

Le droit de vote des femmes aux Etats-Unis, 1776-1965
Agrégation 2022-2023
Bibliographie sélective proposée par Claire Delahaye (Université Gustave Eiffel) et
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I. PRIMARY SOURCES AND ONLINE RESOURCES

[Below is a selection among thousands of primary sources published or available online. The Library of Congress (<https://www.loc.gov/>) is a great resource for all types of primary sources, gathering unpublished and published materials, including accounts, books, speeches, memoirs and autobiographies, songs, plays, and photographs. The Schlesinger Library at Harvard (<https://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/schlesinger-library/collections>) and Bryn Mawr College have also digitized some of their collections. The Carrie Chapman Catt Papers at Bryn Mawr include some of Catt's personal photo albums, from 1840 to 1940 (<https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/collections/carrie-chapman-catt-papers>). The following database is also a gateway to many different digital collections and primary sources: <https://digital.mtsu.edu/digital/collection/women>]

1. Anthologies, Published and Online Primary Sources

- Bijon, Béatrice et Claire Delahaye. *Suffragistes et suffragettes: la conquête du droit de vote des femmes en Grande Bretagne et aux États-Unis*. Lyon: ENS Editions, 2017.
- Bosch, Mineke and Annemarie Kloosterman. *Politics and Friendship: Letters from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1902-1942*. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1990.
- Buhle, Mari Jo and Paul Buhle. *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- **Chapman, Mary, and Angela Mills, eds. *Treacherous Texts: U.S. Suffrage Literature, 1846-1946*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 2011.
- Crew, Danny O. *Suffragist Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalogue of Published Music Associated with the Women's Rights and Suffrage Movement in America, 1795-1921, with Complete Lyrics*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2002.
- Fillard, Claudette. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Naissance du féminisme américain à Seneca Falls*. Lyon: ENS Editions, 2009.
- Foner, Philip S., ed. *Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights*, Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, n°25. Westport, Con.: Greenwood Press, 1976.
- Friedl, Betty, ed. *On to Victory: Propaganda Plays of the Woman Suffrage Movement*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987.
- *DuBois, Ellen Carol, ed. *The Elizabeth Cady Stanton-Susan B. Anthony Reader: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.
- **Gordon, Ann, ed. *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*. 6 volumes. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997-2013.
- Howard Angela and Sasha Ranae Adams Tarrant, eds. *Opposition to the Women's Movement in the United States, 1848-1929*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997.
- , eds. *Redefining the New Woman, 1920-1963*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997.
- Meyers, Madeleine, ed. *Forward into Light: The Struggle for Woman's Suffrage*. Lowell, Mass.: Discovery Enterprises, 1994.

*Phelps, Edith M. *Selected Articles on Woman Suffrage*. 2d. rev. ed. Minneapolis: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1912.

*** **Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Ida Harper.** *History of Woman Suffrage. Six Volumes.* Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony and Charles Mann Press, 1881–1922.

***Ware, Susan, ed. *American Women's Suffrage: Voices from the Long Struggle for the Vote 1776–1965*. New York: Library of America, 2020.

2. Oral Histories

[*The Suffragist Oral History Project started in the early 1970s as part of the Bancroft Library's Regional Oral History Office. It includes interviews with women involved in the woman suffrage movement and in the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment. The interviews are available online at <https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/ROHO/projects/suffragist/index.html>]*

Butler, Jessie Haver, Miriam Allen deFord, Ernestine Kettler, Laura Ellsworth Seiler and Sylvie Thygeson. "The Suffragists: From Tea Parties to Prison." Interview by Sherna Gluck in 1972. Oral History Center, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1975.

Field, Sara Bard (Wood). "Sara Bard Field (Wood): Poet and Suffragist." Interview by Amelia Fry in 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1962. Oral History Center, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1979.

**Paul, Alice. "Alice Paul: Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment." Interview by Amelia Fry in 1972 and 1973. Oral History Center, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1976.

Vernon, Mabel. "Mabel Vernon: Speaker For Suffrage and Petitioner For Peace." Interview by Amelia Fry in 1973. Oral History Center, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1976.

The website "Documenting the American South" includes oral histories of the American South as well as interviews with women activists: <https://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/women.html>

The Civil Rights History Project includes many interviews with female civil rights activists: <https://www.loc.gov/collections/civil-rights-history-project/about-this-collection/>

3. Accounts, Memoirs and Autobiographies

[*The following books include significant developments about the fight for woman suffrage.*]

Blatch, Harriot Stanton and Alma Lutz. *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch*. New York: G.P Putnam's Sons, 1940.

Dorr, Rheta Childe. *A Woman of Fifty*. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1924.

Irwin, Inez Haynes. *The Story of the Woman's Party*. 1921. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921.

Shaw, Anna Howard. *The Story of a Pioneer*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1915.

**Stanton, Elizabeth Cady. *Eighty Years and More, Reminiscences, 1815-1897*. 1998. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2002.

Stevens, Doris. *Jailed for Freedom: American Women Win the Vote*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920.

***Terrell, Mary Church. *A Colored Woman in a White World*. Washington, DC: Ransdell Inc. Printers and Publishers, 1940.

**Wells-Barnett, Ida B. *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. 1970. Edited by Alfreda M. Duster. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020.

4. Online Resources

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and The Schlesinger Library. "The Long 19th Amendment Project Portal." <https://long19.radcliffe.harvard.edu/>

Dublin, Thomas, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, ed. *The Online Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States*. Alexander Street, 2020. <https://documents.alexanderstreet.com/VOTESforWOMEN>

Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries (PACSCL), "In Her Own Right: A Century of Woman Activism, 1820-1920." <http://inherownright.org/>

A list of other online resources can be found here: "Sharing Suffrage Scholarship: Digital Projects Commemorating the Centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment," *The Public Historian* 43.2 (May 2021) <https://online.ucpress.edu/tph/article-abstract/43/2/114/116838/Sharing-Suffrage-ScholarshipDigital-Projects?redirectedFrom=fulltext>

5. Online Exhibitions and Exhibition Catalogues

Lange, Allison K. "Truth Be Told: Stories of Black Women's Fight for the Vote." Digital exhibition, summer 2020. Melinda Gates' organizations Pivotal Ventures and Evoke. https://www.evoke.org/truthbetold?utm_campaign=TBT&utm_medium=MG_OG&utm_source=TW

---. "Seeing Citizens: Picturing American Women's Fight for the Vote." Digital exhibition, summer 2020. Harvard University's Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America. https://long19.radcliffe.harvard.edu/projects/exhibit_seeingcitizens/

Lemay, Kate Clarke, ed. *Votes for Women: A Portrait of Persistence*. Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Library of Congress. "Shall Not Be Denied: Women Fight for the Vote." Digital exhibition. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibitions/women-fight-for-the-vote/about-this-exhibition/>

"Visualizing Votes for Women: Nineteen Objects from the 19th Amendment Campaign." *Clio Visualizing History*. 2021. A companion exhibit to Susan Ware's *Why They Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote* (2019).

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Women's and Gender History, History of Feminisms: Theories and Concepts

[This section includes books and articles that develop useful concepts and notions in relation to women's and gender history and the history of feminisms. Apart from seminal works such as Joan Scott's "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" (1986) and Carole Pateman's *The Sexual Contract* (1988), it will also be useful to refer to Nancy F. Cott's argument against the "rhetorical overuse" (809) of the term "feminism" to describe the various movements

women have been involved in. Other scholars such as Nancy A. Hewitt and Lori D. Ginzberg have tried to question the “wave” metaphor when it comes to describing the history of U.S. feminisms, thus paving the way for reevaluations of traditional periodizations.]

- **Cott, Nancy F. “What's in a Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism;' or, Expanding the Vocabulary of Women's History.” *The Journal of American History* 76.3 (December 1989): 809-829.
- . “Comment on Karen Offen's “Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach.”” *Signs* 15. 1 (Autumn, 1989): 203-205.
- DuBois, Ellen, Mari Jo Buhle, Temma Kaplan, Gerda Lerner, and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg. “Politics and Culture in Women’s History: A Symposium.” *Feminist Studies* 6.1 (Spring, 1980): 26-64.
- **Ginzberg, Lori D. “Re-Viewing the First Wave.” *Feminist Studies* 28.2 (Summer 2002): 418-434.
- **Hewitt, Nancy A., ed. *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism*. Rutgers University Press, 2010.
- . “Feminist Frequencies: Regenerating the Wave Metaphor.” *Feminist Studies* 38.3 (2012): 658–80.
- *Lerner, Gerda. *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- . “Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges”. *Feminist Studies* 3 (Autumn 1975): 5-14.
- Offen, Karen. “Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach.” *Signs* 14.1 (Autumn 1988): 119-157.
- *Pateman, Carole. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Purvis, Jennifer. “Grrrls and Women Together in the Third Waves: Embracing the Challenges of Intergenerational Feminism(s).” *NWSA Journal* 16.3 (Autumn 2004): 93-123.
- Quanquin, H el ene. “Speaking back: Why, and How to, Study Nineteenth Century US Women's Rights Movements?”. *American Studies Journal* 68 (2019). “Approaching the Field of US Social Movements from a Distance: A French Perspective” (guest editors: Sandrine Baudry, Guillaume Marche and C eline Planchou).
- Ruiz, Vicki L. & Ellen Carol DuBois, eds. *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women’s History*. 3^e ed. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- *Scott, Joan W. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- . “Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism.” *Feminist Studies* 14.1 (Spring 1988): pp. 32-50.
- Smith, Bonnie. *The Gender of History. Men, Women, and Historical Practice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Thurner, Manuela. “Subject to Change: Theories and Paradigms of U.S. Feminist History.” *Journal of Women History* 9.2 (1997): 122-146.

2. The History of Voting Rights and Political Citizenship in the U.S.

[The history of voting rights is a history of both progress and regression as shown by Alexander Keyssar. This section focuses on the larger history of voting rights primarily, but not only, in relation to race. It provides a few references on the fight for Blacks’ political rights until the 1965 Voting Rights Act and on voter suppression in more recent years.]

- Anderson, Carol. *One Person, No Vote: How Voter Suppression Is Destroying Our Democracy*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2018.
- Berman, Ari. *Give Us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015.
- Bullock, Charles S. III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Justin J. Wert. *The Rise and Fall of the Voting Rights Act*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.
- Field, Corinne T. *The Struggle for Equal Adulthood: Gender, Race, Age, and the Fight for Citizenship in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.
- *Gerstle, Gary. *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- *Jones, Martha. *S Birthright Citizens: A History of Race and Rights in Antebellum America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- *****Keyssar, Alexander. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.**
- Kousser, J. Morgan. *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Lawson, Stephen F. *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 1999 (1976).
- McCool, Daniel. *The Most Fundamental Right: Contrasting Perspectives of the Voting Rights Act*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Malone, Christopher. *Between Freedom and Bondage: Race, Party and Voting Rights in the Antebellum North*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- May, Gary. *Bending Toward Justice: The Voting Rights Act and the Transformation of American Democracy*. New York: Basic Books, 2013.
- Martin, Gordon A. *Count Them One by One: Black Mississippians Fighting for the Right to Vote*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010.
- *Riser, R. Volney. *Defying Disfranchisement: Black Voting Rights Activism in the Jim Crow South, 1890-1908*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010.
- Rhodes, Jesse H. *Ballot Blocked: The Political Erosion of the Voting Rights Act*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 2017.
- *Rolland-Diamond, Caroline. *Black America. Une histoire des luttes pour l'égalité et la justice (XIXe-XXIe)*. Paris: La Découverte, 2016.
- Spires, Derrick Ramon. *The Practice of Citizenship: Black Politics and Print Culture in the Early United States*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.
- Waldman, Michael. *The Fight to Vote*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016.
- Wang, Tova Andrea. *The Politics of Voter Suppression: Defending and Expanding Americans' Right to Vote*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Zelden, Charles L. *The Battle for the Black Ballot: Smith v. Allwright and the Defeat of the Texas All-White Primary*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.

3. U.S. Women's Activism in Context

[Women's quest for citizenship and for political and economic rights was led through multiple movements. This section gathers sources on women's multifaceted activism throughout the period, highlighting the complex alliances, crosscurrents and networks that women, including woman suffrage activists, were involved in.]

- **Baker, Paula. "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920." *American Historical Review* 89:3 (June 1984): 620-647.

- Bekhtari, Grégory. "Femmes noires et *Black Left Feminism* aux États-Unis des années 1930 aux années 1960". *20&21. Revue d'Histoire* 146 (2020).
- Blair, Karen. *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980.
- Boiteux, Jeanne. « Citoyenneté économique et citoyenneté politique des femmes aux États-Unis ». *IdeAs* 16 (2020).
- Bordin, Ruth. *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1981.
- Boris, Eileen. *Home To Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Braude, Ann. *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in 19th-Century America*. 1989. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2001.
- Boris, Eileen. *Home To Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Buhle, Mari Jo. *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.
- Clinton, Catherine and Nina Silber, ed. *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Cobble, Dorothy Sue. *For the Many: American Feminists and the Global Fight for Democratic Equality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021.
- Edwards, Rebecca. *Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Epstein, Barbara Leslie. *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981.
- Faderman, Lillian. *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America – A History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999. Part I "How American Women Got Enfranchised."
- Foner, Philip S. *Women and the American Labor Movement: From World War One to the Present*. New York: The Free Press, 1980.
- Frankel, Noralee and Nancy S. Dye, eds. *Gender, Class and Reform in the Progressive Era*. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1994 (1991).
- *Gidlow, Liette. *The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s-1920s*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- *Ginzberg, Lori D. *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- *Glymph, Thavolia. *The Women's Fight: The Civil War's Battle for Home, Freedom, and Nation*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2020.
- Gustafson, Melanie Susan. *Women and the Republican Party, 1854-1924*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.
- **Isenberg, Nancy. *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Jabour, Anya. *Sophonisba Breckinridge: Championing Women's Activism in Modern America*. University of Illinois Press, 2019.
- Jacoby, Robin M., "The Women's Trade Union League and American Feminism." *Feminist Studies* 3. 1/2 (Autumn, 1975): 126-140.
- **Kessler-Harris, Alice, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th century America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Murphy Teresa Anne. *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History in the United States*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

- Orleck, Annelise, *Common Sense & A Little Fire: Women and Working-Class Politics in the United States, 1900-1965*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Payne, Elizabeth Anne, *Reform, Labor and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Rouse, Wendy L. *Her Own Hero: The Origins of the Women's Self-Defense Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 2017. Chapter 3 "Self-Defense and Claiming Public Space." & chapter 4 "Self-Defense in the Era of Suffrage and the New Woman."
- Schrom Dye, Nancy, "Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the New York Women's Trade Union League, 1903-1914." *Feminist Studies* 2. 2/3 (1975): 24-38.
- Schrom, Nancy Dye, "Feminism or Unionism? The New York Women's Trade Union League and the Labor Movement." *Feminist Studies* 3. 1/2 (Autumn, 1975): 111-125.
- Schrom, Nancy Dye, *As Equals and As Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980.
- Sklar Kathryn Kish. *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- **Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- *Sorin, Claire. « Du personnel au politique : construction d'une identité militante dans le journal d'Alice Stone Blackwell (1872-1874). » *Amnis* 8 (2008).
- *Sorin, Claire, « "The Angel in and Out of the House", l'espace public dans les écrits d'Eliza Farnham. » *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* 152 (2017): 88-105.
- Storrs, Landon R. Y., *Civilizing Capitalism: The National Consumers' League, Women's Activism, and Labor Standards in the New Deal Era*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Tax, Meredith. *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917*. Urbana (Ill.); Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001.
- **Vapnek, Lara, *Breadwinners: Working Women and Economic Independence, 1865—1920*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

4. The History of Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights in the U.S.

4.1. The Long History of Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights

[The following books and articles provide useful overviews of the history of U.S. feminisms and woman suffrage movements. Some of them offer reassessments of "the varied genealogies of voting rights activism." (Cahill et alii.)]

- Baker, Jean H. Editor. *Votes for Women, The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- ***Cahill, Cathleen, Crystal Feimster, and Kimberly Hamlin. "Expanding the Suffrage Archive: Chronology, Region, Ideology, Biography, and Memory." *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 19. 4 (2020): 533-541.
- *Buechler, Steven M. *Women's Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights, and Beyond*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.
- *Flexner Eleanor and Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, [enlarged ed.] 1996.

- Freeman, Jo. *We Will Be Heard, Women's Struggles for Political Power in the United States*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2008.
- *Ginzberg, Lori D. "Men and Woman's Rights." *Revue Française d'Etudes Américaines* 114 (December 2007): 109-119.
- Hamlin, Kimberly. *From Eve to Evolution: Darwin, Science, and Women's Rights in Gilded Age America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- *****"Interchange: Women's Suffrage, the Nineteenth Amendment, and the Right to Vote."** *Journal of American History* 106.3 (December 2019): 662–694.
- Jeydel, Alana S. *Political Women: The Women's Movement, Political Institutions, the Battle for Women's Suffrage and the ERA*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Johnson, Joan Marie. *Funding Feminism: Monied Women, Philanthropy, and the Women's Movement, 1870–1967*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020.
- **Marilley Suzanne M. *Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1820–1920*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- McConaughy, Corrine M. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America: A Reassessment*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- *Taranto, Stacie and Leandra Zarnow, ed., *Suffrage at 100: Women in American Politics Since 1920*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020. This work includes essays that deal with women of color's fight for suffrage.
- *Ware, Susan. *Why They Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for these Right to Vote*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019.
- Weiss, Elaine. *The Woman's Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote*. New York: Penguin Publishing, 2018.

4.2. The Road to the 19th Amendment and Beyond

4.2.1. Women and the American Revolution; the Case of New Jersey

[This section lists a number of books and articles on the American Revolution as a politicizing experience for women and as a moment when women's political role was both expanded and limited. Rosemary Zagarry in particular illuminates how the American Revolution "profoundly changed the popular understanding of women's political status and initiated a widespread, ongoing debate over the meaning of women's rights" (p. 2). The case of New Jersey, which is analyzed in several articles and books, has to be studied in the light of this specific context.]

- Abrams, Jeanne E. *First Ladies of the Republic: Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Dolley Madison, and the Creation of an Iconic American Role*. New York: New York University Press, 2018.
- Adams, Catherine and Elizabeth Peck. *For the Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Applewhite, Harriet B. and Darlene G. Levy, eds. *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- Berkin, Carol. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*. New York: Knopf, 2005.
- Branson, Susan. *These Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997 [20th ann. ed.][1977].

- *Garbaye, Linda. "Opacity and Transparency in 18th-Century New Jersey Electoral Reforms: The Case of Women's Voting Rights." *Revue de la Société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* 69 (2012) : 231-246.
- Garbaye, Linda. "Female and Male Activism for Women's Rights in Eighteenth-Century America and France." *Revue de la Société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* 72 (2015) : 213-230.
- Gertzog, Irwin N. "Female Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807." *Women & Politics* 11 (April 1990): 47-58.
- **Jones, Jacqueline. "The Mixed Legacy of the American Revolution for Black Women." In Mary Beth Norton and Ruth M. Alexander, eds., *Major Problems in Women's History: Documents and Essays*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1996. 103-107.
- *****Kerber Linda K., *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.**
- Kierner, Cynthia A. *Southern Women in Revolution, 1776-1800: Personal and Political Narratives*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.
- *****Klinghoffer, Judith Apter and Lois Elkins. "The Petticoat Electors': Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1807." *Journal of the Early Republic* 12.2 (Summer 1992): 159-193.**
- Kann, Mark E. *The Gendering of American Politics: Founding Mothers, Founding Fathers, and Political Patriarchy*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999.
- Lewis, Jan. "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44.4 (1987): 689-721.
- *****Lewis, Jan. "Rethinking Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1807." *Rutgers Law Review* 63:3 (January 2011): 1017-1035.**
- *McGoldrick, Neil and Margaret Crocco. *Reclaiming Lost Ground: The Struggle for Woman Suffrage in New Jersey*. Trenton: New Jersey Council for the Humanities, 1994.
- Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Oberg, Barbara B., ed. *Women in the American Revolution: Gender, Politics, and the Domestic World*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019.
- Philbrook, Mary. "Women's Suffrage in New Jersey Prior to 1807." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 57 (July 1939): 88.
- Pole, J.R. "Suffrage Reform and the American Revolution in New Jersey." *Proceedings of the New York Historical Society* 74 (July 1956): 173-193.
- Shinn, Henry C. "An Early New Jersey Poll List." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 44:1 (1920): 77-81.
- Turner, Edward Raymond. "Women's Suffrage in New Jersey: 1790-1807." *Smith College Studies in History* 1 (1916): 165-187.
- Whitehead, William A. "A Brief Statement of the Facts Connected with the Origin, Practice, and Prohibition of Female Suffrage in New Jersey." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 8 (1858): 102.
- Wood, Betty. "Southern Women of Color and the American Revolution." In *The Practice of U.S. Women's History: Narratives, Intersections, and Dialogues*, edited by S. Jay Kleinberg, Eileen Boris, and Vicki L. Ruiz. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2007. 67-82.
- *****Zagarri Rosemary, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.**

4.2.2. The Antebellum Woman Suffrage Movement

[This section focuses on the beginning of a women's rights movement in the United States, including the transformation of the "woman question," which divided abolitionists in the late 1830s, into the "woman's rights" question. It also includes books and articles that offer important reassessments of the Seneca Falls convention as the first time when a collective demand for woman suffrage was made – what Lisa Tetrault calls the "origins myth" of Seneca Falls.]

- **Cogan, Jacob Katz and Lori D. Ginzberg. "1846 Petition for Woman's Suffrage, New York State Constitutional Convention." *Signs* 22.2 (Winter 1997): 427-439.
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4.2.3. Reconstruction

[The debates over the 14th and 15th amendments were an important moment for the demand for woman suffrage, which was often pitted against black male suffrage. This resulted in the split of the antebellum reform coalition symbolized by the failure of the American Equal Rights Association, and the creation of two woman suffrage organizations. While Ellen Carol DuBois sees this moment as conducive to the creation of U.S. feminism, i.e. a movement for and by women, Faye Dudden's book investigates what she sees as a failure and the demise of the claim for universal suffrage. Reconstruction was also the period when some woman suffrage activists initiated a new strategy, called "The New Departure."]

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4.2.4. Turn of the 20th Century-Early 20th Century

[The suffrage movement reorganized at the turn of the 20th century. The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which had been created in 1869, merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890. This section focuses on new tactics and strategies (mostly parades and the intensification of lobbying), and on the creation of a militant suffrage organization, the National Woman's Party, in the 1910s.]

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4.2.5. Suffrage Organizations after the 19th Amendment; the Fight for the Equal Rights Amendment

[After the adoption of the 19th amendment, white female activists transformed suffrage organizations, as exemplified by *The League of Women Voters*, which was created by former NAWSA members. The militant organization the *National Woman's Party* proposed the Equal Rights Amendment as early as 1921.]

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4.3. The Racial Politics of Woman Suffrage

4.3.1. Women of Color's Fight for Suffrage

[Recent work has emphasized the crucial role played by women of color in the fight for the right to vote and confirmed the true nature of the 19th amendment, i.e. an important landmark for white woman suffrage. This has helped revisit the history of woman suffrage in the United States to include the Voting Rights Act of 1965.]

- ***Cahill, Cathleen D. *Recasting the Vote: How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020. [Cathleen Cahill has produced a number of texts – essays, op-eds – and participated in many online events for the centennial of the 19th amendment on women of color's fight.]

- *---. "Our Democracy and the American Indian": Citizenship, Sovereignty, and the Native Vote in the 1920s." *The Journal of Women's History* 32.1 (Spring 2020): 41-51. DOI: [10.1353/jowh.2020.0005](https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2020.0005)
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4.3.2. Suffrage, White Supremacy, Colonialism and Imperialism

[According to Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, the woman suffrage movement was "shaped both by Black suffrage activism and by white racism" (1). It cannot be considered apart from white supremacy in several ways, ideologically and politically – the construction and promotion of a white citizenry at the intersection of gender and race, US imperial and colonial impulses, and white women's racist views.]

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- Cohen, Philip N. "Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America." *Signs* 21:3 (Spring 1996): 707-727.
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4.4. Resisting Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights

[This section lists a number of books and articles on antisuffragism and antifeminism as movements rooted in specific views of women's role but also as movements where women were invested. Susan E. Marshall emphasizes that female antisuffragists and suffragists paradoxically shared common interests.]

- Benjamin, Anne M. *A History of the Anti-Suffrage Movement in the United States from 1895 to 1920: Women Against Equality*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992.
- *Boydston, Jeanne, Mary Kelley, and Anne Margolis. *The Limits of Sisterhood: The Beecher Sisters on Women's Rights and Woman's Sphere*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
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- **Thurner, Manuela "'Better Citizens Without the Ballot': American Anti-Suffrage Women and Their Rationale During the Progressive Era." *Journal of Women's History* 5.1 (Spring 1993): 33-60.

4.5. Mapping Woman Suffrage

4.5.1. State and Regional Suffrage Politics after the Civil War

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- *Mead, Rebecca J. *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western States, 1868-1914*. New York: New York University Press, 2004.
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4.5.2. Transnational and International Perspectives on the Women’s Rights Movement and Woman Suffrage

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- **Delahaye, Claire. *Woodrow Wilson contre les femmes. Conquérir le droit de vote. Perspectives nationales et internationales*. Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2012.
- D'Itri, Patricia Ward. *Cross Currents in the International Women's Movement, 1848-1948*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green Popular Press, 1999.
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4.6. Suffragist and Feminist Cultures

[The woman suffrage movement fostered a rich print, visual, and material culture. In the 1890s, suffrage memorabilia became steeped in commercialism, thanks to new manufacturing techniques. To promote the circulation of pro-suffrage ideas, suffragists used the press, and they produced buttons, sashes, ribbons, jewelry, postcards, stamps, sheet music, tableware... The books and articles in this section consider how suffragists used and influenced US culture.]

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4.7. Figures of the Fight for Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights

[*Biography has been an important tool of women's and gender history in order to uncover the challenges women faced and their accomplishments, with what Susan Ware describes as a "focus on the interplay between the personal and the political in constructing the narratives of individual women's lives."*¹ The following list is a selection of biographical accounts of activists who fought for woman suffrage.]

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¹ Susan Ware, "The Book I Couldn't Write: Alice Paul and the Challenge of Feminist Biography," *Journal of Women's History* 24.2 (Summer 2012): 13.

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Conferences, Symposiums and Podcasts

Many panels and conferences were organized for the centennial of the 19th amendment and are available online. Many podcasts were also produced.

- “100 Years of Women Voting” Symposium. United States Capitol Historical Society. <https://uschs.org/news-releases/100-years-of-women-voting-symposium/>
- “How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty? Woman Suffrage and Women’s Citizenship in the Long History of the 19th Amendment.” Université de Lille et Université Gustave Eiffel. 8-10 janvier 2020. January 8 and 9: <https://webtv.univ-lille.fr/grp/496/how-long-must-women-wait-for-liberty/> ; January 10: <https://citedesdames.hypotheses.org/778>

There are also many podcasts available online. For example, the “Live at the National Constitution Center Podcast” hosted a series of discussions on the 19th amendment, including a conversation with Lisa Tetrault and Martha Jones, entitled “The 19th Amendment: The Untold Story,” (<https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/podcast/19th-amendment-untold-stories>), and one with Thavolia Glymph and Dorothy Wickenden, entitled “The Fights for Abolition and Women’s Rights” (<https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/podcast/the-fights-for-abolition-and-womens-rights>).

Different sections of the New Books Network, such as The Gender Studies section (<https://newbooksnetwork.com/category/politics-society/gender-studies>), the African American Studies section (<https://newbooksnetwork.com/category/peoples-places/african-american-studies>), and the American Studies section (<https://newbooksnetwork.com/category/arts-letters/american-studies>) offer interviews and presentations of recent historiography in women’s history. They include conversations with Carol Faulkner, Lisa Tetrault, Martha Jones, Susan Ware, Sara Egge, and Cathleen D. Cahill, among many others.