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 The Library of Congress (https://www.loc.gov/) is a great resource for all types of primary sources, gathering unpublished and published materials, including accounts, books, speeches, memoirs and autobiographies, songs, plays, and photographs.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


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


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 ]


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.]


4. **Online Resources**


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](https://online.ucpress.edu/tph/article-abstract/43/2/114/116838/Sharing-Suffrage-ScholarshipDigital-Projects?redirectedFrom=fulltext)

5. **Online Exhibitions and Exhibition Catalogues**


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.


**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.


---. "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.]
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.]


Boiteux, Jeanne. « Citoyenneté économique et citoyenneté politique des femmes aux Etats-Unis». IdeAs 16 (2020).


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.)]


### 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.]*


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.


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.”
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.]


Rouse, Wendy. “‘Hurrah for Woman Suffrage!’ Young Suffragists and the Campaign for the Vote,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 13.3 (Winter 2021): 133-158.


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.]


* **Delahaye, Claire. **« Inscrire l’égalité des sexes dans la Constitution états-unienne : Equal Rights Amendment, promesses et déboires d’une campagne interminée », IdeAs 16 (2020).


**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.]


### 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.]


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.]


4.5. Mapping Woman Suffrage

4.5.1. State and Regional Suffrage Politics after the Civil War


4.5.2. Transnational and International Perspectives on the Women’s Rights Movement and Woman Suffrage


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.]

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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**Conferences, Symposia 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/](https://uschs.org/news-releases/100-years-of-women-voting-symposium/)


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](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](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](https://newbooksnetwork.com/category/politics-society/gender-studies)), the African American Studies section ([https://newbooksnetwork.com/category/peoples-places/african-american-studies](https://newbooksnetwork.com/category/peoples-places/african-american-studies)), and the American Studies section ([https://newbooksnetwork.com/category/arts-letters/american-studies](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.