

Other Voices: Politics, Culture, and the Irish Diaspora Press in America

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Submitted to Deborah M. Manion

Syracuse University Press

Syracuse, N. Y.

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“Readiness and Range”: Margaret Sullivan, Irish nationalist, American Journalist

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Margaret Buchanan Sullivan was one of the foremost journalists of her generation. Her motto was “Readiness and Range,” and her ability to produce fast, erudite copy on an astonishing variety of subjects (including politics, finance, editorials, art, education and architecture) was the secret of her success.¹ In her private life, she had three key interests – Irish nationalism, the Catholic Church, and education – and while her journalism, books, and poetry reflect all three, she also used her pen to promote a range of causes including the rights of women, black Americans, and tenant farmers.² Over the course of a thirty-year career, she more than held her own in a man’s world, avoiding the limelight (unlike her famous contemporary Nellie Bly), and letting her words speak for themselves, but it was her association with one particular man – her husband – that thrust her repeatedly into the glare of public scrutiny and ultimately threatened to destroy her career.

In her lifetime, Sullivan was highly regarded. The range of topics on which she wrote knowledgeably meant she was constantly in demand. One journalist observed that “versatility, inexorable logic and rare beauty of diction” were her “distinguishing traits,” another thought her “without superior or even an equal in literature or journalism,” while John R. Walsh, the owner of the *Chicago Herald*, described her as “the best living writer of English.”³ Yet, after her death she was almost entirely forgotten, partly because, in an era in which bylines were rarely used, most of her work was unattributed, and she left no archive behind. But within her profession she was well known, and, from the 1870s until close to her death in 1903, she maintained a stellar career. She deserves to be recognized

both as a pioneering journalist and as a woman who paved the way for other women to enter the profession.

A Pioneering Woman

When Margaret Sullivan started out as a journalist she was part of a rare breed. Women had been newspaper owners, editors and journalists from the early eighteenth century, but they were few and far between.⁴ Sullivan was certainly part of a pioneering cohort of women, including Margaret E. Sangster, Nellie Bly, Ida Tarbell, Ida B. Wells, Kathleen Conway, and Jennie L. Hopkins, who raised the profile of women in journalism in the late-nineteenth century.

In *Occupations for Women*, published in 1897, the educationalist and temperance campaigner Frances E. Willard identified more than sixty suitable occupations ranging from photographer to interior designer to teacher and nurse. Though there were still very few women in journalism, Willard thought it “one of the best professions in the world: for women for “it catches and holds the enthusiasm of the workers as nothing else does. It opens possibilities of attainment that are undreamed of when the first steps are taken.”⁵ But for those women who secured positions at newspapers, the work was often a precarious and poorly paid career. There were many reports of women being paid “compliments, not cash” for their stories, others complained that men were paid twice the amount for the same work and a significant proportion did piecework.⁶

At the turn of the twentieth century, it was estimated that women journalists earned between \$8 and \$100 a week, with the majority earning below \$20 a week.⁷ In 1895 Margaret E. Sangster, editor of *Harper's Bazaar*, estimated that the top salary for

women editor was \$5,000, but few earned above \$3,000 a year.⁸ Margaret Sullivan was commanding an annual salary of \$5,200 as principal editorial writer for the *Chicago Herald* in 1893 which made her one of the most highly paid journalists of her era.⁹

By the 1890s, Margaret Sullivan was a successful and wealthy woman, but her journey to the top of her profession was not easy. While Sullivan certainly did not lack for enthusiasm and ability, the world she entered could be hostile. Women journalists were largely confined to writing for the society and literature pages, with very few involved in editorial, political, or financial matters.¹⁰ Those who ventured into such male-dominated fields had much to prove. As late as 1901, articles criticizing women journalists were being published. Edward Bok, the editor of *Ladies Home Journal* claimed that “a newspaper office certainly tends to make a woman too independent, too free, too broad. It establishes her on a footing with men that is not wise; it gives her opportunities of freedom that are not uplifting.”¹¹ Margaret Sangster, disagreed. She, unsurprisingly, believed women had the ideal skills required to be journalists: “invincible patience, continued attention to details, tireless self-sacrifice, an intuitive vicarious consciousness, power of synthesis, power of analysis, tranquil impartiality, keen discrimination, a habit of surveying both sides of a question.”¹² Margaret Sullivan certainly had many of these attributes.

Brief Biography

Margaret Frances Buchanan, the youngest of nine children, was born in County Tyrone in 1847. Soon after Margaret’s birth, her mother was widowed, and in 1851, the remaining

family members moved to Detroit, Michigan, where some of Sullivan's elder siblings already lived.¹³

Sullivan was educated both in a Catholic school run by the nuns of the Society of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ) and at Detroit High School.¹⁴ Following her graduation in 1863, she taught for several years in the Detroit public schools.¹⁵ While teaching, she dipped her toes into journalism, writing for the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, then the leading Republican paper of Michigan.¹⁶

In the mid-1860s Buchanan, met Alexander Sullivan, an ambitious young Irish-American who would later become her husband. Sullivan was the owner of a shoe store that was destroyed in a suspicious fire in 1868, and when several witnesses came forward claiming that the fire was arson and that Sullivan had been seen leaving the shop just before it began, Sullivan was arrested. However, Margaret Buchanan provided an alibi, maintaining that Sullivan had been in a church with her at the time of the fire: 11 p.m. Perhaps fearful that the story was implausible, Alexander Sullivan skipped town and headed for Santa Fe, New Mexico. Following Sullivan's hasty departure, Margaret Buchanan moved to Chicago – the first, but not the last, time her association with Alexander Sullivan would result in upheaval. But despite their geographical distance the couple remained close. In the spring of 1873, Sullivan joined Buchanan in Chicago, and in November 1874, they were married.¹⁷

Changing Professions

Following her move to Chicago, Margaret Sullivan changed professions, trading the classroom for the world of journalism and daily deadlines. Within a few years she had

established herself not only as one of the finest journalists in the midwest, but in the United States. There are a number of versions of the story of Margaret Sullivan's big break into journalism. The most plausible story is the one where she secured a position with the *Chciago Evening Post* in 1869. The paper's editor, C. H. Ray, recalled that soon after her arrival in Chicago she appeared at his desk "dressed in plain, but neat attire, with a modest, but reliant and self-possessed manner" and informed him that she was seeking employment.

I asked her what position she thought she could fill, when she replied in [an] easy confident manner, 'I think almost any'...Then I said I would like to see what she could do, when, — to my surprise ...— she quietly removed her coat and hat, and...seated herself at a table, which had a supply of writing materials, and with great rapidity dashed off 'Copy.' After completing her work...said she would return the next day. —I picked up the 'Copy' with considerable curiosity and was not less surprised at the subject, than at the masterly manner in which it was handled — it was on 'Finance!' ... She returned the next day, and in the same business-like way...she seated herself at a table and again rapidly produced copy, and after completing it left in the same manner as on the previous morning. This proved to be a political article of interest, ably handled, and thus for several days she continued taking up a new but live subject each time, and treating each and all in a clear, forcible and masterly manner, and to my great surprise and increasing satisfaction, demonstrated that she fully appreciated what she said at our first interview as to her ability to fill any position on the staff.¹⁸

This facility to turn her hand to almost any subject was Sullivan's great strength, and by 1873, she was an associate editor on the *Evening Post*.¹⁹ Later she moved to Wilbur F. Storey's *Chicago Times*. Storey was notoriously difficult to work for. His motto was "to print news and to raise hell," and under him the *Times* was, as David Paul Nord put it, "sensational, irreverent, diverse in content, and quick in news coverage."²⁰ But despite her "calm-faced, kind-eyed, nun-like figure," Sullivan was well able to cope with the feistiness of the newsroom, and Storey allowed "her pen unchecked scope."²¹

Her robust style was often commented on, and she was regularly compared (favourably) to her male counterparts: "Though the most womanly of women in all things that are lovely in women, Margaret Sullivan is a man in resolution, courage, insight, mental force and faculty."²² The *New York Herald* praised Sullivan for wielding "a strong masculine pen."²³ In a world in which the qualities required for good journalism were regarded as inherently "masculine," praising women for being like men was a regular occurrence. The journalist Jennie L. Hopkins was regarded as the "best newspaper man in Colorado" while Kathleen Conway was described by her editor, John Boyle O'Reilly, as having "the heart of a woman and the brains of a man."²⁴ Far from being insulted by this, Conway used these very words when praising Margaret Sullivan in an article she wrote after Sullivan's death.²⁵

Sullivan was also prolific. In addition to her work as a journalist she wrote for a range of periodicals while also producing poetry and books. Her non-journalistic writing is often easily identifiable because, for the most part, it was signed. Much of her

journalism was published without a byline, as was the practice at the time.²⁶ This helped Sullivan maintain her anonymity, though she was also partly responsible herself.

The poet, editor, and journalist Harriet Monroe bemoaned the fact that “Mrs. Sullivan profoundly respected the anonymity of journalism – in fact the inborn modesty of her character caused her to respect it too much, so that it is difficult to trace and follow the influence of her pen.”²⁷ In this, as in many other aspects of Margaret Sullivan’s life and career, she appears contradictory. While she was ambitious, determined, and prepared to stand up for herself (and her husband) when necessary, she had little desire to be famous. Sullivan never cultivated a public persona, preferring her words on the page to represent her. She generally shunned the limelight, rarely agreeing to give speeches or make public appearances. However, on two occasions, in 1876 and in 1889, she found herself in a maelstrom of news stories connected with her husband, whose talent for attracting publicity was not always to his – or her – advantage.

Alexander Sullivan and his ambitions

In August 1876, Alexander Sullivan shot and killed a school principal, Francis Hanford. In an anonymous letter to the City Council of Chicago, Hanford had implied that Margaret Sullivan had had an improper relationship with the mayor, Harvey Colvin.²⁸ He claimed that she had used her influence not only to secure her husband the position of secretary of the Board of Public Works but also to hamper the public school system on behalf of the Catholic Church, which wanted Church (rather than state-led) schools.²⁹

Sullivan was incensed and confronted Hanford at his home. When Hanford refused to retract his allegations Sullivan shot and killed him. After two trials in October

1876 and March 1877, both before the same judge, Sullivan was acquitted, though the evidence clearly showed that he had gone to Hanford's house armed with a pistol and that Hanford himself was unarmed.³⁰ There were allegations of corruption on the bench and in the jury – the judge had repeatedly taken the side of the defense and allowed Sullivan's supporters to applaud and cheer the defendant throughout the case.³¹ Yet, despite widespread negative publicity, neither Margaret nor Alexander Sullivan's careers were severely hampered. Sullivan retained his job with the Board of Public Works, though he had set his sights on a legal career and, by 1879, had been admitted to the Illinois bar.³²

The primary focus of Sullivan's life lay not within the law courts of Chicago, however. He had larger ambitions, both in domestic politics, where he saw himself as a potential vice-president, and across the Atlantic Ocean where he was determined to play a key role in securing Ireland's independence from Britain.³³ Alexander Sullivan was a member of Clan na Gael, an oath-bound Irish-American organization dedicated to achieving Irish freedom from Britain through the use of force. He was politically astute and personally charming, and through the 1870s, he established himself as a central figure in the Irish-American republican movement. By 1880 he was a leader of the organization and determined to pursue a policy of attacking high profile targets in Britain. While Margaret Sullivan never explicitly supported her husband's "Dynamite War" in print, she certainly shared his ambition for an Irish republic, and it seems more than likely that she approved of the campaign. As one contemporary observed, "Alexander Sullivan never takes an important step without first consulting his wife."³⁴

A 'power' couple in Chicago

By 1880, the Sullivans were an influential couple in Chicago. Alexander Sullivan dominated the Clan in the city, and the Sullivans counted leading legal, political and Catholic figures amongst their friends.³⁵ In February 1880, they were key figures when the city hosted Charles Stewart Parnell on his fundraising tour of America.³⁶ Parnell was a member of the British Parliament, president of the Land League, and a man many believed could establish an independent Irish Parliament (a cause better known as “Home Rule”). Parnell’s trip was a whirlwind tour of forty cities in fifteen states, but he received the most support in Chicago. While 7,000 came out to greet him in New York, a crowd of between 15,000 and 20,000 assembled in the Interstate Exposition Building in Chicago to see Parnell receive the Freedom of the City on the night of February 23, 1880.³⁷ As Michael Davitt, the founder of the Land League and close friend of the Sullivans, later recalled:

the hall was full of a vast audience, restive and impatient, full of eagerness to hear the envoys... Among the items on the program which preceded the...speakers, was the recitation of a long poem of welcome...and this task was performed by a dramatic artiste, a young lady...who with other striking attractions, stood over six feet high... The handsome young giantess poured into them and over them for nearly half an hour an elocutionary torrent of praise and worship.³⁸

Margaret Sullivan wrote a “long poem of welcome” titled “The Irish Famine of 1880.” The poem made her political views abundantly clear. Through eight stanzas, she castigated Britain’s abuse of Ireland and implored other nations see that Ireland is “a land of graves.”

Philanthropist and missionary lives on St George’s Channel –

Sends Bibles – to the Pope of Rome, and to the tropics – flannel!
Prays godly prayers for *foreign* sin before her holy altar,
The while her hands twist at her back for Ireland’s neck a halter!
In *foreign* lands protects the weak, with treaties – or with cannon!
And thrusts the dagger to the heart of her sister on the Shannon!
So generous to her foreign foes they praise her to the sky –
And leaves her Irish subjects *one* privilege – to die!³⁹

Coruscating though the poem was, Sullivan’s writing generally steered clear of her personal politics.⁴⁰ She wrote regularly for a broad range of journals including *Harper’s Bazaar*, *Catholic World*, the *Century*, *The Dial* and the *Catholic Review*. The articles she wrote for Catholic periodicals generally reflected her interest in Irish history and politics rather than religion (though invariably they did touch on the poor treatment of Catholics in Ireland), while those for a broader audience focussed on American topics and art and theatre reviews.⁴¹ Where her articles considered Irish politics, she sought to give current debates a historical context. She criticised those who spoke of a restoration of a national Parliament in Ireland for, as she observed, “a parliament which contained no [Catholic] representative can scarcely be designated a national parliament.”⁴² While dismissing Oliver Cromwell as “that splendid ruffian,” she commented that “all through Ireland the American traveller feels [that] the island is pinned down with a bayonet, lest, were the opportunity given, it would slip out to sea or run up the hills and hide itself.”⁴³

Irish nationalism was just one of Margaret Sullivan’s interests. She also wrote passionately on Catholicism.⁴⁴ Faith remained a key touchstone throughout her life. Her

friend Katherine Conway observed “too many of our Catholic women, once they have attained wealth or intellectual distinction, withdraw themselves as far as possible from all association with their fellow-believers.” But Sullivan remained devoted to Catholicism, including Catholic schools and convents.⁴⁵

In 1875, *Chiefly Among Women* was published, first anonymously and later under Sullivan’s name, in the *Catholic World*. The article was inspired by the British Prime Minister William Gladstone, who noted that there had been a growth in numbers of Catholics in England and that “the conquests have been chiefly, as might have been expected, among women.”⁴⁶ Sullivan regarded this as an insult to women, an assumption that they were weak and foolish and susceptible to acts of folly. Her article refuted Gladstone’s observation and drew heavily on examples of women in the past from Ariadne to St Bridget in her discussion of “the power of women in propagating religion.”⁴⁷ She observed that “women have shared in the establishment of educational institutions from the earliest period....Their resources have founded schools, their talents have conducted them. Whenever, from the days of St Catherine to those of Nano Nagle, special efforts have been made to teach the people, women have furnished their full share of energy and brains.”⁴⁸ She concluded that “a religion which makes conquests enough among women...is the religion which must conquer the world.”⁴⁹

In her journal articles, she wrote on topics as diverse as Bohemian philosophers and revolutions in farm life. One of her particular passions was for libraries. She noted “a mental desert without books has blossomed into the travelling library. The despair of fine art is turned into rapturous glimpses by the travelling picture library. The portable school-house and chapel on wheels are factors in a radical and irreversible change.”⁵⁰ In the

aftermath of the Chicago Fire of 1871, Sullivan wrote editorials championing the creation of a public library. The idea commanded huge public support and on January 1, 1873, the Chicago Public Library reopened its doors.

In the early 1890s, she wrote a series of articles for the *Chicago Herald* that advocated higher education for women. She observed that women had provided large sums of money to support men's colleges while women's colleges were in need. In response, the Chicago Women's Club in 1893 raised \$280,000 to build two dormitory halls for women at the "new" University of Chicago.⁵¹

Supporting the Irish republican cause

Sullivan's personal politics might have mirrored those of her husband, but their approaches to the cause were very different. In the early 1880s, while Alexander Sullivan was organising a series of bomb attacks on Britain, Margaret Sullivan was using her pen to generate support for the cause of Irish freedom. While in her journalism she tended to steer clear of Irish politics, as an author Sullivan had a free hand to write about subject close to her heart, and in 1881 her book, *Ireland of To-day: Causes and Aims of Irish Agitation*, was published. In *Ireland of To-day*, Sullivan focused on Irish land issues. The book was written for an Irish-American audience, for, as T. P. O'Connor, Member of Parliament and Home Rule campaigner, pointed out in his introduction to the book, "it is one of the disadvantages of the Irish people in this struggle that their history is told to the world by their enemies, for the English newspaper...is the authority which the mass of mankind accepts."⁵²

Much of the book was preoccupied with the Land League, an organisation established in 1879 by her close friend Michael Davitt. The League, which was focused on improving tenants' rights to the land they lived on and farmed, was largely controlled by Davitt, though Parnell was its president. Between 1879 and 1881 the “Land War” took place in Ireland as the Land League sought to secure the “3 Fs” – ‘Fair Rent, Free Sale and Fixity of Tenure’” – for tenants. Sullivan robustly defended the League, which she argued was “organized for a moral, human and righteous purpose; led by men of the highest personal character; directed by methods strictly constitutional... the Irish National Land League was proclaimed illegal by the English government in Ireland and suppressed by force. Its foremost men are imprisoned, unaccused, untried, All liberty in Ireland is dead....”⁵³ Sullivan was determined that Irish-Americans (indeed all Americans) understood the Irish Question, which she summed up succinctly:

England and Ireland are members of the British empire. They are supposed to enjoy alike the benefits of the British constitution; But England is the richest, Ireland the poorest, country in the empire... Irishmen prefer to live in their native country, yet there are four times as many of them in foreign countries as in their own: with them emigration has been a chronic national necessity. England hums with manifold industries; Ireland’s vast waterpower, capable of turning the machinery of the world is silent. England’s wharves are forests of masts; Ireland’s beautiful harbors are empty except when the English ship carries away the products of her soil. ... England governs Ireland by her enemies and in hatred.⁵⁴

Sullivan was certain that the Irish diaspora would ensure Irish freedom: “Five millions of the Irish people in Ireland may be deprived of constitutional rights; twenty

millions of the Irish people in the United States, in Australia and in Canada are free. They know that there can never be happiness or prosperity in their motherland until her laws are made by her own people on her own soil.’⁵⁵ This call to arms was not explicitly encouraging men to follow her husband’s path, but it certainly did not discourage them, and there is no evidence that she rejected the idea of using violence rather than parliamentary efforts to secure Irish independence. While she was not a member of Clan na Gael (as membership was restricted to men), it was believed by some that Margaret Sullivan was just as devoted as her husband to a radical solution to Ireland’s connection with Britain. Indeed, when by the mid-1880s Parnell’s relationship with radical Irish America (and the Sullivans) had soured and when Parnell saw her in the Ladies Gallery of the House of Commons, his reaction was not to think she was writing a newspaper article, but that she was had joined her husband’s “Dynamite War” and was there to throw a bomb into the house.⁵⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that this was ever her intention.

Unsurprisingly, *Ireland of To-Day* found favour among Irish and Irish-American nationalists and republicans. Michael Davitt praised it as a “brilliant survey of the Irish movement from the earliest times....[Sullivan] brought the salient facts of Ireland’s history with great literary skill before the wide circle of her readers” while James Redpath, a journalist and anti-slavery campaigner, thought her book was “the best statement of the case of Ireland that has ever been made.”⁵⁷ The book was a commercial success, selling over 30,000 copies’.⁵⁸

More savvy than her husband

Alexander Sullivan harboured ambitions to enter American domestic politics, but some regarded Margaret as much more savvy than her husband. Indeed, Secretary of State James G. Blaine reportedly said that “if she were a man he would like to send her as minister to one of the capitals of Europe.”⁵⁹

Margaret Sullivan never embarked on a glittering diplomatic career, but she did get to travel to Europe as a journalist. Her overseas reporting was not for one Chicago paper but for the Associated Press. From the mid-1880s, Sullivan wrote regularly for the AP, which syndicated her work across the United States.⁶⁰ She may not have sought fame for herself, but she was undoubtedly gratified to have her words read across the continent for she boasted to the Irish poet and novelist Katharine Tynan that “she represented ten thousand American newspapers.”⁶¹

In the summer of 1886, as the AP’s London correspondent, she wrote a series of color articles about the current state of British politics. Given her firmly held beliefs regarding Britain and Ireland, these articles were surprisingly even-handed. Indeed, she described the prime minister William Gladstone as “the most beneficent, the noblest, the most illustrious career in modern statesmanship...He has not hesitated to confess error...He tortured Ireland.” Reflecting optimism that Ireland would be granted Home Rule, she concluded that “No one doubts that an overwhelming Liberal majority will confirm the great Minister's determination to plant the germ of Home Rule in Ireland.”⁶²

Her greatest journalistic coup took place in Paris in 1889 when she represented the AP at the Paris Exposition. The AP general manager expressly requested that the *Chicago Tribune* release Margaret Sullivan for three months so she could report on the exposition. Sullivan had been selected as the AP correspondent by some of the most

influential newspaper men of the day including Charles A. Dana of the *New York Sun*, Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* and Whitelaw Reid of the *New York Tribune*. She was commissioned to write 5,000 words on the exhibition and the opening ceremony plus four more 3,000-word articles on fine arts, industrial arts, education and manufacture, a commission reflecting both her polymathic qualities and her contemporaries' acknowledgement of them.⁶³ Nevertheless, when she arrived in Paris she discovered that she alone of all the journalists had not received a pass for the opening day ceremonies. Furious, she sent a series of letters to U.S. Secretary of State Blaine, the president of the Associated Press, and the French President Marie Francois Sadi Carnot. Carnot replied that "the French Republic has never given official recognition to a lady." The indignant Sullivan retorted, "Your Excellency, it is time the French Republic created a precedent." A pass was provided, and she became the only woman to have access to the opening ceremony.⁶⁴

Sullivan clearly revelled in her Parisian stay: "To-night Paris is ablaze with illumination.... The city is the people's....a vast unified picture, alive with color, its great avenues, colossal arches, numerous and massive bridges, spacious parks and squares, majestic monuments and pillars, clean thoroughfares, dazzling atmosphere, reflecting the sunlight upon the limestone."⁶⁵ Her account of a glittering Paris made the front page of many U.S. newspapers including the *New York Tribune*, as did her series of articles on the content of the exposition.⁶⁶ Her star had never been brighter. However, just as she reached the peak of her fame, and her (signed) work was being syndicated across the United States, a fresh crisis engulfed the Sullivans.

Fresh accusations

On May 4, 1889, while Margaret Sullivan was in Paris, Dr. Patrick Cronin, a Chicago physician, disappeared. Until recently, he had been a member of Clan na Gael, but he had fallen out with Alexander Sullivan, claiming he was a “professional patriot” only interested in Irish freedom to further his own career. Their dispute came to a head when Cronin accused Sullivan of embezzling \$100,000 of Clan funds. Cronin was expelled from the Clan but the disagreement rumbled on. The Clan split with one side following Sullivan while another (led by John Devoy and Cronin) continued to insist that Sullivan was corrupt. When Cronin went missing, fingers (and newspaper columns) began to point at Sullivan. Two weeks after he disappeared, Cronin’s naked and beaten body was pulled from a sewer in north Chicago. Sullivan was the prime suspect, and on June 11, he was arrested on suspicion of murder.⁶⁷

The first Margaret Sullivan knew of his arrest was a telegraph from her husband urging her to stay away from Chicago: “Don’t be alarmed. . . . Arrested... Don’t think of coming.” As instructed she did not hasten home, cabling her husband: “Judgment against immediate return. Am with friends. All send assurance, affection. Be firm. Real nature of attack on you understood. It will be completely exploded. Your vindication will compensate for temporary injustice.”⁶⁸

At least outwardly, Margaret Sullivan appeared unperturbed by the storm engulfing her husband. From Paris she traveled to London where she spent time with Michael Davitt and other figures in Irish political life, attended the Parnell Commission, and mixed with poets and artists such as the young W. B. Yeats, Sydney Prior Hall, and Sarah Purser. Yeats was quite taken with her, and wrote to his friend Katharine Tynan, “I

have seen a good deal of Mrs. Alexander Sullivan. She is looking much better than when I wrote last and seems to have quite recovered her spirits.”⁶⁹ Tynan, on the other hand, was skeptical of Margaret Sullivan’s behavior, noting that upon hearing of her husband’s predicament,

we were all sympathetic and set out to be very conciliatory but...she brightened up so much that we concluded she knew everything and believed that he would soon be released, which he was. I think she had the deliberate intention at that time of appearing everywhere she could and meeting as many people—of facing the music, so to speak, and confuting by her presence those who might have believed her husband guilty.⁷⁰

It was perhaps an indication of the fame of the Sullivans, and the attention paid across the United States to Alexander Sullivan’s arrest, that, while in London, Margaret Sullivan issued a statement about the murder. She claimed to be “deeply pained at the falsehood of the imputation implied in associating her husband’s name with the Cronin mystery,” but the “knowledge of her husband’s absolute ignorance of the crime sustains her.” She railed against “Chicago newspaper rot” and “malignant aspersions of personal or political enemies.”⁷¹ Sullivan’s statement was carried in newspapers across the country and for the second time in her career, much against her will, Margaret Sullivan had become the story.

While in London Margaret Sullivan made a rare incursion into reporting on Irish affairs.⁷² The Parnell Commission had been established to investigate alleged links between Parnell and radical Irish republicanism. If such links were proven, Parnell’s political career would be destroyed. Sullivan had a personal as well as professional interest in the commission as the revelations emerging from it about Parnell’s links to

radical republicanism potentially had repercussions for her husband. In the wake of his arrest, Alexander Sullivan's role in Clan na Gael and his relationship with Parnell was under scrutiny.⁷³

In July 1889 Margaret Sullivan returned to Chicago. She found the atmosphere in the city highly charged. The Cronin murder, together with the subsequent trial, dominated the newspapers in the city from May to December, and despite Margaret Sullivan's close connection to many of the editors, she could do nothing to save her husband's reputation. Although Alexander Sullivan was neither a witness nor a defendant at the trial, he was regularly referred to by both prosecution and defense, and newspapers continually linked him to the murder, prompting an exasperated Margaret Sullivan to exclaim, "We have a fine assortment of stupids writing now for the Chicago press."⁷⁴

Indeed, despite Margaret Sullivan's long relationship with the *Chicago Tribune*, it was that paper that functioned most consistently as a mouthpiece for the Cronin faction of Clan na Gael as Cronin's friends fed their version of the feud to James Sullivan (no relation of Alexander Sullivan), a reporter on the paper. Margaret Sullivan complained vigorously that the paper and others were biased against her husband. She was so incensed that she returned an advance the *Tribune* had given her, insisting that "until it makes some reparation for its brutality I will not write a line for it." She claimed that no paper was fair to her husband and the best they could hope for was that some of the papers were "not offensive."⁷⁵

In December 1889, four of the five men accused of Cronin's murder were found guilty, with three sentenced to life imprisonment. All had connections to Clan na Gael and Alexander Sullivan and, despite the lack of significant evidence, the public consensus

was that he must have ordered the attack. The coverage of the Cronin murder and subsequent trial ruined Alexander Sullivan's career and clearly embittered Sullivan towards her chosen profession. In 1893 she described journalism as "the literary form of commerce that collects, corrupts and diffuses misinformation," yet despite her cynicism, she continued to use that literary form (and others) to promote causes she believed in.⁷⁶

In many ways she had no choice. In the wake of the Cronin trial her husband was persona non grata within radical Irish-America, and the couple had accrued significant debts. Alexander Sullivan's law practice suffered heavily, and his partner left. Certainly in the years immediately post the Cronin murder, Margaret Sullivan was the principal earner. Wisely, she steered clear of Irish politics in her journalism and did not return to the *Chicago Tribune*. By 1892 she was principal editorial writer on the *Chicago Herald*.⁷⁷

Conclusion

In September 1896, Margaret Sullivan suffered a severe stroke, and it was feared she would not survive.⁷⁸ She recovered and resumed her journalism. She left the *Herald* and took a position as editorial writer with the *Chicago Chronicle* and continued to write for other publications, including *Harper's Bazaar* and *The Dial*. However, in December 1903, she suffered a second catastrophic stroke and died on December 28 at the age of 56. John Finerty's Chicago-based Irish-American newspaper *The Citizen* announced her death by declaring "The most brilliant woman of the Irish race is dead." Many eulogies followed. The *New World* noted that

it will always be a source of lasting regret...that she left no original work in book form truly representative of her phenomenal ability. As an editorial writer she had

no superior on the American press, but alas all who know editorial writing know also that it is ephemeral, so far as fame of the writer is concerned....The public is content to be stirred without caring to remember the name of the one who so moved public opinion.⁷⁹

In an obituary, Harriet Monroe praised Sullivan's "combination of powers: the union of masculine strength and range with feminine delicacy and tenderness of precision.... She did a man's work in the great world and yet lived with singular intensity a woman's life..."⁸⁰ She may have done "a man's work in a man's world," but she was mindful of the position of women. Indeed, championing the underdog was a constant theme throughout her life. She advocated for the establishment of free public libraries, perhaps reflecting the fact that she did not come from a wealthy background. She used her skills as teacher to pass on advice and knowledge to a new generation of women, whether mentoring them in newsrooms or inviting them to join her Dante Club – where young women read Dante in Italian – or her Foreign Book Club to discuss foreign literature.⁸¹ She actively demanded that women be more visible in the arts and advocated greater legal rights for women, particular in relation to divorce.⁸²

To a large extent Margaret Sullivan remains an enigma. She was talented, ambitious and successful. She was one of the most prolific women journalists of her generation, yet she never courted publicity and much of her newspaper work remains to be identified. A passionate campaigner, she committed herself to a variety of causes some of which, such as Catholicism and Irish nationalism, were far from universally popular. Perhaps the greatest mystery surrounds her decision to marry Alexander Sullivan, a suspected arsonist (and later murderer) whose thirst for power sometimes cast them both

in a very unfavourable light. But what can be said is that Margaret Sullivan was a standard bearer for women in journalism, a profession that, casting off her bitterness in later years, she praised for mirroring the world “with a precision and sweep unequalled by any other branch of human industry.”⁸³

At the beginning of her career, a mere 35 women identified themselves as journalists, amounting to just 0.6 percent of U.S. journalists.⁸⁴ Over the course of the next thirty years, in which Margaret Sullivan became one of the highest paid and most respected journalists of her generation, the number of women journalists in the United States swelled to 2,190 (7 percent of 30,098 journalists).⁸⁵ Though she was not single-handedly responsible for this increase, there is no doubt that her role as a consistent and enthusiastic mentor of women in journalism played a significant part.

¹ *The Tablet*, « Et Cetera, » February 27, 1904 ; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 18 June 1878; *Harper's Bazaar*, October, 1901; 'Triumph of the Literary Play', *The Dial*, 16 June 1901.

² See for example: 'Legal Injustice to Women', *The Indianapolis Journal*, 10 Dec 1893; [Margaret Sullivan], 'Let it Die', *Chicago Times*, 7 Nov 1880; *The Broad Ax*, (Salt Lake City), 2 Jan 1904

³ 'Genius of Mrs Sullivan', *Chicago Chronicle*, 3 January 1904; Isabella C. O'Keefe, 'Catholic Women', *Intermountain Catholic*, 18 Nov 1899; *Gaelic American*, Feb. 21, 1925; O'Brien, *Evening Memories*, 124; Mount Elliott Cemetery, A History, 83 http://www.mtelliott.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/MtElliott_History11.pdf

⁴ Elizabeth Cody Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joselyn Gage (eds) *History of Woman Suffrage*, 2nd Ed, 1889, Chapter 2, Women in Newspapers; Maurine H. Beasley,

Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*, 2nd Ed, (Strata Publications, 2003).

⁵ Frances F. Willard, *Occupations for Women*, Chapter XLVL, New York, 1887, 284.

⁶ Gottlieb, 'American Journalism', 63; Helen M. Winslow, 'The Confessions of a Newspaper Woman', *The Atlantic*, (Feb, 1905).

⁷ Cynthia Westover Alden *Women's Ways of Earning Money*, (New York, 1904), 166.

⁸ Margaret E. Sangster, 'Editorship as a Profession for Women', *Forum*, (Dec. 1895).

⁹ McCabe, 'Margaret Sullivan'. A US Congressman or Senator earned \$5,000 per annum in 1889 while the average wage for a manufacturing worker was \$427.

¹⁰ Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, 'Grit Your Teeth, then Learn to Swear: Women in Journalistic Careers 1850-1926', *American Journalism*, 18:1, (2013), 58.

¹¹ Edward Bok 'Is the Newspaper Office the Place for a Girl', *Ladies Home Journal*, 18, (February 1901) quoted in Gottlieb, 'Women in Journalistic Careers, 53

¹² Sangster, 'Editorship as a Profession for Women'.

¹³ Kathleen Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith: Gender and American Catholicism in the Progressive Era*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 20-21.

¹⁴ *The Irish Standard* (Minneapolis), 2 Jan 1904; *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), 28 Dec 1903.

¹⁵ Educated by the Religious of the Sacred Heart, she remained close to the nuns and was active in the Alumnae Society and in 1866 she wrote a poem 'The Corridors of Memory' for the first general meeting of the Alumni Society. In 1868 she was the Vice-President of the Alumni Society and in 1870 she was on the committee organising the annual reunion. In 1897 she was president of the alumnae association of Chicago. *Twelve Years of the*

Detroit High School Scholarship Fund, 1891-1903, with a complete list of officers of the Detroit High School Alumni Society. (Detroit: 1903), 55-7. *New York Times*, 'Noted Woman Writer Dead', Aug. 29, 1903. I am grateful to Ellen Skerrett for information on Sullivan's presidency of the alumnae association.

¹⁶ [A Member of the Michigan Bar], *Irish Celts. A Cyclopedia of Race History* (Detroit, 1884), 80-1

¹⁷ Gillian O'Brien, *Blood Runs Green. The Murder that Transfixed Gilded Age Chicago*, (Chicago, 2015)

¹⁸ *Irish Celts*, 80-1; Harriet Monroe, 'Margaret Sullivan's Meed', *Chicago Chronicle*, 30 Dec 1903; *Indiana State Sentinel*, 9 May 1894.

¹⁹ Federal Writers Project, *The Case of Dr Cronin*, (unpublished manuscript, probably 1936), Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois, 3; 'Gifted Woman Dead', *The Irish Standard* (Minneapolis), 2 Jan 1904.

²⁰ Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and their Readers*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 112.

²¹ 'Margaret Sullivan: some facts about the leading woman journalist of America', *Fort Worth Gazette*, 30 July 1889.

²² 'Margaret Sullivan', *Fort Worth Daily Gazette*, 30 July 1889.

²³ *New York Herald*, 6 March 1882.

²⁴ J.L.H., 'A Woman's Experience of Newspaper Work', *Harper's Weekly*, 25 January 1890 quoted in Fuhs, *Out on Assignment*, 19; quoted in Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith*, 178;

²⁵ Quoted in Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith*, 178

²⁶ Some writers' names appeared alongside their articles as early as the 1830s but it did not become common until the end of the nineteenth century and indeed was not the default until well into the twentieth century. Such anonymity posed a problem for both sides in the American Civil War and General Joseph Hooker, commander of the Army of the Potomac issued General Order 48 in April 1863 to deal with the problems associated with anonymous reports of the war which Hooker believed were often either untrue, or revealed crucial details to the Confederates. Journalists were not pleased with Hooker's action, but quickly changed their opinion as many of them developed national reputations because of their identifiable war coverage. William E. Huntzicker, *The Popular Press, 1833-1865*, (Westport, CT, 1999), 149.

²⁷ Monroe, 'Margaret Sullivan Meed.

²⁸ For detail on the Hanford Murder see: Charles H. Wood, 'The Sullivan Trial', *The American Law Register*, (1852-1891), vol. 25, no. 7, new series, vol. 16 (July 1877), 384-92; Smith, *Urban Disorder*, 103. The City Council was then known as the Common Council.

²⁹ On the Catholic Church and public schools see Timothy Walch, 'Catholic Social Institutions and Urban Development. The view from nineteenth-century Chicago and Milwaukee', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 64, 1, (Jan. 1978), 16-32; ____, 'The Catholic Press and the Campaign for Parish Schools: Chicago and Milwaukee 1850-1885', *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 3, 4, (Spring, 1984), 254-72.

³⁰ In the first trial the jury failed to reach a unanimous verdict. Professor David Swing, a well-known Preacher and friend of Mrs. Lincoln was certain that the killing of Hanford would destroy Sullivan's life: 'Let us pity tenderly the widow and the fatherless, and pity

also the hearthstone of Alexander and Margaret Sullivan. The ruin of their home, founded only last spring, seems complete'. *Chicago Tribune*, 'What Prof. Swing thinks of the homicide', Aug. 20, 1876.

³¹ Isaac E. Adams, *Life of Emery A. Storrs*, Chicago: G.L. Howe Publisher, 1886, 548-65; *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the Common Council of the City of Chicago for the Municipal Fiscal Year ending March 31 1874*, (Chicago, 1874), 23. Funchion, *Chicago's Irish Nationalists*, 26-29.

³² *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the Common Council of the City of Chicago for the Municipal Fiscal Year ending March 31 1874*, (Chicago, 1874).

At the time of the shooting Alexander Sullivan was enrolled at the Union College of Law, but was expelled. However, by 1879 he had been admitted to the Illinois bar on the recommendation of a Chicago judge. The college was a department of the now defunct Chicago University, and the city's first law school. It was established in 1859 and in 1891 became part of Northwestern University. Federal Writers Project, *Case of Dr Cronin*, 21, 46. Sullivan's probate record states that he was a lawyer from 1873-1913 which in untrue. Alexander Sullivan probate record, Cook County Archives.

³³ O'Brien, *Blood Runs Green*, 51.

³⁴ *Daily True American*, 'Notes from the Capital', 12 June 1889.

³⁵ Margaret Sullivan was so well known that she appeared in the society pages. For example, *Daily Inter Ocean*, 13 Aug 1881 noted that 'Mrs Margaret F. Sullivan left for the seashore Monday'.

³⁶ List of meetings that CSP attended in the United States, January–March 1880, NLI, Devoy Papers.

³⁷ Alexander Sullivan, 'Parnell as a Leader', *The North American Review*, (June 1887), 613; Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism*, 204; Ely M Janis, 'Anointing the "Uncrowned King of Ireland": Charles Stewart Parnell's 1880 American Tour and the Creation of a Transatlantic Land League Movement', in *GHI Bulletin, Supplement 5*, 2008, 23, 32. Federal Writers Project, *The Case of Dr Cronin*, 40; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 866. The Exposition Hall was built in 1872 on the site of the present-day Art Institute. It was demolished in 1892.

³⁸ Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism*, 208; Alexander Sullivan to John Devoy, 5 March 1880, NLI Devoy Papers, Ms 18,012 (17).

³⁹ Typescript of Poem – *The Irish Famine of 1880*, NLI, Devoy Papers, Ms 18,142 (11).

⁴⁰ See for example 'Spring in the North', *Catholic World*, May 18XX; 'A Prayer of Doubt', *Catholic World*, XX 1882; 'A paper-knife of Irish Oak' in John Boyle O'Reilly (ed), *The Poetry and Song of Ireland*, (New York, 1889).

⁴¹ Examples of articles written for the *Catholic World* include: How Cornwallis Consolidated the British Empire', vol. 24, issue 201, (Dec 1881), 298-313; 'The Fact of Home Rule', vol. 36, issue 214, 563-570

'Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh', vol 39, issue 233, (Aug 1884), 626-636; 'Religion and Mullions', vol 50, issue 296, (Nov 1889), 155-163; 'Recreations with Conservatives and Radicals', vol 51, issue 404, (July, 1890), 510-524; 'Catholic Prelates as American Diplomats', vol 68, issue 408, (March 1899), 752-757

'A Philosopher in Bohemia', vol 69, issue 411, (June 1889), 365-375; 'When the Clock Stopped in Nuremberg', *Catholic World*, Nov, 1902. In October 1874 she resigned from the *Chicago Times* in order to take over *Ave Maria*, a Catholic periodical established in

1865 by the founder of Notre Dame University Fr. Edward Sorin. However, this proved a short-lived endeavor and within a month she was back in Chicago. *Cambridge Chronicle* (Mass), 'Suffrage Notes', Oct. 3, 1874.

⁴² Margaret Sullivan, 'How Cornwallis Consolidated the British Empire', *Catholic World*, vol. 34, December 1881, 300.

⁴³ Margaret Sullivan, 'Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh', *Catholic World*, vol. 39, August 1884, 628.

⁴⁴ Her faith was important to her, personally and professionally. The Sullivans rented pew No. 14 in the centre aisle of Immaculate Conception Church. My thanks to Ellen Skerrett for this information.

⁴⁵ 'A Lesson in Loyalty', *The Sacred Heart Review*, 12 March 1904. Katherine Conway, 'Margaret. F. Sullivan, journalist and author', *Donahoe's Magazine*, March 1904.

⁴⁶ W.E. Gladstone, 'The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation, (London, 1874), 61.

⁴⁷[Margaret Sullivan] 'Chiefly Among Women', *Catholic World*, June 1875, 324.

⁴⁸ 'Chiefly Among Women', 335. For a detailed consideration of the 'Chiefly Among Women' see Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith*, 17-21.

⁴⁹ 'Chiefly Among Women', 339.

⁵⁰ 'A Philosopher in Bohemia', *Catholic World*, (June 1889); 'A Revolution in Farm Life', *Harper's Bazaar*, 1901; 'Growth of Musical Taste in the United States', *The Dial*, May 1882.

⁵¹ Monroe, 'Margaret Sullivan's Meed', *Chicago Chronicle*, 30 December 1903; *Evening Dispatch* (Utah), 16 July 1894; Lida Rose McCabe, 'Margaret Sullivan: The Ablest

Woman Journalist in the Country', *Los Angeles Times*, 4 June 1893. My thanks to

Margaret Storey for supplying the *Los Angeles Times* reference

⁵² M.F. Sullivan, *Ireland of To-day: Causes and Aims of Irish Agitation*, (San Francisco, 1881), 20.

⁵³ Sullivan, *Ireland of To-day*, 449.

⁵⁴ Sullivan, *Ireland of To-day*, 27-8

⁵⁵ Sullivan, *Ireland of To-day*, 449. Sullivan returned to the land issue later in the 1880s.

In 1888 she and Mary Elizabeth Blake, a friend, fellow Irish American and poet published *Mexico: Picturesque, Political, Progressive*. In *Mexico* Sullivan made several comparisons between Mexico and Ireland, particularly in relation to land: Mexican landlords like those in Ireland were largely absentee 'and the money produced by the soil flows out of Mexico in exports of bullion for these absentees...precisely as the crops and money of Ireland are carried from her to replenish the purses of her landlords'. Mary Elizabeth Burke, Margaret Sullivan, *Mexico: Picturesque, Political, Progressive*, (Boston, 1888), 182-3. Sections of Sullivan's part of the book had first appeared in the *Boston Journal* and the *Catholic World* in 1887.

⁵⁶ William O'Brien, *Evening Memories* (Dublin: Maunsel, 1920), 124..

⁵⁷ Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism*, 716; 'Irish Grievances' Third Letter from James Redpath to the Editor of *The Tribune*, July 1, 1882 published in *The Irish Canadian*, Aug. 3, 1882.

⁵⁸ *Immortelles of Catholic Columbian Literature compiled from the works of American Catholic Women Writers by the Ursulines of New York*, (New York-Chicago: D.H. McBride and Co., 1897) 380.

⁵⁹ *Daily True American*, ‘Notes from the Capital’, June 12, 1889.

⁶⁰ W.J. Abbot, ‘Chicago Newspapers and their Makers’, *Review of Reviews*, 11, (1895), 664; *Good Housekeeping*, 7, (1888), 238. The Associated Press had been established in New York in 1846 as a news agency representing seven newspapers. A Midwestern group developed and there was much rivalry between the two until in 1882 an agreement was made which divided control between New York and the Midwest.

⁶¹ Katharine Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years: Reminiscences* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1913), 184.

⁶² Margaret Sullivan, ‘Observations on the Grand Old Man’ written for the *New York Sun*, republished in *Reynold's Newspaper* (London), July 4, 1886.

⁶³ ‘Mrs Sullivan in Paris’, *Harper's Bazaar*, 21 April 1900

⁶⁴ **O'Brien, *Blood Runs Green***; Monroe, ‘Margaret Sullivan’s Meed’; McCabe, ‘Margaret Sullivan’.

⁶⁵ Margaret Sullivan, ‘Features of the Festival’, *New York Tribune*, 7 May 1889.

⁶⁶ Her articles appeared in many newspapers across the United States. Examples include Industrial Art – *Daily Globe* (St Paul), 12 May 1889, Fine Art – *Daily Globe* (St Paul), 18 May 1889 Manufacturing – *The Indianapolis Journal*, 20 May 1889; Education – *The Pittsburg Dispatch*, 10 June 1889.

⁶⁷ On the Cronin Murder see O’Brien, *Blood Runs Green*.

⁶⁸ [Alexander Sullivan] to Mrs. S[ullivan], Paris, May 24, 1889; [Alexander Sullivan] to Mrs. S[ullivan], May 28, 1889; [Alexander Sullivan] to Mrs. S[ullivan], June 11, 1889; Mrs. S[ullivan], London, to Alexander Sullivan, June 13, 1889; Schedule and Transcripts of Cablegrams and Telegrams passing between AS, his wife, Michael Davitt, etc.,

March–June 1889, NLI, Devoy Papers MS 18058 (11).

⁶⁹ W. B. Yeats, London, to Katharine Tynan, July 25, [1889], in *W. B. Yeats Letters to Katharine Tynan*, ed. Roger McHugh, (New York: McMullin, 1953), 98. Sullivan was equally impressed, later recalling the young Yeats as 'pale, slender, just entering then on manhood, he seemed, in his lustrous dark eyes, modest demeanor, sincerity, earnestness and unconscious air of abstraction, what a man must be who wrought in journalism form bread of the body, and for necessity of his soul wrote poetry as a luxury'. Margaret F. Sullivan, 'Triumph of the "Literary Play"', *The Dial*, 16 June 1901.

⁷⁰ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years*, 184, 293.

⁷¹ 'Chicago Newspaper Rot', *Evening Star*, (Washington D.C.) 17 June 1889.

⁷² *Northampton Mercury*, July 6, 1889

⁷³ Abbot, "Chicago Newspapers and Their Makers," 664; *Sheffield Independent*, June 21, 1889; *Northampton Mercury*, July 6, 1889.

⁷⁴ Margaret Sullivan to Davitt, Oct. 28, 1889, TCD Davitt MS 932/2590.

⁷⁵ Margaret Sullivan to Davitt, 9 August 1889, Davitt Papers, TCD, MS9432.2589.

⁷⁶ "Mrs Sullivan on the Women's Congress", *Citizen* (Chicago), 27 May 1893, quoted in Sprows Cumming, *New Women of the Old Faith*, 25.

⁷⁷ *Oamaru Mail*, 3 May 1892. From the 1890s onwards Sullivan wrote less about Ireland in her poetry and articles for periodicals, instead focussing more on Catholicism. Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith*, 168.

⁷⁸ *New York Tribune*, 16 Sept 1896.

⁷⁹ *New World* editorial, quoted in *The Sacred Heart Review*, 9 January 1904.

⁸⁰ Monroe, 'Margaret Sullivan's Meed'.

⁸¹ McCabe, 'Margaret Sullivan'.

⁸² 'Legal Injustice to Women', *The Indianapolis Journal*, 10 Dec 1893; Monroe, 'Margaret Sullivan's Meed'; McCabe, 'Margaret Sullivan'.

⁸³ [Margaret Sullivan], 'Readiness and Range', *Chicago Chronicle*, 29 August 1903.

⁸⁴ Gottlieb, 'Women in Journalistic Careers', 54.

⁸⁵ Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism*, 5.