Suggested Reading (the Curator’s Bookshelf)

Baker, Paula. “Domestication of Politics,” in American Historical Review (June 1984). Baker examines the organizational culture created by women who claimed that their feminine identity would be devalued by suffrage. Such women sought social change in keeping with their domestic roles, in areas such as education, prison reform, and temperance. Ultimately, the victory of woman suffrage in 1920 “reflected women’s gradual movement away from a separate political culture.”

Blair, Karen J. The Clubwoman As Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914 (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980). Blair notes that more women were involved in women’s clubs than suffrage organizations in 19th-century America. For many women, the suffrage movement was too bold. Through their clubwork, white middle-class women could increase their autonomy and influence without losing their status as ladies. Their projects appeared similar to earlier women’s philanthropic work, and thus escaped criticism as radical.

Bordin, Ruth. Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981). Bordin shows that the temperance movement was integrally related to the women’s movement in 19th-century America. Notably, Susan B. Anthony founded the first state women’s temperance society after she had not been allowed to speak at a rally in 1852. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union later became the largest women’s organization in the country under the leadership of Frances Willard.

Buhle, Mari Jo. Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981). Buhle notes that many 19th-century women expressed vexation at the male monopoly on well-paying jobs. As clubwomen, white, privileged women often created very progressive programs to assist lower-class women in a wide range of areas: education, employment, and housing in particular. According to Buhle, the potential for major social change was not realized due to the triumph of capitalism.

DuBois, Ellen Carol. “Taking the Law into Our Hands: Bradwell, Minor, and Suffrage Militance in the 1870s,” in Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993). DuBois examines pro-suffrage women’s legal and extra-legal strategies after freedmen gained suffrage in 1868. Was the 14th Amendment broad enough to include women’s rights as well? Were women’s rights implicit in citizenship? Famously, Susan B. Anthony was arrested (and later convicted of violating Federal law) when she attempted to vote in Rochester in 1872. Victoria Woodhull testified before a House committee. Virginia Minor sued after she was denied the right to register to vote in St. Louis. As early as 1868, the women of Vineland, New Jersey, attempted to vote by constructing their own ballot box. These and other efforts were unsuccessful, but show activist women’s responses to the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments.

Of particular relevance, Epstein traces the gradual shift within the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, culminating in the endorsement of woman suffrage after Frances Willard became the group’s president.


Giesberg seeks to “relink the [Civil War] generation to the larger continuum of an evolving women’s political culture.” Giesberg contrasts the authoritarian strategies of older women such as Dorothea Dix with the collaborative style of younger women such as Louisa Schuyler, Abigail May, and Mary Livermore, whose war work led to social and political activism in later years.


Gifford shows how Willard as the leader of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union successfully recharacterized the idea of women being mentally less competent than men as old-fashioned. During the years that Willard headed the WCTU, many white women came to see working for woman suffrage as their Christian duty.


Gollin notes Annie Fields’ role as an active Boston clubwoman who had the vision and means to bring her ideas to fruition. For example, in 1871, Mrs. Fields opened a residence for unmarried working women. The following year, after a fire put many of the residents out of work, she started a clothing factory and hired thirty women. Her clubwork also brought her into contact with many other prominent women, including Julia Ward Howe.


Johnson focuses on how wealthy women and their “coercive philanthropy” affected the women’s movement. She raises the important question: “Is feminism not only about eliminating social hierarchy based on gender but also about challenging any form of hierarchy? Does feminism demand that organizations be collaborative rather than top down?”


Larson makes the point that the legacy of Harriet Tubman (1820?-1913) was not served by her earliest biographer Sarah H. Bradford, a white writer of sentimental fiction. Similarly, Larson notes that African American writer William Still only mentions Tubman briefly in his *The Underground Rail Road* (1872), especially compared to his much longer description of the efforts of Ellen Watkins Harper. Tubman, like many other women who worked in support of the Union during the Civil War, remained engaged in philanthropy and activism for black equality and women’s rights following the War.

McMillen particularly notes that Lucy Stone (1818-1893) refused to contribute information for Elizabeth Stanton and Susan B. Anthony’s multi-volume work on the history of the woman suffrage movement due to her concern that the project was premature and likely to be biased in favor of their own organization, the National Woman Suffrage Association (and against her group, the American Woman Suffrage Association). The *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881-1922) eventually ran to six volumes and did indeed “put the NWSA and its supporters front and center, in a most favorable light, while slighting others.”


Newman notes that white women suffragists expressed resentment that Black men and naturalized immigrant men got suffrage after the ratification of the 15th Amendment in 1870, leaving them still disenfranchised. Blending Protestant Christian benevolence, evolutionary theory, and political ideology, white women created new roles for themselves that explicitly maintained racial hierarchies. Even when they expressed solidarity with other groups, such pronouncements often underscored their own sense of entitlement.


Volume one of this two-volume set traces the development of feminist thought in American social and political culture from the colonial period to 1900. Although many of the 136 primary sources are also available elsewhere, the editors’ commentaries provide excellent syntheses of the key concepts. Of particular note is the section entitled “The Post-Civil War Struggle for Political and Social Equality.”


Although Rose primarily studies the 20th-century history of day care, she notes the three “day nurseries” which were founded in Philadelphia before 1880. Hannah Stokes Biddle is credited with founding the earliest, in 1863, for the care of young children while their mothers worked.


Scott documents the long history of women’s activities in voluntary organizations, with special emphasis on those founded to improve women’s lives individually or collectively. Thanks to her previous work on women in the American South, Scott brings more geographical diversity to her study.


Starting with the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), Stansell presents a sweeping history of the efforts to bring about equality for women. Especially useful is the discussion of the American Revolution, when white male colonists...
rebels against English rule, but women’s subjugation to men remained thoroughly ingrained in the culture. Also notable is the discussion of the antebellum period in which antislavery activists sought political equality for both enslaved African Americans and women, ultimately leaving out women’s political equality again. In the discussion of the post-Civil War period, Stansell discusses the work of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, but also notes that “it’s impossible to understand subsequent developments in feminist history” without examining the work of Frances Willard with the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union and their efforts to check “unrestrained male power.”


Launched as part of the Virginia Freedom Seekers Project, this podcast examines the life of Harriet Tubman (1822-1913). Born into slavery in Maryland, Tubman was an African American abolitionist who served as a Union spy during the Civil War. Leading historians such as Erica Armstrong Dunbar, Catherine Clinton, and Jessica Milward are among the people interviewed on this podcast, which seeks to show Tubman’s important role in American history before, during, and after the Civil War—plus the extent to which her contributions were downplayed in later narratives.


Tetrault shows how lecturing on woman suffrage as well as other issues became a means for white women to earn significant amounts of money in the years following the Civil War. She names over a dozen women who thus became “media stars.” For example, by “working for [James] Redpath’s lyceum bureau, [Mary A.] Livermore reportedly earned $18,000 (roughly $385,000 today) during the 1877-1878 season.” Overwhelmingly, the lyceum goers were white, which allowed them to “retain a conception of the body politic as white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant.”


Legal scholar Sandra VanBurkleo discusses legislation and legal cases in her full-scale treatment of women’s legal status over the course of American history. In particular, note her chapter on “The Civil War Settlement” and also the list of citations to the cases and Van Burkleo’s excellent bibliographical essay following the text.


Wendy Venet presents the long career of Mary Livermore, who acquired skills and political savvy from her Civil War work. After the war, Livermore became a leader in the women’s movement, advocating voting rights, education programs, and employment opportunities for women. At various points, Livermore was a platform speaker, a clubwoman, and an editor (of the *Woman’s Journal*).

Weatherford, like many other writers, relies almost exclusively on the six-volume set *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881-1922) as “the primary source of historical information up to 1922,” and therefore focuses on the activities of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other women they collaborated with.