese immigrants\textsuperscript{8} after the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1890,\textsuperscript{9} or simply as a general commentary on labor inequities.\textsuperscript{10} Interestingly, however, in other areas of his public life, Baum had antagonistic reactions toward Indian nations.\textsuperscript{11} Baum's characterization of the Winged Monkeys in \textit{Oz} reflected popular conceptions of the Sioux and other American Indians.\textsuperscript{12} Baum was also quite progressive in choosing a female protagonist, Dorothy, and making her the heroine in her own world—with a brain, heart, and plenty of courage.\textsuperscript{13} Baum's decision to have a female protagonist could have been influenced by feminist activist Matilda Joslyn Gage, his mother-in-law, who once said, "[S]elf-reliance is one of the first lessons to be taught our daughters; they should be educated with our sons, and equally with them taught to look forward to some independent means of support—either to...

\textsuperscript{6} Baum, supra note 1, at 111.

\textsuperscript{7} Parker, supra note 3, at 51 ("The enslavement of the yellow Winkies was 'a not very well disguised reference to McKinley's decision to deny immediate independence to the Philippines' after the Spanish-American War.").


\textsuperscript{11} Ritter, supra note 8, at 187 ("The story of the Winged Monkeys parallels these popular understandings of the Sioux and other North American Indians in the late nineteenth century. Free-spirited and playful, the Monkeys are made out to be close to nature and childish. Their demise is caused by their own misbehavior which is immature and uncivilized. The response by the region's ruler includes the threat of extermination, but is softened by a more paternal and benevolent ruler to just exile and subordination.").

\textsuperscript{12} See \textit{Russel B. Nye, An Appreciation, in THE WIZARD OF OZ AND WHO HE WAS 1, 12-13 (Martin Gardner & Russel B. Nye eds., 1994)} ("For Oz is beyond all doubt a little girl's dream-home.... There is no consistent father-image in Oz, or brother-image.... The Land of Oz, where Dorothy is a Princess in her own right, is all that a girl could ask for in a dream home, just as Dorothy is Baum's picture of the daughter he never had. A coolly levelheaded child in whom a refreshing sense of wonder is nicely balanced by healthy common sense.... A solid, human, child, Dorothy takes her adventure where she finds it, her reactions always generous, reasonable, and direct.").

\textsuperscript{13} Ritter, supra note 8, at 178 ("Baum's choice of a girl instead of a boy for this central role is significant in several respects. Many of the rulers and protagonists in Oz were female. In addition to Dorothy and Glinda, later books introduce Ozma and Lurline, both benevolent rulers. Frank Baum was committed to the cause of women's rights. Both his wife and mother-in-law campaigned for women's suffrage. The Populists of South Dakota were also proponents of women's rights.").
one of the professions, or the business best fitted to exercise their talents.'\textsuperscript{14} However, as with his antagonism toward Indian nations, Baum could be inconsistent in his relationships and public positions. For example, in the second Oz book, The Marvelous Land of Oz, Baum satirized suffragist activism:

[\textit{The Land of Oz}] chronicles the temporary overthrow of Oz by an army of comely young women. . . . Once the female dictatorship is established, the husbands of Oz are forced to take over all the former duties of their wives. This proves annoying to both wives and husbands, but luckily the one throne is soon restored.\textsuperscript{15}

The resulting complexity is best understood through an examination of privilege and the human quest for its acquisition and maintenance.

Whatever the relationship between Baum and his mother-in-law, Matilda Joslyn Gage, a staunch critic of the Nineteenth Century Christian witch hunts,\textsuperscript{16} Baum likely was the inspiration for the empowering “good witch”\textsuperscript{17} in The Wonderful Wizard of Oz. Glinda, the good witch, let Dorothy know that she always had the “power” to return home.\textsuperscript{18} At the time leading up to and during Joslyn Gage’s life, “witches” too often were educated women who challenged existing power structures;\textsuperscript{20} this is precisely what Joslyn Gage did by challenging the church in its support of witch hunts.\textsuperscript{21} “The witch was in reality the profoundest thinker, the most advanced scientist of those ages. . . . No less to-day than during the darkest period of its history, is the church the great opponent of woman’s education, every advance step for her having found the church antagonistic.”\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{14} Matilda Joslyn Gage, Speech at the Women’s Rights Convention, Held at Syracuse, (Sept. 1852,) at 3, microformed on SSX Film HQ 1101.H57 reel 942 no. 8500 (Research Pub, Inc.) [hereinafter Joslyn Gage’s Speech].
\textsuperscript{17} See generelly CAROL F. KARLSEN, THE DEVIL IN THE SHAPE OF A WOMAN: WITCHCRAFT IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND (1987) (discussing the role of gender in the witch hunts that occurred in the United States).
\textsuperscript{18} See, e.g., DALE SPENDER, WOMEN OF IDEAS AND WHAT MEN HAVE DONE TO THEM 238 (1982) (referring to the European witch-craze during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries (circa 1450–1750), when upwards of one hundred thousand victims, mostly women, were tried, tortured, and executed in France alone).
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Id.} at 238 (“Teaching the extreme wickedness of women, to women and men alike, teaching that it was the duty of men to control wicked women, the Church laid the foundation for men to believe it was their right to persecute women—and for women to believe they had no rights, and no alternatives but to submit and endure. . . . [R]ather than being a period of aberration, the witch-hunts, in this context, became a logical extension of existing beliefs.”).
\textsuperscript{21} See Gage, \textit{supra} note 16.
\textsuperscript{22} MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, WOMAN, CHURCH AND STATE 243 (Annette K. Baxter & Leon Stein eds., Arno Press, 2d ed. 1972) (1893).
Joslyn Gage, born into an abolitionist household used as a stop on the Underground Railroad, was a resolute abolitionist, a steadfast suffragist, a staunch advocate and activist for women's rights and equality, and an unyielding critic of the church for being the primary force in the subordination of women. She was quite consistent in her views and pursuit of equality for all. She did not believe that gaining the vote without full social and political equality would be the best course in the long run. Her insights were very much ahead of her time. This was “Matilda’s magic.” For her ideals and her perseverance in their service, Joslyn Gage was elbowed out of her own organization and, for a time, out of women’s history. Because she had the temerity to challenge male hierarchy, also known as patriarchy, in a manner that also refused replication of that hierarchy, Joslyn Gage was “disappeared” from history, sustaining the illusion of power for those who held it.

This Essay uses the life of Matilda Joslyn Gage, as well as the text of The Wonderful Wizard of Oz, to explore the nature of power (or the illusion of it) and hierarchy, especially in organizations which seek progressive objectives. In Part II, this Essay will examine power and the means used for its maintenance in The Wonderful Wizard of Oz. This Part will provide some basic analyses on the operation and maintenance of hierarchy. It also provides a comparison between fantasy and reality as the next Part explores the complexities of hierarchy in real historical context. Part III provides a short biography of the life of Joslyn Gage. This discussion will include an application of the lessons learned from the nature of hierarchy to understand how Joslyn Gage came to be omitted from history. Additional historical examples will be used for comparison and support of the general theories of hierarchy. In conclusion, this Essay seeks to end where it

20 Joslyn Gage’s speech, given in Canandaigua and 16 other towns of Ontario County prior to the trial of Susan B. Anthony for illegal voting, is the most remarkable line of argument using democratic theory and constitutional history to support equality for all individuals and specifically making the case for women’s suffrage. Matilda Joslyn Gage, The United States on Trial note Susan B. Anthony, Speech before the Trial of Susan B. Anthony, IN AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS ON THE TRIAL OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY, ON THE CHARGE OF ILLEGAL VOTING AT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NOV., 1972, AND ON THE TRIAL OF BEVERLY W. JONES, EDWIN T. MARCH AND WILLIAM B. HALL, THE INSPECTORS OF ELECTION BY WHOM HER VOTE WAS RECEIVED (1874).
26 BRAMMER, supra note 23, at 91. See also Joslyn Gage’s Speech, supra note 14, at 3 (“To those who say women do not desire their rights, or think they have them already, I would say, converse with any intelligent women on the subject, and you will not find them indifferent. Woman feels deeply, keenly, her degradation, but is bound by the iron hand of custom which so long has exercised tyrant rule over her. An ignorant woman is virtually in the same condition as the peasant who thinks it right that a king shall rule over him; and to keep him content, he is made to believe it would be blasphemy and treason in him to call in question this right.”).
27 See generally, BRAMMER, supra note 23 (showing an account of her exclusion from history).
28 BRAMMER, supra note 23, at 107–15. See also SPENDER, supra note 19, at 226 (“[I]n most of the standard books on that period little or no reference is made to Matilda Joslyn Gage. It is as if—for the most part—she had not existed.”). Spender also notes that Husted Harper, Susan B Anthony’s biographer and co-editor, made only passing reference to Joslyn Gage in the Preface to Volume IV of the History (1902) even though Joslyn Gage authored the first two chapters as well as the last in Volume 1. SPENDER, supra note 19, at 226.
29 See infra Part IV.
began—musing about the role of fantasy and activism in finding real change.

II. POWER IN OZ

Fantasy has some relationship to, or more likely is grounded in, the conceivable and the realistic. Baum managed to upset some hierarchies in his progressive vision of society in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* ("Oz"), but he also used *Oz* as a platform to satirize the manifestations of power in society. Many scholars have explored the sociopolitical allegories in *Oz* and the *Oz* series. This Essay explores the manifestations of power underlying the hierarchies inherent in those politics. The perpetuation of hierarchy may be understood as follows:

The paradox of hierarchy is that it strives to reaffirm itself, whether through law or through other social structures of which the law is inevitably a part. The indicia of success (or the markers for equality, as the case may be) are established through the structures of power. Someone not at the top of a relevant hierarchy has incentives to achieve or acquire the badges of success within that system.

In *Oz*, this quest for success within hierarchy is demonstrated by Dorothy’s companions—the Scarecrow, the Cowardly Lion, and the Tin Woodman—both in their individual pursuits and in the general outcomes of the story. The Scarecrow desires a brain, even though he does not lack intelligence or thoughtfulness; the Lion seeks courage, even though he does not lack intelligence or thoughtfulness; and the Lion seeks courage, even though he does not lack intelligence or thoughtfulness.

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30 Nye, supra note 13, at 2 (trying to break from earlier molds for fairytales, Baum “drew freely on the past. And his books are far more derivative than possibly he realized. The Oz books conform to the accepted pattern far more often than they deviate.”).

31 Id. at 10 (expressing Baum’s utopia as follows: “In Emerald City, . . . there was no disease, no illness, none but accidental death and that seldom. All inhabitants worked one-half the time and played one-half, a self-enforced obedience to the rule that all work or all play makes dullness or irresponsibility. Emerald City had no poor, because there was no money and no private property . . . . Foodstuffs were divided equally; clothes, jewels, shoes, housing, everything was there for the asking . . . . Men lived in complete harmony with nature and technology . . . .”).

32 See generally Littlefield, supra note 10; Parker, supra note 3; Ritter, supra note 8; Culver, supra note 17; David Payne, *The Wizard of Oz: Therapeutic Rhetoric in a Contemporary Media Ritual*, 75 Q.J. SPEECH 25 (1989); Francois R. Velde, *Following the Yellow Brick Road: How the United States Adopted the Gold Standard*, 2Q ECON. PERSP. 42 (2002).


34 Ritter, supra note 8, at 181 (“Some scholars have speculated that the Cowardly Lion represents William Jennings Bryan, or political reformers more generally. (Others associate Bryan with the Wizard who came to Oz from Omaha, Nebraska—Bryan’s home town). Certainly, Bryan rose to fame in the House of Representatives and at the 1896 Democratic Convention in Chicago because of his oratory prowess. Once he gained the position of presidential standard-bearer for the Democratic and Populist Parties in 1896, Bryan was burdened with great expectations from voters and movement activists who hoped for him to lead the way to dramatic political and economic change. These were expectations that Bryan ultimately failed to meet. In his confrontation with the established powers of Washington, Bryan lost and lost again in three separate presidential races.”) (citations omitted).

35 BAUM, supra note 1, at 131 (Wizard saying to the Scarecrow “[y]ou don’t need [brains]. You are learning something every day . . . . Experience is the only thing that brings knowledge, and the longer you are on earth the more experience you are sure to get.”).
brave throughout the journey; and the Tin Woodman requests a heart, even though he is always caring toward his companions. Each of these characters seeks a social marker of success, even when such marker is already held or demonstrably meaningless. Though it is sad that the Oz travelers believe someone else must give them these markers, this does not mean that all sought after markers of success are either bad or illegitimate. Independently, each may be beneficial objectives important for social function. Nonetheless, each traveler has to work for that which was or should always have been his. In many ways this demonstrates the activist’s plight. Perhaps more emblematic of hierarchies’ inertial force, the travelers’ ultimate success at the conclusion of the story was in the ascension to a throne or head of a particular realm, perpetuating the structures of hierarchy.

Money and the material are significant in the dynamics of power and of hierarchies in the real world, and this is no less true in Oz. The symbolism of the Yellow Brick Road leading the way to the Emerald City is hard to mistake. The Emerald City’s power is manufactured as it is bathed in a green light, and the road leading up to it is yellow, a facsimile of those streets paved in gold.

Baum demonstrates illusions of power more bluntly in other places in the story. For example, could the power of the bad witches have been anything but illusory when it crumbled or washed away? The “Great and Terrible Wizard” is the ultimate power in Oz, yet he appears, in turn, as a “great Head,” a “lovely Lady,” a “terrible Beast,” and a “Ball of...
No Witch Is a Bad Witch

Fire; each expression is mere theater, only make believe. When the Wizard tips over the screen in the corner, it is the ultimate revelation, exposing the person who typically holds power in society as "a little, old man, with a bald head and a wrinkled face..." After being revealed to the travelers, the Wizard was most concerned about maintaining the illusion of his power for the Emerald City dwellers and thus continuing his influence.

What is really fascinating is that even after the Wizard revealed the illusion and explicitly denied his ability to help each individual, the party of travelers still believed that the Wizard met their requests. This suspension of disbelief assisted the Wizard in maintaining the illusion of his power. This suggests that it is not the holder of power alone who has an interest in its maintenance; even those without the kind of power at issue may be invested in reinforcing it.

It is also not difficult to imagine the source of power of the silver shoes or of the golden cap. It seems that the power wielded from these two sources is genuine while the rest of the powers in Oz are only illusions. The golden cap gave its holder three commands of the Winged Monkeys which first served as a means for the Wicked Witch of the West to persecute Dorothy and her friends, but ultimately enabled them to return to Oz for the Wizard's promised help. The silver shoes were coveted by the Wicked Witch of the West and ultimately were the means for Dorothy to return home. Even though she is not aware of it, only Dorothy has the power to get home on her journey for self actualization—signified by the return to home.

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47 Id. (the manner in which Wizard appeared to the Lion).
48 See also Littlefield, supra note 10, at 54 ("[A] little bumbling old man, hiding behind a facade of paper mâché and noise... able to be everything to everybody.").
49 BAUM, supra note 1, at 128 (revealing that the Wizard uses theater tricks to create the illusions).
50 Id. at 127.
51 Id. ("Don't speak so loud, or you will be overheard—and I should be mined. I'm supposed to be a Great Wizard.").
52 Id. at 130.
53 Id. at 135 (explaining that the Scarecrow gets new brains composed of straw, pins, and needles); Id. at 136 (explaining that the Woodman gets a heart composed of sawdust stuffed silk); Id. at 138 (explaining that the Lion received courage by drinking green-colored water).
54 Id. at 138 ("Oz, left to himself, smiled to think of his success in giving the Scarecrow and the Tin Woodman and the Lion exactly what they thought they wanted. 'How can I help being a humbug.' he said, 'when all these people make me do things that everybody knows can't be done? It was easy to make the Scarecrow and the Lion and the Woodman happy, because they imagined I could do anything.'").
55 BAUM, supra note 1, at 15. See generally Ritter, supra note 8.
56 BAUM, supra note 1, at 102 ("Whoever owned it could call three times upon the Winged Monkeys, who would obey any order they were given."). See generally Ritter, supra note 8.
57 BAUM, supra note 1, at 15.
58 BAUM, supra note 1, at 15. Conflict and competition over material items holds its own form of power that I do not specifically address in this Essay.
59 BAUM, supra note 1, at 182.
60 Then "she happened to look into the child's eyes and saw how simple the soul behind them was, and that the little girl did not know of the wonderful power the Silver Shoes gave her." BAUM, supra note 1, at 104. See also Littlefield, supra note 10, at 55.
61 BAUM, supra note 1, at 182—83.
journey, except in the fulfillment that comes from embarking on an existential quest. The journey, which is the activist mission, is itself an end.

Violence is also a means of establishing and maintaining power. Even though Baum moved away from the gruesomeness of fairy tales of the age, he nevertheless uses violence as an important tool for the acquisition and maintenance (or destruction) of power. Early in the story, the Tin Woodman kills a wildcat to protect the Queen of the Field Mice entitling him to be served by the mice.

The Wizard required Dorothy and each of her companions to kill the Wicked Witch of the West in order to receive their requested gifts. Thus, the Wizard targets those he fears in order to eliminate their legitimate power while simultaneously reinforcing the appearance of his own. This is especially important when the holder of power knows his own power is an illusion. The Wizard admits that “one of [his] greatest fears was the Witches, for while [he] had no magical powers at all [he] soon found out that the Witches were really able to do wonderful things.”

The characters and their actions in Oz help demonstrate the draw of hierarchy. The impact of the operation of hierarchy is not exclusive to individual motivation and behavior; it also has relevance to the complexities in group dynamics and organizational politics. Organizations, as steered by individuals, have incentive to be successful, be at the top of the relevant hierarchy, and to mimic the actions of organization or groups which are already successful, even when the objective is to challenge the superiority of those organizations or groups. The dynamics of hierarchy, individual as well as organization oriented, are best understood in real contexts. Very often, those that exist in reality are much more complex than those demonstrated in fantasies. This is exemplified by an analysis of some of the historical context surrounding the life of Joslyn Gage.

III. MATILDA’S “MAGIC”

Matilda Joslyn Gage was born into an abolitionist household distributing anti-slavery petitions from an early age. Joslyn Gage remained a strong supporter of black suffrage and equality as well as an advocate for universal liberty and peace. Her father, Dr. Hezekia Joslyn,
educated Matilda in Greek, mathematics, and physiology. Her brilliance as a historian was often remarked by her contemporaries; her brilliance as an orator, legal scholar, and advocate is evident in her writings. In spite of life-long illness from heart problems, she raised four children and was a passionate activist.

Joslyn Gage consistently wrote and spoke about the many ignored contributions of women. For example, in a speech at the Woman's Rights Convention of 1852, she noted the literary pursuits of Helena Lucretia Corano, a genius in language, poetry, painting, music, and medicine; the mathematics and astronomy of Mary Cunitz; the sculpture, engraving, and music arts of Anne Maria Schureman; the literary attainments of Contia Grierspan, made before her death at twenty-seven; Joanie Baillie was termed the female Shakespeare; the astronomical discoveries of Caroline Herschell; as well as the accomplishments of Lady Jane Grey, Mrs. Montague, Miss Cushman, Jenny Lind, Miss Chesebro, Miss Carey, Miss Fennimore Cooper, Grace Greenwood, Mrs. Stowe, and Margaret Fuller Ossoli. In a separate speech, Joslyn Gage persuasively spoke of the role of Anna Ella Carrol in the winning military strategies of the Civil War and pointed out the injustice of Carrol’s inability to receive a pension from the government which would have been granted had she been male. There were many other efforts on Joslyn Gage’s part to record women’s history.

Joslyn Gage’s examination of the root causes of women’s social inequality identified and exposed Christian church teachings as the primary cause. For example, regarding the usage of “original sin,” she observed:

The Christian Church is based upon the fact of woman servitude; upon the theory that woman brought sin and death into the world, and that therefore she was punished by being placed in a condition of inferiority to man—a condition of subjection, or subordination. This is the foundation to-day of the Christian Church.
In 1893, Joslyn Gage published *Woman, Church and State*, a thorough examination of the abuses and oppressions of the church in harming women and men and a work which she dubbed her “chief life work.” Her primary thesis is that the church and its teachings have legitimated and justified a situation where one half of humanity has ravaged, enslaved, and plundered the other half. She especially believes that the institution of marriage is inconsistent with the full realization of political rights for women. “In fact a marriage performed by clergyman of any denomination should be regarded as invalid in light of the civil law... It is an infringement of individual rights, that either state or church should possess absolute control over this important relation, one that enters the inmost life of the individual person contracting it.”

Joslyn Gage argued that the church oppressed women by supporting witch hunts, a practice that primarily targeted women. Joslyn Gage noticed that women who acquired knowledge in medicine and the healing arts were the greatest threat to patriarchy and thus were identified as witches. At the height of the witch craze, witches were burned 400 at a time. Witches were burned instead of boiled in oil because oil was expensive. This unfortunate historical reality coincides much too closely to the reasons that the Wizard feared the Wicked Witch of the East and his consequent requests to have her killed.

Place man and woman on an exact equality of religious rights. HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE 747 (Elizabeth Cady Stanton et al. eds., 1881). See also Brammer, supra note 23 at 69.

Joslyn Gage's Speech, supra note 14, at 349.


Spender, supra note 19, at 339 (stating that "it is no coincidence that 'at the time that witchcraft became the great ogre against which the church expended all its terrific powers, women doctors employed anesthetics to mitigate the pains and perils of motherhood.'"). See also Daly, supra note 69, at 218 ("The sons of the church had to erase women with the power to heal, not only by killing them, but [also] by denying that they healed of their own power. It must have been 'through diabolical agency,' that is, through obedience to another—the 'devil.'"); id. (discussing the erasure of the power of women and the denial that they are the source of their own power).
The Witches of the East and the West were terribly wicked, and had they not thought I was more powerful than they themselves, they would surely have destroyed me. As it was, I lived in deadly fear of them for many years; so you can imagine how pleased I was when I heard your house had fallen on the Wicked Witch of the East.

Subsequent to the National Woman’s Rights Convention in 1852, Joslyn Gage became active and well-known in the abolitionist and suffrage movements by writing and speaking in support of both causes. Joslyn Gage was an especially tireless advocate engaged in pursuit of the goal of equality for women. As part of this pursuit, she, along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, organized and advocated for women’s suffrage. Unlike Anthony, however, Joslyn Gage did not believe that suffrage was sufficient or should be an end sought to the exclusion of comprehensive equality. Joslyn Gage not only did not believe that the vote alone was enough to bring meaningful equality but was also interested in ensuring broader access to equality for all.

Between passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 and the proposal of the Fifteenth Amendment in early 1869, the National Woman Suffrage Association (“National”), an organization made up exclusively of women, was formed by Anthony and Cady Stanton. Anthony and Cady Stanton formed the National specifically as an alternative to the American Equal Rights Association over political and philosophical divisions regarding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In their efforts to secure a constitutional amendment for women’s suffrage, Anthony and Cady Stanton opposed passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provided that “[t]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” It was their position that the language in this Amendment easily could have included “sex” in its protected list. This single, but meaningful, word left out of the Fifteenth Amendment protection created a kind of “competition” between two groups that otherwise would have had similar, if not common, interests. This demonstrates how hierarchy maintains itself. As part of the ensuing
schism, Lucy Stone formed The American Woman Suffrage Association ("American"), which included both men and women in its membership.94 The American supported the guarantee of suffrage for black men and was open to leadership roles for men in the pursuit of women’s suffrage, among other issues, with which the members of the National did not agree.95 Even though Joslyn Gage did not vocally oppose suffrage for black men prior to women’s suffrage, she remained associated with the National when it split from the Equal Rights Association, and thus, American.

Anthony philosophically agreed with her longtime friend Frederick Douglass—a former slave who became an abolitionist and proponent of women’s suffrage96—that “citizens” should have the right to vote.97 In fact, in early years, the movements for equality and full rights of citizenship for manumitted slaves and for white women were often parallel, and their causes were merged in the quest for voting rights prior to the Reconstruction Amendments.98 Nevertheless, Anthony’s belief in universal suffrage seemed to extend only to ensuring her objectives for women’s rights, not to an unqualified belief in equality for all people.99 Both Anthony and Cady Stanton were angry that the Fourteenth Amendment introduced “male” into the Constitution, putting into question the citizenship status of women.100 Their feelings of betrayal led to their opposition to the Amendment and the entire idea of black suffrage.101 Anthony, “who had been steadfast in her opposition to slavery... said that women were more intelligent than the black men who, she now saw, were competing with her and her fellow women for the vote.”102

One can only wonder what modern day equality would look like if all those seeking meaningful equality worked together to acquire it. The manufactured conflict amongst groups is in service to the perpetuation of hierarchy; in this instance, it did not accomplish social equality for either group. In addition, this dispute served as an additional level of political conflict. Because both black’s and women’s suffrage were supported by members of the Republican Party, the Democrats pitted women’s suffrage against black suffrage in hopes of splitting the Republicans. Their success was greater than splitting a party; it took a long-term toll on the realization

94 Id. at 25.
95 Id. at 24–26.
96 Douglass spoke in favor of women’s suffrage at the Women’s Rights Convention at Seneca Falls (July 19, 1848). See BRAMMER, supra note 26, at 22.
98 Id. at 266.
99 Id. at 266–67 (“[A]lthough white men might reconcile themselves to the idea of black men coming to the polls, particularly if not too many black men were in the neighborhood, they were not yet up to facing the threat of having half the population—the women—elbowing their way in.”).
100 Id. at 250 (“Anthony said, ‘We have at least saved the nation from disgracing the Constitution by inserting the word male.’ There was more than a hint here that if ‘without regard to sex’ did not accompany ‘without regard to race’ in the description of who might vote, Anthony would work to block passage of an amendment enfranchising black Americans.”).
101 Brammer identifies racist comments made by both Anthony and Cady Stanton. BRAMMER, supra note 26, at 23; MCFEELY, supra note 97, at 266.
102 MCFEELY, supra note 97, at 266.
of equal rights and the definition of equality for blacks, women, and beyond. If this were different, would we be closer to Home?

Joslyn Gage was instrumental and active in the National, even serving as its president in 1876. She was also important in organizing the International Council of Women in 1888 where she continued to speak out against religion, alienating many conservative women in attendance. In the fight for women’s suffrage, the National focused primarily on a federal amendment and tended to be more radical, both in its membership and issues it chose to address. The American worked to attain suffrage in individual states rather than at the federal level. Because of the differences in associations and choice of issues, it seemed unlikely that these two organizations could ever unite.

Nonetheless, in an effort to push one more time for suffrage, Anthony made some political moves to ensure the alliance of the liberal National and the more conservative American. The merger was engineered by Anthony in Joslyn Gage’s absence and to the ire of Cady Stanton. Anthony, who had been narrowing her focus to obtain the vote, made an alliance with Frances Willard of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, whom Joslyn Gage saw as a danger to liberty. To quell dissent, Anthony made Cady Stanton the first president of the newly formed National American Woman Suffrage Association. In Joslyn Gage’s estimation, Anthony was single-minded in her pursuit of suffrage to the overall detriment of women’s greater issues and equality. Joslyn Gage was not willing to make a deal with advocates of church doctrine in contradiction to her beliefs about the church’s role in the subordination of women.

Woman is told that her present position in society is entirely due to Christianity, and this assertion is then made the basis of opposition to her demands for exact equality with man in all the relations of life. . . . [W]e shall help to show man’s unwarranted usurpation over woman’s religions and civil rights . . . will prove that the most grievous wound ever inflicted upon woman has been in the teaching that she was not created equal with man, and the

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103 BRAMMER, supra note 23, at 23.
104 Id. at 9.
105 Id. at 15.
106 Id. at 24–26.
107 Id.
108 Id.
109 Id. at 30.
110 Id. at 16.
111 Id.
112 Id. at 104. Cady Stanton was quite wary of the merger between the National and the American. She too wished to seek more than the vote and was a critic of the church. In fact, Cady Stanton wrote THE WOMAN’S BIBLE, published in 1895 and 1898. See CADY STANTON, THE WOMAN’S BIBLE (1898) (reinterpreting portions of the Bible and focusing on women in the Bible).
113 See id. at 16.
114 I did not come across any references to Joslyn Gage’s motivation for leaving the Equal Right’s Association or whether she agreed with Cady Stanton and Anthony’s racist denouncements of the Fifteenth Amendment. Based on what is not about her passionate position on the destructiveness of the Church to the goals for women’s equality, my speculations as to her motive are in accord.
Anthony, however, not only was willing to make this deal but also was willing to compromise broader principles of general equality. Thus, Joslyn Gage, who was steadfast in her beliefs and positions against patriarchy counter to the tactics of compromise espoused by members of her own organization, was purged from her organization and, for an extended period of time, from history.

IV. OBSCURING THE RESOLUTE

Joslyn Gage's activism, along with all other forms of activism, is a means of imagining a different reality with the object of making that fantasy into cognizable truth. Reading about the resistance to her activism, which Joslyn Gage encountered on multiple levels, prompts a discussion regarding the paradox of hierarchy in this complex dynamic. The first level of hierarchy explains individual plights, this situation allows its expansion to groups and inter-group infighting as well as intra-group place holding. Joslyn Gage experienced the ultimate obliteration from history for simultaneously challenging more than one level of hierarchy: she challenged patriarchy as well as the Christian Church, which she surmised existed only to maintain patriarchy. She also challenged the internal objectives of the National by insisting on broader objectives over the vote.

Joslyn Gage was not only edged out of her own organization but was also excluded from history. The irony of her exclusion is supreme, as one of her activities was in cataloguing women's history and accomplishments. The History of Woman Suffrage "was written in response to an inadequate coverage of women in traditional histories." Joslyn Gage, Cady Stanton, and Anthony were the primary editors of the first three volumes. Unfortunately, Joslyn Gage's exclusion from history started with the history she had a part in writing. While both Cady Stanton and Anthony wrote their autobiographies for inclusion in the History of Woman Suffrage,
Joslyn Gage did not. Neither Anthony nor Cady Stanton corrected this omission and made little effort to include her; the effect was to write her out of movement history in the works to which they contributed. In addition, these authors consciously shaped the history of woman suffrage. "[B]ecause of the focus on suffrage and the disparagement of more controversial views of women's oppression, the History was easily appropriated into conventional history, where the movement became a woman suffrage movement rather than part of a larger woman's rights movement."21

Thus, "Joslyn Gage and her ideas did not fit as easily into conventional history and the dominant cultural understanding of the movement."22 The choices made about what and whom to exclude also demonstrates "Joslyn Gage's argument that patriarchy is insidious because it succeeds by prompting women to participate in the process of their own suppression and cooption."23 "Joslyn Gage's exclusion from the movement and its history illustrates the fragility of controversial ideas within a movement for social change seeking acceptance from the larger culture."24 Of course, this is how the paradox of hierarchy operates.

The National, in seeking formal equality by acquiring the vote, may have sacrificed ground in the overall battle for equality. The additional hierarchies embedded in religion overlapped and reinforced political patriarchy. At this historical moment, race served as a competitor and an affront in the quest for formal equality of women. Thus, the perceived false competition between race and gender for political equality served to assist in the continued subordination of both.

Joslyn Gage was pushed out for her continued criticism of the church and its role in the subjugation of women. In other words, Joslyn Gage was pushed out by the hierarchy she helped form for the sake of meeting the markers of success established by an external hierarchy—ironically the same hierarchy of immediate challenge—patriarchy. The opposite is true

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21. Id. at 107 (discussing History and Joslyn Gage's association with Anthony and Cady Stanton and explaining that "[T]he National American Woman Suffrage Association became so centered on suffrage and so closed against any other issues, particularly the controversial ones Joslyn Gage raised, that her exclusion has become total, extending to histories of the movement. Her beliefs were so outside the mainstream of the conservative National American hat [sic] she was completely excluded. . . . Joslyn Gage found herself completely condemned . . . . In fact, the extension of her exclusion from the movement to the history of the movement can be traced to the histories written by two of her closest colleagues.").

22. Id. at 109 ("Of the three involved in the project, Anthony emerged as the most prominent. In the first three volumes, over one page in the index is devoted to her citations, while Cady Stanton's take up about two-thirds of a page, and Joslyn Gage's about one-fourth of the page. Certainly, this has much to do with Anthony's speaking tours and activity, but, in light of the historical treatment of Joslyn Gage and Cady Stanton, the discrepancy is somewhat suspect because this works with set the standard for information about movement as a whole. Beyond these concerns, there are particularly telling instances in which Joslyn Gage's contributions were minimized or omitted in the History."). See also DALY, supra note 69, at 219 ("Gage was a revolutionary thinker who did not 'equal' but rather outdistanced these reformers [Cady Stanton and Anthony] in the originality and creativity of her thinking, that is, in the time/space journey of metapatriarchal knowing.").

23. BRAMMER, supra note 23, at 115.

24. Id. at 115.

25. Id.

26. Id.
for the "great head" in Oz where the illusion is the power.\textsuperscript{127} in Joslyn Gage's case, the potential and threat of real power had to be made into illusion. Thus, she was "disappeared" from history.\textsuperscript{128} This is not unlike the fate of learned women during the era of witch trials,\textsuperscript{129} nor unlike the demise of the "wicked" witches in Oz.\textsuperscript{130}

Observation demonstrates that hierarchy seeks to reaffirm itself. There are multiple examples across history. Another prominent activist woman at a comparable time, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, was also obscured from history, albeit more briefly than Joslyn Gage. Even though Wells-Barnett had fought lynching tirelessly for decades, she was not acknowledged or mentioned by Walter White in \textit{Rope & Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch}. According to Kenneth Robert Janken, in the introduction to a later edition of that work, this was due not just to the passage of time, but primarily to "White's personal—and the NAACP's collective—antagonism to Wells-Barnett, dating to the association's founding and divergent opinions about the direction of the anti-lynching crusade."\textsuperscript{131}

Wells-Barnett is most famous for her campaign to end the practice of lynching, which affected primarily black men.\textsuperscript{132} Wells-Barnett made the links among systematic violence, oppression, and an ideology which made it acceptable. This was not unlike the link Joslyn Gage made concerning witch burning, patriarchy, and the church:

[Wells-Barnett] stood at the centre of the complex intersection of two forms of oppression—race and sex—and saw clearly that while sex was the basis of the 'availability' of women to men, it was race that was at the crux of which women were available to which men; black women were 'available' to white men, but so great was the power of white men that they could use the unavailability of their white women as a pretext for the murder of black men.\textsuperscript{133}

Just as Joslyn Gage was in conflict with Francis Willard\textsuperscript{134}—who had "received divine inspiration" to work for suffrage\textsuperscript{135}—over Joslyn Gage's

\textsuperscript{127} See supra notes 49–54 and text accompanying notes 51–53.
\textsuperscript{128} SPENDER, supra note 19, at 227–28 ("[F]or not only is Matilda Joslyn Gage in her disappearance 'representative', as distinct from an isolated case, not only is much of her work concerned with proving that women have always made a contribution and men have consistently made them invisible, not only was she intent on subverting male-controlled history by leaving a record of women's traditions—but she was also part of the very recent movement: her name is there on three volumes of \textit{History of Woman Suffrage} and yet she has been almost totally obliterated.").
\textsuperscript{129} See supra note 20.
\textsuperscript{130} See supra note 65 and accompanying text.
\textsuperscript{132} See Kendall Thomas, \textit{Strange Fruit}, in \textit{RACE-ING JUSTICE, EN-GENDERING POWER: ESSAYS ON ANITA HILL, CLARENCE THOMAS, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL REALITY} 370 (Toni Morrison ed., 1992) ("In addition to suffering rape and other forms of sexual terror, a number of black females lost their lives at the hands of lynch parties."). See generally Ida B. WELLS-BARNETT, \textit{SOUTHERN HORDOS: LYNCH LAW IN ALL ITS PHASES} 13–4, 24 (1892), reprinted in \textit{ON LYNCHINGS} (2002) (discussing that there are recorded instances of black women being lynched).
\textsuperscript{133} SPENDER, supra note 19, at 261–62.
\textsuperscript{134} See id. at 249 (explaining that Willard was also in a philosophical and personal conflict with both Cady Stanton and Joslyn Gage concerning the objectives of acquiring the vote).
portrayals of the Church; Wells-Barnett was in conflict with Willard over portrayals of the magnitude and causes of lynching. "To those who inquired about Willard’s position on lynching, [Wells-Barnett] said that the temperance leader was not only silent on the issue, but had added fuel to the fire of mob violence." Willard gave an interview in which she stated that "[t]he colored race multiplies like the locusts of Egypt. The grog-shop is its center of power. The safety of women, of childhood, of the home is menaced in a thousand localities . . . ." Willard managed to reference almost every racial stereotype in existence at the time.

The actions of Willard demonstrate a form of self-defeat as an unfortunate by-product of maintaining hierarchy. Willard, on some level, was consciously oblivious to the contributing factors in the subordination of women, thus permitting their continuation; she was also happy to contribute to subordination in one hierarchy to ensure the continuation of privilege, even to the extent it coordinated to maintain all other hierarchies.

Wells-Barnett, like Joslyn Gage, came into conflict with the organization she helped create because of the doggedness of her ideals. "[Wells-Barnett] was a black woman who was . . . often urged by both black men and white women to become more cautious and conciliatory. But she insisted on naming the issues, and on naming people, and for this she paid a high price." According to Paula Giddings, the dispute between Wells-Barnett and other founding members of the NAACP, was over the weak anti-lynching platform. Because of her "strident independence and refusal to compromise her principles," she antagonized such people as W.E.B. Du Bois, and her name was, for a time, dropped from the list of founding members of the NAACP. We might say that she was omitted for her "witchery."

Later, when Wells-Barnett sought to become president of the National Association of Colored Women, formed at the merger of the National Federation of Afro-American Women and the National League of Colored Women, she lost to fellow anti-lynching activist, Mary Church Terrell. Terrell’s activism against lynching was more of a conciliatory nature, attempting cooperation with white power structure.

Despite the famous speech of abolitionist Sojourner Truth in Akron in 1851, Ain’t I a Woman?, the obvious overlap between the goals of abolitionists and Reconstructionists and the goals of those seeking women’s

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135 Wagner, supra note 11, at xxxi.
137 SPENDER, supra note 19, at 262 (internal quotations omitted).
139 SPENDER, supra note 19, at 263.
140 See GIDDINGS, supra note 136, at 180-81.
141 See supra note 20.
142 SPENDER, supra note 19, at 263.
143 See generally id.
144 Sojourner Truth, Speech at Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio: Ain't I Woman? (1851).
equality and woman's suffrage were ignored. Both Wells-Barnett and Joslyn Gage exposed and challenged the use of violence as a means of maintaining hierarchy: Wells-Barnett by cataloguing and advocating against the widespread practice of lynching; and Joslyn Gage by challenging the identification, torture, and execution of witches by Christian churches. These challenges put both women at great personal risk and led to their being ostracized during their lifetimes and their contributions to changes in history being obscured.

V. CONCLUSION

Even though the greatest good would be accomplished through cooperative behaviors for the purpose of achieving universal ideals, perceptions of achievement of these ideals as limited prompts competition, enabling the continuation of power hierarchies and delays in the realization of those ideals. Joslyn Gage's ideas for universal equality may have been ahead of her time at the turn of the century, but these ideas have yet to find their time. Indeed, even though history has reclaimed Joslyn Gage to some degree, the extent of her contributions is still not fully recognized.

Finding Truth, Rationality, Equality and Justice is an ongoing challenge in our quest to find Home. Joslyn Gage's ideas for women's political equality have yet to be realized; Douglass's ideas for African American political equality have yet to be realized; the ideals of Joslyn Gage and Wells-Barnett to have a world free of politicized violence have yet to be realized. I don't think the Wizard can fool us, the golden cap can save us, or the silver shoes can take us Home.