

On July 18, 1848, women and men gathered to launch the women's suffrage movement in the United States at the Seneca Falls Convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York. This struggle would last seven decades, with women gaining the right to vote in 1920. The women's suffrage movement, also called woman suffrage, gave women the opportunity to express themselves to the general public, which had rarely been done prior. Not all women supported women's suffrage. Women who opposed suffrage believed that it would take them away from their families and homes, and that women would be tainted by "dirty" politics.

In 1909, the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia formed to campaign for women to gain the right to vote in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Founding members included Lila Meade Valentine, who would be elected as the organization's leader; artists Adele Clarke and Nora Houston; writers Ellen Glasgow and Mary Johnston; and physician Kate Waller Barrett. These women traveled throughout Virginia handing out literature, giving speeches, hosting suffrage teas, and lobbying men and General Assembly members to grant women the right to vote. Following the formation of the Equal Suffrage League, its members decided to become a part of the national suffrage movement by joining the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Equal Suffrage League of Virginia and National American Woman Suffrage Association members supported the fight for women's suffrage on a state level, while other suffrage organizations supported a constitutional amendment.

While the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its affiliated groups were making progress in their individual states, some suffragists became frustrated by the slow pace of the movement. To address this issue, Alice Paul established the National Woman's Party. In Virginia, a chapter of the National Woman's Party was formed, with members including Sophie Gooding Rose Meredith, Pauline Forstall Colclough Adams, and many more. During the height of the women's suffrage movement, the National Woman's Party began to protest at the White House during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, becoming the first organization to protest the White House. The women stood in front of the White House during all weather conditions and did not respond to violent treatment from crowds. Eventually, President Wilson and the Commissioner of the District of Columbia decided to arrest the women protesting in front of the White House and sent to Occoquan Workhouse in Lorton, Virginia. While at Occoquan, some women went on hunger strikes and were handled harshly by the guards. As a result, the public began to sympathize with the suffragists. The treatment of the suffragists at Occoquan would play a pivotal role in gaining the public's support for the movement and influencing Congress to pass the Nineteenth Amendment.

In some periods of American history, African American women's support for many social welfare and political movements have been hidden. During the suffrage movement, some African American women supported the right to vote, because enfranchisement was seen as a way of improving the welfare of their people across the country. Maggie Lena Walker, Josephine Mathews Norcom, and Ora Brown Stokes campaigned for votes for women in Virginia. Unfortunately, racial segregation prevented the three women from becoming members of the Equal Suffrage League, the National Woman's Party, or the National American Woman Suffrage Association. However, these women and many like them did not let these barriers stop them from supporting suffrage.

While the anti-suffragists fought vigorously against women's suffrage, Tennessee was the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment on August 18, 1920. Virginia would not ratify the Nineteenth Amendment until 1952, long after the amendment went into effect. The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment did not end the activism of women in the United States. Beginning in 1923, women lobbied Congress to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

The Equal Rights Amendment states, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." As of today, the Equal Rights Amendment remains unratified by Congress, but this might change in the coming years. During its 2020 General Assembly session, Virginia became the thirty-eighth state to ratify the amendment. It is unclear whether Virginia's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment will make this law part of the Constitution, but it demonstrates the efforts women will make to ensure that all people are treated fairly in Virginia and in the United States. This research guide offers a survey of books, articles, and online resources that provide an overview of the American suffrage movement.

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The Equal Rights Amendment and the Women's Rights Movement

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- Astor, Maggie. "The Equal Rights Amendment May Pass Now. It's Only Been 96 Years." *New York Times*. November 3, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/06/us/politics/virginia-ratify-equal-rights-amendment.html>.
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ARCHIVAL MATERIAL AT THE LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

Virginia Chapter of the National Organization for Women, 1971–2004, 2011. Accession 43458.

The mission of the Virginia Chapter of the National Organization for Women (Virginia Now) is to bring economic, legal, social, and personal equality in all areas of life across Virginia, through programs and activities that promote the vision of a feminist future. Records in this collection explore the subjects of abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, the Virginia NOW Political Action committee, and newsletters and causes relating to the national organization.

Pauline Forstall Colclough Adams Papers, 1874–1957. Accession 37402.

This collection contains business cards, clippings, correspondence, genealogies, and photographs. Of note are two letters that describe Pauline Adams's experience at the Occoquan Workhouse; an advertisement for the "Prison Special," a national tour held by members of the National Woman's Party; and clippings, obituaries, and reminiscences by Pauline Adams.

Ellen Gertrude Tompkins Kidd Papers, 1791–1998. Accession 52005.

Ellen Gertrude Tompkins was born in Richmond, Virginia, between 1846 and 1855. She attended the Pegram School for Girls in Richmond. In 1872, Tompkins established the Pin Money Pickles company, using a family recipe for pickles. While running a successful

business, she became an active member in the woman's suffrage movement. Ellen Gertrude Tompkins Kidd died February 3, 1932. The collection includes a transcription and contains business records, compositions, correspondence, woman suffrage records, legal records, photographs, poems, receipts, and wills.

The Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Accession 37797 & Miscellaneous Film Reel 2241–2285.

This collection of microfilm documents the history of the women's suffrage movement in the United States and the lives of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. It is divided into four series: Revolution, 1868–1872; National Woman Suffrage Association Collection, 1880; and Chronological Collection, 1831–1906.

Promiscuous Rampant Woman: A Play. Accession 35592.

Written by Bill Davis, this play depicts the events surrounding the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. It begins in 1869 and ends with the first election in which women could participate. This collection also contains a newspaper article about the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the League of Women Voters in Richmond.

Executive Papers of Governor Henry C. Stuart. Accession 28722, Record Group 3.

Henry Carter Stuart of Wytheville County became governor of Virginia on February 1, 1914, and served until 1918. During his term as governor, he received a program from the Fifth Annual Convention of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia from Lila Meade Valentine, the organization's president (see box 70, folder 3).

Letter, March 29, 1927. Accession 40782.

This letter from Adele Clark to an unknown recipient discusses the General Assembly's unanimous vote to support the creation of a memorial to Lila Meade Valentine at the Capitol, as well as how donors can help the Lila Meade Valentine Memorial Association raise funds to erect the memorial. The back of the letter contains the names of the women participating in the organization.

Karen Darner Legislative Paper, 1990–2004. Accession 51365.

L. Karen Darner of Arlington was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in a January 1991 special election to fill the seat left vacant by the death of Warren G. Stambaugh. During her several terms in the House of Delegates, the topic of whether Virginia would ratify Equal Rights Amendment was discussed.

The Virginia Equal Rights Amendment Ratification Council Papers, 1970–1982. Accession 31486.

The Virginia Equal Rights Ratification Council was a coalition of more than 30 organizations in Virginia that supported the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. This collection of papers provides a comprehensive history of the Equal Rights Amendment, emphasizing efforts for its passage in Virginia. Includes correspondence, subject files, newspaper clippings, mailing lists, printed material, posters, maps, monaural and video cassette tapes, and ephemera.

The Equal Suffrage League of Virginia Records, 1908–1938. Accession 22002.

The Equal Suffrage League of Virginia was organized in 1909 in Richmond, Virginia. The organization's mission was to publicize woman's issues in the state with the goal of gaining the right to vote. The organization changed its name to the League of Women Voters in 1920. The collection contains correspondence, ephemera, and miscellaneous files and records pertaining to the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the Equal Suffrage League, and the National League of Women Voters.

Carroll Kem Shackelford Papers, 1954–1985. Accession 32577.

The papers of Carroll Kem Shackelford of Orange County describe her activities on behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment and other women's rights issues and legislation before the General Assembly. Includes speeches made concerning the Equal Rights Amendment, and materials generated during her service on the Equal Rights Task Force and as counsel to the women legislators of the Virginia General Assembly. Her area of research on the Equal Rights Task Force was family law, examining how the amendment would affect the roles of mother and homemaker. The material from her role as counsel to the women legislators shows the evolution of legislation on issues of concern to women, excluding the Equal Rights Amendment.

The League of Women Voters Records, 1920–2011. Accession 39487.

The League of Woman Voters of Virginia originally founded as the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia November 9, 1909. The Equal Suffrage of Virginia served as the forerunner of the League of Women Voters of Virginia, which was established September 9, 1920. The League encourages women to participate in the political process and in government and advocates for a wide range of women's issues, as well as other political and social issues. This collection contains correspondence, financial records, histories, lists, minutes, newsletters, publications, reports, studies, and other papers that document and detail the history, organization, and goals of the League of Women Voters of Virginia.

Zelda Kingoff Nordlinger Papers, 1970–2007. Accession 31719, 44035, 45329.

Zelda Kingoff was born January 19, 1932, in Greenville, South Carolina. Her family moved to Richmond, Virginia, when she was a teenager and she attended Richmond public schools. She married Martin Stanford Nordlinger on December 24, 1963. Nordlinger spent part of her career as a lobbyist to the Virginia General Assembly (1971–1976) and was active in the women's movement. She was a co-founder of the Richmond chapter of the National Organization for Women in 1971. Nordlinger was also active in the National Woman's Political Caucus and the Virginia Women's Political Caucus. This collection contains articles, bills, biographies, campaign buttons, civil actions, clippings, and speeches relating to Nordlinger's activities as a member of the Women's Liberation movement and the National Organization for Women.

Margaret Williams Papers, 1970–1985. Accession 32504.

Margaret "Meg" Williams was born in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1953. She was an active member of the Virginia Women's Political Caucus from 1971 to 1976. She also served on a numerous women's organizations including the Women's Lobby and co-authored *The Almanac of Virginia Politics, 1977–1985*. The collection includes correspondence, speeches, printed resource material, newspaper clippings, writings, and General Assembly bills pertaining to women. The material generally concerns Williams's activities as woman's activist in Virginia during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Mary-Cooke Branch Munford Papers. Accession 28142.

Mary-Cooke Branch Munford was born in Richmond, Virginia, on September 15, 1865. Educated in Richmond and New York, she married Beverly Bland Munford on November 22, 1893. Although Munford was a member of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, she was not as active as some other members. This collection documents various political, educational, social, economic, and interracial endeavors. Most of the records in this collection range from 1910 to 1930.

British Women's Suffrage Movement

Beginning in 1832, unmarried women in Great Britain petitioned their members of Parliament for the right to vote. Some British suffragettes believed that they needed to be more radical in order to persuade the all-male body of Parliament to give women the right to vote. These suffragettes bombed homes and public buildings, responded to harsh treatment from the police, and went on hunger strikes. Through all of these forms of protest, the first victory in the British women's suffrage movement came in 1918, when Parliament passed the Representation of the People Act, stating that women over the age of 30 could vote. While this was a small victory, a large number of British women still could not vote. It was not until 1928, with the passage of the Equal Franchise Act, that Britain allowed all citizens the right to vote if they were over the age of 21. Below is a survey of books, articles, and online resources that provide an overview of the British suffrage movement.

BOOKS & ARTICLES

Anand, Anita. *Sophia: Princess, Suffragette, Revolutionary*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Fisher, Lucy. *Emily Wilding Davison: The Martyr Suffragette*. London: Biteback Publishing, 2019.

Harrison, Patricia Greenwood. *Connecting Links: The British and American Suffrage Movements, 1900–1914*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Hume, Leslie Parker. *The National Union of Woman's Suffrage Societies, 1897–1914*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982.

Jorgesen-Earp, Cheryl R. *The Transfiguring Sword: The Just War of the Women's Social and Political Union*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997.

Mitchell, David J. *The Fighting Pankhurst: A Study in Tenacity*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

Liddington, Jill, Elizabeth Crawford and E. A. Maund. "'Women do not count, neither shall they be counted': Suffrage, Citizenship, and the Battel for the 1911 Census." *History Workshop Journal* 71 (Spring 2011): 98–127.

Pankhurst, E. Sylvia. *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931.

_____. *The Suffragette: The History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement, 1905–1910*. New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1911.

Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Raeburn, Antonia. *The Suffragette View*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.

Rollyson, Carl. "A Conservative Revolutionary: Emmeline Pankhurst (1857–1928)." *The Virginia Quarterly* 79 (Spring 2003): 325–334.

Online Resources for the British Suffrage Movement

Suffragette (2015)

<http://www.focusfeatures.com/suffragette>

BBC: Did the Suffragettes Win Women the Vote?

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/zt3wmnb>

BRITISH LIBRARY

Black Friday

<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/black-friday-pamphlet>

Women's Suffrage Glossary

<https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/womens-suffrage-glossary>

The Campaign for Women's Suffrage: Key Figures

<https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/womens-suffrage-key-figures>

Princess Sophia Duleep Singh

(Daughter of Maharaja Duleep Singh, who participated in the "Black Friday" demonstrations to Parliament. Princess Sophia is the only known Indian suffragette.)

<https://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item124196.html>

<https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/sophia-duleep-singh-princess-and-suffragette>

American Suffrage Movement: Online Resources, Movies, and Documentaries

United States Constitution: Nineteenth Amendment

<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=63>

The Federal Judicial Center: The Trial of Susan B. Anthony

<https://www.fjc.gov/sites/default/files/trials/susanbanthony.pdf>

Cornell Law School: Legal Information Institute

Supreme Court Case: *Minor v. Happersett*

<https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/88/162>

Library of Virginia

Dictionary of Virginia Biography

www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/

The Dictionary of Virginia Biography is an ongoing biographical reference work covering all centuries, regions, and categories of Virginia's history and culture. The following list of women were participants in the suffrage movement in Virginia.

Ellen Gertrude Tompkins Kidd

Fannie Bayly King

Elizabeth Dabney Langhorne Lewis

Mary Morris Hall Lockwood

Sophie Gooding Rose Meredith

Faith Walcott Morgan

Elizabeth Dabney Langhorne Lewis Otey

Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon

Eudora Woolfolk Ramsay Richardson
Annie S. Barna Whitner
Eugenie Macon Yancey

Virginia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

Anti-Suffrage Arguments: What Votes Cannot Do
http://digitool1.lva.lib.va.us:8881/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=19508

Virginia Chronicle

Virginia Suffrage News

October 1, 1914

<https://viriniachronicle.com/?a=d&d=VSN19141001&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->

November 1, 1914

<https://viriniachronicle.com/?a=d&d=VSN19141101&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->

December 1, 1914

<https://viriniachronicle.com/?a=d&d=VSN19141201&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->

Encyclopedia Virginia

Woman Suffrage in Virginia

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Woman_Suffrage_in_Virginia

Equal Suffrage League of Virginia

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Equal_Suffrage_League_of_Virginia_1909-1920

Ida Mae Thompson (1866–1947)

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Thompson_Ida_Mae_1866-1947

Adele Clark (1882–1938)

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Clark_Ad%C3%A8le_1882-1983

Mary Johnston (1870–1936)

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Johnston_Mary_1870-1936

Sarah Lee Fain (1888–1962)

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Fain_Sarah_Lee_1888-1962

The Suffrage Cook Book. Mrs. L. O. Kleber, comp. Pittsburg: The Equal Franchise Federation of Western Pennsylvania
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/26323/26323-h/26323-h.htm>

Google Arts & Culture – Women's Suffrage Memorabilia

<https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/wRm3wFhH>

National Women's History Museum – Parading for Progress

<https://www.womenshistory.org/exhibits/parading-progress>

Workhouse Prison Museum at Lorton

<https://workhousemuseums.org/>

Suffragettes Forever! The Story of Women and Power

<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt4484616/>

Masterpiece Theatre: Shoulder to Shoulder (1974)

<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0071047/>

The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia

Woman Suffrage

<https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/woman-suffrage/>

Discovering American Women's History Online

<http://digital.mtsu.edu/cdm/search/collection/women/searchterm/suffrage/order/nosort>

Working Out Her Destiny: Women's History in Virginia

<http://www.lva.virginia.gov/exhibits/destiny/index.htm>

PBS Documentary: One Woman, One Vote

<https://shop.pbs.org/american-experience-one-woman-one-vote-dvd/product/AMRX6706>

PBS Documentary: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony

<https://www.pbs.org/kenburns/not-for-ourselves-alone>

Iron Jawed Angels

<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0338139/>

KSPS Documentaries (PBS affiliate): Courage in Corsets

<https://www.pbs.org/video/ksp-s-documentaries-courage-in-corsets-1/>

