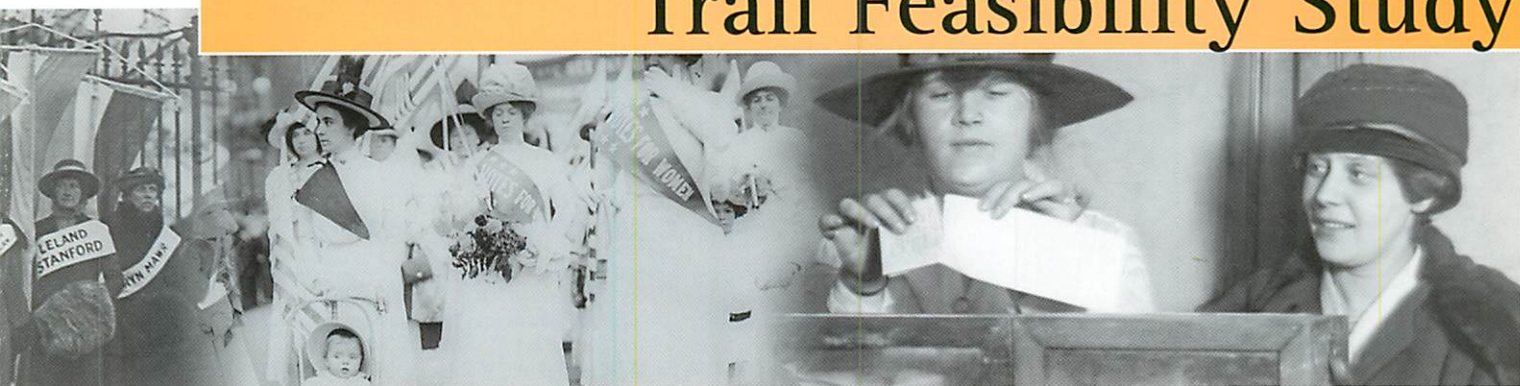


Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study



Study Report
2002

source for cover: Library of Congress

This report has been prepared to provide Congress and the public with information about resources in the study area, and how they relate to the criteria for national historic trails applied by the professional staff of the National Park Service. Publication and transmittal of this report, including any discussion of a preferred course of action, should not be considered an endorsement or commitment by the National Park Service to seek or support either specific legislative authorization for a project, or appropriations for its implementation. Authorization and funding for any new commitments by the National Park Service will have to be considered in light of competing priorities for existing units of the National Park Service and other programs.

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Historical Park's website at
www.nps.gov/wori
to view the online version
of this document.



Women's Rights National History Trail

Feasibility Study

Final Study Report
2003

Table of Contents



Source: *Historic American Building Survey, Library of Congress*

Susan B. Anthony House, 17 Madison St., Rochester, Monroe County, NY

Resolved, that all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature and therefore of no force or authority.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

Table of Contents

4	Executive Summary
8	I: Study Purpose and Background
8	Legislation
8	Current Efforts to Preserve and Interpret Properties Associated with the Women's Rights Movement.
13	Study Process
16	II: Study Findings
16	Defining the Women's Rights Movement
18	Relationship to National Park Service Thematic Framework
18	Historical Summary
20	Women's Rights Historic Property Sample
23	Properties Not Included in the Property Sample
28	III: Partnership Concepts
28	Evaluation of Proposed National Historic Trail Concept
29	Partnership Concept 1 – "Votes for Women" History Trail (Upstate New York)
31	Partnership Concept 2 – National Women's Rights History Project
33	Partnership Concept 3 – National Women's Rights History Project and Partnerships Network
36	Options eliminated from further consideration
37	Consultation and Coordination
38	IV: Environmental Consequences
44	Appendixes
44	Appendix A: Declaration of Sentiments
47	Appendix B: Framework Defining the Women's Rights Movement
56	Appendix C: Historical Overview
70	Appendix D: Notes on GIS Database
72	Appendix E: Properties Associated with the Women's Rights Movement
78	Appendix F: Women's History Trails and Heritage Tourism Initiatives
79	Appendix G: Women's History Organizations
80	Bibliography & List of Preparers

Figures & Tables

22	Figure 1: Distribution Map of Identified Women's Rights History Sites, May 2001
24	Figure 2: Detail Map: Rochester/ Seneca Falls/ Waterloo/ Syracuse Area, New York
39	Table 1: Environmental Consequences

Executive Summary

The Omnibus Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1999 (P.L. 105-277) provided \$100,000 for a trail study related to Women's Rights National Historical Park. Congresswoman Louise Slaughter (D-Rochester NY) was the primary sponsor for this study and earlier had introduced legislation directing the National Park Service to study the feasibility of designating a women's rights national historic trail from Boston, Massachusetts to Buffalo, New York. Although that bill was unsuccessful on its own, language in the Omnibus Appropriations Act accomplished that purpose.

The interdisciplinary study team worked with National Park Service historians and academic scholars to define the women's rights movement and to understand it and its countermovements within the context of American history. Using the goals expressed in the Declaration of Sentiments adopted at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention as a framework, the study team defined women's rights broadly to seek equality in the realms of *politics* – women's suffrage; *education* – women's access to higher education and professional schools; *economics* – women access to and rights within the workplace; *religion* – women's roles and leadership in religious institutions; and *family and society* – reflected in efforts that were fostered by women to reform laws and customs on behalf of women.

Far from being a "special interest" confined to a corner of American history, the long pursuit of equality between the sexes is an immensely important theme in American history. The struggle for equal rights has altered the way the American labor force is structured and the way working people perceive their labor. It has changed the deeply private experiences of family life, parenthood, marriage and sexual behavior. It has altered our understanding of the purpose and justification of government, what American citizenship means, and how extensively democratic principles apply in our modern society.

To establish a context, the study team assembled and mapped a sample of women's rights history properties throughout the northeastern United States, encompassing an area reaching from Maine to Virginia and including the District of Columbia. The women's rights property sample should not be considered comprehensive and is by no means definitive. It is merely a reconnaissance-level survey used by the study team to develop a better understanding of the number and types of properties that

still exist. In all, nearly 300 known women's rights history properties were identified. The largest number of properties in the Northeast were in Massachusetts and New York. In Massachusetts, most of the known properties were clustered in the Greater Boston area. In New York, they were dispersed throughout the state with a cluster of properties located in a crescent shaped area roughly bounded by Rochester in the west, Syracuse in the east, and Seneca Falls and Waterloo in between. Based on existing information, a fairly dense corridor of women's rights history properties is also found along the Eastern Seaboard, running from Boston to Washington, DC.



Source: Library of Congress

Three Suffragists Casting Votes in New York City, c. 1917

Resolved, that it is the duty of the women of this country to
secure to themselves their sacred right to elective franchise.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

Having completed this preliminary research, the study team was ready to address the question of designating a women's rights national historic trail. Under the National Trail System Act, a national historic trail must meet the following criteria:

- A. It must be a historically used trail or a route.
- B. It must be of national significance.
- C. It must possess significant potential for public use and enjoyment.

While the women's rights movement and many of its associated properties would meet the criteria for national significance and potential for public use and enjoyment, a trail composed of these properties would not meet the first criterion as a physical, historical route such as the Santa Fe National Historic Trail or Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail.

The study team also considered the feasibility of designating a long-distance auto tour route in the corridor between Boston and Buffalo. While there are heavy concentrations of properties in the Greater Boston area in Massachusetts and in the Rochester-Seneca Falls-Syracuse area of New York, an extensive area between these two places has very few properties. From management and visitor experience standpoints, this geographic gap made a long-distance auto route much less viable.

After determining that the long-distance trail concept was not viable, the study team developed other concepts that could support the recognition, promotion, and protection of women's rights history properties. Three concepts emerged:

First is the "*Votes for Women*" History Trail in Upstate New York. The "*Votes for Women History Trail*" would be a single, geographically discrete signed auto route linking a number of properties associated with women's suffrage in the area bordered by Rochester in the west, Syracuse in the east, and Seneca Falls and Waterloo in between. Authorized as part of Women's Rights National Historical Park, the National Park Service would work cooperatively with identified women's suffrage properties in the designated area. The National Park Service would support the development of a guidebook, a signage system, indoor and outdoor exhibits, and interpretive and educational programs. This concept would also provide a limited matching grant program to assist the historic preservation and interpretation of participating properties.

The annual cost of staffing and operating the trail would be approximately \$275,000. One-time planning and implementation costs for the trail would be about \$500,000. The historic preservation matching grant program would require about \$250,000 per year over a five-year period with a total estimated cost of \$1.25 million.

Other concepts emerged that would be national in scope and would acknowledge the importance of women's rights in the history of the United States as a whole. First is a *National Women's Rights History Project*. Under this concept, the National Register program would lead a collaborative effort with state historic preservation offices nationwide to survey, evaluate, and nominate women's rights history properties to the National Register of Historic Places. Through the National Register program, the National Park Service would make annual grants available to state historic preservation offices for up to 5 years to support this work. The National Park Service would also expand and enhance the current National Register travel itinerary website, "Places Where Women Made History" (www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/pwwmh), so that the results of the inventory are made available to the general public. As is the case now, the website would make people aware of where historic properties are and which ones are open to the public, and would also provide links to related websites when available.

The annual cost of National Park Service staffing and operating the *National Women's Rights History Project* would be approximately \$650,000. One time implementation costs to support research and enhancement of the existing "Places Where Women Made History" website would be about \$1.3 million. Grants to state historic preservation offices nationwide

would cost about \$2.5 million per year for 5 years (approximately \$50,000 per state per year) – with a total estimated cost of \$12.5 million.

The final concept enhances the *National Women's Rights History Project* by creating a partnerships network. Under the *National Women's Rights History Project and Partnerships Network*, the National Park Service would foster the development of a partnership-based network offering financial and technical assistance. The Network would emphasize partnerships with strong collaborative proposals that could involve a variety of property types that would be anchored by one or more National Register-eligible properties. The Network would offer matching grants and technical assistance for interpretive and educational program development. Matching grants for historic preservation specific to the network could also be made available nationally through the state historic preservation offices. The Network would be managed through a non-governmental organization, identified through a competitive process, which would work in partnership with the National Park Service and state historic preservation offices to coordinate the Network's operation. The National Park Service's financial support for the Network would cease after a prescribed period of time – possibly 10 years – at which point the Network would operate independently.

The annual cost of staffing and operating the National Women's Rights History Project and Partnerships Network would be approximately \$1.7 million. One-time implementation costs to support planning, research, technical assistance, and enhancement of the existing "Places Where Women Made History" website would be about \$1.5 million. Grants to state historic preservation offices nationwide to inventory and document women's rights historic properties would cost about \$2.5 million per year for 5 years (approximately \$50,000 per state per year) – a total estimated cost of \$12.5 million. The proposed matching grant fund for historic preservation is projected to cost \$3 million per year for 5 years with a total estimated cost of \$15 million.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

I. Study Purpose and Background

Legislation

The Omnibus Appropriations bill for Fiscal Year 1999 (P.L. 105-277) provided \$100,000 for a trail study relating to Women's Rights National Historical Park. Congresswoman Louise Slaughter had previously introduced legislation, H.R. 3240, which, if passed, would have directed the National Park Service to conduct the necessary studies to evaluate the suitability and feasibility of designating a women's rights national historic trail between Boston, Massachusetts, and Buffalo, New York. Although that bill was unsuccessful on its own, language in the Omnibus Appropriation Act accomplished that purpose.

Current Efforts to Preserve and Interpret Properties Associated with the Women's Rights Movement.

These Congressional initiatives were part of a wave of local, state, and national efforts to commemorate the 1998 sesquicentennial of the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. In the years before and since the sesquicentennial, organizations engaged in recognizing and preserving women's history properties have expressed concern that properties associated with the women's rights movement remain undocumented, unrecognized, and are inadequately protected.

Below is a sampling of initiatives. A more extensive list of women's history trails and tourism initiatives identified during the study process is included in Appendix F.

Federal Commissions

President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History

The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History was established by Executive Order 13090 (July 1998) to recommend ways America should recognize the contributions of women to our nation's history. In its final report, published in March 1999, the Commission recommended a series of actions to recognize American women and to preserve properties associated with women's history at the national as well as the local level. Among its national recommendations were: write and distribute a "How-To Community Handbook" (which the Commission undertook); build a national women's history umbrella website, and develop a traveling women's history exhibit. To address local preservation, the Commission developed a series of recommendations based on the theme

"Women's History is Everywhere – 10 Ideas for Celebrating in Communities." Among the celebration suggestions were "Women win the right to vote: Tell the Story of Suffrage in Local Communities," "Discover/Preserve Women's History: Establish State-wide Women's History Initiatives," and "Create Community Women's History Trails: Develop a Map of Local Women's History Sites."

Women's Progress Commemoration Commission

The Women's Progress Commemoration Commission was established by Congress in October 1998 to



Source: Lowell National Historical Park

Residents of Boott Mill Boarding House, c. 1880, Lowell, MA

Resolved, that woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits... and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention and to further protect important properties associated with the historic efforts to secure equal rights for women. The Commission convened in July 2000. Its final report was delivered in July 2001.

The Commission invited the National Park Service to present the Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study on two separate occasions: At the inaugural meeting of the Commission in July 2000, the National Park Service was invited to describe the scope and early findings of the study to Commission members, and in June 2001, the National Park Service was asked to update Commission members on the study findings and proposals. In its final report, the Women's Progress Commemoration Commission reflected many of the findings of the Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study and many of the Commission's recommendations for national, state, and local action are represented in the partnership concepts presented in this study.

National Park Service

Women's Rights National Historical Park

Women's Rights National Historical Park commemorates the first Women's Rights Convention and the early leaders of the women's rights movement in the United States. Historic properties within the park boundary include the 1840s Greek Revival home of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, organizer and leader of the women's rights movement; the Wesleyan Chapel, site of the First Women's Rights Convention; Declaration Park, with a 100 foot long waterwall engraved with the Declaration of Sentiments and the names of the signers of the Declaration; the Hunt House, home of Jane and Richard Hunt, where the idea for the First Women's Rights Convention was conceived; and the M'Clintock House, home of MaryAnn and Thomas M'Clintock, where the Declaration of Sentiments was drafted.

Women's Rights National Historical Park preserves and interprets for the education, inspiration, and benefit of present and future generations the nationally significant historical and cultural sites, structures, and events associated with the struggle for equal rights for women, and cooperates with national, state, and local entities to preserve the character and historic setting of such sites, structures, and events.

Susan B. Anthony House Special Resource Reconnaissance Study

In 2001 the National Park Service published the findings of the Susan B. Anthony House Special Resource Reconnaissance Study. The study evaluated the property for possible inclusion in the National Park System and reported the results of this evaluation to Congress. In order to be considered eligible for inclusion, a proposed unit must meet federally established criteria for national significance, as well as the suitability and feasibility of including it in the National Park System. The National Park Service determined on the basis of this study that the Susan B. Anthony House meets the criteria of significance, but because it is successfully managed by the Susan B. Anthony House, Inc., it does not meet the criteria of suitability and thus there is no need to incorporate the house in the National Park System at this time.

Civil Rights Study

In partnership with the Organization of American Historians, the National Park Service's National History Landmark Survey program prepared a civil rights framework to support the identification, preservation, and interpretation of properties associated with the history of civil rights in the United States. The study recommends the preparation of a series of National Historic Landmark theme studies addressing the provisions of major 1960's civil rights legislation.

National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places is the nation's official list of cultural resources worthy of preservation. It is part of a national program to coordinate and support public and private efforts to identify, evaluate, and protect our historic and archeological resources. The National Register has undertaken a number of efforts to recognize properties associated with women's history. They include:

Places Where Women Made History

The National Register of Historic Places, in partnership with the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers (NCSHPO) and a number of public and private partners and communities throughout the country, has developed a series of print and web-based travel itineraries called *Discover Our Shared Heritage*. The itineraries help travelers plan trips linking a variety of registered historic places, from National Parks and National Historic Landmarks to state and locally significant historic places.

The National Park Service developed the "Places Where Women Made History" travel itinerary as part of the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York. This National Register travel itinerary focuses on 74 historic places in New York and Massachusetts associated with aspects of women's history including but not limited to: education, government, medicine, the arts, commerce, women's suffrage and the early civil rights movement.

The "Places Where Women Made History" website offers several ways to discover women's contributions to the development of New York and Massachusetts. The page for each property features a brief description of the property's significance, and contemporary and historic photographs. At the bottom of each page, the visitor will also find links to five essays: *Women and Historic Preservation*, *Women in Art and Literature*, *Women and the Progressive Era*, *Women Professionals* and *Women and the Equal Rights Movement*. These provide historical background for many of the properties included on the web page. Finally, travelers can print copies of maps and property descriptions and visit the properties open to the public.

Teaching with Historic Places

The Teaching with Historic Places (TwHP) program uses properties listed in the National Register to enliven the teaching of history, social studies, geography, civics, and other subjects. It offers a variety of products and activities, including professional development materials and a series of classroom-ready lesson plans. Many of the lesson plans are available for free on the National Register website.

Through its Teaching with Historic Places program, the National Register has published four women's rights history lesson plans. They include "The M'Clintock House: A Home to the Women's Rights Movement," "First Lady of the World: Eleanor Roosevelt at Val-Kill," "Clara Barton House: Home of the American Red Cross," and "Adele Hornbeck and the Homestead Act: A Colorado Success Story."

National Landmark Program – Women's History Theme Study

National historic landmarks (NHLs) are exceptional places that form a common bond among all Americans. National historic landmarks can be found in our national parks and in communities in every state and territory. Through the National Historic Landmarks Program, the National Park Service oversees the designation of these special places and helps to preserve them.

Theme studies are the most effective way of identifying and nominating properties because they provide a comparative analysis of properties associated with a specific area of American history, such as the fur trade, earliest Americans,

women's history, Greek Revival architecture, "Man in Space," or labor history. A theme study provides the necessary national historic context so that national significance may be judged for a number of related properties.

Congress funded a National Historic Landmark theme study for women's history in fiscal year 1989. The study was undertaken by the National Park Service in cooperation with the Organization of American Historians and the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History. Page Putnam Miller, former director of the National Coordinating Committee, coordinated the effort. This effort resulted in National Historic Landmark nominations for 23 women's history properties.

National Park Service History Division

In 1996, the National Park Service's history division spearheaded the development of a document guiding interpretation of women's history entitled "Exploring a Common Past – Interpreting Women's History in the National Park Service."

The booklet was the product of a joint effort between the National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians. Page Putnam Miller coordinated the effort. The project incorporated the contributions of numerous members of the academic community as well as National Park Service historians and interpretive specialists.

National (Non-governmental) Initiatives

Conference on Women and Historic Preservation

The University of Washington's Preservation Program, in concert with the National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians, sponsors a regularly scheduled conference on Women and Historic Preservation. The conference addresses many issues including recognizing and preserving the work of women architects and preservationists, as well as properties associated with significant women or events in women's history.

The conference promotes the exchange of knowledge related to the identification, documentation, interpretation, and protection of places significant in the history of women; and provides an opportunity for women in preservation and their allies to address shared concerns and interests. The last conference took place in Washington DC in May 2000. The Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study was presented as part of a panel on existing women's history trail initiatives.

National Museum of Women's History

The National Museum of Women's History is currently a virtual museum and has posted changing exhibits on its World Wide Website (www.nmwh.org). The museum is currently raising funds to support the development of a physical site. Based in Alexandria, Virginia, the museum is a nonpartisan, nonprofit educational institution dedicated to preserving, displaying, interpreting, and celebrating the historic contributions and rich, diverse experiences of women, and restoring this heritage to the cultural mainstream.

National Women's History Project

The National Women's History Project is a non-profit organization dedicated to recognizing and celebrating the diverse and historic accomplishments of women by providing information and educational material and programs.

Founded in 1980, the National Women's History Project started by leading a coalition that successfully lobbied Congress to designate March as National Women's History Month, now celebrated across the country. Today, the National Women's History Project is known nationally as the only clearinghouse providing information and training in multicultural women's history for educators, community organizations, and parents—for anyone wanting to expand their understanding of women's contributions to U. S. history. The enduring goal of the National Women's History Project is to make history accurate by continuing to recognize and celebrate women's contributions.

National Women's Hall of Fame

The National Women's Hall of Fame is a national membership organization that recognizes and celebrates the achievements of individual American women. The Hall was founded in 1969 in Seneca Falls, New York, the site of the first Women's Rights Convention in 1848. A non-profit educational organization, its programs include inductions of distinguished American women, educational activities, special exhibits, and events for the enrichment of public understanding and appreciation of the diverse contributions women make to society. The Hall has inducted 176 women since its founding.

National Collaborative for Women's History Sites

Formed in 1998, the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites supports and promotes the preservation and interpretation of sites and locales that bear witness to women's participation in American life. The Collaborative makes women's contributions to history visible so that all women's experiences and potential are fully valued. The Collaborative is composed of site and museum administrators representing a range of women's history sites, representatives of the academic community, and other advocates for the recognition, interpretation, and preservation of American women's history sites. The National Collaborative for Women's History Sites has received limited financial and administrative support from the National Park Service to support its organizational development.

The collaborative's steering committee is composed of representatives from: Alice Paul Centennial Foundation; Arizona State University, Women's Studies Program (Tempe, AZ); National Park Service (multiple locations); National Women's History Project (Santa Rosa, CA); New Century Guild (Philadelphia, PA); Susan B. Anthony House (Rochester, NY); and Women in Military Service for America Memorial (Arlington, VA).

State and Local Initiatives

Efforts in the Northeast include but are not limited to the following:

Central New York Freedom Trail

The Preservation Association of Central New York currently works with local governments and historical societies, churches, tourism authorities, and local communities to develop and preserve historical records and assets of Central New York related to the Underground Railroad and the Women's Rights movement of the 19th century. Toward that end, the Association is seeking partnerships to create the Central New York Freedom Trail Project. The project is intended to focus primarily on the counties of Cayuga, Onondaga and Madison, with additional attention to properties in Oneida, Oswego, and Cortland counties. The project will identify significant properties and events that are appropriate for preservation and interpretation, and will establish a uniform system of interpretive markers that will be compatible with systems to be developed statewide and nationally.

The Central New York Freedom Trail Project involves four key areas of activity, to be carried out simultaneously over a multi-year period. These include: survey of historical records and properties related to abolition and women's rights; development of online, continually updated finding aids for related historical records; placement of interpretive markers for Underground Railroad and Women's Rights Freedom Trails; and preservation of properties of significant value, including registration of landmarks and historic properties.

New Jersey's Women's Heritage Trail

The New Jersey State Legislature provided funds for the study, identification, and documentation of women's history properties of significance in New Jersey's history by the New Jersey State Historic Preservation Office and for development of a tourism guide entitled "New Jersey Women's Heritage Trail." The inventory effort is currently underway.

Worcester (Massachusetts) Women's History Project

The Worcester Women's History Project is a non-profit volunteer organization founded in 1994 to raise awareness of the importance of the first National Women's Rights Convention in 1850 and to highlight the role of Worcester in the early women's rights movement.

The Worcester Women's History Project held its first conference in October 2000 commemorating the 150th anniversary of the first national women's rights convention. The Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study was presented as part of a panel discussion at the conference.

Boston Women's Heritage Trail (Massachusetts)

The Boston Women's Heritage Trail is a nonprofit membership organization founded in 1989 as a program of the Boston Public Schools. Through educational programs, publications, and outreach initiatives, the Boston Women's Heritage Trail is dedicated to weaving the lives and work of women into the story of the city of Boston.

The Trail publishes a guidebook, brochures for self-guided walks, a regular newsletter and teaching materials, presents programs and guided tours, hosts events, and supports the work of independent scholars.

Portland Women's History Trail (Maine)

Sponsored by the Maine Humanities Council and the University of Southern Maine, the proponents of a Portland Women's History Trail developed a guidebook outlining four walking tours which highlight different aspects of women's history within the city of Portland. Similar women's history tour guides were prepared for the Maine communities of Brunswick and Farmington.

Study Process

Project Scope:

In November 1999, a group of National Park Service planning, interpretation, and history professionals assembled to define the scope of the project. A member of Congresswoman Louise Slaughter's staff participated by conference call and offered insights into the congresswoman's intent. In addition, the group also considered the content of an earlier bill filed by the congresswoman, which called for a study to consider the designation of a women's rights national historic trail in a corridor reaching from Boston, Massachusetts, to Buffalo, New York. This discussion determined the following aspects of the project's scope:

Project Objectives

- ♦ To assemble existing information on historic properties that are related to the multiple facets of women's rights as articulated in the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments adopted at the Seneca Falls Convention and that are of great national consequence.
- ♦ To evaluate the feasibility of defining and designating a women's rights history trail as a national historic trail.
- ♦ To define a range of alternatives that would support the recognition, interpretation, and preservation of women's rights history properties based upon the project findings.

Establishing the Study Area

In order to understand the broad context for designating a trail between Boston, Massachusetts and Buffalo, New York, the National Park Service study team looked at the distribution of women's rights history properties across a greater geographic area. The study team established a study area that included the northeastern United States, reaching from Maine to Virginia and including the District of Columbia.

Defining the Women's Rights Movement

Early in the process, National Park Service planners, historians, and interpretive staff worked to define the scope of women's rights to be addressed by this study. Using the goals expressed in the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments adopted at the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention, the study team developed a framework composed of five categories: Politics, Education, Economics, Religion, and Family and Society.

The National Park Service contracted with Dr. Ellen C. DuBois, an eminent women's history scholar at the University of California at Los Angeles, to prepare an historical overview placing the women's rights movement in the context of U.S. history. Her work serves as a Statement of Significance for the women's rights movement in the United States. (The complete text of her essay can be found in Appendix C of this report.)

For purposes of this project, the planning team employed a period of significance beginning in 1848 – the beginning of the formal women's rights movement as marked by the Seneca Falls Convention – and ending with 1953 (the present less 50 years) to acknowledge the fact that the women's rights movement continues and for consistency with standards established by the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register generally requires that a property be at least 50 years old to be considered eligible for listing. However, the National Register does offer guidelines for nominating properties that are less than 50 years old and possess exceptional importance as a result of their association with an event or an individual.

Identifying Women's Rights History Properties

In order to identify women's rights history properties in the study area, the study team relied on secondary sources such as the National Historic Landmark's Women's History Theme Study, popular women's history travel guides, women's heritage trail guides, reports and articles prepared by the academic community, contacts with state historic preservation offices, as well as personal communication at workshops and conferences.

Defining A Range Of Partnership Concepts

After evaluating the initial proposal, a designated Women's Rights National Historic Trail, the National Park Service study team developed a range of partnership concepts that would support the recognition, protection, interpretation and promotion of women's rights history properties.

Resolved, that the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

II. Study Findings

Introduction:

The study team used two approaches to define and evaluate the American women's rights movement. First, National Park Service historians used the goals expressed in the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments to develop a framework to define the scope of the women's rights movement for the purpose of this project. The study team then contracted with Ellen C. DuBois of the University of California at Los Angeles to prepare an overview describing the significance of the Women's Rights movement within the context of United States history using the 5 categories of the framework as an organizational guide. The results of both efforts are summarized below. (The complete text of the "Framework Defining the Women's Rights Movement" and Dr. DuBois' historical overview appear in Appendix B and Appendix C respectively.)

Defining the Women's Rights Movement

The study team followed the guidance of the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments to construct a framework for understanding the entire women's rights movement. The Declaration of Sentiments addressed the entire spectrum of areas in which women were being deprived of their rights. While the call for suffrage gained the greatest notoriety and had the most immediate political repercussions, it was only one of a wide range of demands for equality. Indeed, the Declaration remains relevant today largely because it was so perceptive and comprehensive in identifying the multiple causes of women's subservient status and in demanding remedies. These areas, which bring into focus the dynamic relationships between public and private actions that characterized the women's rights movements are: politics, economics, education, religion, and, family and society.

Understanding the multiple facets of the women's rights movement and using them to define smaller and more discrete study units would allow us to organize the individuals, institutions, ideas and events that have been critical in the movement into a broad historical and interpretive framework. This would help ensure that the full diversity of the women's rights movement is adequately recognized and that the identification and evaluation of historic properties expresses this diversity.

Politics: *The right to vote, as well as advancing the position and influence of women in politics through voluntary associations outside the realm of electoral politics.*

As the Declaration of Sentiments pointed out, deprivation of the right to vote meant that women lacked direct political representation and therefore had to submit to laws they had no share in formulating. The effort to win the franchise was the most visible demand that emerged from the Seneca Falls convention and the one that translated most immediately into customary political action.

However, this element also embraces women's efforts to advance their position and influence politics through voluntary associations outside the realm of electoral politics.

Properties related to this topic include the homes of individuals who were prominent in the movement, headquarters of important organizations, meeting halls and clubhouses, courthouses and other government buildings.



Source: Library of Congress

Suffragists picketing the White House, February 1917

Resolved, that such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature...

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

Economics: *The increased access for women to profitable employment, equitable wages and greater control over conditions in the workplace.*

To the delegates who gathered at Seneca Falls, one of the foremost obstacles to the “true and substantial happiness” of women was their economic subordination. In addition to lacking property rights, women were effectively barred from many fields of employment, particularly the most respected and powerful. The signers of the Declaration of Sentiments articulated a demand for women’s access to profitable employment and equitable wages for their labor—a program for economic empowerment of women that continues to resonate. As the 19th century progressed and more women entered into wage labor, they began to advocate for and take control not only over the fruits of their labor, but over the conditions in which they worked. Women improved wages and working conditions through organization and reform activities, thereby influencing the development of the economy.

Properties that reflect this topic include businesses, training institutions, laboratories, hospitals and so forth that show women’s increasing participation in the economy; factories and meeting halls important in the labor movement as it affected women and was influenced by them; residential hotels, lodging houses, YWCA residence halls, and other housing for women workers, in addition to the residences of important individuals.

Education: *The expansion of women’s education to include elementary, academic, vocational and professional training, as well as larger roles for women as educators.*

Until the late 20th century, society considered formal education less important for women than for men, and in many instances women were denied access to educational institutions. Participants at the Seneca Falls convention perceived the close link between educational and economic opportunities. Throughout the 19th century the struggle for women’s rights embraced not only the expansion of women’s education to include elementary, academic, vocational and professional training, but also larger roles for women as educators.

In addition to homes associated with prominent women educators and advocates for women’s education, properties expressing this topic include a variety of education-related institutions such as schools, libraries, laboratories, etc., emphasizing those connected with the expansion of women’s educational opportunities and influence.

Religion: *The expansion of roles for women in religion both as participants and leaders in established, as well as new and emerging, religious institutions.*

Delegates at Seneca Falls were keenly aware of the paradox that worship communities were one of the few sites of social interaction outside the home in which women could exercise influence, albeit informally, but that even there they lacked formal authority. The convention occurred in a profoundly religious climate that placed high value on direct inspiration and religion. As in their demands for political, family and economic rights, the participants called for the extension of women’s moral authority to more tangible forms of autonomy in religious practice and leadership. While some women found greater freedom for expression, authority and personal growth in religious communities that they created and sustained, others worked for change within established churches.

Properties related to this aspect include the buildings and properties associated with women reformers, ministers and missionaries, as well as the churches, meetinghouses, religious communities and certain educational institutions associated with women’s advancement in this sphere.

Family and Society: *The reformation of laws and customs that limited women's control over their property, their children, and ultimately their bodies. Among these reform initiatives were dress reform, child custody, child care, and birth control.*

The legal system in force at the time of the Seneca Falls Convention denied married women control of their property, their children and, ultimately, their bodies. In calling attention to the legal disabilities of married women and in demanding emancipation within the private sphere of marriage, convention participants acknowledged that familial relationships and roles have a profound influence on both the private and public lives of women and that their search for autonomy affected both spheres. At the same time, although women were confined by 19th-century law and custom to a separate domestic sphere, many were able to expand the values of “true womanhood” across the domestic threshold to participate in a number of reform movements (e.g. public housekeeping, kindergarten, parks) and make improvements in the larger society.

In addition to the homes of prominent individuals, relevant site types include dwelling houses that illustrate non-traditional living situations, houses or house museums that discuss women’s influence on domestic design, and potentially a multitude of properties such as parks, museums, playgrounds, settlement houses, counseling centers, hospitals, clinics, etc., that display women’s influence in mitigating the harsher aspects of society.

Relationship to National Park Service Thematic Framework

In 1994 the National Park Service adopted a new thematic framework to ensure that the diversity of American history and prehistory is expressed in its identification and interpretation of historic properties. This conceptualization divides the human experience into eight broad overlapping and interrelated themes. Within this framework, the struggle for women’s rights is expressed most clearly and completely by Theme II: “Creating Social Institutions and Movements.” Indeed, the women’s rights movement is one of the defining examples of the theme. As intended by the structure of the Thematic Framework, the consequences of the women’s movement also fall under other themes.

Historical Summary

The following historical summary is adapted from the essays prepared by Professor Ellen C. DuBois of UCLA and Christine Arato, a historian with the National Park Service.

By any measure, the women’s rights movement is among the most fundamental and far-reaching reform traditions in U.S. history. In its many manifestations, the women’s rights movement has been characterized by its challenge to women’s subordination to men and its insistence on a standard of equal treatment, opportunity and rights. Since the relations between women and men form the basis of the most intimate institutions of any society—sexuality, marriage, family, childrearing—radical changes in the relative status of women and men have dramatic implications for the most personal aspects of life for all Americans.

Women’s rights has been a central issue during each of the three major periods of reform in American history. It is generally agreed that the formal women’s rights movement began in 1848, when the first Women’s Rights Convention met at Seneca Falls, NY. Despite the short notice and the organizers’ limited expectations, about 300 women and men attended. Veteran reformer Lucretia Mott gave the event the necessary gravity, but the driving force at Seneca Falls was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who went on to become the chief 19th-century philosopher of female emancipation.

At the close of the convention, 68 women and 32 men signed a Declaration of Sentiments that called for a broad array of rights for women. The most conspicuous and immediately controversial of these was the demand for women’s suffrage. This proclamation was deliberately modeled on the Declaration of Independence and represented a call to expand the earlier political vision and extend the “inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” to women. In this appeal for equal rights, the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments provided a point of departure in a struggle that has continued to the present.

In the years after 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her collaborator Susan B. Anthony worked to expand women's legal and economic rights while continuing to advocate women's suffrage. Generally the women's and abolitionist movements worked in parallel, though there were occasional differences over which should receive priority and over the role of women in direct political action toward abolition.

The conclusion of the Civil War and subsequent passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments led woman suffragists to believe that a universal suffrage approach was the best way to win the franchise. Based on the 14th Amendment, they argued that as citizens they were guaranteed the right to vote. Susan B. Anthony and others actually voted under this interpretation, and Anthony was arrested for this act. In 1875 the Supreme Court decisively rejected this approach. After this setback, leaders of the women's rights movement changed tactics and campaigned for a constitutional amendment that would affirm their particular rights as women.

Through the last quarter of the 19th century, American women's prospects continued to expand in education and work. Women had an enormous role in the development of economic and social welfare policies that helped define the Progressive Era. Convinced by social reform advocates that women workers were more vulnerable than men were, the courts let stand a growing body of labor standards intended to protect women and children. Eventually these "protective labor laws" were extended to include men.

The women's suffrage movement grew with these developments. Its revitalization at the beginning of the 20th century, after decades of stalled progress, began with a series of successful state campaigns for voting rights. This state-by-state enfranchisement of women was important in the final victory of women's suffrage through passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920.

Foreshadowed by the Seneca Falls declaration, a new dimension of the women's rights struggle—the birth control movement—emerged out of the final stages of the suffrage campaign. Margaret Sanger was a leader in turning the inchoate longing of growing numbers of American women for greater control over their reproductive and sexual activity into a social and political movement. When the "feminist" movement she helped initiate revived in the 1960s, during a third period of reformist ferment, the battle for women's sexual and reproductive self-determination took the lead in the struggle for women's rights. This shift in emphasis showed that the women's rights movement had moved beyond merely seeking the same rights as men. In calling for the right to bodily integrity and personal physical autonomy, women's rights advocates altered and expanded the concept of individual rights.

By 1960 the idea of women's rights had largely disappeared from public discourse, as policymakers and public opinion alike assumed that women had already achieved their rights. The resurgence of the civil rights movement among African Americans dramatically changed this situation, inspiring organized groups of white women to rediscover their longing for greater rights and more substantial equality. Women who came of age before and during World War II, who had quietly advanced their program in trade unions, civil rights organizations and women's organizations, were able to secure a new level of legal protections for women. The most important of these was Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned discrimination in employment on the grounds of sex as well as race.

Thanks to these achievements, enormous changes occurred for women in the workplace during the final decades of the 20th century. The earlier assumption that the presence of women in the labor force was an unfortunate or temporary necessity was discarded. By century's end, nearly 50% of all paid workers were women. Women still earned less than men, but much (though by no means all) of this inequality was a function of the degree to which men and women worked in different jobs — the problem of sexual division within the labor force itself. A closely related dilemma facing increasing numbers of working women was the persistent conflict between family and workplace obligations.

A new feminist movement grew up in the 1960s and 70s, exemplified by the National Organization for Women (NOW). Initially, NOW's agenda was the completion of the early 20th-century campaign for legal equality for women, but this expanded under the force of a wider revolt among women. Many young feminists, lacking faith in lobbying and legal change, espoused "women's liberation," trying to effect deep cultural changes, both in society and among women

themselves. They challenged passive notions of femininity, the sexual double standard, repressive ideals of female beauty and socially conditioned female deference to men.

The greatest disappointment in the expansion of women's legal rights in the 1970s was the failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, first proposed by Alice Paul in 1923 as a follow-up to the suffrage campaign. The division over this issue carried over into the debate about abortion rights, one of the most highly charged controversies of the present era. Surrounding the intensely politicized conflict over legalized abortion is a larger and more amorphous set of changes in the concepts of marriage, sexuality and parenthood. These changes, whose full impact cannot yet be discerned, constitute as dramatic a set of developments in the realm of private life as any in American history and demonstrate the continuing importance of women's rights issues in American life.

The long pursuit of equality between the sexes has had immense consequences in American history. It has altered the way the American labor force is structured and the way working people perceive their labor. It has changed the deeply private experiences of family life, parenthood, marriage, and sexual behavior. It has altered our understanding of the purpose and justification of government, what American citizenship means, and how extensively democratic principles apply in our modern society. Far from being confined to a corner of American history as a "special interest," the long struggle for women's rights lies at the center of this nation's public traditions.

Women's Rights Historic Property Sample

Introduction

The study team assembled and mapped a sample of women's rights history properties throughout the northeastern United States, encompassing an area from Maine to Virginia and including the District of Columbia. The women's rights property sample should not be considered comprehensive and is by no means definitive. It is merely a reconnaissance-level survey used by the study team to develop a better understanding of the number and types of properties that are known to exist. The sampling process and findings are described below.

Sampling Process

Step 1: Data Collection

To develop the property sample the study team relied on known and readily accessible secondary sources. These sources included a wide range of materials, among them National Park Service documents, travel guides and brochures published for general audiences, as well as scholarly papers and reports. Examples of resources consulted include: National Historic Landmark Theme Study on Women's History; *Susan B. Anthony Slept Here* by Lynn Sherr and Jurate Kazickas; the National Register's travel itinerary, "*Places Where Women Made History*;" and *Preserving Her Heritage: American Landmarks of Women's History*, a Ph.D. dissertation presented by Dr. Gail Dubrow. The study team also contacted the historic property inventory coordinators in each of the state historic preservation offices in the study area to identify additional sources of information. A complete list of resources specifically used to prepare the property sample has been included in the bibliography.

During the early phases of data collection, the study team focused their attention on identifying potentially relevant properties. The list of properties was very broad and included extant historic sites and landscapes; museums; archives; libraries; public art; monuments; markers; gravesites; and locations of significant sites where structures are no longer extant. A number of property types related to the history of women's rights appeared with great frequency in the property sample. The property types included home, institution (e.g. hospital, settlement house), workplace, lodging, clubhouse, school, birthplace/childhood home, religious building, product (e.g. architecture, landscape, sculpture), event, and collection. A description of these property types can be found in Appendix D. Using this broad approach the study team

identified approximately 600 women's history properties that may potentially be confirmed as women's rights history properties for the purposes of this study.

Step 2: Data Analysis

The team used the thematic framework developed for the project to analyze and refine the list of properties developed during the data collection phase. Each property was researched using National Register documentation (where available) biographical sources, women's history literature, and websites such as Distinguished Women.com (www.distinguishedwomen.com), a biographical database, to determine whether a property and the people and events associated with that property would fall within the thematic framework. The study team attempted to distinguish between those women who advocated for women's rights within each of the 5 themes and those women who had outstanding achievements but were not activists.

National Park Service senior cultural resource and planning managers in the Washington Office helped the study team further refine the database. During that consultation, it was suggested that the property sample content emphasize the National Park Service "niche"—authentic, real places—and that it should not include properties where there is no longer any original structure or landscape. Entries in the property sample should have the potential to meet the criteria for eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. Memorials, tablets, roadside markers and sculptures were also culled from the property sample.

The database assembled for this project is best used as an indicator of the potential scale and scope of women's rights history properties located in the northeastern United States. The general condition and integrity of the properties identified in the property sample were not evaluated as part of this study.

Step 3: Mapping

Mapping services were provided by the Environmental Data Center at the University of Rhode Island. A geographic information system (GIS) was used to map most of the women's rights history properties identified through the property sample¹. The first map developed shows the distribution of properties across the entire study area. A second map provides a detail of the Rochester/Seneca Falls/Waterloo/Syracuse area in upstate New York.

Products

A GIS database has been developed in support of this project. GIS is a powerful tool that enables project managers to link mapped information to an associated database. It is a versatile management tool with potential applications ranging from analysis for management to public information and interpretation. The GIS database will be documented and maintained in the National Park Service's data archive at the University of Rhode Island and can be made available for use when necessary and appropriate.

The GIS database includes the following information for each property: Name of Site; Alternative Name; First and Last Names of associated women; Street Address; City; County; State; Date (of association with property); National Register Designation; Primary Theme; Secondary Theme; Information Source; Public v. Private; Site Type; Extant/ Non-Extant; Location Coordinates (for mapping purposes); and Description. Details relating to the limitations and specifications of this GIS database may be found in Appendix D.

Summary of Contents

The property sample is not a comprehensive inventory. In all likelihood, it represents the proverbial "tip of the iceberg." The availability of information on a state by state basis may be uneven. As a result, some states, like Massachusetts and New York, are much better represented than others. The project schedule also played a role in determining the end of this data collection and analysis phase. This summary description of the property sample database describes its contents as of May 2001.

The property sample contains information on women's rights history properties from 13 states and the District of Columbia. Nearly three hundred properties were identified as being associated with one or more themes defining the women's rights movement. Massachusetts had the most identified properties (96), many of which are located in the greater Boston area. Massachusetts was followed by New York with 63 identified properties. The most intense concentration of properties in New York was in the upstate region surrounding Rochester, Seneca Falls, and Syracuse. Pennsylvania and New Jersey each had more than 20 identified properties. The number of identified properties in New Jersey could increase due to the current statewide effort to inventory women's history properties.

Fewer than 10 properties were identified in a number of states including Delaware, Maryland, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia. It should not be implied that these states do not have a more significant number of women's rights properties. Much of the success of this sampling effort relied on finding the right information at the right time. With better information, more properties could potentially be identified in these areas.

Of the 298 properties identified, 132, or 44%, are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Of these 57 are designated National Historic Landmarks. Though they may be documented at the state register level, the majority of properties have not been evaluated for National Register eligibility. It is also worth noting that many National Register properties are listed for other areas of significance and have not been evaluated for their association with women's history. National Register documentation should be updated to reflect the significance of the women's history associated with these properties.

Only 89 of the 298 properties (just under 30%) are open to the public. About 48 of these properties are open to the visiting public and offer some exhibits and interpretive or educational programming. Others are religious structures, libraries, courthouses, and other public buildings that are generally open to the public but are much less likely to offer any exhibits or interpretive or educational programming.

Based on the planning team's assignment of women's rights themes to identified properties, just over 40% are "politics" properties. About 20% are "family and society" properties; 17% are "economic" properties; and 13% are associated with the "education" theme. "Religion" properties represented approximately 5% of the overall property sample. About 3% of the sample properties represented all themes; these included several archival and museum collections as well as various cemeteries where the gravesites of many notable women's rights activists can be found.

More than one-third of the properties in the sample are family homes – the largest single category of property type. School and other educational buildings make up about 12% of the total property sample. Lodginghouses and clubhouses each make up about 9% of the sample. Locations of important women's rights events, gravesites, institutions (hospitals, settlement houses, etc.), religious buildings, and workplaces each make up about 5% of the property sample. Birthplaces and products (works of architecture, public art, landscape) are the least represented site types, making up less than 5% of the property sample. Another category of properties—collections—is 5% of the overall property sample. Collections include public libraries, archives, museums, and exhibits as well as research collections.

A list of women's rights history properties as compiled for this project appears in Appendix E.

Properties Not Included in the Property Sample

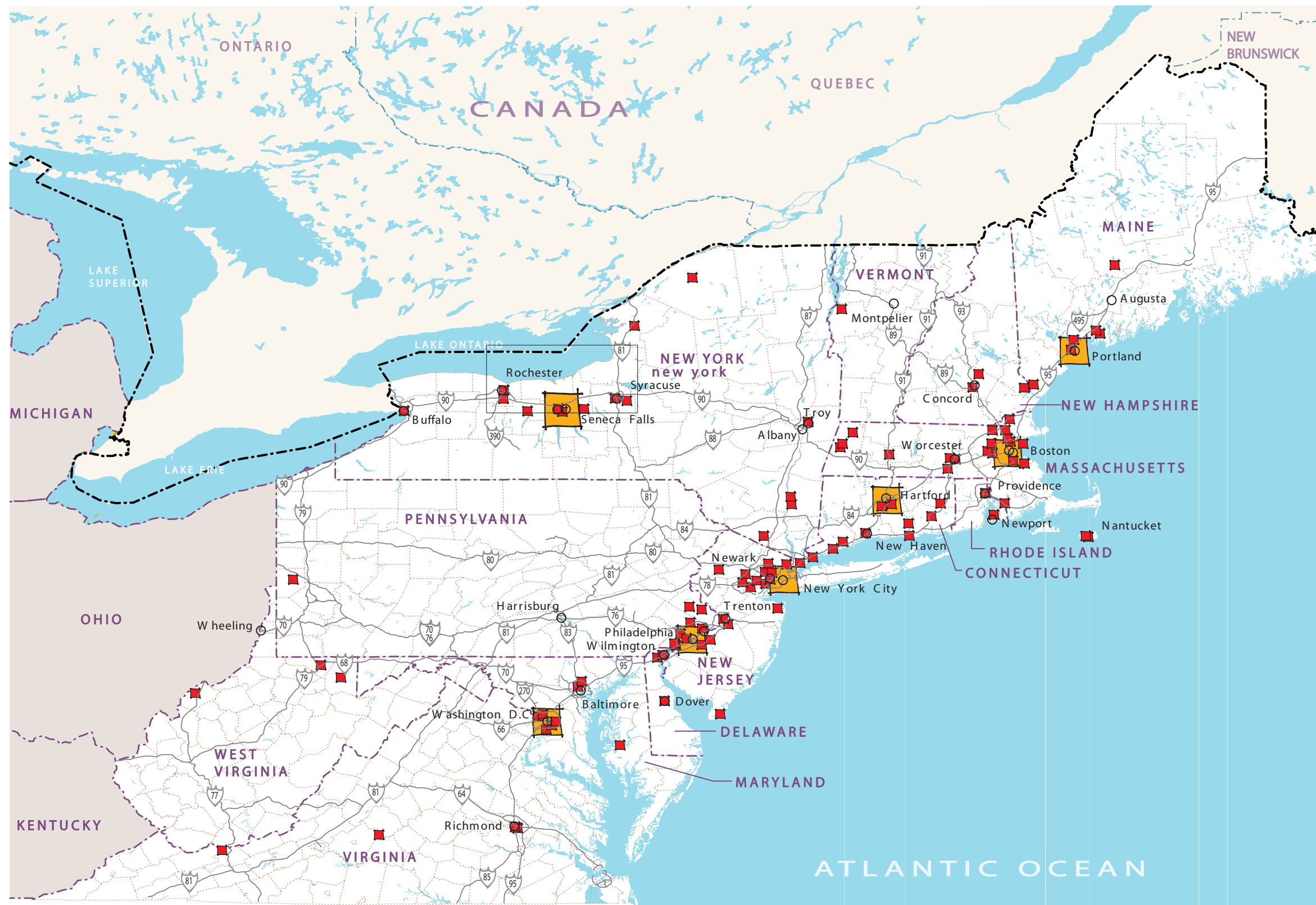
It is important to note that these roughly 300 women's rights history properties were drawn from a larger list that included many notable properties associated with significant women or events associated with general women's history. As noted earlier in the document, the study team attempted to distinguish between those women who advocated for women's rights within each of the 5 themes and those women who were very accomplished but were not activists. Many significant women of the period, such as Edith Wharton, Rachel Carson, and Beatrix Ferrand and the properties associated with them were excluded from the project property sample. As is the case with the properties associated with women's rights, many of these general women's history properties lack recognition, appropriate documentation, and proper stewardship.

Endnote:

¹Some properties did not have sufficient address information to allow them to be mapped using GIS.

Resolved, therefore, that, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities and same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848



Women's Rights

National History Trail
Feasibility study

DRAFT

Distribution of Identified W omen's Rights
History Sites in Northeastern States,
May 2001

Legend

- W omen's Rights History Site
- Concentration of History Sites
- Interstate Highway
- County Boundary
- State Boundary
- City



North 0 50 100 miles

National Park Service
Boston Support Office
US Department of the Interior

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UNIVERSITY OF
RHODE ISLAND

NOTE: This map is for planning purposes only.
Spherical distortions of land cover and water
bodies are inherent in this two-dimensional
cartographic representation.

Geographic Reference System : Latitude & Longitude
Mapping Data Source : USGS



Women's Rights

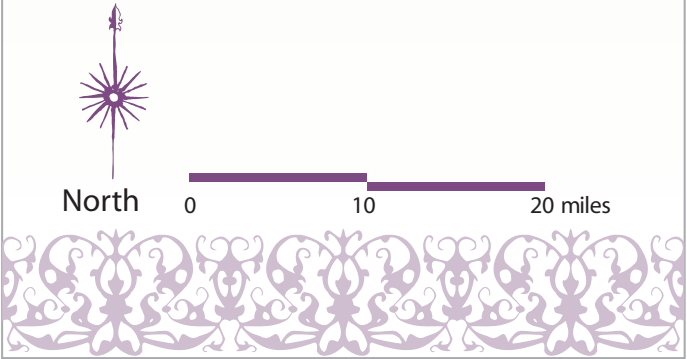
National History Trail
Feasibility study

DRAFT

Detail: Rochester / Seneca Falls / Syracuse Area

Legend

- Public Access**
- No
 - Yes
- Designation**
- National Historic Landmark
 - National Park Service
 - National Register of Historic Places
 - Designation not known
- Theme**
- Political
 - Religious
- 1 Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Rochester
 - 2 Antoinette Brown Blackwell Childhood Home, Henrietta
 - 3 Ontario County Courthouse, Canandaigua
 - 4 M'Clintock House, Waterloo
 - 5 Jane Hunt House, Waterloo
 - 6 Jacob P. Chamberlain House, Seneca Falls
 - 7 Lorina Latham House, Seneca Falls
 - 8 Wesleyan Chapel, Seneca Falls
 - 9 Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, Seneca Falls
 - 10 First Presbyterian Church, Seneca Falls
 - 11 Race House, Seneca Falls, Seneca Falls
 - 12 Hoskins House, Seneca Falls
 - 13 Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged, Auburn
 - 14 Harriet May Mills House, Syracuse
 - 15 Matilda Joslyn Gage House, Fayetteville



National Park Service
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NOTE: This map is for planning purposes only.
Spherical distortions of land cover and water
bodies are inherent in this two-dimensional
cartographic representation.

Geographic Reference System : Latitude & Longitude
Mapping Data Source : USGS

III. Partnership Concepts

Evaluation of Proposed National Historic Trail Concept

The first question to which the study team responded was whether a women's rights national historic trail was feasible. Under the National Trail System Act, a national historic trail must meet the following criteria:

A. It must be a trail or a route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use.

B. It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture.

C. It must possess significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation.

Criterion A: The proposed trail is not a physical route that can be documented and mapped. Though many of these properties are located in geographic proximity to one another, there is no historical evidence documenting a well-defined and consistent route among them. These properties are linked by their connection to one or more of the five themes defining "women's rights" for the purposes of this project. Currently, there is no designation under the National Trail System Act that describes a trail linking thematically related properties.

Criterion B: Based on a general understanding of the historical relevance of the organized women's rights movement from 1848 to the present, its national significance is clear. The women's rights movement has had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture.

Criterion C: Of the nearly 300 properties included in the property sample, just about one-third of them were available to the public in one way or another. These venues could offer a variety of opportunities for public use and enjoyment. These opportunities include interpretive tours of historic properties and neighborhoods, architectural study, indoor and outdoor interpretive exhibits, lectures and other educational programs, and special events. The properties open to the public are dispersed across the northeastern United States, and there are few areas where there are dense concentrations of such properties.

Although a proposed trail linking thematically-related properties does not meet the criteria defined under the National Trail System Act for a national historic trail, it may be possible to identify a travel itinerary or auto tour route.

The study team also considered the feasibility of designating a long-distance auto tour route in the corridor between Boston and Buffalo. While there are heavy concentrations of properties in the Greater Boston area in Massachusetts and in the Rochester-Seneca Falls-Syracuse area of New York, an extensive area between these two



Source: Library of Congress

Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony

Resolved, that woman is man's equal, was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

places has very few identified properties. From a management and a visitor experience standpoint, this geographic gap made a long-distance trail much less viable.

After evaluating a long-distance trail concept, the study team proceeded to develop a range of management concepts that could support the recognition, promotion, and protection of women's rights history properties. In considering these concepts, it is important to note that Congressional authorization and funding of any new commitments by the National Park Service will have to be considered in light of competing priorities for existing units of the National Park Service and other programs.

The study team considered three partnership concepts. One focused on a smaller-scale Women's Rights History Trail concentrated in upstate New York. In recognition of the importance of women's rights in the history of the United States, the study team considered two other partnership concepts that were national in scope.

Descriptions of the three partnership concepts follow.

Partnership Concept 1 – "Votes for Women" History Trail (Upstate New York)

Concept:

Under this concept, the National Park Service would work in partnership with a number of historically and thematically related properties within the crescent-shaped region bounded by Rochester in the west, Syracuse/Fayetteville in the east and Seneca Falls/Waterloo in the south to develop an auto tour route. The 15 to 20 properties associated with this proposed auto route are most strongly associated with women's suffrage, thereby making "Votes for Women" the primary theme to build upon for interpretive purposes. If additional properties associated with other women's rights themes are identified within this area, it would be possible to expand the number of participating properties and to expand the thematic scope of the trail. However, under this concept the geographic area under consideration would remain the same.

Under this concept, it is acknowledged that similar local initiatives are underway, particularly efforts to establish a Central New York Freedom Trail highlighting properties associated with both the Underground Railroad and the women's rights movement. The National Park Service and its partners would work collaboratively with existing local initiatives to achieve common goals and to minimize confusion on the part of the visitor.

Visitor Orientation & Experience:

Visitors to the various properties associated with the auto route, including places such as Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls/Waterloo, the Susan B. Anthony House in Rochester, and the Matilda Joselyn Gage House in Fayetteville, would have numerous opportunities to learn about the existence of the auto route and the many other properties associated with it. Each public property on the auto route would have brochures available to the public for free as well as a published guidebook available for sale. The primary orientation exhibit for the auto route would be located at Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls. The orientation exhibits at the national historical park would provide the visitor with an overview of the many dimensions of the women's rights movement as well as a brief introduction to women's suffrage, the primary theme of the trail. The orientation exhibit would also provide a brief description of the participating properties.

Most, but not all, participating properties would be open to the public. Exterior exhibits (interpretive waysides) could be available at inaccessible participating properties along the auto route. Audio and video tours could also be developed for use in private vehicles along the tour route. Other communication technologies and broadcast media could also be considered for providing visitor information, such as 1610 AM radio and intelligent transportation systems (ITS).

Using existing roads, a coordinated system of signage and a uniform logo for the auto route would be developed to guide visitors to participating properties. The National Park Service and its partners would work closely with local communities, regional planning bodies and tourism offices, as well as existing local heritage tourism initiatives, to ensure that any new signage developed for the auto route complements local and regional objectives for informational signage.

Administration:

The National Park Service would coordinate the management and development of the auto route in partnership with participating properties, other federal agencies, and state and local governments. The National Park Service would coordinate the development of a management plan, visitor services standards and guidelines for participating properties, informational brochures and guidebooks, and a signage and identity program.

The National Park Service would monitor participating properties for compliance with multilaterally established auto route standards. Participating properties that fail to demonstrate an effort to comply with auto route standards could lose their eligibility for funding and technical assistance or could be effectively removed from the auto route.

The National Park Service would provide interpretive and educational program assistance to participating properties. This assistance could take a number of forms and could range from providing interpretive staff support at special events to the development of curriculum packages, interpretive exhibits, and publications.

Under this concept, the Women's Rights National Historical Park would administer a short-term matching grant to support historic preservation of participating properties. The grant would require a 50/50 match and would be made available competitively on an annual basis over a 5-year period.

The National Park Service would also provide support for research and documentation of participating properties. Limited funds and technical assistance could be made available to develop historic structure reports, historic furnishing reports, cultural landscape reports, and other appropriate documentation to support effective management of historic properties.

Finally, the National Park Service would seek to foster partnerships among participating properties and would encourage collaborative programming and events within the context of the auto route. Generally, collaborative programs would emphasize the primary theme of "Votes for Women;" however, they could be expanded to embrace other aspects of the women's rights movement associated with the principal individuals associated with the region (e.g. religion, dress reform, etc.).

Under this partnership concept, National Park Service involvement with the "Votes for Women" Auto Route would continue indefinitely.

Program Participation/Property Selection:

Because the vast majority of properties located within this prescribed geographic area are associated with the women's rights category of "Politics," this concept emphasizes the participation of individual historic properties associated with women's suffrage. Gravesites in the area that are associated with key participants in the effort to win the right to vote could also be identified as points of interest for the visitor. With the exception of gravesites, all properties associated with the trail should be on or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Under this concept the period of significance runs from 1848, the date of the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, to 1923, the 75th anniversary of the first Convention and also the date that Alice Paul formally initiated the campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment at the Presbyterian Church in Seneca Falls.

Properties identified as possible participants on the history trail would only be included on the trail with the expressed consent of the property owner. These selected properties would be specifically named in authorizing legislation for the trail and would be eligible for interpretive and preservation assistance.

Legislative Requirements:

As noted above, properties selected for participation on the trail would be specifically named in legislation authorizing the trail. Authorizing legislation would also enable the Secretary of the Interior to certify additional trail properties. Legislation would be required to expand the authorities of Women's Rights National Historical Park to allow for trail management, related planning and construction, and necessary appropriations.

Estimated Costs to Federal Government:*Annual*

Staff/operations total: approx. \$160,000

Publications: approx. \$65,000

Curriculum pkg.: \$50,000

Project Funds (One time costs)

Exhibits: \$275,000 (gross)

Signage: \$50,000 (gross)

Strategic Plan for Trail: \$175,000

Grants

Matching historic preservation grant: \$250,000 per year/5 years

Partnership Concept 2 – National Women's Rights History Project**Concept:**

Under this concept, the National Register program would lead a collaborative effort with State Historic Preservation Offices nationwide to survey, evaluate, and nominate women's rights history properties to the National Register of Historic Places. Through the National Register program, the National Park Service would offer annual grants to State Historic Preservation Offices for up to 5 years to support this work. The National Park Service would also expand and enhance the current National Register travel itinerary website, "Places Where Women Made History," so that the results of the inventory are made available to the general public. As is the case now, the website would provide a brief historical description of each property, note which properties are open to the public, and provide links to related websites, as available.

Visitor Orientation & Experience:

Potential visitors would learn of women's rights historic properties across the country through the online inventory made available through the National Register of Historic Places and a series of state or regional companion publications. Both the online site and the companion publications would offer a historical overview of the women's rights movement and its countermovements and would provide related details associated with the histories of each of the listed properties. These online and published resources would also describe whether properties are open to the public and hours of operation, and would provide links to related websites. Visitors to the website would be able to search for women's rights historic properties geographically, thematically, and chronologically.

Visitors could travel to properties named in the online inventory or companion guides but experiences would vary widely from property to property. Directional and interpretive signage would be limited to what is currently being employed by participating properties. The National Park Service would not coordinate programming among properties. However, visitors to some communities or regions where there are concentrations of properties could find organized programs such as walking tours of women's historic properties, special events, and collaborative programming among women's historic properties.

Administrative Structure:

The National Park Service would manage the Women's Rights History Project through the National Register program, working in cooperation with State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs). In consultation with SHPOs, as well as the scholarly community, the National Park Service would sponsor the development of a series of historic context statements associated with a number of women's rights history themes (e.g. politics, education, etc.)¹. These historic context statements would provide a foundation for identifying and evaluating properties related to each women's rights theme.

Over a 5-year period, the National Register program would administer grants to state historic preservation offices specifically to support the inventory and evaluation of women's rights properties. Approximately \$50,000 per year could be made available to each participating state during this prescribed period of time. This inventory and evaluation of women's rights properties is expected to result in a significant number of new nominations to the National Register as well as possible amendments to documentation for existing National Register-listed properties to better reflect their association with women's history.

The National Park Service would also provide limited financial and technical support for expanded research and documentation of National Register-eligible properties associated with the project. The grants proposed to support identification and evaluation of properties could also be used to support more in-depth projects such as the production of measured drawings, photodocumentation, and historic structures reports. This support would be made available annually on a competitive basis and the award of funds or technical assistance would place great emphasis on the fulfillment of historic preservation needs.

In order to make this information accessible to the general public, the National Park Service would develop a National Women's Rights History Project website. The website would build upon the existing web-based National Register travel itinerary, "Places Where Women Made History," which highlights a wide range of women's historic properties across the states of New York and Massachusetts (www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/pwwmh/). Similar to the current "Places Where Women Made History" website, the National Women's Rights History Project would provide an image of each historic property and possibly the people associated with it, a brief description and history of the property, address information, and public access information. In contrast, the National Women's Rights History Project website would highlight properties nationwide and would focus on properties illustrating the many facets of the women's rights movement. The National Women's Rights History Project would also include an overview of the history project. Information on the website would always be free to the public.

The National Park Service would also develop a series of companion publications that could take the form of regional or state guidebooks. These "take-along" guides would contain the same information as is found on the website. These publications would be available for sale at a variety of retail outlets including the many National Park Service cooperating associations that operate bookstores at National Park units across the country.

As noted above, the National Park Service, through the National Register program, would support grants to state historic preservation offices in participating states over a five-year period. The National Park Service would continue to maintain and update the website and provide financial and technical assistance for research and documentation indefinitely.

Finally, due to the large volume of general women's historic properties that have not been evaluated for National Register eligibility, the expansion of the thematic scope of this project beyond women's rights may be warranted.

Program Participation/ Property Selection:

During the course of the project a wide range of women's rights properties are likely to be identified and evaluated in each participating state. The project website would feature only those properties that are currently on or are determined to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places and whose owners have expressed their consent to be included in the project. Historic properties of local, state, and national significance could all be included in the project.

Similarly, properties must be currently on or determined to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places in order to be eligible to compete for research and documentation funds and assistance.

Initially, emphasis would be placed on those properties associated with the multiple facets of the women's rights movement including but not limited to politics, economics, education, religion, and social and family rights. The period of significance to be considered would span from the date of the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention in 1848 to 1951 (the present less 50 years) to comply with National Register standards and guidelines.

If time and resources permit, the thematic scope of the project could be expanded to include general women's history properties. Likewise, the period of significance could be expanded.

Legislative Requirements:

Congress would authorize the establishment of and appropriations for the National Women's Rights History Project.

Estimated Costs to Federal Government:

Annual

Staff/ Operations total: \$600,000

Publications (annually): \$50,000

Project Funds (One time costs)

Context Statements (6): \$1.2 million (\$200,000 each)

Enhanced website: \$100,000

Grants

Support State Historic Preservation Offices (nationwide): approximately \$2.5 million per year for 5 years (\$12.5 million). (Approximately \$50,000 per state per year.)

Partnership Concept 3 – *National Women's Rights History Project and Partnerships Network*

Concept:

The third concept enhances the National Women's Rights History Project by creating a partnerships network. It also expands the range of participating properties allowing more than just National Register-eligible properties to participate. Other places and institutions such as commemorative public art installations, archives, and museums could also be included among partnerships within the network. Under the National Women's Rights History Project and Partnerships Network, the National Park Service would foster the development of a partnership-based network offering financial and technical assistance to participating members. The Network would be managed through a non-governmental organization, identified through a competitive process, which would work in partnership with the National Park Service and state historic preservation offices to coordinate the Network's operation. The National Park Service's relationship with the Network would cease after a prescribed period of time – possibly 10 years – at which point the Network would operate independently. The Network would offer matching grants and technical assistance for interpretive and educational program development and would emphasize partnerships with strong collaborative proposals that could include a variety of property types that would be anchored by one or more National Register-eligible properties.

Visitor Orientation & Experience:

An online visitor center would include all of the web-based information described above in the National Women's Rights History Project as well as materials that specifically support the partnerships network. In this concept, the website would include a description of the partnerships network, information on program benefits and eligibility for program participa-

tion, as well as information about tours and collaborative programming offered by the network's participating partnerships.

Partnerships could sponsor special events and programs, coordinate travel itineraries and guided tours, and develop educational materials for distribution to school groups. Information about these programs and events could be made available to the visiting public on this website. Finally, through the partnerships, more information would be made available regarding what the visiting public should expect at any given property (e.g. visitor amenities such as restrooms, universal access, parking, and gift shops).

In visiting properties participating in network partnerships, visitors would be provided with some orientation to the themes and other properties associated with the partnership and would be likely to have the opportunity to visit multiple partnership properties and participate in one or more partnership-wide events.

Under this partnership concept, the Network management entity and the National Park Service would jointly develop a series of published guides and brochures describing the overall network and its participating partnerships. Individual partnerships could also develop the brochures and guidebooks specifically for their group. A logo would be developed for use on publications, websites, signage, and other visual media that would clearly identify properties participating in the partnerships network.

Administrative Structure

Working in partnership with the National Park Service and state historic preservation offices, an independent management entity would launch the Partnerships Network. The management entity would be a non-governmental organization selected through a competitive process such as a Request for Proposals (RFP). The management entity for the Network must be able to receive and disburse federal funds and have authority to enter into agreements with the federal government. The National Park Service would provide operational support to the management entity for a prescribed period of up to 10 years, after which the management entity would operate independently.

The management entity would work collaboratively with the National Park Service, State Historic Preservation Offices, and other key partners to prepare a strategic plan for the network. The management entity would also raise funds independently from both private and other public sources, provide technical assistance to members of the partnerships network, coordinate network-wide programs, and promote network properties.

In addition to its role described in Partnership Concept 2, the National Park Service would establish the online visitor center, which would then be maintained and updated by the Network management entity. The National Park Service would also help the management entity establish a technical assistance program for interpretation and education. A matching grant program, ultimately administered by the management entity, would provide financial assistance for interpretive and educational programs on a competitive basis.

The National Park Service would also provide direct grants to State Historic Preservation Offices in participating states to support a matching historic preservation grant program specifically targeted for historic properties associated with the women's rights movement. Unlike the technical assistance funds administered by the network management entity, the historic preservation grant program would be administered exclusively by State Historic Preservation Offices with input from the network management entity. The historic preservation grants would be made available over a 5-year period through a competitive process and would require a 50/50 match. Support for historic preservation funding would be limited to those properties currently on or determined eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

The National Park Service would provide limited financial and technical support for expanded research and documentation of Register-eligible properties associated with the project. This support would extend beyond the grants proposed to support identification and evaluation of properties and would include more in-depth projects such as the production of measured drawings, photo documentation, and historic structure reports. This support would be made available annually

on a competitive basis, and the award of funds or technical assistance would place great emphasis on the fulfillment of historic preservation needs.

Finally, the National Park Service and the management entity would work together to foster partnerships at the network membership level as well as nationally. The National Park Service would assist network managers to leverage other federal funds and to work with other federal agencies and national foundations to garner the support needed to fulfill the mission and goals of the network and its participating partnerships. Links to organizations other than the National Park Service are particularly important to support the protection, operation, and programming of participating network properties that would not be eligible for National Park Service assistance (e.g. those properties not determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places) but could be eligible for assistance from other sources. The National Park Service could work with the Partnerships Network as well as participating partnerships to support their efforts to seek other sources of assistance.

The network membership would be composed primarily of locally based partnerships whose representatives would be the primary point of contact for technical and financial assistance. The participating partnerships would coordinate activities among partnership properties, raise funds, promote properties associated with the partnership, and undertake demonstration projects and programs. An example of a locally based partnership of women's historic properties may be the Boston Women's Heritage Trail. This organization was founded by educators in the Boston city school system and has worked to research, identify, and map numerous neighborhood-based women's history walking tours throughout the city of Boston. The Boston Women's Heritage Trail has also published an informative and attractive guide describing five women's history walking tours in the city's downtown neighborhoods. The Boston Women's Heritage Trail continues to offer quality programming and experiences to local youth through the city's schools.

Program Participation/ Property Selection:

As noted above, the range of possible properties participating in the Network would be expanded, allowing more than just Register-eligible properties to participate. Other places and institutions such as commemorative public art installations, gravesites, archives, and museums could also be included among partnerships within the network. Any one or some combination of the subthemes used to define the women's rights movement could be represented (Politics, Economics, Education, Religion, and, Family and Society) and the period of significance would span the years from 1848 to 1953 (the present less 50 years).

The Network would emphasize partnerships among women's rights historic properties, which could include pre-existing or new women's heritage trails. Each partnership should include one or more "anchor" properties that are on or eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and have an advanced menu of visitor amenities. These anchor properties could be eligible for more assistance commensurate with the level of services that they provide to the public.

Anchor properties should:

- ♦ offer necessary facilities to support public use (e.g. parking, public restrooms)
- ♦ be open to the public on a regular basis (at least 5 hours/day, 5 days/week)
- ♦ offer educational programs and make information about the network available to the public
- ♦ be adequately staffed, and
- ♦ be adequately protected.

The Network management would identify participating partnerships in two phases. During the first phase, based on the results of the inventory conducted through the National Women's Rights History Project, the Network's management entity would issue a request for proposals (RFP) to selected properties. Once the phase 1 partnerships are in place and the Network is solidly established, phase 2 of the program could be initiated allowing women's rights history partnerships to

nominate themselves for program participation. Self-nominating partnerships would be selected by the Network management entity using predetermined criteria. Both phase 1 and phase 2 participating partnerships would be eligible to compete for all financial and technical assistance offered through the program.

As in Partnership Concept 2, if time and resources permit, the thematic scope of the project could be expanded to include general women's history properties. Likewise, the period of significance could also be expanded.

Legislative Requirements:

Congress would have to authorize the establishment of and an appropriation for the National Women's Rights History Project and Partnerships Network.

Estimated Costs to Federal Government

Annual

Staff/Operations total: \$1.1 million

Technical Assistance/Research Program (annually): \$500,000

Publications (annually): \$75,000

Project Funds (One time costs)

Context Statements (6): \$1.2 mil

Enhanced website: \$100,000

Strategic Plan: \$200,000

Grants

Support to SHPOs (nationwide): approx. \$2.5 million per year for 5 years (\$12.5 million). (Approximately \$50,000 per state per year.)

Preservation Matching Grant Fund (through SHPOs): \$3million per year for 5 years (\$15 million)

Options eliminated from further consideration

Traditional heritage area

A "National Heritage Area" is a place designated by Congress where natural, cultural, historic, and scenic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally distinctive landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography. These patterns make National Heritage Areas representative of the national experience through the physical features that remain and the traditions that have evolved in them. Continued use of the National Heritage Areas by people whose traditions helped to shape the landscapes enhances their significance.

The commemoration of the women's rights movement does not lend itself to the definition of a traditional national heritage area. As an American political and social movement, it is represented by people, ideas, and actions that were not confined to a single geographic region within the context of the American landscape. Nor did these people, ideas, or actions and the resources associated with them "combine to form a cohesive, nationally distinctive landscape." The impact of the women's rights movement was to the political landscape and intellectual history of the United States – far less tangible, but no less significant. The designation of a heritage area with a discrete boundary would not allow for the effective stewardship of resources associated with the women's rights movement in the Northeast or nationwide nor would it support comprehensive interpretation of this national story.

Identification of new sites for inclusion within the park system

Women's Rights National Historical Park, located in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York, was designated in 1980 and commemorates a watershed event in the women's rights movement – the first women's rights convention and the adoption of the Declaration of Sentiments. Interpretation at the park and information provided on the park's website emphasize the multifaceted nature of the women's rights movement and cover its evolution from the 1848 convention to the current day. There are many other sites within the National Park System that allow for the interpretation of different aspects of the women's rights movement during the period between 1848 and 1953. These sites include but are not limited to: Clara Barton National Historical Park in Glen Echo, Maryland; Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site in Washington, DC; Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site in Richmond, Virginia; and Rosie the Riveter National Historical Park in Richmond, California.

Because there are several extant National Park Service units that allow for the interpretation of the women's rights movement and the property sample was undertaken at a reconnaissance survey level that does not provide sufficient detail to make recommendations for additional units of the National Park System, no such recommendations were made during the course of this study. If appropriate, special resource studies that apply the National Park Service's Criteria for Parklands to evaluate specific properties for inclusion in the National Park System could be undertaken if funding were available.

Consultation and Coordination

During the study, the Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study has been presented in a number of venues. The study was represented on panels at two women's history conferences – the Conference on Women and Historic Preservation in May 2000 and the Worcester Women's History Conference in October 2000. The study was also presented to the Women's Progress Commemoration Commission on two separate occasions (July 2000, June 2001). The study team has been in contact with the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites throughout the project. All of these venues offered the opportunity to share the study process and preliminary findings with representatives of a wide range of women's history and historic preservation organizations and programs.

The project manager was able to establish informal contact with most of the state historic preservation offices in the study area, primarily through each office's historic inventory coordinator. All of the state historic preservation offices nationwide will be invited to review and comment on the content of the study. Other organizations and institutions that will receive a copy of the draft study include but are not limited to the following:

American Historical Association	National Women's History Project
Association of State and Local Historians	New Hampshire Preservation Alliance
Berkshire Conference on History of Women	Organization of American Historians
General Federation of Women's Clubs	Preservation Association of Central New York
National Council on Public History	Preservation Worcester
National Parks and Conservation Association	Worcester Women's Heritage Project
National Trust for Historic Preservation	Women's Progress Commemoration Commission

Endnote:

¹ A historic context statement defines a unit for planning purposes that groups information about historic properties based on a shared theme, specific time period, and geographical area. The historic context is the cornerstone of the planning process. The goal of preservation planning is to identify, evaluate, register and treat the full range of properties representing each historic context, rather than only one or two types of properties. Identification activities are organized to ensure that research and survey activities include properties representing all aspects of the historic context. Evaluation uses the historic context as the framework within which to apply the criteria for evaluation to specific properties or property types. Decisions about treatment of properties are made with the goal of treating the range of properties in the context. The use of historic contexts in organizing major preservation activities ensures that those activities result in the preservation of the wide variety of properties that represent our history, rather than only a small, biased sample of properties. [Director's Orders 28]

IV: Environmental Consequences

The following table summarizes the environmental consequences of the partnership concepts presented in this feasibility study. The environmental factors that are discussed are described briefly below:

Cultural Resources

Addresses the potential effects on cultural resources including historic structures, historic landscapes, archeology, and ethnographic resources.

Natural Resources

The effects on natural resources include those on wildlife, vegetation, soils, and air and water quality historic properties associated with each partnership concept as well as on roadways.

Opportunities for Public Use and Enjoyment

Under Opportunities for Public Use and Enjoyment, the effects discussed include public access to information and orientation, public ability to locate and have access to women's history resources, and the effects of interpretive and educational programming.

Landownership and Land Uses

This category would describe any effects the proposed partnership concepts may have on landownership and land use.

Socioeconomic Conditions

The category would address the possible effects that any of the proposed partnership concepts may have on the local or regional economy.



Source: Library of Congress

Alice Paul, c. 1920

Resolved, that the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live... by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

CULTURAL RESOURCES

Partnership Concept I: *"Votes for Women" History Trail (Upstate NY)*

With the exception of Women's Rights NHP, the National Park Service would be working primarily with private partners. As a result, the National Park Service would have limited authority to require that cultural resource values be protected. However, under this partnership concept the National Park Service can offer several incentives to support the protection of resources associated with the trail.

This partnership concept calls for a limited matching grant program for historic preservation that could encourage historic property owners to take the necessary steps to preserve their properties. The use of federal funds would require compliance with section 106 of the Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

Additionally, under this option, research and documentation of trail properties would be funded and could provide private property owners with fundamental information about their properties and recommendations on how to best maintain them.

Through the development and promotion of this trail concept, it is possible that a significantly larger audience for these properties will emerge. This would present the opportunity to educate the public about the values associated with these places and to foster public support and stewardship for these places.

The possibility of higher visitation at many of these properties raises issues about carrying capacity. Historic houses and landscapes would have to be monitored to ensure that increased visitor use is not impairing resource values.

Partnership Concept II: *National Women's Rights History Project*

Partnership Concept II emphasizes the inventory and evaluation of women's rights history properties for eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Receiving a determination of eligibility from the National Register is often the first hurdle faced by property owners seeking to raise both public and private monies to support the preservation of their properties. This program would support this effort and provide National Register recognition to numerous women's rights history properties.

Also under this concept, further documentation and research of National Register-listed women's rights history properties would be funded and could provide fundamental information and preservation recommendations. This information could and should be used to support the preservation of these structures.

Under this concept, a website describing National Register-listed women's rights historic properties nationwide would be developed. The website would note where properties were located and whether they are open to the public. It is possible that this website could encourage a considerable increase in visitation at some of the historic properties noted on the website. These properties could benefit by the increased visitation and public interest but could also be subject to resource degradation if the level of visitation increases dramatically and appropriate steps are not taken to protect resource values.

Partnership Concept III: *Women's Rights National History Project and Partnerships Network*

Partnership Concept III expands upon the Women's Rights National History Project by creating a technical assistance program that emphasizes partnerships at the local and regional level. In addition to the cultural resource impacts identified under Partnership Concept II, the Partnerships network could have the following effects on cultural resources:

Participating partnerships in the network would be eligible to compete for grants and technical assistance. A limited matching grant program for historic preservation, grants to support research and documentation, and National Park Service technical assistance would all support resource protection initiatives among participating partnerships.

This concept emphasizes partnerships to foster better cooperation and coordination among properties and to encourage better-established properties to work with new and emerging properties. In emphasizing these partnerships, this concept would help expand and involve the local base of support for these historic properties.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Partnership Concept I: *"Votes for Women" History Trail (Upstate NY)*

Despite the rural character of upstate NY, most of the properties associated with the proposed "Votes for Women" trail exist within an urban context where most, if not all, the native vegetation has been altered or otherwise disturbed. The National Park Service would be working primarily with private partners and would have very limited authority to require the protection of natural resource values.

Several properties that could be identified along the trail are gravesites located in local cemeteries. Though they are designed landscapes, as open spaces within urban contexts they could be of some importance from a natural resources standpoint.

During the planning process, project planners should be cognizant of any natural resource values and should consider them when addressing issues such as carrying capacity, pedestrian pathways, and vehicular access.

Partnership Concept II: *National Women's Rights History Project*

Partnership Concept II calls for a major inventory and evaluation effort to nominate property to the National Register of Historic Places. There would be a website associated with the project that allows visitors to determine where properties were located and which ones were open to the public.

Although the website could result in increased visitation to some of these properties, the overall impact on natural resources would be nominal.

Partnership Concept III: *Women's Rights National History Project and Partnerships Network*

Under Partnership Concept III, participating partnerships within the network could include properties with substantial natural resource values. The National Park Service would have very limited authority to require that natural resource values are protected.

The National Park Service could provide educational information and otherwise attempt to foster resource stewardship at the local level, where needed.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PUBLIC USE & ENJOYMENT

Partnership Concept I: *"Votes for Women" History Trail (Upstate NY)*

While visiting the "Votes for Women" History Trail in upstate New York, the public would have the opportunity to visit numerous women's history properties that are open to the public and offer interpretive and educational programming on a regular basis. In locations where public access is not available or limited, exterior exhibits (interpretive waysides) would be available to convey important aspects of the story.

The visitor would have the opportunity to understand and appreciate the significance of several key personalities in the women's suffrage movement, as well as to be oriented to the scope and depth of the broader women's rights movement.

Visitor access to properties associated with the trail would be enhanced by a coordinated, directional signage system and the use of a trail logo indicating trail properties. The use of directional signage and trail logos should serve to minimize visitor confusion and enhance their sense of arrival as they reach each property associated with the trail.

Partnership Concept II: *National Women's Rights History Project*

Visitors to the Women's Rights National History Project website would have a tremendous (albeit virtual) opportunity to become familiar with the women's rights movement and the numerous properties nationwide that are associated with it.

Visitors could learn of properties in any given geographic area of the country or could identify properties associated with one or more of the themes associated with the women's rights movement. Using information from the website or by using the published companion guide series, visitors could plot their own travel itineraries for exploring women's rights history properties.

The website and the companion guides would provide limited information on what programming and amenities a visitor could expect at each property. The quality of the experience at each property could vary markedly.

In addition, visitors would rely on existing signage and markers; no new signage would be introduced. In some locations, it may be difficult to locate properties.

Partnership Concept III: *Women's Rights National History Project and Partnerships Network*

As in Partnership Concept II, visitors to the Women's Rights National History Project website would have a tremendous (albeit virtual) opportunity to become familiar with the women's rights movement and the numerous properties nationwide that are associated with it.

The visitor would also learn about the participating network partnerships nation-wide, the variety of properties associated with them, and any current programming or special events. Network partnerships could offer pre-packaged travel itineraries for numerous areas across the country and may offer published guides and educational materials particular to their partnership properties.

Visitors would be made aware of a wide variety of properties that extends well beyond Register-listed properties to include museums, libraries, archives, public art installations, memorial tablets and plaques, etc.

The extent to which directional signage and markers are available and coordinated will vary from partnership to partnership. In some areas locating the desired property would be easy, while in others it could require much more effort on the part of the visitor.

In addition, the quality of visitor services and programming may vary from partnership to partnership and from property to property. The visitor experience could be quite variable.

LAND OWNERSHIP/ LAND USE

Partnership Concept I: *"Votes for Women" History Trail (Upstate NY)*

The National Park Service owns a number of parcels associated with Women's Rights NHP. No additional federal land acquisition is anticipated to support the creation of a "Votes for Women" history trail.

Participation is voluntary. Private properties will not be included on the trail without the expressed consent of the property owner.

Partnership Concept II: *National Women's Rights History Project*

No additional federal land is required to support the implementation of the National Women's Rights History Project.

Participation is voluntary. Private properties will not be included on the project website without the expressed consent of the property owner.

Partnership Concept III: *Women's Rights National History Project and Partnerships Network*

No additional federal land is required to support the implementation of the National Women's Rights History Project and Partnerships Network.

Participation is voluntary. Private properties will not be included on the project website or in a network partnership without the expressed consent of the property owner.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Partnership Concept I: *"Votes for Women" History Trail (Upstate NY)*

Under Partnership Concept I, enhanced cooperation among properties and coordinated promotion of the trail could result in a modest to moderate growth in visitation to women's rights history properties in the Rochester/Seneca Falls/Syracuse region of upstate New York.

With more coordination among properties and the increased possibility of multi-day events, overnight visitation could grow. Increased overnight visitation could have a modest, positive effect on the regional economy.

Partnership Concept II: *National Women's Rights History Project*

Visitation at various properties across the country may increase but the ultimate effect that this would have on local and regional economies is impossible to gauge nationwide. If visitation at a single property or a concentration of properties in a particular geographic area were to go up markedly, a clear economic benefit would result, particularly if that increase in visitation involved multi-day visits.

Partnership Concept III: *Women's Rights National History Project and Partnerships Network*

Similar to Partnership Concept II, it is difficult to assess the economic benefit of the program nationwide. It will vary widely depending upon the concentration of properties, the scope of visitor programming, coordination of programming among properties, and the schedule of special events. In an area where a strong partnership has emerged and the visitor experience has been crafted and promoted in way that allows the public to visit multiple properties and experience a diversity of programming, multiday visitation could increase and result in local or regional economic benefits.

Appendixes

Appendix A: Declaration of Sentiments

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to law in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men, both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right as a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.



Source: Library of Congress

Lucretia Mott, c. 1870

Resolved, that the speedy success of our cause depends upon
the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women...

-*Declaration of Sentiments, 1848*

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes and, in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of the women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation, in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of conventions embracing every part of the country.

Resolutions

Whereas, the great precept of nature is conceded to be that “man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness.” Blackstone in his *Commentaries* remarks that this law of nature, being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is, of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is “superior in obligation to any other.”

Resolved, that all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, that woman is man's equal, was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, that the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, that inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preeminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, that the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, that the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, that woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, that the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, that the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

Resolved, therefore, that, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities and same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

Appendix B: Framework Defining the Women's Rights Movement

Prepared by Christine Arato, Historian. National Park Service, Boston Support Office.

On July 19, 1848, the first Women's Rights Convention convened at Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York. The meeting was called by a small group of activists—including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Mary Ann M'Clintock—who had met earlier at the nearby home of Jane Hunt. Despite the short notice and the organizers' cautious expectations, 300 women and men attended the convention. At its close on the following day, 68 women and 32 men signed a Declaration of Sentiments that called for a broad array of rights for women, including suffrage.

The early women's rights movement built on the principles and experiences of converging currents of reform. Efforts to promote social justice and to improve the human condition inevitably led to a challenge to the subordinate status of women. The members of the Convention found an appropriate model in the philosophy and rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence, the most celebrated, and often contested, articulation of the American political experiment. The Convention's Declaration of Sentiments represented a call to expand this political vision, to extend the "inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to women. Like the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of Sentiments was a lofty appeal to fundamental principles of natural law that challenged Americans to reexamine their past and to re-envision their future. In this appeal for equal rights for women, the Declaration of Sentiments provided a point of departure in a struggle for equality that has continued to the present. Beginning by confronting of the legal system that circumscribed women's lives, the Declaration invoked a movement that laid claim to a broad range of powers and an enlarged sphere of influence and achievement for women. And while the nature and goals of the women's community—or, more appropriately, communities—have intersected and diverged in the subsequent 150 years, we may find in the Declaration of Sentiments the foundation of a multifaceted perspective that acknowledges the constellation of social, political, economic, and cultural forces that inform women's historical experiences. Women's struggles for liberation were—and are—conducted in national, state, local, and domestic arenas, and the story of women's rights unfolds along integrated, diverse and complex paths of human experience.

The lasting historical significance of the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments lay in its frontal attack on the social, political, economic, and religious institutions that circumscribed the lives of 19th-century women and in the enduring relevance of its collective natural-rights vision of equality. While the delegates' claim to equal **political rights** through suffrage may have been the most controversial resolution passed at the Convention, their manifesto of **social, economic, educational, and religious rights** permeated and inspired contemporary and later movements for women's rights. These five themes bring into focus the dynamic relationships between public and private action that characterized the women's rights movements. Further, they allow us to organize the individuals, institutions, ideas, and events that have been critical to the expansion of democracy and the definition of active citizenship into a broad interpretive framework. Identifying these distinctive themes does not preclude addressing a broader range of subjects and issues in later stages of planning and development, but—like the document that inspired it—provides a point of departure for the identification, preservation, and interpretation of tangible resources associated with the struggle for women's rights.

Politics

- ♦ *He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.*
- ♦ *He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.*
- ♦ *He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.*
- ♦ *Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.*

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, 1848

Among the delegates at the Wesleyan Chapel, concern for gender equality derived, in part, from the refusal of the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London to seat women from the official American delegation earlier in the decade. The Seneca Falls Convention reflected several decades of women's involvement in social reform, and this activist community's thoughtful assessment of discrimination suffered by all women. Conscious of the significance of their collective contributions to the promotion of "every righteous cause," the women and men who signed the Declaration of Sentiments demanded immediate access to "every righteous means" to fulfill their social and moral duties as individuals and as citizens of the United States.

In its call for the enfranchisement of women, the Declaration of Sentiments earned its place as one of the first American feminist legal texts. While reform societies, local benevolent organizations, temperance campaigns, and abolitionist petition drives justified political action on the grounds of women's moral influence, the Declaration of Sentiments proposed a redefinition of the political landscape. Their demand for women's suffrage insisted upon equal rights for women and rejected legal discrimination. A number of the Seneca Falls delegates, including Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass, added women's suffrage to the social reforms lauded in a growing antebellum lecture circuit. As the nation careened toward civil war, many leading abolitionists embraced the cause of women's rights as a natural corollary to their defense of human freedom.

By the end of the 19th century, women deployed oratorical and organizational skills gained through decades of grassroots activities in organized campaigns of overt political action. In the decades following the Civil War, two rival suffrage organizations emerged and later united to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Their successors, Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt, led NAWSA's early 20th-century campaign to win suffrage through a federal amendment to the Constitution. Following passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, NAWSA's successor, the League of Women Voters, worked to provide political education for newly-enfranchised women, while the National Woman's Party, under the leadership of Alice Paul, moved from the suffrage victory toward a second constitutional goal, the Equal Rights Amendment. From her home in Washington, DC Mary Church Terrell—the civil rights leader who achieved national prominence as the president of the National Association of Colored Women and as a charter member of the NAACP—assailed all forms of racial discrimination and endorsed the ERA as a path toward the emancipation of African-American women. These early 20th-century campaigns for women's rights informed a second wave of women's activism beginning in the 1960s.

Women's participation in politics, however, has taken many other forms. American political institutions were initially founded with the assumption that women were not "fitted" for participation in public life. Women's close association with domesticity, however, has meant only that they followed different paths into public life, not that women were excluded from the public domain. Indeed, by exploring the interactions of public and private spheres, the study of women's history has revealed new dimensions in political life. Beginning in the Revolutionary era, women pioneered the formation of voluntary associations, laying the basis for that layer of civil society that is critical to the maintenance of an active democratic citizenry. Nineteenth century politics proceeded along two different lines: electoral politics, exclusively male, and the politics of influence, primarily female and located in voluntary associations that became the seed bed for the social justice dimensions of progressive reform. By the middle of the 19th century, despite exclusion from the formal channels of electoral politics, many women had engaged in such social movements, including religious revivalism, abolitionism, and temperance, and claimed a certain degree of emancipation in the face of opposition to women's public activism. The movements for women's rights are part of the larger drama of American democracy in which numerous groups have broadened the definition of citizenry and redefined the terrain of politics.

Through voluntary associations women have reshaped civic life, creating benevolent associations, missionary societies, reform and social service institutions—hospitals, orphanages, social settlements. They have invented professions such as social work, and feminized others such as teaching. Both white and black women engaged in reform activities and, when

established organizations barred female membership, formed their own societies and auxiliaries. By the mid-19th century women were a majority of the members of northern abolition societies, from which emerged the powerful voices of Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, and Sojourner Truth. Temperance activists employed direct action to extend women's moral authority from the home to the public sphere and worked through organizations such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to express their views on social and political issues under the rubric of "Home Protection."

During the early 20th century women gained prominence as welfare and housing reformers, influencing federal policy. Social settlements served as a bridge to the male-dominated political culture and a point of departure for women who went on to occupy positions in the broader reform community, as well as in local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions. In facilities such as the Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged in Aurora, New York, women activists sponsored services and activities for poor relief, childcare, and health education that eventually achieved permanence as public responsibilities. As Civil War nurses, as members of the American Expeditionary Forces, as defense workers, and as members of military auxiliaries women expanded the realm of female civic duty. In all of these reform activities the community infrastructures that resulted broadened the arenas of civic action and civic education considerably, and over time reform activities expanded accepted views of societal responsibility and the role of government.

Some examples of properties that interpret the sub-theme of women's political rights are Women's Rights National Historical Park, site of the Seneca Falls Convention, and Mary McLeod Bethune's Council House National Historic Site in Washington, D.C., home of the National Council of Negro Women. The Sewall-Belmont House in Washington, D.C. still serves as headquarters of Alice Paul's National Woman's Party, while the Susan B. Anthony House in Rochester, New York, remains as the simple brick structure that served as both home and political headquarters of one of the American women's rights movement's most prominent leaders. Many other properties offer opportunities to discuss women's public roles. Boston's Chauncy Hall Building, the former headquarters of the New England Woman's Club, the Mary Church Terrell residence in Washington, D.C. and many other local clubhouses that survive are evidence of the far-reaching club movements under the aegis of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. Boston African American National Historic Site and Worcester's Liberty Farm, the home of Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster, preserve properties associated with women and men who were active in abolitionist and early women's rights movements.

Family and Society

- ♦ *He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.*
- ♦ *In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.*
- ♦ *He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce, in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.*

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, 1848

Cultural definitions of womanhood and of appropriate female roles have generally centered on familial relationships: wife, mother, and daughter. Nineteenth-century American women were defined largely by their roles and responsibilities within the family and by a legal system that denied married women control of their property, their children, and, ultimately, their own bodies. After fulfilling the legal requirement to submit her will to her husband for his approval, the dedicated abolitionist and suffragist Lydia Maria Child wrote to a friend that she was "indignant for womankind made chattels personal from the beginning of time...the very phrases used with regard to us are abominable. 'Dead in the law' ...How I detest such language." Similarly, the Declaration of Sentiments clearly found in the institution of marriage both an instrument for the "social and religious degradation" of women and an obstacle to their pursuit of "true and substantial

happiness.” In calling attention to the legal disabilities of most married women and in demanding emancipation within the private sphere of marriage, the Convention delegates acknowledged that patterns of daily life—birth, marriage, child-rearing—have a profound influence on both the public and private lives of women and that women’s search for autonomy affected both spheres.

The changing definitions and structure of the family, both nuclear and extended, have been central concerns for historians of women, who redefined the meaning of “family” itself to consider the issues of family versus household and examine household structure, family size, and the relationship of families to society. Historians have examined both the legal and ideological parameters of familial and marital relationships, noting a separation of women and men among the Victorian middle class into distinct spheres of activity. While “separate spheres” shaped 19th-century architecture, furnishings, fashions, and other forms of material culture and the built environment, society did not simply impose this ideology on women. Educated women of the middle class helped create this distinct space, and exercised a certain social power based on their “special female qualities” in the areas of domestic influence, morality, and child nurturing. By the late 19th century the values of “true womanhood” crossed the domestic threshold. “Social housekeeping” asserted women’s traditional gender roles and familial responsibilities into the public realm, justifying women’s participation in the transformation of urban conditions through sanitation policy and the creation of playgrounds and other open spaces, and in other fields of social work and reform. Further along the trajectory, 20th-century feminists, in declaring that “the personal is political,” acknowledged that understanding the development of family formation and structure, child-rearing practices, housing alternatives, concepts of gender and sexuality, and other issues of personal and communal identity is central to the appreciation of women’s lives and experiences and to the struggle for women’s rights.

The movement for women’s rights embraced the quest for women’s autonomy in both the realm of the traditional family and in the broader sphere of society. For example, local women’s clubs, usually affiliates of General Federation of Women’s Clubs or the National Association of Colored Women, worked to improve the communities in which members lived and worked and provided meeting places in central locations to alleviate domestic isolation in a period of middle-class suburbanization. Theorists of domestic architecture, such as Catherine Beecher and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, worked to improve the social, physical, and moral character of middle-class families by reorganizing domestic space and work and designing communal daycare, cooking, and dining facilities. Boarding houses, such as Lowell’s Boott Mill Boarding House, the Boston YWCA’s combined residential and training facilities, and other local low-cost housing alternatives for working women—including the Shawmut Street Home for Working Women and Harriet Tubman House, both in Boston’s South End—illustrate the nontraditional “family” residences developed for women “adrift,” a growing contingent of female workers for whom relocation and the sexual wage differential brought the threat of domestic isolation and sexual vulnerability. Social settlements—such as the Henry Street Settlement in New York City—created alternative communities, offering immigrant women a variety of health, cultural, and work-training programs while freeing reformers from the constraints of strictly interpreted traditional gender roles. Margaret Sanger, a pioneer in birth control, dispensed information about contraception and advocated sexual reforms that would win reproductive autonomy for women and give them a choice about parenthood. Dr. Marie Zakrzewska’s direction of an all-female staff of physicians at the New England Hospital for Women and Children asserted women’s place in the management of issues of health, nutrition, and disease affecting their lives and the lives of their families.

Many properties offer opportunities to interpret family and life cycle themes. The changing ideals of the 19th-century middle-class family can be studied at Orchard House in Concord, Massachusetts, where household furnishings reflect both contemporary domestic standards and gender roles and the more unconventional ideas and accomplishments of the Alcott family. The Boott Mills Boarding House at Lowell National Historical Park illustrates a nontraditional family living situation, while Hartford’s Harriet Beecher Stowe House preserves the domestic designs of her sister, Catherine Beecher. In New York the Margaret Sanger Clinic, a 19th-century brick row house in lower Manhattan, preserves the building from which Sanger’s clinic distributed information about contraception to its working-class constituents.

Economics

- ♦ *He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.*
- ♦ *He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but scanty remuneration.*
- ♦ *He closes against her all the avenues of wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.*

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, 1848

To the women who gathered at Seneca Falls—as the Declaration of Sentiments reveals—one of the foremost obstacles to the “true and substantial happiness” of women was found in their economic subordination. Three of the document’s tenets speak directly to the material circumscription of women’s freedom and to the circumstances under which women labored in the mid-19th-century American economy, including slavery, servitude, and non-wage as well as paid labor. In claiming for themselves “all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States,” the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments articulated a demand for woman’s access to profitable employment and control over the equitable wages of her labor—a program for the economic empowerment of women that continues to resonate through the American political economy today.

To understand women’s daily lives, historians have set aside narrow definitions of work as paid labor, generally outside the home, and have looked closely at the full range of women’s productive activities both inside and outside the home. Women have always exercised productive roles in our nation’s economy. In pre-industrial economies many women turned raw materials into the goods their families consumed and often sustained barter networks, the primary mode of distribution and exchange. While the household and agricultural labor of most women was gender-segregated and unremunerated, enslaved African-American women often toiled often at gender-integrated tasks and had little control over the distribution and exchange of the products of their labor. As the 19th century progressed and an increasing number of women entered into wage labor women began to advocate and act for control not only over the fruits of their labor, but also over the conditions in which they worked.

Although many women remained confined to the ranks of relatively poorly paid industrial, clerical, and retail wage labor, a number of women gained access to more lucrative and creative occupations through training and educational institutions established by and for women. Ellen Spencer Mussey, cofounder of the Washington College of Law in Washington, D.C., not only established a coeducational training school to facilitate women’s entry into the legal profession, but also wrote the District law that gave women control of their own property and financial interests. In both the health and social sciences women gained experience and expertise on the subject of women through clinical and social work, and thereby created new fields of scientific theory and professional practice. From such properties as the Henry Street settlement in New York and Denison House in Boston, women’s work in public sanitation, juvenile courts, and factory reform contributed to the transformation of “social housekeeping” into the professional field of social work. Clara Barton contributed to the professionalization and institutionalization of women’s traditional medical roles through nurses’ training programs and the creation of the American Red Cross, while the New England Hospital for Women and Children provided both services and professional training to women and pioneered diagnostic techniques and treatments in women’s health care. Ellen Swallow Richards, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s first female science graduate and an instructor in sanitary chemistry, was a pioneer in home economics and ecology whose work in sanitary engineering and experimental research in domestic science widened professional opportunities for women.

Women entrepreneurs created producer cooperatives, such as Val-Kill Industries on the grounds of Eleanor Roosevelt’s New York estate, where members attempted to resuscitate craft industries. Other entrepreneurs expanded capitalist channels of distribution and consumption, creating women’s markets and employment opportunities. Sarah Breedlove “Madame C.J.” Walker, the first self-made woman millionaire in the United States, developed a successful cosmetics

company that catered to African-American consumers and employed black women as sales agents. Women in the design professions, such as Louise Blanchard Bethune and Lois Lilley Howe, established firms and realized projects in both residential and public settings, while women authors took advantage of the expanding female literary marketplace. Still other women ingeniously modified work environments, designing technologies and policies that provided practical and innovative applications to work processes in both traditional and modern contexts. Through innovative health care and incentive programs, mill manager Elizabeth Boit built a successful career in the textile industry of eastern Massachusetts and, as a result of her accomplishments, was nominated and served as the nation's first woman bank director.

Women also altered wages and working conditions—and influenced the development of the American economy—through organization and reform activities. From the mid-19th-century “turn outs” of Lowell’s female factory operatives under the local Female Labor Reform Association to the 20th-century strikes of national craft unions, such as the International Ladies’ Garment Workers Union, women joined and led protests to change their work environments. Reform organizations, such as the Women’s Trade Union League, forged cross-class alliances to influence governmental policies, including protective labor legislation. In particular, public outrage over the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire heightened awareness of the conditions under which many women labored. The outrage contributed to legislative reform, including factory inspection laws, fire safety measures, and restrictions on working hours and conditions for women and children. The National Consumers League, headquartered in New York’s United Charities Building and under the guidance of Florence Kelley, successfully lobbied for government regulation of labor contracts and for protective legislation for working women and children. While some women strove for industrial reform through consumer activity, others occupied key government posts. Frances Perkins, an authority on industrial hazards and hygiene, applied her experiences at both the New York Consumers’ League and the New York Committee on Safety to government service after her appointment as Secretary of Labor. As the nation’s first female cabinet member, she promoted adoption of the Social Security Act, advocated legislation to mitigate industrial strife, and helped standardize state industrial legislation.

Diverse opportunities exist for interpreting women’s work experiences and their struggles for economic rights, including the factories where women operatives worked, the offices, studies and laboratories where women professionals labored, and the homes in which wives, immigrant servants, or enslaved women performed daily household tasks. The extant buildings on the wooded campus of the New England Hospital for Women and Children (later reorganized as the Dimock Community Health Center) constitute the oldest remaining hospital managed by and for women, established in an effort to overcome obstacles for women who wanted to enter the male-dominated practice of medicine during the late 19th century. The Ellen Swallow Richards residence in Jamaica Plain served as both a home laboratory and the office of the Center for Right Living, where Richards conducted much of her work as an environmental scientist and employed MIT students in the first consumer home testing laboratory. The North Bennett Street Industrial School, founded by philanthropist Josephine Agassiz Shaw, provided training and economic opportunity for women of the largely immigrant population of Boston’s North End. Louisa May Alcott’s Orchard House provides evidence not only of literary accomplishment, but also of the possibility for financial independence in the expanding female literary marketplace.

Education

- ♦ *He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.*

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, 1848

Until the late 20th century, society considered formal education less important for women than for men, and in many instances women have been denied access to institutions. Yet women have always been providers of education. In the colonial era literacy and vocational training were familial responsibilities often executed by women. In the revolutionary era the debate about “woman’s place” in the new republic and the need for an educated citizenry led to a new emphasis on formal education for women of the upper and middle classes: as “Republican mothers” capable of raising a virtuous

citizenry, women claimed the importance of education for themselves. Judith Sargent Murray, an 18th-century Boston author and activist, advocated access to education so that women could become financially independent. Others, arguing that women's education was important in its own right, established female seminaries for the education of European-American and African-American girls in the first half of the 19th century. Early school buildings housed in the homes of Emma Willard and Prudence Crandall (in Middlebury, Vermont, and Canterbury, Connecticut, respectively) stand as a reminder of women's commitment to education as a means of empowerment and of some of the dramatic dimensions taken on by the 19th-century women's struggle for education.

By the time of the Seneca Falls Convention the nation's proliferating common schools increasingly accepted girls, and the growing demand for teachers—together with the lower wages commanded by women—facilitated the transfer of women's traditional educational roles into the public forum of the classroom and, consequently, to the relatively rapid feminization of the teaching profession in New England and the West. In the years before the normal school, female academies and seminaries were the leading educators of teachers, as well as of writers and professional women. Willard's Troy Female Seminary numbered more than 200 women teachers among its graduates, and demonstrated the importance of educational opportunities for women. Such improvements in female education contributed to the movement of the first generation of American women's rights activists from the private world of family responsibility to more public political roles as reformers, enlarging women's sphere and opening opportunities for travel and independence outside of marriage.

Participants at the Seneca Falls Convention realized the inextricable links between educational and economic opportunities. Throughout the 19th century the struggle for women's rights embraced not only the expansion of women's education to include elementary, academic, vocational, and professional training, but also greater roles for women as educators. This legacy extended through Pauline Agassiz Shaw's sponsorship of kindergarten programs in Boston and the academic and vocational programs for African-American women at Nannie Burroughs' School in Washington, D.C., to the first women's college at Mount Holyoke, and to later institutions at Vassar, Smith, and Bryn Mawr that rejected the intellectual limitations of traditional female education and established liberal arts curricula for women. Coeducational programs and women's annexes at established universities, including Boston University and the Harvard-affiliated Radcliffe College, illustrate the differing educational strategies employed to broaden women's sphere of achievement.

While both women's and coeducational institutions offered women a range of curricular choices, in many places women had access to liberal arts but were barred from the sciences and from professional training in engineering, law, medicine, or architecture. Women's rights advocates established several antebellum female medical schools, and women's hospitals provided both services and professional training to women in an era when most hospitals excluded women health practitioners. Elizabeth Blackwell—the nation's first woman to receive a medical degree and the founder of the nation's first hospital staffed by women to serve women—joined with her sister Emily to establish the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, educating female physicians until coeducational medical colleges opened professional training to women. Similarly, when prestigious schools barred women from legal training, institutions such as Mussey's Washington College of Law and Boston's Portia School of Law opened at the turn of the 20th century. At around the same time, when few schools admitted women to degree programs in architecture and the American Institute of Architects tightened accreditation requirements, the Cambridge School, supported by alumnae and other benefactors, provided training for aspiring architects from its Harvard Square facilities.

Access to educational and employment opportunities in the physical sciences—fields previously closed to women—was led by ambitious and persistent practitioners. Annie Jump Cannon, who applied the prismatic technique of telescopic photography to the classification of stars and radically expanded the catalog still in use by modern astronomers, channeled her own professional renown into advocacy for the promotion of women in science. Maria Mitchell—the nation's first woman astronomer and professor of astronomy, as well as the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences—was convinced that reverence for authority fettered women's minds. A staunch advocate of women's education;

her work lent credibility to the inclusion of women in scientific training and professional organizations. Ellen Swallow Richards and Marion Talbot developed the science of domestic economy, which applied biological, chemical, and physical principles to household technology. As cofounders of the precursor to the American Association of University Women, Richards and Talbot challenged the prevailing scientific theory that justified the subordination of women, demonstrated that higher education did not damage women's health, and thereby expanded both scientific education for women and the boundaries of scientific knowledge. Programs such as the Woman's Education Association's summer sessions at Annisquam, Massachusetts that were originally designed to provide women with scientific training later contributed to the production of scientific knowledge in their own right. The Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, a legacy of the WEA's summer institute, serves as a vindication of women's claims to inclusion within the scientific community.

Opportunities to interpret the movement to secure women's educational rights include the Prudence Crandall House in Canterbury, Connecticut, now a museum that preserves the history of Crandall's ill-fated effort to provide an education to free women of color in the early 19th century. The Maria Baldwin House in Cambridge, Massachusetts, recalls the distinguished career of the 19th-century educator and civic leader who, as principal and later master of the Agassiz School, overcame the common exclusion of women from leadership roles in educational institutions. An extant structure of the Smith College Graduate School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture in Cambridge, a later incarnation of the Cambridge School in Harvard Square, represents women's roles as students, educators, professionals, and benefactors. The Vassar College Observatory, on the grounds of Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, stands as a reminder of Maria Mitchell's contributions to women's education at the nation's first real college for women. Similarly, the M. Carey Thomas Library at Bryn Mawr College honors the institution's first dean, a dedicated suffragist whose commitment to women's education produced the first graduate program at a women's school.

Religion

- ♦ *He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and with some exception, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.*
- ♦ *He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.*

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, 1848

The history of American women and religion is one of both contradictions and ironies. In the British North American colonies worship communities were acceptable forums for public action and sites of social interaction outside of the home where women exercised informal influence, but lacked formal authority. Many denominations counted a majority of women among the faithful, but excluded them from positions of leadership. However, some religions, such as the Society of Friends, displayed a relative acceptance of gender equality. After the turn of the 19th century, European-American women in other major denominations claimed institutional roles for themselves through benevolent and religious organizations, gaining organizational skills and experience outside the boundaries of their congregations.

The Declaration of Sentiments recognized the power of religious belief and authority to define and sustain the values that shape women's lives. Following on the tails of the Second Great Awakening, the Seneca Falls Convention occurred in a profoundly religious climate that emphasized the salience of direct inspiration and elevated the religious status of women. The correlation between these religious tenets of gender equality and an emerging activist community can be seen in the relatively large proportion of Quakers among early advocates of women's rights, including Lucretia Mott and Abby Kelley Foster, and in the inclusion of religious autonomy in their demands for gender equality. As in their demands for political, family, and economic rights, the Convention participants called for the extension of women's moral authority to more tangible forms of autonomy in religious practice and leadership.

Eighteenth-century perfectionist colonies established by the Shakers (United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing), under the leadership of Ann Lee, and Jemimah Wilkinson's Society of Universal Friends rejected traditional forms of male leadership and gathered believers into communities separated from American society. During the first half of the 19th century Rebecca Cox Jackson left the confines of both Methodist "praying bands" and marriage and founded a celibate community of women who lived and worked among the broader Philadelphia society. Other women—including Ellen Harmon White and Mary Baker Eddy—founded and led gender-integrated spiritual communities in the century following the Seneca Falls Convention, attaining religious authority within the institutional framework of newly-created denominations.

While some women found greater freedom for expression, authority and personal growth in communities that they created and sustained, others worked for change within established churches. Jareena Lee used her powerful spiritual gifts to claim her right to preach in the African Methodist Church. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, the first ordained woman minister in the Congregational Church, overcame a lack of institutional support after several years on the abolitionist and women's rights circuit and obtained formal church authority at a pastorate in South Butler, New York, in 1853. Anna Howard Shaw, who is commemorated at Boston University's School of Theology, also overcame institutional opposition to her ministerial authority and, as a minister of the Methodist Protestant Church, continued to perform marriages—as long as the promise to obey was omitted from the wedding vows—as she served as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1904 to 1915. As these women laid claim to pulpits and decision-making, they preached a doctrine of religious and moral autonomy that continues to resonate in the struggle for women's rights.

Opportunities to interpret women's struggle for religious rights can be found in the buildings and sites associated with women reformers, ministers, and missionaries. New York's Watervliet Historic District and the Jemimah Wilkinson House preserve evidence of two perfectionist communities that valued women's spiritual autonomy and authority, while the Mary Baker Eddy House in Lynn, Massachusetts, commemorates the founding of the Church of Christ, Scientist, the only worldwide religion founded by an American woman. The former church of Antoinette Blackwell's first Congregational pastorate in South Butler, New York, serves as an example of the ministerial callings that directed the lives of many women toward leadership within their spiritual communities and in society at large. Similarly, Pennsylvania's Bryn Mawr College and the Arch Street Meeting House in Philadelphia represent the Quaker conviction of spiritual autonomy that informed Lucretia Mott's commitment to women's rights.

Appendix C: Historical Overview

The Significance of Women's Rights for American History

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Introduction

By any measure, the women's rights movement is one of the three great protest traditions in American history. Women's rights shares that status with the struggle for racial equality and with the labor movement. Because women are half the people in this nation, evenly distributed through all other social groups, women's rights advocacy is frequently linked to other movements for expanded rights. These intersections are very clear in each of the three periods in which women's rights agitation has been concentrated in American history. From 1848 through 1872, women's rights agitation was generated and carried into national politics because of its close ties to abolitionism, emancipation, and the post-Civil War campaign for rights for ex-slaves. From 1890 through 1920, the growing power of organized labor turned women's rights into a mass movement. And in the 1960s, the civil rights insurgency re-ignited the dormant women's rights tradition. At a very deep level, then, women's rights is bound up with general human rights: when a black or immigrant or wage-earning woman feels deprived of equal rights and lays claim to them, she fights against numerous sorts of discrimination simultaneously.

In its many manifestations, the women's rights tradition is characterized by an identification of and challenge to women's subordination to men and insists instead on a standard of equal treatment, opportunities and rights. Since the relations between men and women form the basis of the most intimate institutions of any society — sexuality, marriage, family, childrearing — radical changes in the relative status of men and women and greater freedom for women have dramatic implications for the most personal aspects of the lives of all Americans. The women's rights tradition has extended over two-thirds of our national life and has reordered our identities, family lives, and deepest emotions.

First phase: 1848–1878

1848 is the year in which it is generally agreed that the formal American women's rights movement began. For several decades prior to that, American women had been gradually enlarging their public roles, and in the process voicing longstanding discontent with the lot of their sex. Ever since the Revolution, women's educational opportunities had slowly been improving. "Academies" for young girls of the elite classes and common public schools for the rest of the population proliferated, until women's literacy rates achieved parity with men's. Teaching became an increasingly female occupation, further spurring this development. Young women, concentrated in New England, were also among the first American factory workers in the 1830s. In contrast to England, these female "operatives" hoped that they might secure a degree of independence through their wage earning. Also by the 1830s, Protestant women all over the Northeast had formed organizations in which they worked both to improve society and to stretch their own capacities. By the 1840s they had even begun to cross the gendered line separating women's moral from men's political activism: they petitioned legislatures and proposed laws on issues about which they cared, such as temperance and moral reform. The creation of numerous voluntary organizations and a vital civil society which so impressed de Tocqueville and other visitors to the United States in these years is simply not imaginable without the involvement of women pushing at the edges of their sphere.

This gradual expansion of women's allowable sphere crossed into a much more open break with respect to the involvement of women in the abolitionist movement. At first women, white and free black, served the movement to abolish slavery by raising money and supporting men doing the public work for their cause. But the depth of their commitment, combined with the inherent radicalism of their goal, brought them into confrontation with the established institutions in their society, and this in turn led them to challenge the limits of permissible female activities more forthrightly than ever before.

Two sisters from a powerful slaveholding family in South Carolina, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, were the first to challenge openly the confines of women's moral activism within respectable feminine limits. When criticized in 1838 by the clergy for speaking to mixed audiences of men and women about the sexual crimes, the Grimkes defiantly asserted their own equal rights as reformers and as human beings. "[T]he distinction now so strenuously insisted upon between masculine and feminine virtues," Sarah insisted, ". . . is one of the anti-christian 'traditions of men' which are taught instead of 'the commandments of God'. . . [W]hatever is right for a man to do is right for a woman to do."¹ The Grimkes' rebellion split the abolitionist movement into two factions: one that gave women roles equal to those of the men and the other that shifted to the formation of a political party dedicated to the eradication of slavery, marginalizing unenfranchised women. This split over women's rights was a turning point in the history of the abolitionist movement.

The emergence of a new reform movement of women dedicated exclusively and explicitly to securing equality between the sexes was a response to the principles behind both sides of this abolitionist split: women's activism and emphasis on political methods. In 1848 women anti-slavery activists convened America's first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Veteran reformer Lucretia Mott, up from Philadelphia to visit, gave the event the necessary gravity. But the driving force at Seneca Falls was a younger woman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who went on to become the chief 19th-century philosopher of women's emancipation. The women and men assembled there agreed on a list of fifteen "repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman." "Because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights," the convention declared, "we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States."² The convention adopted a bold manifesto, entitled the Declaration of Sentiments and patterned closely on the Declaration of Independence. The twin movements for women's rights and abolition helped to keep alive some of the more radical principles of the American Revolution – popular sovereignty, political democracy, individual rights – and reinvigorate them in 19th century terms.

The range of demands at Seneca Falls was hardly limited to the right to vote, although that was the most controversial. "The entire disenfranchisement of women," as the convention understood it, was broad enough to include the whole range of women's deprivations. The declaration's ambitions were enormous: not only political rights, but economic and educational rights, religious and moral rights, marital and sexual rights. Women's rights efforts that focused on improving women's economic prospects fell into two categories. On the one hand, young, unmarried women, who made up the overwhelming majority of female wage earners, needed broader prospects for trades, skills and professions. The women's rights movement of the 1850s called for equal opportunity for working women. On the other hand, married women were deprived by law from all independent property rights, even to the money that they might earn by their labor. Women's rights advocates succeeded in getting several state legislatures to grant married women some independent economic rights. The campaign in New York State, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her new collaborator, Susan B. Anthony, went the farthest. In 1860, the New York Legislature gave all women, regardless of marital status, rights to earnings from their labor and to custody of their children, as well as to inherited property. These reforms in married women's economic rights inaugurated the reorganization of marriage around the principle of spousal equality and female independence, which continued into and through the 19th century and all of the 20th century.

Demands for greater economic opportunities and rights for women were closely connected to another aspect of the women's rights program, albeit one that would not reach full development until the 20th century: women's rights over their reproductive and sexual lives. The terms in which demands for these rights were made in the mid-19th century are difficult to appreciate a century and a half later, after so much change in the understanding of human sexuality and gender. But it is important to try to translate between the two eras, if only because the women's rights movement has made such a significant contribution to that change. Reformers' concerns for female bodily integrity first emerged in the context of anti-slavery protest against the sexual and reproductive exploitation of female slaves. Speaking as if she were a slave woman, but also speaking for herself as a free white woman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton passionately declared, "I have

asked the heavens if I, an immortal being, though clothed in womanhood, was made for the vile purposes” of male predators.³ The first great debate in the struggle for sexual autonomy was over the issue of divorce law liberalization. In 1860, Elizabeth Cady Stanton defended the right of women to dissolve abusive or unsatisfactory marriages and then to remarry. However, 19th-century concerns about female respectability made it difficult to discuss the intimate issues of “the marriage bed” openly, and Stanton encountered objections even from other women’s rights advocates. But women’s sexual and reproductive discontent was so widespread that it could not be suppressed, even in that era of prudent morality and circumlocutious language. Within a decade, Stanton and others were speaking more confidently in favor of a fundamental human right that was emerging out of women’s particular conditions. They named this right “self-sovereignty”—the right to control the uses of one’s body.

Through the Civil War, women’s rights and abolitionism remained closely affiliated. The first popular campaign ever mounted on behalf of a constitutional amendment was inaugurated in 1862 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to inscribe the principle of universal emancipation in the United States Constitution. They were determined that women play a role in the battle for a freer republic. “When every hour is big with destiny,” they wrote, “. . . It is high time for the daughters of the Revolution . . . to lay hold of their birthright of freedom, and keep it a sacred trust for all coming generations.”⁴ They also believed that the only way to rebuild the nation on firm constitutional ground was to commit it to the recognition of “civil and political rights of all citizens of African descent and all women.” Drawing on the petitioning skills that women had been using for decades, they collected more than 300,000 signatures on behalf of the constitutional abolition of slavery and sent them, bound together in giant rolls, to Congress. Stanton proudly recorded the praise they received from the congressional champions of emancipation: “the leading journals vied with each other in praising the [women’s] patience and prudence, the executive ability, the loyalty, and the patriotism.”⁵ The passage and ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment owed a great deal to their efforts.

With constitutional emancipation, the former slaves were in a strange constitutional quandary: since they were no longer in bondage, what was their legal status? To answer this, radical Republicans in Congress posed first one and then another dramatic constitutional amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment defined for the first time who were citizens of the United States and did so with breathtaking simplicity: “all persons born or naturalized” here. Former slaves were included, but so were many other Americans. Effectively revising the Bill of Rights, the Fourteenth Amendment also elevated the federal government over the states – eleven of which had just been defeated in rebellion – as the fundamental protector of citizens’ rights. Women’s rights advocates energetically embraced these principles and the idea that underlay them: that for persons historically excluded from the privileges of American citizenship, the national government was less a threat to them than a guarantor of their rights. As such, the women’s rights movement played an important role in expanding American liberalism beyond a negative tradition, in which government is obliged only to protect those who already enjoy their rights, into a positive, affirmative tradition, to elevate those previously excluded from fundamental political and civic rights to an equal share in them.

The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1869, went even further than the Fourteenth in advancing the status of former slaves: it directly enfranchised them by forbidding the states from depriving them of political rights on the basis of their race, color, or previous condition of bondage. The wording of the Fifteenth Amendment left the basic power to enfranchise to the states, but it used the power of the federal government and the authority of the U.S. Constitution to prohibit the states from the named disenfranchisements. Proponents of the franchise for women fully expected to be included in the Fifteenth Amendment and their disappointment at discovering that they were not was profound and consequential. But together, the movements for freedmen’s and for women’s rights functionally elevated the determination of the American electorate to the level of constitutional principle and federal law.

Advocates of women’s suffrage initially argued that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which bestowed the right to vote on all citizens without respect to race or sex, was the triumphant principle of Reconstruction. But their interpreta-

tion was not widely shared. Despite its capacious definition of national citizenship (“all persons born or naturalized”), the Fourteenth Amendment included a secondary clause which limited the “basis of representation” (the national electorate) to “males over the age of 21 not including Indians not taxed.” This was the first mention of sex in the Constitution and Stanton correctly predicted that “it will take us a half century to get it out.”⁶ Friendly male advisors and sympathetic Congressmen advised woman suffragists that political rights for ex-slaves was all that the country could handle at this point; women’s equal rights would come next, they promised. The conflict over these issues split the women’s rights movement in two over whether to endorse or to criticize the new amendments. Increasingly there was antagonism between the racial and gender rights movements where previously there had generally been cooperation. Ever since, these two traditions of equal rights have sometimes combined and sometimes clashed, and those women suffering exclusions both of race and of gender have too often found themselves caught between the two movements.

Even after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, with its refusal to prohibit the states from disenfranchising on the basis of sex, women’s suffrage advocates believed that a universal suffrage approach was the best way to win the franchise for women. In the early 1870s, woman suffragists developed an innovative constitutional argument that they hoped would win them the right to vote. Based on the first part of the Fourteenth Amendment, they argued that, as persons, women born or naturalized in the United States were citizens; and that the right of the franchise was obviously chief among those “rights and privileges” which were guaranteed to them. This was a deeply democratic interpretation, inasmuch as it assumed that the right to vote was not bestowed by government but inherent in the status of citizen. Based on this interpretation, hundreds of women all over the country engaged in direct action voting: instead of waiting for an act of government to recognize their rights, they went to the polls and claimed them. At 6 AM sharp, on November 5, 1872, Susan B. Anthony, along with 50 of her friends and relatives, went to the polls in Rochester, New York, and cast her ballot. “I have been and gone and done it!” she wrote jubilantly.⁷ Three weeks later she was arrested by federal marshals on the grounds that she had illegally voted, in violation of the third clause of the Fourteenth Amendment designed to disenfranchise leaders of the former Confederacy. Anthony’s arrest was one of the only times that the federal government actually used the powers granted to it in the Fourteenth Amendment over the right to vote.

Anthony was found guilty, and her case was entered into the annals of the women’s rights movement as one of the most egregious uses of government power to squelch women’s activism. But she was unable to appeal her judgment to a higher court and thus set no constitutional precedent. Instead, woman suffragists’ Fourteenth Amendment argument reached the Supreme Court in 1874 in a case brought by Virginia Minor of Missouri. The Court’s ruling, known as *Minor v. Happersett*, is one of the most important rulings on women’s rights of any sort in the 19th century. The Court ruled unanimously that, although women were indeed persons and therefore citizens, they had no claim to the franchise, which was a privilege granted by the state rather than a right belonging to the citizens. The import of this judgment reached far beyond the case of women’s suffrage. “If we once establish the false principle, that United States citizenship does not carry with it the right to vote in every state in this union,” Anthony predicted, “there is no end to the petty freaks and cunning devices that will be resorted to exclude one and another class of citizens from the right of suffrage.”⁸ After the *Minor v. Happersett* decision, the Court moved on to narrow the scope of the protections promised in the Reconstruction amendments until, by the end of the 19th century, African American in the South had lost most of their civil and political rights and the constitutional gains of Reconstruction had been effectively undone.

Prohibited from basing their claim to the vote on a universal citizen’s right to suffrage, woman suffragists changed tactics. Now they began to call for a measure that would protect their particular rights as women. In 1878, they arranged for a proposal to be introduced in Congress for a constitutional amendment, worded exactly as the Fifteenth Amendment, explicitly forbidding the states from disenfranchising on the basis of sex. They called their proposal “the Sixteenth Amendment,” because they hoped it would be the next amendment adopted. Actually, of course, it took another four decades for the measure to make its way through Congress and the ratification procedure, by which time it was the

Nineteenth Amendment. Slightly less than a hundred years after the *Minor* case, the Supreme Court returned to the issue of whether there were protections for women's rights to be found in the Fourteenth Amendment, and decided that, indeed there were.

Phase Two: 1878–1920

Through the last quarter of the 19th century, American women's prospects continued to expand. Young women graduated from college in ever greater numbers until by 1900 they were receiving 40% of the baccalaureate degrees awarded annually. Many of these women college graduates, unwilling to retreat into a narrow domestic existence, pioneered new sorts of vocations to express their intelligence, their social conscience, and their personal ambition. Women became physicians, writers, and businesswomen, but the most influential of these new occupations for women was the "settlement house worker," the unpaid predecessor of the social worker. Other women who came of age just before the great boom of higher education for women in the 1870s and 1880s pursued similar interests through a burst of organizational energy, and formed a dense web of voluntary societies running from small literature circles to powerful municipal civic clubs to enormous national organizations such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Association of Colored Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the National Council of Jewish Women. The late 19th century was the age of "organized womanhood," of all-female groups determined to have an impact on social welfare and national life in economically booming America.

These women had an enormous role in the development of the pioneering economic and social welfare policies that gave the early 20th century the label of the "Progressive Era." Women settlement house workers and educators helped to develop and administer programs intended to improve housing conditions, recreational opportunities, workplace safety, and health standards. Working out of their women's clubs and federations, they helped to build the social and cultural infrastructure of their cities, in the form of civic art museums, orphanages and hospitals, public libraries and parks. Progressive Era women activists also contributed significantly to laws prohibiting various kinds of overwork for women workers. The courts were still, in those years, relying on a strict constitutional interpretation that forbade any government regulation of the employer/employee relationship as interference with personal liberty. Convinced by social reform advocates that women workers were more vulnerable than men, the courts opened up a breach in this solid wall and let stand a growing body of labor standards directed solely at women. Eventually, these "protective labor laws" were extended to include men, most notably when minimum wage and maximum hour standards were federalized in 1938 as the Fair Labor Standards and Practices Act. The contribution of "organized womanhood" to the foundation of American social and economic welfare practices in the early 20th century is enormously important. An ethic of concern for society's vulnerable was imported from women's private sphere into the world of public policy, in conjunction with the dramatic move of women themselves into the public arena.

Most of this kind of activity took place among middle-class women, who did not undertake paid labor on their own. But the female labor force, the object of many of their ministrations, was also growing tremendously. Women could still only earn wages within a few fields – domestic service, the "needle trades" – but their numbers and their ambition for greater control over their lives, much like that of the college women, suggested a qualitative change in working women's consciousness. The labor movement, which had historically been organized around male workers and working men's sense of their thwarted rights as men, began in these years to open up significantly to women and to a less gendered, more egalitarian set of goals. A series of dramatic strikes beginning in the winter of 1909/1910 brought the new militance of working women and the opportunity they posed for the labor movement to public attention. The New York City strike of shirtwaist (blouse) makers, sometime known as the Uprising of the Thirty Thousand, was the first and most famous of these labor upheavals. The young, immigrant women who struck the sprawling New York City ladies' garment industry showed unexpected discipline and determination. The result of their action was tremendous growth in one of the first great industrial unions in the United States, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The

growing power of women's trade union activism was supplemented by the establishment of state-level industrial commissions, the United States Department of Labor's Woman's Bureau, and other government agencies charged with upgrading the status of working women.

Over and above the immediate amelioration of working and living conditions effected by the combined efforts of middle-class social reformers and working-class trade union activists, a deeper change was settling in among women workers. The long-standing assumption that the presence of women in the wage labor force was an unfortunate necessity and that social progress would send them back to their homes where they belonged began to give way to an appreciation for the permanence of the female labor force and the importance of paid labor to the establishment of genuine female independence. Bit by bit, women in the labor force were understanding themselves and being understood as individual workers, with their own rights, rather than as subordinate family members in the house of labor. Eventually—but it was a long time coming—this shift generated new principles for American democracy: equal pay for equal work and no discrimination by sex in the employment of workers.

The women's suffrage movement grew along with all these developments. Its tremendous revitalization at the beginning of the 20th century, after decades of stalled progress, began with a series of successful state campaigns for equal voting rights. In 1893, the all-male electorate of Colorado voted to amend the state constitution to allow women equal suffrage with men. Previously, small numbers of women had been enfranchised in the territories of Utah and Wyoming (and Washington, where the right was later retracted). But now in a booming, diverse, modernizing state, voters had said yes to women's suffrage at the polls. Over the next 25 years, 14 additional states followed Colorado and enfranchised their women citizens. These women, it should be noted, became voters, not just for local and state offices, but for members of Congress and for president. The political consequences were enormous. In California, for instance, which became the sixth "suffrage state" in 1911, the fact that women were now a voting constituency played a major role in the passage of laws extending protections to workers, opening up the electoral process, and achieving other sorts of reforms. In 1918, two years before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, Montana voters of both sexes elected the first woman ever to serve in Congress, Jeanette Rankin.

These state campaigns involved enormous amounts of money, organizational expertise, and female energy. Later on, when the emphasis of the movement shifted to the federal level, suffragists concentrated on lobbying legislators and maneuvering through partisan politics, but this long period of state efforts was a much more popular sort of suffragism that involved mobilizing tens of thousands of women to work for their franchise and convincing majorities of men to support them at the polls. These campaigns rested on extraordinary coalitions, notable in an era otherwise characterized by intense class conflict. Elite women, with money and political connections, provided the resources for public events directed at voters and for sustained lobbying efforts in state legislatures. College graduates became the professional organizers for these campaigns, as they found a place to use their education. And wage-earning women provided the numbers in the streets and connections to masses of male voters.

The state-by-state enfranchisement of women played an important role in the final victory of women's suffrage at the national level through amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Women were a growing sector of the electorate, especially in the West, and when it came time for members of Congress to vote for or against the Nineteenth Amendment, those who came from "women's suffrage states," who were answerable to female as well as male voters, were far more likely to support it. But state-by-state enfranchisement had its limits. In states where party apparatuses and male voters were more conservative, women's suffrage could not prevail at the polls. In 1915, referenda failed in several major campaigns in the East, including Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Even in New York, with a well-funded coalition and the leadership of the best minds in the suffrage movement, victory could not be secured. At this point, the focus of the women's suffrage movement shifted to the federal level and to the national Constitution, which is the phase of this history with which Americans are most familiar. This last phase of American women's suffrage movement pioneered many forms

of democratic political protest which we now take for granted. In 1913, a national suffrage parade was held to demand an amendment to the U.S. Constitution forbidding the states to disenfranchise citizens on account of sex. The parade coincided with Woodrow Wilson's first inauguration, from which it siphoned off much of the crowd. This was the first truly successful demonstration in the nation's capital demanding federal action on a persistent social problem. Four years later, suffragists were the first to demonstrate in front of the White House gates, for which they were arrested and jailed. There, they engaged in hunger strikes and other forms of civil disobedience. This too was a new tactic for an American protest movement, and one that would be much imitated in subsequent years.

To all but the most recalcitrant of politicians, it was clear that the time had come for the full, constitutional enfranchisement of American women. The fact that the votes of women already had an impact on the election of congressional representatives and could potentially affect the outcome of a presidential race was a major factor here. In 1916, the newly formed National Woman's Party urged women from the "suffrage states" to vote against the Democratic Party for national office, to penalize Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats for failing to support a women's suffrage amendment. The suffrage campaign notwithstanding, the election turned on the issue of European war, and Wilson won by promising not to enter. Some said women's votes in California even helped to win him the election. Within months of his second inauguration, he changed positions and took the U.S. into war. Ultimately, involvement in the Great War aided the suffragists. Wilson concluded that he needed women's support in his conduct of the war and his plans for the peace and endorsed the proposed amendment.

However, the Democratic Party, still deeply influenced by the white supremacist South, resisted a new expansion of the franchise that would bestow votes on African American women and would further strengthen federal control over the franchise. The last decades of the women's suffrage movement coincided with the triumph of Jim Crow across the "New South," and the demand of southern white women for votes coincided with the disenfranchisement of southern black men. Ever since the conflicts over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, most white woman suffragists—even the venerable Susan B. Anthony—had agreed to relegate racial matters to the background of women's rights activism. Even so, the issue of black suffrage was still quite alive in national politics and unavoidable for the women's suffrage movement. Suffragist strategists had to either overcome Democratic Party opposition or find a way around it. In the end, not one deep southern state participated in the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment (South Carolina did not ratify it until 1969!). It was, however, a border state – Tennessee that was the 36th and last state needed to ratify. Tennessee, unlike most southern states, had two viable parties, and it was a young Republican legislator, Harry Burn, who cast the deciding vote in a dramatic legislative session in the summer of 1920. As he did so, he paid homage to his mother who, he said, had told him to "be a good boy" and do the right thing.⁹

In the end, no one single factor pushed women's suffrage to victory. The dogged determination of some suffragists and the final outburst of militancy among others, the particular conditions of wartime, and the slow accumulation of political clout among women voters all played a role. In any case, the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment was such a victory after seventy long years of unrelenting agitation, that the tendency to regard the battle for political equality as absolutely finished is understandable. However, even after 1920 there were women living under the American flag who did not enjoy the right to vote. The Supreme Court ruled that Puerto Rican women, because they lived in an American colony, were not affected by the Nineteenth Amendment. They waged a separate struggle, which won them the vote in 1928. Similarly, women in the Philippines did not enjoy the right to vote until after 1936, when a special plebiscite was held. Even within the continental United States, some non-white women confronted special voting obstacles. Native American women could or couldn't vote depending on whether they belonged to Indian nations with formally recognized tribal status. For their part, African-American women in the South faced an almost impossible set of obstacles designed to keep members of their race from voting, and their pleas to white suffrage leaders to make the enforcement of their voting rights an issue under the enforcement clause of the new amendment were summarily rejected. Their battle for the vote extended to the 1960s,

when a new civil rights movement finally made voting rights for blacks, female and male, a reality. It was entirely fitting that so many of the local leaders of that movement – Fannie Lou Hamer of Mississippi, for instance – were women; and it is instructive to link these two movements together, one fought in the name of women in the 1910s and the other fought in the name of African Americans in the 1960s.

The 1920s, when most American women voted for the first time, was an unexciting period in American political history, when voting numbers went down and the intense passions and great hopes of the Progressive Era faded. Although many women remained involved in the reform and political organizations that had blossomed in prior decades, for the most part they were unable to transform this power into the electoral arena, especially at the national level. Over the many decades of the women's suffrage movement, hopes (and rhetoric) had been so high for the capacity of the vote to transform women and for women's votes to transform the nation, that there seemed a kind of letdown as voting women were integrated into the electoral arena with seemingly little impact. Women did not flood into elective office, the major parties kept them relegated to auxiliary positions, and Congressional priorities barely reflected their presence in the electorate. The reintegration of political progressives into the Republican Party, but with greatly diminished partisan clout, put suffrage leaders, many of whom were in this political camp, in a difficult position. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party, with its traditional base in labor and immigrant voters, was only slowly coming to terms with the opportunities presented by the new female electorate. In the 1920s, political scientists rushed to declare that the enfranchisement of women had had no significant impact on the American political environment, but their judgments were premature. Inasmuch as it took seven decades for women to get the vote, it should not be surprising that it took seven more before women's collective presence in the electorate began to have a noticeable impact. By the 1980s the percentages of women voting were larger than those of men, and the difference between men's and women's votes was pronounced enough to deserve a pundits' label: the gender gap. Women candidates, once extremely rare, became familiar elements of the political scene. By the 1990s, elections were rising and falling on the voting behavior of women, parties were competing to advance women for office, and political candidates ignored the female electorate at their peril.

Emerging from the shadow of the final stages of the women's suffrage campaign was a new and important dimension of the women's rights struggle: the birth control movement. Small, advanced sectors of the women's rights movement had been arguing for women's rights to sexual and reproductive self-determination through the 19th century, but the repressive, 19th-century ethic of absolute female purity barred the way to a substantial following. Late in the century, women's rights advocates challenged the traditional notion of a husband's "conjugal rights" to his wife with an alternative ethic of woman's rights to "voluntary motherhood," that is, undertaking pregnancy only when she chose to. Given the lack of reliable forms of contraception and the widespread conviction that separating intercourse from the possibility of pregnancy would open up the floodgates of male sexual exploitation of women, this was the only way that most women could claim their reproductive rights at that point. Any interest in freer sexual lives was still quite muted. But by the beginning of the 20th century, these constraints were beginning to weaken. Impoverished immigrant women had greater need for and less cultural misgivings about going public in their search for contraceptive knowledge and assistance. The first spokeswomen for this incipient movement came from outside the political mainstream. A Russian Jewish immigrant notorious for her anarchist politics, Emma Goldman, began to speak forthrightly about women's rights to sexual pleasure. She was followed onto the political stage by a second generation Irish-American nurse, Margaret Sanger.

Sanger turned the inchoate longings of growing numbers of American women for greater control over their reproductive and sexual capacities into a social and political movement, for which she christened a new name, "birth control." She combined stirring calls for women's reproductive and sexual self-determination with a new, more modern, forthrightness about women's bodies and female sexuality, with advocacy of a new contraceptive technology in use in Europe, the uterine diaphragm. The time was ripe for female sexuality to begin to "come out of the closet" (to borrow a phrase from a later movement for greater sexual forthrightness and rights). Sanger's original base of support was the American Socialist

movement, at the peak of its strength in the 1910s. At first she based her propaganda around a powerful analogy between the necessity that working men had for a labor union to gain control over their work conditions, and the equivalent need of domestic women to band together and gain control over the conditions of their marital and maternal lives. She was arrested for her cause, and then fled the country in 1914. When she returned the next year, she found new supporters among young, radical women's rights activists. These women were the first generation to call themselves feminists, as a way to distinguish themselves from a previous cohort, whose goals were more centered on impact and equality in the public realm. From this point on, the birth control movement, like its women's suffrage predecessor, fought steadily and for many long decades for public sympathy and legal changes. When the feminist movement revived in the 1960s, women's battle for sexual and reproductive self determination took the lead in the ongoing battle for women's rights.

These opening stages of the battle for birth control remind us that women have not only fought for the same rights as men, but have altered and expanded the very content of individual rights. Open-ended and evocative rather than precise and particular, the notion of fundamental human rights has varied in meaning through different periods and among different groups. At precisely the moment when women were beginning to secure the same political and legal rights that men had enjoyed for decades, they also began to call for a new form of rights to bodily integrity and personal, physical autonomy. Expressed in this form, the American approach to democracy – individual rights extended to all – became less abstract, more (literally) embodied. The classical political principle that had first emerged in the 18th century of the independent “individual,” a legal concept tied to property ownership and the ability to command the labor of dependents, was gradually generating a new idea, that of the “self,” a much more concrete, lived, and widely shared basis for individual freedom and equal rights. Thus the movement for women's rights was giving new reality and greater breadth to the fundamental political philosophy of American history.

Third Phase: 1960–present

By 1960, the idea of women's rights had largely disappeared from public memory. More precisely, the assumption of policymakers and popular opinion alike was that women had already achieved all their rights and had accepted their culturally defined roles. The resurgence of the civil rights movement among African Americans dramatically changed this situation. As they had a century before, organized groups of white women began to discover their own longing for greater rights and more substantial equality under the influence of a movement of African American men and women rising up to claim their freedom. In turn, the resulting growth in feminist energies helped extend the impact of the civil rights movement beyond race relations and the status of African Americans to become the basis of a thoroughgoing “rights revolution” throughout American society. By the end of the 20th century, new groups – people with disabilities, children, and gays and lesbians to name a few – who had never before been able to speak for themselves so assertively were insisting on their equal and human rights.

Like the dramatic civil rights movement of the 1960s, the feminist revival had its roots in an earlier period and among veteran activists. Women who came of age before and during World War II, who had quietly advanced women's demands in trade unions, civil rights organizations, and women's organizations, were able to secure a new level of legal protection for women, often in connection with achievements by advocates of racial equality. The most important of these was Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned discrimination in employment on the grounds of sex as well as race. The potential of this law to advance women's legal rights might have remained unrealized if it had not been for the formation of a citizens' advocacy group, modeled after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which called itself the National Organization for Women (NOW), and around which a new feminist movement began to grow in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Initially NOW's agenda was the completion of the early-20th-century campaign for formal legal equality for women, but under the force of a wider revolt among women, with expectations that went far beyond new laws and equal enforcement of them, NOW grew in the 1970s and 1980s from a small lobbying group to a massive membership organization.

Legal gains for women's rights came in the courts as well as in Congress. Starting in the 1970s, the Supreme Court began to expand the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment so that it could be invoked specifically on behalf of women's rights. This is the jurisprudential basis for many of the pro-women's rights rulings of the last 25 years. Suffragists a century earlier had been the first to argue that the expanded Constitution of the Reconstruction era, properly understood, included women as well as former slaves. In 1874, the Court had rejected this argument. Now, a different court in a liberal atmosphere, working with a far broader idea of the rights of citizens and in the context of a mobilized female population, produced a ruling that elevated sex to the level of race as a 'suspect' category, discrimination on the basis of which deserved the highest level of judicial scrutiny. Much as the appointment to the Supreme Court of Thurgood Marshall, legal head of the NAACP, formalized the civil rights changes of the 1960s, the appointment to the Court of two women signaled a new era in women's legal rights in the 1980s and 1990s. This was particularly the case with respect to the second of these historic appointments, Ruth Bader Ginsberg, who had been one of the leading architects of this dramatic expansion in women's constitutional rights.

Like the civil rights movement out of which it grew, in many ways the new feminism of the late 1960s was a young women's movement. To distinguish themselves from the feminists of NOW, college students and young graduates who did not have as much faith in lobbying and legal change called their version of feminism "women's liberation." They wanted to effect deep cultural changes, both in the larger society and among women themselves. They challenged passive notions of femininity, the sexual double standard, prevailing ideals of female beauty, and endemic female deference to men. They championed women heroes and leaders, bold expressions of female sexuality, and research into women's historical contributions and artistic and literary expressions. They brought into public discourse matters that had previously been considered too shameful to discuss: rape, domestic violence, sexual objectification in the media. Of all the various elements of 1960s radicalism, the young feminists of the so called "second wave" were responsible for profound and enduring changes to American culture and society.

The greatest disappointment in the expansion of women's legal rights in the 1970s was the failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. The ERA was first proposed in 1923 by suffrage leader Alice Paul in the immediate aftermath of the Nineteenth Amendment. Patterned after the women's suffrage amendment, the ERA was meant to write the expansive principle of legal equality into the U.S. Constitution. Most suffrage veterans, however, did not support it because they feared that it would be used to weaken the gains that had been achieved in labor force protections directed solely at working women (e.g. minimum wage and maximum hours laws). Throughout the 1930s, 40s and 50s, a small group of women lobbied futilely for the ERA. Although no one seemed to be listening, the ground was subtly shifting; in particular, New Deal legislation that federalized minimum wage and maximum hour laws and extended them to men weakened the charge that the ERA would hurt working women by calling into constitutional question protective labor laws that applied only to them. Thus, when feminist energies revived in the late 1960s, the ERA no longer appeared to be a threat to workplace gains for women. Indeed, labor union women were now among the leaders calling for greater constitutional protections for women's equality. They played a major role, for instance, in the early years of NOW.

Eventually a large, feminist movement grew up on behalf of the ERA, while a substantial antifeminist movement, based largely in conservative political and fundamentalist Christian groups, developed in opposition. The debate over women's rights had grown far beyond the formal legal protections originally envisioned by the originators of the ERA. Questions such as abortion, marriage, female sexuality, and women's role in the military were now hotly debated matters that raised the stakes with respect to the ERA. In the end, the inflammatory charges of the opposition (unisex toilets, women in combat, homosexual marriages), combined with the intentionally difficult path the founders had designed for any constitutional amendment worked to defeat the ERA. By the 1980s feminist political energies shifted from passing the Equal Rights Amendment to resisting the antifeminist drive for a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion, which like the ERA failed to pass through Congress. Thus in the 20th century, three major campaigns for constitutional change - these

two and the women's suffrage amendment - have focused on women's rights. Clearly, along with matters of racial equality, concerns for sexual equality have been a persistent issue of constitutional breadth and interpretation.

Because of the coincidence of the civil rights and the revived women's rights movements, it is important to emphasize that African-American women were an important factor in and bridge between the two movements. While the national heroes of civil rights were male, often ministers, community activists were frequently female. The fight for freedom for African Americans has always been a collective endeavor, in which women along with men have provided leadership. Fannie Lou Hamer in Mississippi, Gloria Richardson in Maryland, and Daisy Bates in Arkansas were among the local activists of exceptional courage and vision. Young women, white and black, who had their first political experiences in the civil rights movement were deeply influenced by the example of these forthright women leaders, so different from the deferential and domestic femininity that was assumed to be the popular norm during the postwar years. Similarly, the women's rights revival of the 1960s, although predominantly white, was more diverse racially than is usually acknowledged. The founders of NOW included African-American women such as lawyer Pauli Marshall and trade unionist Aileen Hernandez. By 1970, when the civil rights movement had turned in a decisively nationalist direction under the influence of black power ideology, feminism became more widespread but also more racially segmented: African American women and Latinas raised issues of sexism and sexual equity but did so within the contexts of their own mixed-sex political contexts, while the women's liberation movement appeared more and more exclusively white.

By the 1980s, the racial profile of feminism began to change once again. Women activists in the African American, Asian American, Latina and Native American movements now spoke openly about both the racially exclusionary aspects of the feminist tradition and their own perspectives on women's rights. Feminist commitment to achieving genuine diversity within the movement's own ranks grew stronger. African-American women had long been supportive of many aspects of women's rights, but now the literary expressions of the movement began noticeably to diversify. Women such as Amy Tan, Sandra Cisneros, and Nobel Prize winner Toni Morrison were among the most popular and powerful contemporary writers producing compelling female characters who refused traditional limitations and longed for new freedoms. In the extended history of the women's rights movement, the late-20th-century phase of the movement may well stand out for finally establishing the basis for a racially democratic feminism.

By the end of the 20th century, enormous changes had occurred for women in the workplace. Women were close to 50% of all paid workers. The great majority of female workers were no longer young, unmarried women, earning wages in the years before they married and had children, but adult women who were married and parents. Increasingly women were working outside the home for as many years as men, like them into and through their entire adult lives. But at the same time, as the female labor force was becoming, as it were, normalized, women still earned much less than men. This inequality was a function, less of unequal pay for men and women doing exactly the same jobs, than of the degree to which men and women worked in different jobs. "Women's jobs" were far less well paid than "men's jobs." The fundamental problem facing proponents of workplace equality was, in other words, the deep sexual division within the labor force itself. Thus the long-standing assumption that men and women would naturally work in different occupations, different industries, and at different ranks persisted. Not surprisingly, one of the first victories of organized feminism was against sex segregated advertisements for employment, which disappeared rapidly from America's newspapers in the early 1970s.

The other and closely related dilemma facing the increasing numbers of adult American women working for pay outside the home was and is the stubborn conflict between family and workplace obligations. This dilemma, which has affected virtually every working mother (and therefore the great majority of working women) throughout the late 20th century can be said to be the women's problem of the contemporary era. Its stubborn persistence is, of course, a direct function of the process by which the representative female worker has gone from being the working girl to the working mom. This problem has proved stubbornly resistant to legislative and judicial remedies. After many years of feminist activism, what

is known in feminist circles as the working woman's "double day" is often seen as the problem of the lifestyle choices of individual women rather than the major unmet challenge of social policy. The many troubling aspects of the work/family dilemma of modern women—the problems of raising children in a two-worker household, the absence of high-quality and affordable childcare, the overwork of women with jobs outside and inside the home, the labor force inequities that result from women's domestic responsibilities—indicate how deeply achieving equality for women challenges the fundamental structures of our society and requires social and cultural change to accompany changes in the law.

Nonetheless, the achievements of modern feminism with respect to women's paid labor have been enormous. The wage differential between women and men is narrowing. The presence of more and more women in occupations that were not very long ago entirely reserved for men is striking: enrollment of women in medical and law schools is now close to 50% and women are making impressive gains in the skilled trades so long closed to them. The invisible but solid barriers to women's upward job mobility, labeled the "glass ceiling" in the 1980s, have been repeatedly challenged and are noticeably weakening. What we now call "sexual harassment" has gone from an unspoken norm permeating the workplace to a practice that is regarded as unethical, and at times criminal. Equal opportunity and treatment for women in the labor force have become the widely accepted norm, if not the reality. Thirty years ago, there was no term to cover all the forms by which women were kept in inferior positions, no equivalent to the word "racism." Now sexism is one of the major social justice concerns in American life.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the sexual and reproductive dimension of women's rights has moved to the forefront of feminist aspirations. The most prominent aspect of this development is, of course, the battle for legal and safe abortions. The 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision that all state laws criminalizing abortion were violations of fundamental rights to privacy became the most politically important Supreme Court ruling since *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, and perhaps the most disputed since *Dred Scott* in 1857. The conflict over the right to legal abortion is being waged at the very center of mainstream politics to a degree unprecedented in the history of women's rights. At the beginning of the 21st century, the debate over abortion rights, more than any other single question, defines the difference between the two major political parties.

Surrounding the highly politicized debate on legalized abortion is a larger and more amorphous set of changes. To a degree that prior generations could not even imagine, women coming of age after the 1970s have come to expect a full range of choices in their intimate lives. Marriage, sexuality, and parenthood no longer constitute a monolith in the life of American women. Changes in sexual and family life constitute as dramatic a set of developments in the realm of private life as any in the entirety of American history. Under the impact of the ongoing battle for women's rights, the very meaning of privacy is changing. The constitutional basis of the major court decisions decriminalizing contraception and abortion rest on the elaboration of a new dimension of constitutionally protected individual rights: the right to privacy. In contrast to the growing protections surrounding individual privacy, traditional aspects of "family privacy" have been challenged and eliminated in the name of individual rights. The monolith of "the family" is giving way to an appreciation for the sometimes conflicting rights of the individuals within it. Child- and wife-beating are no longer protected from external scrutiny; instead domestic violence has become a major concern for the police, and the courts and legislatures are increasingly willing to permit intervention in the previously private turf of family relations.

Conclusion:

The sustained, rank-and-file actions of generations of women are deeply implicated in American pride in the pioneering of political democracy. No other group has waged as long and committed a campaign—75 uninterrupted years—as have women for the signal right of American history, the right to vote. The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments, the famous first manifesto of the women's rights movement, written within living memory of the founding of the nation, followed the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence word for word, only adding the crucial phrase "and women" to the sentence

"we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." The women's rights movement has illuminated and altered the American political tradition in fundamental ways: by pioneering new areas of individual rights; by demonstrating that collective struggle and individual rights needn't be opposed but can in fact be mutually reinforcing; and by calling for the expansion of the role of government from protecting the rights of those who already have them from intrusion, to drawing those excluded from these entitlements to share in their enjoyment.

In numerous ways, the long pursuit of equality between the sexes (a process which is still on-going) has had mammoth consequences for American history. It has altered the way that the American labor force is structured and how working people think about their labor. It has changed the deeply private experiences of family life, of parenthood, of marriage, of sexual intimacy. It has altered what we think of as the purposes and justification of government, of what it means to be an American citizen, of the extent to which the principles of democratic egalitarianism should be followed in modern society. Ultimately, the struggle for women's rights has altered what it means to be a woman or a man in this society, and thus what it means to be a person. Far from being confined to a small corner of American history, relegated to the margins as a "special interest movement," the battle for women's rights lies at the very center of American history and deserves to be recognized as such by the public traditions of this nation.

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- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- ⁶ Stanton to Gerrit Smith, January 1, 1866, Gerrit Smith Collection, Syracuse University.
- ⁷ Anthony to Elizabeth Stanton, November 5, 1872, Harper Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- ⁸ Anthony, June 17, 1873 speech, reprinted in *History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 2*, eds. Anthony, Stanton, Matilda J. Gage (Rochester, 1881), p. 131.
- ⁹ Anastasia Sims, "Armageddon in Tennessee: The Final Battle Over the Nineteenth Amendment," in *One Woman, One Vote*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, Troutdale, Oregon: 1995, p. 347.

Appendix D: Notes on GIS Database

General Information

The GIS database was developed by staff at the University of Rhode Islands Environmental Data Center. The primary informational database was developed using Microsoft Access. The Microsoft Access database is on file in the Boston Support Office, Planning and Legislation. The GIS database was developed using Arc Map 8.1. An archival copy of the GIS database is on file at the University of Rhode Island.

Limitations and Caveats

The properties identified in this database represents the best information that we were able to find as of May 2001. There was very little field reconnaissance completed as part of this project.

Critical reviews of the database were quite limited. A more comprehensive evaluation of the database should be undertaken.

Many properties were not mapped due to insufficient address and/or locational information.

Description of Data Fields:

Name of Site – Most popularly recognized name of property found in existing literature or National Register nomination forms.

Alternative Name – Additional name or names associated with the property. This could be an alternative name for the property itself or the person associated with it.

Last Name – Last name of primary person associated with property. If a married woman, this is often the married name.

First Name – First name of primary person associated with property. This field can include first and middle name or first and maiden name.

Street Address – Street address of the property. In some cases, street addresses were ambiguous and therefore could not be mapped (e.g. Route 20 or 1/2 mile from city x or corner of x street and y avenue).

City – self-explanatory

County – self-explanatory

State – self-explanatory

Date – the date or dates during which a person was associated with a property or an event that took place there. These dates are approximate and were added to the database after its formal review. They should be reviewed for accuracy and updated accordingly. Due to time constraints, this is not possible during the course of this project.

National Register Designation – Denotes whether the property is a National Historic Landmark (NHL), a National Park Service unit (NPS), listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), or does not have a national designation (NONE). Properties located within National Register districts are considered to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Theme 1 – The primary theme associated with the property selected from the women's rights thematic framework developed for the project.

Theme 2 – The secondary theme associated with the property selected from the women's rights thematic framework developed for the project.

Information Source – self-explanatory. Some useful abbreviations and acronyms:

- ♦ *BWHT* – Boston Women’s Heritage Trail
- ♦ *CTSHPO* – Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office
- ♦ *Enc. Brit. Online* – Encyclopedia Britannica Online
- ♦ *HABS* – Historic American Building Survey
- ♦ *M-NCPPC* – The Maryland National Capital Parks and Planning Commission
- ♦ *NCWHS* – National Collaborative for Women’s History Sites
- ♦ *NJSHPO* – New Jersey State Historic Preservation Office
- ♦ *NRHP* – National Register of Historic Places
- ♦ *NPS* – National Park Service
- ♦ *Pres. Comm.* – President’s Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women in American History.
- ♦ *PWK* – Polly Welts Kaufman
- ♦ *PWWMH* – Places Where Women Made History (National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary for Massachusetts and New York)
- ♦ *RISHPO* – Rhode Island State Historic Preservation Office
- ♦ *UGRR* – Aboard the Underground Railroad (National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary)
- ♦ *WORI* – Women’s Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York

Public? – “Yes” indicates that the property is available to the public in some manner. It does not necessarily indicate that it is open and accessible on a consistent basis. “No” indicates a private property that is not open to the public.

Site Type – Describes the historically relevant use of the property. A number of site types associated with women’s rights were identified during the course of the project and are identified below:

Birthplace – the site or structure associated with birth and/or childhood of an individual.

Clubhouse – women’s clubs and organizations, union halls, community centers, women’s “granges”

Collection – collection of archival materials and/or museum objects (e.g. research collection, exhibits)

Home – primary or seasonal residence for one or more years

Event – the location of a major activity associated with the women’s rights movement, e.g. protest rally, major speech, etc.

Institution – hospitals, clinics, asylums, social settlements, soup kitchens, retirement homes

Lodging – YWCA residences, women’s hotels, summer/vacation camps, and other lodging arrangements

Product – results of an effort to design, create, or preserve—piece of architecture, sculpture, landscape, public art, historic preservation

Religious building – churches, shrines, convents, etc.

School – women’s colleges, seminaries, professional schools, secondary schools

Workplace – mills, factories, hospitals, laboratories, etc.

Extant – this field was a carryover from an earlier version of the database. “Yes” indicates that an original structure or landscape exists. It should not imply that this original structure or landscape has sufficient integrity to support determination of eligibility. It only implies that upon further investigation the property may be eligible for listing on the National Register. All of the resources in this database should be listed as extant.

UTM Coordinates – locational coordinates used to inform the mapping process. Primary source for UTM coordinates was the National Register database.

Description – a brief summary of the significance of the person or event associated with the property.

Appendix E: Properties Associated with the Women's Rights Movement

Note: The women's rights property sample should not be considered comprehensive and is by no means definitive. It is merely a reconnaissance-level survey used by the study team to develop a better understanding of the number and types of properties that are known to exist.

National Historic Landmarks are indicated by bold text.

National Register of Historic Places properties are indicated by italicized text.

(*) indicates a property that may be open to the public.

CONNECTICUT	<u>New London County</u>	*Frederick Douglass National Historic Site Washington
<u>Fairfield County</u>	Peace Sanctuary (Mary Lee Jobe Akeley)	
Ida M. Tarbell House Easton	Mystic	<i>Friendship House</i> Emily Edson Briggs Washington
Pepperidge Farm Fairfield	Charlotte Perkins Gilman House Norwich	
<i>Nora Stanton Barney House</i> Greenwich	<u>Windham County</u>	General Federation of Women's Clubs Washington
Lillian D. Wald House Westport	Friendship Valley (Prudence Crandall)	Mary Ann Shadd Cary House Washington
	Brooklyn	
<u>Hartford County</u>	*Prudence Crandall House Canterbury	Mary Church Terrell House Washington
Kimberly Mansion Glastonbury	DELAWARE	*Mary McLeod Bethune Council House (National Historic Site) Washington
*Connecticut State Library Hartford	<u>Kent County</u>	
	*Annie Jump Cannon Grave Dover	*National Archives for Black Women's History Washington
*Harriet Beecher Stowe House Hartford	Annie Jump Cannon House Dover	*National Museum of American History (Smithsonian) Washington
<i>Isabella Beecher Hooker Home</i> Hartford	*Old State House Dover	
<i>Cheney Building (G. Fox Building)</i> Hartford	<u>New Castle County</u>	*National Museum of Women in the Arts Washington
<i>Newington Children's Hospital</i> Newington	*Women's Club of Newport Newport	
	*New Century Club Wilmington	Oscar W. Underwood House Washington School of Law Washington
<u>Middlesex County</u>	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	*Sewall-Belmont House Washington
<i>Working Girl's Vacation Home</i> East Haddam	Charlotte Forten Grimke House Washington	Trades Hall – Nannie Helen Burroughs National Training School for Women and Girls Washington
<i>Home of Ann Petry and Anna Louise James</i> Old Saybrook	*Congressional Cemetery Washington	
<u>New Haven County</u>	Frances Perkins Home Washington	Trinity College Washington
Hannah Gray Home New Haven		

Washington College of Law
Washington

MAINE

Cumberland County

*Harriet Beecher Stowe House
Brunswick

Skolfield-Whittier House
Brunswick

*Sabbathday Shaker Village
New Gloucester

Gail Laughlin Law Office
Portland

Portland City Hall
Portland

Business and Professional Women's Club
Portland

Trelawny Building
Portland

John Neal House
Portland

Catherine Morrill Day Nursery
Portland

YWCA
Portland

*Maine Women Writers Collection
Westbrook College
Portland

Westbrook College
Portland

Franklin County

*Nordica Homestead
Farmington

Somerset County

*Margeret Chase Smith Library and Home
Skowhegan

York County

Kate Douglas Wiggin House
Hollis Center

*Sarah Orne Jewett House
South Berwick

MARYLAND

Baltimore County

*Julia R. Rogers Library and Home,
Goucher College
Baltimore

Bryn Mawr School for Girls
Baltimore

Dorchester County

Annie Oakley House
Cambridge

Montgomery County

*Farm Women's Cooperative
Bethesda

*Clara Barton Home (National Historic Site)
Glen Echo

Bloomfield
(Mary Bentley Thomas)
Sandy Spring

MASSACHUSETTS

Berkshire County

Susan B. Anthony Birthplace
Adams

*Hancock Shaker Village

Hancock
Pittsfield Women's Club
Pittsfield

Bristol County

Fall River Women's Club
Fall River

Essex County

November Club
Andover

Cutter-Handy House
Andover

*Mary Baker Eddy House
Lynn

Franklin County

Major Joseph Griswold House
(Mary Lyons)
Buckland

Hampshire County

Sophia Smith Homestead
Hatfield

*The Sophia Smith Collection
Smith College
Northampton

*Mary Lyons Gravesite
South Hadley

Middlesex County

Radcliffe College Yard
Cambridge

49 Hawthorne Street
Work of Lois Lilley Howe
Cambridge

Cambridge YWCA
Cambridge

McCormick Hall

Mass. Institute of Technology
Cambridge

Margaret Fuller House

Cambridge

Maria Baldwin House

Cambridge

Lois Lilley Howe House

Cambridge

Thos. Wentworth Higginson House
Cambridge

Mrs. Henry W. Paine House

Cambridge

*Schlesinger Library

Radcliffe College
Cambridge

Horace Mann House

Cambridge

Fay House

Radcliffe College
Cambridge

Agassiz Hall
Radcliffe Collge
Cambridge

23 Hawthorne Street
Work of Lois Lilley Howe
Cambridge

Cambridge School
Cambridge

*Mount Auburn Cemetery
Cambridge

*The Wayside

Louisa May Alcott, Margaret Sidney
Concord

*Orchard House

Louisa May Alcott
Concord

*Lowell National Historical Park
Lowell

Mary Baker Eddy House
400 Beacon Street
Newton

Emily Ruggles House
Reading

Elizabeth Boit House
Wakefield

Lydia Maria Child House Wayland	*Boston YWCA Boston	New England Public Kitchen Boston
<u>Nantucket County</u> <i>Anna Gardner Home</i> Nantucket	Harriet Tubman House Boston	Dorothea Dix House Boston
* <i>Maria Mitchell House</i> Nantucket	Allen Gymnasium Boston	Tyler Street Day Nursery Boston
* <i>Unitarian Church</i> Nantucket	Penitent Females Refuge Boston	Hebrew Industrial School Boston
<u>Norfolk County</u> <i>Belcher-Rowe House</i> Milton	League for Women in Community Service Boston	Charles Street AME Church (Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin) Boston
* <i>Borderland Historic District</i> Blanche Ames Ames Easton	Franklin Square House Boston	North End Union Boston
<u>Plymouth County</u> <i>Odd Fellows Lodge</i> (<i>Universalist Church</i>) Hingham	Portia School of Law Boston	French YWCA Boston
<u>Suffolk County</u> * <i>Dimock Community Health</i> <i>Center Complex</i> Boston	William Lloyd Garrison House Boston	Household Aid Company Boston
<i>Julia Ward Howe House</i> Boston	North Bennett Street Industrial School Boston	Hemenway House (lodging) Boston
<i>Students House (Kerr Hall)</i> Boston	The College Club Boston	YWCA Home for Business Girls Boston
Chauncy Hall Building Boston	Women's Educational and Industrial Union Boston	Simmons College Boston
Shawmut Home for Working Women Boston	YWCA – Berkeley Residence Boston	* <i>Faneuil Hall</i> Boston
Massachusetts Home for Intemperate Women Boston	Hotel Agassiz Boston	Charlesgate Hall Boston
Dress Reform Parlor (Hamilton Place) Boston	Hotel Victoria Boston	Women's City Club Boston
Dress Reform Parlor (Winter Street) Boston	New England Helping Hand Home Boston	Ellen Swallows Richard House Jamaica Plain
Home for Aged Colored Women Boston	St. Helena's Working Girls' Home Boston	*Forest Hills Cemetery Jamaica Plain
Boston Women's Trade Union League Boston	Brook House Home for Girls Boston	South Boston Day Nursery South Boston
Hotel Andrews Boston	Women's Education Association Botany (76 Marlborough Street) Boston	The Little House (day nursery) South Boston
	Women's Education Association Boston Society of Natural History Boston	*Unitarian Universalist Church Theodore Parker West Roxbury
	Industrial Committee of Women's Education Association (91 Mt. Vernon Street) Boston	*Brook Farm Margaret Fuller West Roxbury

Worcester County

**Harvard Shaker Village Historic District*
Harvard

**Clara Barton Homestead*
North Oxford

Liberty Farm
Abby Kelley Foster
Worcester

Worcester Women's Club
Worcester

Oxford Street School
Worcester

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Strafford County
Marilla Ricker House
Dover

Merrimack County
**Canterbury Shaker Village*
Canterbury

Pleasant View
Mary Baker Eddy
Concord

NEW JERSEY
Bergen County
Elizabeth Cady Stanton House
Tenafly

Burlington County
Clara Barton School
Bordentown City

Susan Moore Waters
Bordentown City

**Alice Paul Birthplace*
Mount Laurel

Camden County
Margaret Bancroft House
Haddon Fortnightly Club
Haddonfield

Cumberland County
David Sheppard House
Ada Lydia Howard
Bridgeton

Cape May County
Wildwood Civic Club
Wildwood

Essex County
Lucy Stone House
Montclair

**Newark Public Library*
Newark

Newark Female Charitable Society
Newark

Vreeland Homestead
Women's Club of Nutley
Nutley

Mercer County
The Contemporary
Trenton

Monmouth County
Senator Anthony Reckless Estate
Red Bank Women's Club
Red Bank

Morris County
Merchiston Farm
Martha Brooks Hutchinson
Chester Township

Boyle/Hudspeth-Benson House
Millington

Macculloch Hall
Morristown

Dr. Lewis Condict House
Women's Club of Morristown
Morristown

Passaic County
**Pietro and Maria Botto House*
Haledon

Union County
Blue House at Liberty Hall
Mildred Barry Hughes
Elizabeth

**Plainfield/North Plainfield YWCA*
Plainfield

Wallace Chapel
Florence Spearing Randolph
Summit

Warren County
Centenary Collegiate Institute
Hackettstown

NEW YORK

Albany County
Watervliet Shaker Historic District
Colonie

Bronx County
**Woodlawn Cemetery*

Cayuga County

**Harriet Tubman Grave*
Auburn

**Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged*
Auburn

**William Seward House*
Auburn

**Howland Cobblestone Store*
Scipio

Emily Howland Home
Sherwood

Chemung County
Elmira College (Old Campus)
Elmira

Columbia County
Steepletop
Edna St. Vincent Millay
Austerlitz

Mount Lebanon Shaker Society
New Lebanon

Dutchess County
Willow Lake
Margaret Sanger
Fish Kill

**Val-Kill*
Eleanor Roosevelt NHS
Hyde Park

**Eleanor Roosevelt Gravesite*
Hyde Park

**Vassar College Observatory*
Poughkeepsie

Erie County
Hotel Lafayette
Work of Louise Blanchard Bethune
Buffalo

Essex County
**Meadowmount*
Inez Milholland Boissevain
Lewis

Fulton County
**Fulton County Courthouse*
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Johnstown

Jefferson County
**Flower Memorial Library*
Marietta Holley

Madison County

**Smithfield Presbyterian Church*
Peterboro

Gerrit Smith Estate
Peterboro

Monroe County

Antoinette Brown Blackwell
Childhood Home
Henrietta

**Susan B. Anthony House*
Rochester

**Susan B. Anthony Grave*
Mount Hope Cemetery
Rochester

**Rochester Historical Society*
Rochester

New York County

Emma Goldman Residence
New York

Margaret Louisa Residence Hall
New York

**Ottendorfer Public Library and*
Stuyvesant Polyclinic Hospital
New York

**Margaret Mead Hall of Pacific Peoples*
American Museum of Natural History
New York

Edna St. Vincent Millay House
New York

United Charities Building Complex
New York

Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Building
New York

Henry Street Settlement &
Neighborhood Playhouse
New York

**Town Hall*
New York

Margaret Sanger Home and Clinic
New York

**Barbizon Hotel for Women*
New York

Mary (Molly) Dewson Home
New York

Onondaga County

**Matilda Joslyn Gage gravesite*
Fayetteville

**Matilda Joslyn Gage House*
Fayetteville

Harriet May Mills House
Syracuse

**Crouse College*
Syracuse University
Syracuse

Ontario County

**Ontario County Courthouse*
Susan B. Anthony
Canandaigua

**Hicksite Quaker Meetinghouse*
Farmington

Oswego County

**Dr. Mary E. Walker Grave*
Oswego

Rensselaer County

Emma Willard School
Troy

Kate Mullany House
Troy

Seneca County

Jacob P. Chamberlain House
Seneca Falls

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton House*
Seneca Falls

**Seneca Falls Historical Society*
Seneca Falls

**National Women's Hall of Fame*
Seneca Falls

**Wesleyan Chapel*
Seneca Falls

Lovina Latham House
Seneca Falls

Hoskins House
Seneca Falls

Race House
Seneca Falls

Seymour House
Seneca Falls

**First Presbyterian Church*
Alice Paul
Seneca Falls

Jane Hunt House
Waterloo

**M'Clintock House*
Waterloo

St. Lawrence County

**Universalist Church*
Canton

Opera House
Carrie Chapman Catt
Canton

Graves Farm
Rhoda Fox Graves
Gouverneur

Century Club
Ogdensburg

Wayne County

Antoinette Brown Blackwell's First Church
South Butler

Westchester County

Villa Lewaro
Mdm. C.J. Walker
Irvington

Carrie Chapman Catt House
New Rochelle

PENNSYLVANIA

Beaver County

Grace Greenwood Home
New Bridgton

Bucks County

**Pearl S. Buck House*
Dublin

Home of Margaret Mead
Holicong

Chester County

**Justice Bell*
Valley Forge

Delaware County

Anna Howard Shaw Home
Media

Thunderbird Lodge

Mildred and Allen Seymour Olmsted II
Rose Valley

Lancaster County

Winsor Forge Mansion
Blanche Nevin
Churchtown

Montgomery County

**Pennsylvania School of Horticulture*
for Women
Ambler

**Bryn Mawr College Historic District*
Bryn Mawr

**M. Carey Thomas Library*
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr

Philadelphia County
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper House
Philadelphia

**New Century Guild and Club*
Philadelphia

Philadelphia School of Design for Women
Philadelphia

**Independence Hall*
Philadelphia

Sarah Josepha Buell Hale House
Philadelphia

**Coles House (lodging)*
Philadelphia

Charlotte Vandine Forten House
Philadelphia

**Race Street Friends Meetinghouse*
Philadelphia

**YWCA – Southwest-Belmont Branch*
Philadelphia

**Mary Grew Grave*
Woodlands Cemetery
Philadelphia

**Rebecca Gratz Grave*
Mikveh Israel Cemetery
Philadelphia

Female Medical College of Philadelphia
Philadelphia

**Arch Street Friends Meetinghouse*
Philadelphia

Crystal Bird Fauset House
Philadelphia

**Mother Bethel AME Church*
Philadelphia

RHODE ISLAND
Newport County
Oak Glen
Julia Ward Howe
Portsmouth

**Marble House*
Alva Vanderbilt Belmont
Newport

Providence County
**Annie Smith Peck Grave*
Providence

Pembroke Hall
Brown University
Providence

VERMONT
Addison County
**Rokeby Museum*
Ferrisburgh

Emma Willard House
Middlebury College
Middlebury

Windsor County
Twin Farms
Dorothy Thompson
Barnard

**Ascha W. Sprague Grave*
Plymouth

Mountain Haunt
Pearl S. Buck
Winhall

VIRGINIA
Amherst County
Elizabeth Langhorne Lewis House
Lynchburg

Arlington County
**Women in Military Service for America*
Memorial
Arlington

Bath County
Three Hills
Mary Johnston
Warm Springs

Chesterfield County
**Maggie L. Walker House (National*
Historic Site)
Richmond

Fairfax County
Kate Waller Barrett Home
Alexandria

Gloucester County
Gloucester Women's Club
Gloucester

Louisa County
Jerdone Castle
Bumpas

Richmond County
Ellen Glasgow House
Richmond

WEST VIRGINIA
Monongalia County
Lenna Lowe Yost Home
Morgantown

Pocahontas County
Pearl S. Buck Birthplace
Hillsboro

Preston County
Izetta Jewel Brown Miller Home
Kingwood

Mercer County
Elizabeth Kee Home
Bluefield

Taylor County
**Andrews Methodist Church*
Mother's Day
Grafton

Wood County
Parkersburg Women's Club
Parkersburg

Appendix F: Women's History Trails and Heritage Tourism Initiatives in the Northeast

Connecticut

- ♦ Connecticut Women's Heritage Trail – brochure; online guide

Maine

- ♦ Brunswick, ME – Women's History Trail – guidebook
- ♦ Farmington, ME – Women's History Trail – brochure
- ♦ Portland, ME – Women's History Trail – guidebook

Massachusetts

- ♦ Boston, MA – Women's Heritage Trail – glossy guidebook illuminates sites along 5 separate trails. Trail developed in concert with Boston Public Schools.
- ♦ Cambridge, MA – Harvard University Guide to Women's History
- ♦ Salem, MA – Women's Heritage Trail – glossy guidebook, Salem Chamber of Commerce
- ♦ Worcester, MA – Women's History Heritage Trail

New Jersey

- ♦ New Jersey Women's Heritage Trail – designated by state legislature; under development

New York

- ♦ New York Governor's Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women – Heritage Tourism Brochure
- ♦ Central New York Women's History Trail – under development
- ♦ Rochester, NY – Women's Heritage Trail – online travel itineraries for greater Rochester Area (may no longer be available)
- ♦ Troy NY – Women's History Trail – brochure
- ♦ Seneca Falls and Waterloo, NY – Women's Rights Trail Guidebook prepared by Women's Rights National Historical Park

Pennsylvania

- ♦ Delaware Valley, PA – Guide to Women's History

Appendix G: Women's History Organizations

Adirondack Women in History, Willsboro, NY
American History Association, Washington, DC
Association of Black Women Historians, Orangeburg, SC
Boston Women's History Trail, Boston, MA
Connecticut Hall of Fame, Hartford, CT
Coordinating Council for Women in History, Albany, NY
General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, DC
Mohawk Valley Women's History Project, New Hartford, NY
National Black History Task Force, Inc., Atlanta, GA
National Museum of Women's History, Alexandria, VA
National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC
National Women's Hall of Fame, Seneca Falls, NY
National Women's History Project, Santa Rosa, CA
The Smith Foundation, Groton, MA
The Women's Museum – Institute for the Future, Dallas, TX
Upstate New York Women's History Conference, Ithaca, NY
Washington Women Historians, Reston, VA
Western New York Women's History Committee & Hall of Fame, Buffalo, NY
Women's History Museum, West Liberty, WV
Women in Military Service for America, Arlington, VA
Worcester Women's History Project, Worcester, MA

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Resolved, that the equality of human rights results necessarily from
the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

-Declaration of Sentiments, 1848

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