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**Women and
Philanthropy
in the
United States,
1790-1990**

Introduction

Part I.

Scholars have devoted an increasing amount of interest to women's activities over the past three decades, not only writing them into the historical record, but charting the ways in which they individually and collectively changed American society, American government, and the country's economy.

Initially, the emphasis was on overcoming their invisibility by writing women into the record. By the 1970s, this gave way to an effort to trace the roots of feminism. Borne of the women's movement, much of this literature focused on the lives of the middle-class women who left written records. "Sisterhood" was the prevailing theme of many of these studies: the ways in which women, particularly in the antebellum era, forged bridges of mutuality and respect cemented by shared grievances that crossed class lines. Lack of economic and educational opportunities, disenchantment with the double standard, and a quest to enlarge women's economic, political and social sphere were the common issues and goals that seemed to bind all women — upper-class, middle-class, workers and the poor — together in common cause.

By the 1980s, a Marxist emphasis on class began to eclipse earlier interpretations based on cross-class alliances and notions of "sisterhood," as historians sought to rewrite women's history from "the bottom up." This reflected popular concerns. The failure to secure passage of the Equal Rights Amendment revealed the divisions that ultimately deprived the women's movement of the cohesion it would have needed to change the Constitution yet another time. Women of color, working-class women, middle-class housewives outside the paid workforce, fundamentalists who objected to the blurring of men's and women's roles all were to some degree alienated from the feminist campaigns spearheaded primarily by middle-class white female professionals, spurring historians to reexamine the record of women's activities through the lens of nascent class relations. Fissures, rather than solidarity, now became the reigning leitmotiv of women's studies, reflecting larger trends within social history as a whole.

The 1990s marked the emergence of yet another set of questions and paradigms for assessing women's roles. The previous decade witnessed a "deep change" in governments throughout the world as communist regimes and military dictatorships crumbled with startling speed. Added to this was a concerted push toward "privatization" and government retrenchment exemplified by the public agendas of world leaders like Ronald Reagan and Britain's Margaret Thatcher. In the process, there was a growing conviction that governments cannot and should not "do it all."

As faith in the centralized nation-state and modern welfarism began to be called into question, a new celebration of "civil society" and "participatory democracy" began to emerge. The gray area between the family and the state, "civil society" can be defined in many ways. The common denominator in almost every definition however, is the presence of voluntary associations, those "mediating structures" that negotiate the terrain between individuals and their governments.

As a result, scholars have begun to mine the records of women's voluntary associations in order to decipher their role in "nation building": their political and economic functions, and the ways in which they shaped the rise of national welfare states. Where and how do voteless women exercise political and economic prerogatives denied them by custom and law? How do these practices play out in weak states vs. strong, as for example, in Gilded Age America and the more centralized more bureaucratized milieu of Bismarkian Germany?

The practice of philanthropy — the giving of time, money, and/or valuables for public benefit — has relevance for each of these paradigms. Much of the material that follows will focus on the activities of white, middle-class women in northern states, because this is the group about which the most has been written. But some of it will also deal with the activities of African Americans, working-class women and immigrants, and questions for future research will provide suggestions about unexamined areas, such as southern women's voluntary associations before the Civil War.

This definition of "philanthropy" may at first seem somewhat startling, given the close association of the term with the large-scale giving of men like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, which it acquired at the threshold of the twentieth century. However, from the seventeenth century until the last third of the nineteenth century, "philanthropy" encompassed both giving and voluntarism, with an emphasis on social reform.

With the renewed interest in civil society, researchers throughout the world are beginning to revive this older use of the term as a means of describing

the cluster of activities that enable non-elected citizens to participate in public policy making, institutional development, and social advocacy. Under this definition, "philanthropy" sheds its uniquely American, uniquely Gilded Age connotations, and becomes a useful yardstick for comparing the efficacy of private citizens — including women — in shaping their governments and the growth of civil society around the globe.

A second definitional issue concerns the types of institutions included within the realm of voluntary associations. The best available set of definitions includes those organizations which are: 1) formally constituted (i.e., a group that meets regularly, and may have a charter or by-laws, rather than the spontaneous activities of an individual bringing soup to a sick neighbor); 2) private (not run directly by the government); 3) non-profit-distributing (unlike business); 4) self-governing; 5) voluntary, in that they use volunteers to some extent to carry out their programs or manage their boards; and 6) primarily of public benefit.

This set of definitions encompasses a wide array of organizations, from churches and charities to social reform campaigns like the feminist movement. It should be noted, however, that there are a number of lively discussions about whether to include the organizations that fall at the margins of these definitions, such as mutual benefit associations.

The guideline for inclusion in this course is the extent to which an organization helps others beyond its membership. If a benevolent society helps non-members who need charity as well as providing benefits for its own members, then it merits inclusion by this definition. Part of the interest in dealing with this material focuses precisely on these definitional issues: should women's trade unions be included when they begin to lobby state governments for legal guarantees of a ten-hour or eight-hour day? The parameters are still being set, and you and your students can and should participate in deciding just exactly where the boundaries of this emerging definition of "philanthropy" should lie.

Although scholars have paid far less attention to women donors than volunteers, this course encompasses those who gave money as well as time. As anyone who has ever run a nonprofit organization knows, money is an essential part of the philanthropic equation, and those who gave ultimately facilitated the activities of those who protested and volunteered.

The underlying assumption of this course is that philanthropy played a central role in enabling women of different religions, races, regions and ethnic and economic backgrounds to shape American politics, professions, institutions and society as a whole. As such, it is a fundamental earmark

of American democracy.

The amount of power varied from group to group, as did the way in which it was used, sometimes bringing different groups into direct conflict. We are just beginning to understand the scope and nature of these variations, and many promising topics await future research. American women have played a vital role in shaping American civil society since the country's beginning, even though they won the right to vote less than eighty years ago. This curriculum is designed to begin to highlight the import of these activities within the larger context of American history.

Background Readings:

- William H. Chafe, "Women's History and Political History," in Visible Women, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 101-118.
- Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy," Feminist Studies (Fall 1979): 512-29.
- Nancy A. Hewitt, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s," Social History 10 (October 1985): 299-321; reprinted in Unequal Sisters, ed. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Journal of American History 75 (June 1988): 9-39.
- Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Gender and the Origins of the Welfare State," Radical History Review 43 (1989): 112-19.
- Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1880-1920," American Historical Review 95, 4 (October 1990): 1076-1108.
- Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power, ed. Kathleen McCarthy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990): 1-34.
- Adam B. Seligman, The Idea of Civil Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), Chapter 1.

WEEK 1 The Revolutionary Generation

The Revolution was one of the most important formative events in American history; yet it did little to expand women's political roles. Although Abigail Adams encouraged her husband, John, to "remember the ladies" in drafting the Constitution, her entreaties fell on deaf ears. American women did not win the right to vote until 1920, after an arduous seventy-five year campaign of advocacy and struggle by the suffragist movement.

Because they lacked the franchise, for many years women's activities remained relatively invisible. Some historians, in fact, argued that the colonial era had been a "golden age" when women enjoyed a number of political and economic rights that they subsequently lost in the aftermath of the Revolution.

This began to change in the 1970s, as scholars began to comb the historical record for evidence of early feminist sentiment and activity. They also subjected women's roles both before and after the Revolution to closer scrutiny.

Three interpretations emerged from this renewed interest. The first hinged on the notion of "sisterhood." According to this interpretation, charitable work bound women of different classes together by illuminating their common grievances and shared concerns. In effect, the charitable activities that middle- and upper-middle-class women began to develop in American cities in the 1790s were the first in a long line of women's organizations that spanned the gamut from charities to moral reform, abolitionism and suffrage, activities that constituted the antecedents of modern feminism.

The second interpretation sought to cast the ethos of "republicanism" in feminine terms. One topic of continuing scholarly interest is the role of ideas in shaping the American revolution. Beginning in the 1960s, historians began to place a growing emphasis on "republicanism": which hinged in part on the notion that republics needed virtuous, independent citizens if

they were to survive. Most of these interpretations centered on the men who fought the Revolution and drafted the Constitution. But historians such as Linda Kerber and Mary Beth Norton gave it a uniquely feminine twist, by arguing that the female equivalent was Republican motherhood: the notion that women's primary patriotic duty was to raise their children to be upstanding citizens.

More recently, historians such as Lori Ginzberg have begun to examine the political and economic roles of women's organizations over the period of time stretching from the Revolution to the Civil War. This work has emphasized the ways in which organizational work expanded middle-class women's roles to include a range of activities that historians had previously overlooked.

As Ginzberg points out, in developing charitable organizations, these women successfully lobbied for public funds and legislative favors. They created jobs for other women. And they gained expanded legal prerogatives for themselves, transcending the dictates of the common law doctrine of *femme couverte* that prohibited married women from controlling their inheritances, possessions or earnings. Once an organization became legally incorporated, its officers were collectively empowered to sue and be sued, buy and sell property, and sign legally binding contracts — things that married women generally could not do as individuals. The following readings deal with some of the earliest women's associations.

Readings:

Dorothy G. Becker, "Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune: Trailblazers of Organized Women's Benevolence," *Social Service Review* 61, 2 (1987): 319-36.

Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), Introduction and Chapters 1 and 7.

Anne Boylan, "Timid Girls, Venerable Widows and Dignified Matrons: Life Cycle Patterns Among Organized Women in New York and Boston, 1797-1840," *American Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1986): 779-97.

Anne Boylan, "Women in Groups," *Journal of American History* 89 (1984): 497-515.

Priscilla Ferguson Clement, "Nineteenth Century Welfare Policy, Programs, and Poor Women: Philadelphia as a Case Study," *Feminist Studies* 18, 1 (Spring 1992): 35-58.

Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), Introduction, Conclusion and Chapter 4.

Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), Introduction and Chapters 1-2.

Margaret Morris Haviland, "Beyond Women's Sphere: Young Quaker Women and the Veil of Charity in Philadelphia, 1790-1810," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, 51, 3 (July 1994): 419-446.

Linda Kerber, Women of the Republic (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1980).

Background Readings:

John K. Alexander, Render them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

Joyce Appleby, "Republicanism in Old and New Contexts," William and Mary Quarterly 43 (1986): 20-34.

Priscilla Ferguson Clement, Welfare and the Poor in the Nineteenth Century City: Philadelphia, 1800-1854 (Rutherford, New Jersey: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985).

Robert E. Cray, Jr., Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700-1830 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

Linda Kerber, "The Republican Ideology of the Revolutionary Generation," American Quarterly 37 (Fall 1985): 474-95.

Raymond A. Mohl, Poverty in New York: 1783-1825 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969).

Conrad Edick Wright, The Transformation of Charity in Postrevolutionary New England (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Women and the Revolution
- 2) Urban Poverty
- 3) Middle Class Women's Charities

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Based on these readings, what was more important in shaping American women's first organizations: feminism, republicanism, or a desire to play a public role in dealing with urban problems?
- 2) How well did they succeed in meeting their objectives?
- 3) How did they support their activities?
- 4) How important was the desire for social control in encouraging them to get involved?
- 5) What was more important in shaping their programs: gender (i.e., a sense of shared bonds with other women across class boundaries), or class (i.e., a desire to protect their own position in society and that of their husbands by controlling poverty and social unrest)?

Graduate Research Questions:

- 1) Although we know a great deal about the women's organizations that were developed after 1830, far less is known about the early national period. What other social and economic roles might these organizations have played? Were only middle- and upper-class white women involved in forming organizations during this period, and if not, how did their activities differ from those of working-class, immigrant or African-American women?
- 2) Was class hegemony paramount in the development of these early organizations, or is there some scope for developing alternative interpretations?

WEEK 2 Moral Reform

Historians traditionally described the 1820s and 1830s as the heyday of Jacksonian democracy, a period when growing numbers of white male voters were incorporated into the political arena through the extension of the franchise. It is also depicted as an era of reform, as waves of religious and social enthusiasm broke over the American populace amid the turmoil of the Second Great Awakening.

As in the case of the Revolutionary and early national periods, if democracy is interpreted solely in terms of voting patterns, women remained invisible. But if the focus is shifted to reform, they played an increasingly important role.

Several factors contributed to these developments. Religion had a particularly important influence. Beginning in Virginia in the 1780s and continuing until the 1830s, state after state disestablished their religious establishments, dropping requirements that particular denominations be supported by public funds. The principle of “voluntaryism” that this embodied meant that membership was voluntary and all denominations would have to compete for parishioners and funds. Disestablishment was one of the factors that helped to spark the Second Great Awakening: a crescendo of religious revivals that began in the 1790s and crested in the 1820s and 1830s.

Women occupied an important place in these activities. As churches were shorn of their political roles, their congregations became increasingly feminized. This in turn meant that ministers were increasingly dependent on women’s membership and their fundraising skills. The upshot was that Protestantism afforded an especially hospitable environment for the development of women’s philanthropic activities, both in terms of charity and social reform.

Evangelical Protestantism, in particular, encouraged those who had experienced conversion not only to save themselves and serve the poor, but to perfect society as a whole through social reform. It also promoted literacy,

since the ability to read the Bible oneself was regarded as the basis of religious belief. And the ability to read opened the door to new ideas, and to alliances with like-minded people in other communities, trends which helped to spur the growth of increasing numbers of Bible, tract, temperance and educational societies.

Class considerations played a role as well. The 1820s and 1830s were marked by the growth of the market economy and nascent industrialization. As local economies became more sophisticated, business changed as well. Goods that once would have been made in the household were increasingly produced off-site. With the separation of workplace and home, middle-class women's prescribed roles changed as well, affording increased leisure for charity and social reform.

Perhaps the most studied women's reform group of this period is the American Female Moral Reform Society. As this week's readings make clear, its activities lend themselves to a variety of interpretations.

Readings:

Barbara Berg, The Remembered Gate (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), Chapters 8-10 and Summary.

Nancy Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Mary Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks," in Sex and Class in Women's History, ed. Judith L. Newton, et al. (London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1983): 167-186.

Mary Ryan, "A Woman's Awakening," in Women in American Religion, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977): 89-110.

Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, The Beast, and the Militant Woman," in Disorderly Conduct (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985): 109-28.

Background Readings:

Whitney Cross, The Burned Over District (New York: Harper and Row, 1950).

Paul Johnson, A Shopkeeper's Millennium (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), Chapters 5-6.

Charles Sellers, The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Ronald G. Walters, American Reformers, 1815-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Revivalism and Reform
- 2) Sisterhood and Feminism
- 3) Class

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Viewed from the perspective of the American Female Moral Reform Society, what was more important in shaping women's decisions to participate: gender considerations or those of class?
- 2) What impact did the Society have on the women that it was designed to help?
- 3) How do the activities of this organization compare to those of the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Children, or the Female Society for the Relief and Employment of the Poor?
- 4) To what extent can this movement be seen as a reaction to middle-class women's discontentment with their changing economic roles or their continuing exclusion from the political arena?
- 5) Is it accurate to characterize the 1820s and 1830s as an age of egalitarianism and democracy?
- 6) What role do religious groups play in fostering social reform movements today?

Graduate Research Questions:

1) How widespread was women's participation in these activities? Were they confined primarily to the Northeastern states? To upstate New York? Did Southern women, African Americans or working-class women join these movements, or create parallel organizations of their own?

WEEK 3 Abolitionism

The Third major type of organizational activity that women engaged in prior to the Civil War promoted “ultraist” reforms designed to effect fundamental changes in American society and American government. One of the most radical of these campaigns was the abolitionist movement.

Despite the hopes of the Revolutionary generation that slavery would gradually die out of its own accord over time, by the 1830s it remained deeply entrenched in the American economy. Initially, slave holding was confined primarily to the upper south and coastal areas, where slaves were used to grow tobacco, indigo and rice. In 1793, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, which made it easier to produce cotton for commercial use. Cotton’s profitability fueled the expansion of slavery throughout the deep south and into the territories acquired under the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

Its continued expansion became an increasingly volatile, increasingly divisive issue. Although a political crisis was temporarily averted through the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the issue of slavery continued to haunt American politics, and American society.

Women were excluded from direct participation in these political discussions by virtue of their lack of the vote. But the rise of the abolitionist movement in the 1830s provided a national platform through which those most opposed to slavery finally found a political voice. Under the auspices of the American Antislavery Society, northern women collected thousands of signatures on petitions calling for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the only geographical area over which Congress had exclusive jurisdiction.

Both black and white women gathered petitions, raised funds, and toured the lecture circuit to argue the case against slavery. Based on this week’s readings, how did their ideas and attitudes differ from other women’s groups, and among themselves?

Readings:

Joan Hedrick, Harriet Beecher Stowe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Nell Painter, Sojourner Truth (New York: Norton, 1996).

Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Background Readings:

James Stewart Brewer, Holy Warriors: Abolitionists and American Slavery (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976).

James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Peter Kolchin, American Slavery, 1619-1877 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

Leon Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Ronald Walters, The American Reformer (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Slavery and Politics
- 2) White Male and Female Abolitionists
- 3) Free Black Communities and Black Abolitionists

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Why did they get involved?
- 2) How did the political activities of the antislavery societies differ from those of charities and moral reform groups?
- 3) What can the activities of women like Sojourner Truth and Angelina Grimké reveal about the scope and nature of American democracy in this period?
- 4) How does the abolitionist movement compare to contemporary campaigns for social reform? Are there any comparable movements today?
- 5) Should women such as Sojourner Truth or Harriet Beecher Stowe be classified as philanthropists?
- 6) Where are the boundaries between philanthropy and self-interest — or are the two compatible?
- 7) Why were some techniques more acceptable than others? Would publications such as Stowe's have had as great an impact in the eighteenth century, when national literacy rates were lower?
- 8) Do individual reformers still manage to change social conditions on their own today? If so, how? How has this changed since Stowe's time?
- 9) What sorts of generalizations can be drawn about the scope and limitations of women's influence in the decades before the Civil War? If individualistic reformers like Truth or Stowe are factored in, does this change the picture of women's philanthropy as it is currently depicted in scholarly writings?
- 10) How did antebellum women make their greatest impact on public policy?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) What role did African American women's organizations play in funding the abolitionist movement, and how did this compare to the other activities of African Americans at the time? How much money did they raise, and how much would this have been in constant (1990s) dollars? How did their groups compare to the range of voluntary organizations that white women oversaw in this period?



WEEK 4

Women's Rights

The women's rights movement was a direct outgrowth of some of the inherent inequities of the abolitionist movement. Although both black and white women were active, vocal and highly visible abolitionists, they were often cast in a secondary role, expected to raise funds but to abstain from policy making positions.

These disparities were clearly emphasized at the international antislavery convention held in London in 1840, where the female delegates were forced to sit in the balcony while the men monopolized the discussions from the floor. Two of the women consigned to that balcony — Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott — launched the women's movement at the Seneca Falls convention eight years later.

Convened to redress a variety of political and legal disabilities, the Seneca Falls conference issued a Declaration of Sentiments, which paraphrased the Declaration of Independence to read: "We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men and women are created equal..."

Stanton, who was the daughter of a prominent lawyer and politician, was keenly aware of the legal restrictions that limited women's social, political and economic roles, including the doctrine of *femme couverte*. Although she successfully led the drive for the passage of Married Women's Property Acts, she did not live to see women win the vote, a right that was finally secured in 1920. Nevertheless, she was willing to risk ridicule and public ostracism to promote the idea that women could and should have access to the ballot.

Readings:

Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," American Historical Review 89 (1984): 620-47.

Anne M. Boylan, "Women and Politics in the Era Before Seneca Falls," Journal of the Early Republic 10 (Fall 1990): 363-82.

Ellen Dubois, Feminism and Suffrage (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), Chapters 3-4.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eighty Years and More (Boston: Northeastern Press, 1993; Orig. Publ., 1898).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Abolitionism and Antebellum Politics
- 2) Seneca Falls
- 3) The Growth of the Women's Movement

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Why was Stanton's agenda so controversial?
- 2) Why did it take so long to achieve her goals?
- 3) If middle-class women such as Stanton were already exercising political and economic rights through their charitable work, as Ginzberg argues, why did they want the vote?
- 4) Aside from voting, how do people who are politically underrepresented change the laws?

Graduate Research Questions:

- 1) How did Stanton and Anthony raise their funds? Who supported them? How did their financial backers differ from those of other women's groups?

WEEK 5 Region and Class

Charity, moral reform and “ultraist” campaigns all served to enlarge women’s public sphere. But which women? Historian Elizabeth Fox-Genovese argues that these activities were confined primarily to the Northeastern states, and warns of the dangers of generalizing about women as a whole on the basis of activities of white middle-class women in a single region.

Is she correct? Did Southern women fail to develop philanthropic activities? Did they create initiatives that were dramatically different from those of their northern counterparts, or of the women who populated the newer settlements along the expanding Western frontier?

The fissures that separated women’s activities have been an area of major interest to historians over the past two decades. Class as well as regional distinctions, have been used to disaggregate women’s activities during the antebellum years.

One of the ways in which both middle-class and working-class women sought to effect reform was by widening opportunities for female employment and combating the more exploitative aspects of the emerging industrial system. Although the “takeoff point” of American industrialization came after the Civil War, by 1860 pockets of industrial development dotted the northern states. The earliest development was in New England, where the country’s first textile mills were created, in large measure, with female labor. Since men were needed for farming in what was still an overwhelmingly agricultural nation, the founders of early industrial towns such as Lowell, Massachusetts built their workforce by hiring young, unmarried women from nearby farms. Other early experiments incorporated the “family system” where men, women and children worked together in factories, each group handling those parts of the production process that best matched their size, skills, strength and dexterity.

Urban women also entered the paid workforce outside the factory. With the separation of workplace and home, working-class women were often shunted into poorly-paid piecework that they could do while tending their children at home. Middle-class women were expected to support themselves by marrying. Those who failed to do so, either by inclination or because of a shortage of suitable mates, faced a bleak range of alternatives beyond the much-stereotyped role of the maiden aunt. Although a few successfully supported themselves as entrepreneurs, particularly in the clothing industries, most faced a choice between low paying jobs as teachers (a profession opened through the persistent reform activities of women like Catharine Beecher) or employees in charitable institutions.

For women such as these, the development of industrialization, mass markets and increasing consumerism afforded both promise and the perils of underemployment and exploitation. Several initiatives were launched by middle- and working-class female labor reformers in the years before the Civil War, often with very different objectives and results.

Some conservative middle-class labor advocates, such as Sarah Josepha Hale, the editor of the popular journal, *Godey's Lady's Book*, gave these ideas concrete form through their charitable activities. As head of the Boston Seaman's Aid Society, Hale oversaw an organization that not only hired women to make clothes, which the organization then sold, but paid them a wage substantially higher than the local businesses that commissioned sewn goods from women, an effort designed to raise wages across the board.

Hale's colleague and friend, Sarah Worthington King Peter, opened the Philadelphia School of Design for Women with her own funds in 1849. The first of a long line of such schools created by female philanthropists, it aimed to capitalize on the growing market for commercially-produced home furnishings by training female workers to create high-quality designs for carpets, wallpapers and other household decorations.

She also helped to found the Philadelphia Tailoress Company, to bolster the managerial skills of women working in the clothing industries as a means of enabling them to effectively market their own work. By cutting out the middleman, the founders hoped to raise wages and increase women's independence by encouraging them to create their own stores.

Many of these middle-class ventures blended charity with profit making agendas and entrepreneurial skills. Occasionally this effort brought them into direct conflict with those they sought to help. For example, the early years of the Tailoress Company were marred by a struggle between the managers and their "beneficiaries" over control of the society's funds. But

all were designed specifically as economic ventures, belying the notion that middle-class women were forced out of the economic realm with the separation of workplace and home.

While middle-class patrons like Sarah Peter turned to what we would now term “nonprofit entrepreneurship” to set up quasi-commercial nonprofit businesses of their own, working-class women began to organize some of the country’s first labor organizations to protest conditions in factories and shops. Some of the earliest protests, at Lowell, focused primarily on their members’ needs, challenging wage cuts and rent hikes at the Lowell mills. Others, however, began to lobby state legislatures for factory inspection and shorter hours, trends exemplified by Sarah Bagley’s Female Labor Reform Association, founded in 1843.

Which variables are most important? How might these generalizations change if more material were found on the organizations created by working-class women and those in the South?

Readings:

Marie Jo Buhle, “Needlewomen and the Vicissitudes of Modern Life: A Study of Middle-Class Construction in the Antebellum Northeast,” in Visible Women, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Leacock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 145-65.

Mary Ann Clawson, “Nineteenth-Century Women’s Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders,” Signs 12, 1 (1986): 40-61.

Thomas Dublin, Women at Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), Chapters 1-7.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), Chapter 1.

Suzanne Leacock, Free Women of Petersburg (New York: Norton, 1984).

Kathleen D. McCarthy, Women’s Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Chapters 1-3.

Jane and William Pease, Ladies, Women and Wenches (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), Chapter 6.

Christine Stansell, City of Women (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), Chapters 2 and 4.

Background Readings:

Barbara Bellows, Benevolence Among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993).

Jeanne Boydston, Home and Work (New York: Oxford University Press), Introduction, Chapters 1 and 6.

Wendy Gamber, The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

Alice Kessler-Harris, Out to Work (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

James Oakes, The Ruling Race (New York: Vintage, 1982).

Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in Domesticity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Women and the Antebellum South
- 2) African-American women
- 3) Class and Labor Reform

Questions for Discussion:

- 1) How did working-class women's benevolent societies differ from middle-class women's voluntary associations? Can these groups be considered as falling within the framework of "philanthropy"?
- 2) Can we classify Bagley's efforts and those of Peter and Hale in the same category?
- 3) How can comparisons between these two types of initiatives help to illuminate women's economic roles before the Civil War?

4) Did middle-class women's employment projects have an impact? If so, how, and for whom?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) Very little research has been done to date on working-class, African-American and Southern women's organizations. Are there fundamental differences between the efforts of these women and those of their white, middle-class counterparts in northeastern states?
- 2) What criteria can we use for delineating these differences, and measuring the social, political and economic functions of each constituency?
- 3) Ironically, some of the wealthiest African-American women of this period were the freed women who remained in the South. Many remained single, which strengthened their control of their own property. Did they also play an active role in developing charitable institutions?
- 4) Did Southern women give money to, or actively raise funds for charitable and educational work? If so, what types of activities did they support?
- 5) How important were women's charities as employers in different periods?
- 6) What impact did women's charities make on their local economies, not just as employers, but in terms of influencing wage scales, enhancing women's employment opportunities, and commissioning commercial goods and services?
- 7) What impact did women's efforts at labor reform have on shaping legislation in the fields of factory work and education?
- 8) We still do not have a good, scholarly biography of Sarah Josepha Hale, one that would address her overall impact on the American economy and middle-class taste, as well as her philanthropic activities.



WEEK 6 Ethnicity, Religion and Race

Im migration rates dipped during the War of 1812, but rose steadily in the ensuing decades, culminating in the massive migration of German and Irish refugees in the final three decades before the Civil War.

Some came in search of enhanced opportunities, some to flee religious or political persecution. The Irish exodus was propelled by the potato blight, which poisoned the primary source of food on which much of the Irish population had been forced to subsist under English colonialism.

These migrations included substantial numbers of Roman Catholics, who ultimately created a variety of charitable institutions on their own, following the pattern of earlier ethnic and religious groups. Jewish women also began to establish their own charities during the antebellum years.

Protestantism remained a major force for drawing women — both black and white — into charitable endeavors, mutual aid associations and social reform. Although few comparative analyses have been written about differing roles of Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism in drawing women from different class, racial and ethnic groups into philanthropic endeavors, the following works provide important insights into women's religious benevolence over the course of the nineteenth century.

Readings:

Hasia R. Diner, Erin's Daughters in America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), Chapters 5-6.

Hasia R. Diner, A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880. Volume 2 of Jewish People in America (Baltimore University Press, 1992), Chapter 4.

Mary E. Fredrickson, "'Each One is Dependent on the Other,': Southern Church Women, Racial Reform, and the Process of Transformation, 1880-1940," in Visible Women, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 296-324.

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Patricia Hill, The World Their Household: The American Women's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985).

Mary Oates, The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

Elizabeth Hayes Turner, Women, Culture and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), Chapters 2 and 3.

Judy Yung, Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), Chapters 1 and 2.

Background Readings:

Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860 (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1938).

John Bodnar, The Transplanted (Bloomington; Indiana University Press, 1985).

Kathleen Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

Elizabeth Ewen, Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985).

Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941).

Maldwyn Allen Jones, American Immigration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Immigration
- 2) Immigrant Women and Philanthropy
- 3) Religion, Charities and Nativism

Discussion Questions:

- 1) How did women's roles in Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations differ?
- 2) Were Catholic women cast more in the role of funders than social reformers or volunteers? If so, what did this mean for their political roles?
- 3) If Catholic and Jewish women's organizations are included, how does this change the standard portrait of women's giving and voluntarism in this period?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) Very little is known about immigrant women's philanthropic activities. Many, like the Irish women who often worked as servants after coming to the United States on their own, both made and controlled their own money. We do know that, despite low wages, Irish women collectively sent enormous amounts of cash back to their families in Ireland. Did they use some of their savings to support charitable activities as well?
- 2) To what extent did the organizational activities of immigrant women reflect Old World traditions; what sorts of adaptations did they make in the United States, and when and why did these adaptations develop?
- 3) Was there a difference between black and white Protestant women's church groups in the upper and lower South?
- 4) What role did Catholic nuns play in Southern charitable activities, and how did this compare to the efforts of Protestant women?



WEEK 7 The Civil War Sanitary Commission

By 1861, the growing rift over slavery and accelerating sectional conflicts erupted into Civil War. Particularly for the women in the North, wartime needs paved the way to expanded roles. Under the auspices of the Sanitary Commission, Northern female volunteers forged networks that spanned the Union to raise funds, channel donations, and conscript nurses for battlefield service. Fundraising activities were systematized through regional networks that gathered, made and donated goods for the great Sanitary Fairs that were held in major cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia and New York. These fairs raised millions of dollars for the war effort, activities that epitomized middle-class women's ingenuity and organizational skills.

In addition to the usual home-made staples of church and antislavery fairs, Sanitary Commission volunteers helped to coordinate impromptu art galleries, and developed commercial restaurant services at their fairs, taking their skills as "nonprofit entrepreneurs" to a new level.

In the process, they not only raised a substantial amount of money, but also stimulated American interest in a variety of new philanthropic ventures, including museums.

They also staked a claim to new professional arenas through their work in battlefield hospitals. Prior to the Civil War, hospital nursing had been the province of Catholic nuns, male medical students, and in extreme cases, superannuated prostitutes. With the War, white middle-class women flooded into the hospital wards, winning praise for their persistence and valor. After the War, they would work to expand women's professional nursing opportunities, citing their own contributions and those of the celebrated English nurse, Florence Nightingale.

Nightingale helped to revamp Britain's military hospitals during the Crimean War by introducing a new emphasis on professionalism and sanitation. For much of the nineteenth century, hospitals were little more than pestholes; places of last resort where travelers and paupers went to

die, rather than places of cure. Asepsis and antisepsis — the process of sterilizing implements and wounds — were virtually unknown, as was anesthesia, conditions that made military hospitals nightmarish institutions where amputations were done without anesthesia and thousands of soldiers perished from unsanitary conditions and epidemics. Sanitary Commission representatives sought to redress these conditions, efforts that often brought them into conflict with the male medical officers who ran the camps. They also introduced a new emphasis on sound nutrition, urging families to donate vegetables to help stem the spread of scurvy.

Finally, the Commission managed the collection and distribution of donated goods, systematizing and bureaucratizing women's traditional charitable activities on a new scale, and in new ways. Although President Lincoln was initially skeptical about the notion of introducing female volunteers into the war effort, he ultimately decorated several Sanitary Commission leaders, including Chicagoans Jane Hoge and Mary Livermore, who originated the idea for the Sanitary Fairs.

Public/private partnerships between women's organizations and the government began with their first charities in the 1790s. Then, the rationale for giving female-controlled charities public funds was the recognition that they lessened the burdens on the public till, by aiding women and children who might otherwise be consigned to public almshouses. The Sanitary Commission reiterated these collaborative practices on a national scale. It also exemplified the government's practice of using voluntary associations to implement programs that exceeded its own capacities.

Southern women played a far less central, less visible role. Although several orders of Catholic nuns were brought in to provide nursing services for Confederate troops, southern policymakers were far more reluctant to give women a direct role in the provision of wartime services.

Readings:

George Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), Chapter 5.

Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), Chapter 3.

Background Readings:

Robert Bremner, The Public Good: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Civil War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980).

Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Drew Gilpin Faust, Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Mary Elizabeth Massey, Women in the Civil War (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994; orig. publ. 1966).

Phillip Shaw Palaudin, A People's Contest: The Union and the Civil War, 1861-1865 (New York: Harper and Row, 1988).

David M. Potter, The Impending Crisis: 1848-1861 (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

Kenneth M. Stamp, America in 1857 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) The Coming of the War
- 2) The Civil War
- 3) Women's Roles

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Why did these activities differ so dramatically in the North and South?
- 2) Why were nuns used instead of Protestant laywomen by the Confederate troops?
- 3) Have other wars, like the Gulf War, changed women's roles or the perception of those roles?

4) How did the nonprofit business activities that women developed through the Sanitary Commission differ from the for-profit activities of men?

Graduate Research Topics:

1) Much more needs to be known about the wartime efforts of Southern women and their organizations, including the role of Catholic nuns.

2) Although older, popular histories such as Mary Elizabeth Massey's book do exist, we still lack a full-scale analysis of the Sanitary Commission, including who participated (was it only middle-class and upper-class white women, or were African Americans involved as well?); its business ventures; its impact on postwar American society; and the subsequent philanthropic activities of its alumnae.

WEEK 8 **Gilded Age Organizations**

After the war, women's organizations multiplied in number and diversity, adding a growing array of secular groups. To a far greater extent than previously, these organizations were developed on a national scale, trends aided by the transportation and communications revolutions that marked these years.

The national railroad system expanded dramatically after the Civil War, a development symbolized by the completion of the first transcontinental line in 1869. Telephones as well as telegraphs speeded Gilded Age communications, backed by an exponentially growing national press. The nature of publications changed as well, as newspapers expanded and added photographs to their formats. By the 1890s, the first movies were being shown in vaudeville houses and nickelodeons, heralding the arrival of yet another medium that would ultimately be enlisted in the cause of social reform, as well as entertainment.

Each of these developments helped to foster the growth of national women's movements for charity and reform, communicating their ideas to constituencies and potential members on a new scale.

While many of the most active antebellum groups traced their origin to religious beginnings, many Gilded Age organizations were more secular in tone. Three movements were particularly influential in this era: the women's club movement, Charity Organization Societies, and the Women's Christian Temperance Movement.

The women's clubs, which are described in Karen Blair's book, initially began with a heavy emphasis on self-education. This was the era when women's colleges first appeared in significant numbers. While those who matured in the decades immediately after the War marked the first generation of American women to earn college degrees, their mothers and aunts — and other "self-made" female professionals such as journalists, artists and lawyers — studied together in women's clubs. Within a short period

of time, however, their interests splintered into other areas as well, including national reform.

The Charity Organization Society (COS) was imported from England in 1877. Designed to restore direct, ongoing contact between rich and poor in the nation's swelling slums, it promised "not alms, but a friend." The heart of the Society's program was "friendly visiting": initiatives that encouraged middle-class female volunteers to go into impoverished households and establish ongoing relationships with the family while closely observing and recording the details of their situation, in order to prescribe a "cure" for their poverty based on their findings. Women such as Sanitary Commission alumna Josephine Shaw Lowell played a prominent role in administering and popularizing the COS's programs, laying the groundwork for the professionalization of social work.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was initially created as a national crusade to promote sobriety. Under the leadership of Frances Willard, however, it developed into a wellspring for reform, including a widespread demand for female suffrage based on the notion of "home protection." According to this idea, women needed the vote to combat social ills that endangered their families — including alcoholism.

In the process, middle-class women such as these built a national infrastructure for reform, lacing the country with local, state and national organizational networks that could be quickly and efficiently coordinated to promote and implement a variety of reforms.

Readings:

Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980).

Karen Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890-1930*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), Chapter 6.

Ann Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

Elizabeth Hayes Turner, Women, Culture and Community (New York: Oxford University Press), Chapters 1, 4-6.

Joan Waugh, Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Deborah Gray White, "The Cost of Club Work, the Price of Black Feminism," in Visible Women, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Leacock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 247-69.

Background Readings:

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma Mater (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).

Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Secularization and the Rise of Women's Clubs
- 2) Postwar Poverty and the Charity Organization Society Movement
- 3) Religious Reform and the WCTU

Discussion Questions:

- 1) To what extent did these activities reflect class considerations? Which was more important for each: a broadly-based sense of "sisterhood," or efforts to impose social control?
- 2) How did the activities and rationales of these groups differ from women's activities in the antebellum era?
- 3) Why was Willard able to place suffrage on the WCTU's agenda, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were ostracized for suggesting that women needed the vote? What was different in their approaches? How had the social context changed?

4) What sorts of issues do national women's organizations endorse today, and how have their causes, and the conditions under which they operate changed?

5) Do we still have or need organizations like the Charity Organization Society?

Graduate Research Topics:

1) How were Gilded Age social organizations shaped by geography, ethnicity and race? Did African Americans or Irish and German women participate in these activities? If so, how did their roles differ? Which movements were most popular in the South, and which failed to take root?

2) Were Gilded Age organizations more or less class bound than those of the antebellum years?

3) What political roles did they play at the state and local levels?

WEEK 9 Gender and Philanthropy

The Gilded Age was marked by growing disparities of poverty and wealth, as well as growing numbers of national women's organizations. This was the era that witnessed the rise of the first generation of American millionaires. Most of these men were born in the 1830s and 1840s, creating businesses on the eve of the Civil War that expanded dramatically in response to wartime needs. Clothing manufacturing, meat packing, and railroads were some of the industries that prospered and grew rich during the war, fueling the growth of additional investments at war's end.

Two of the largest postwar industries were oil and steel, and the men who systematized these industries — men like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie — amassed unprecedented wealth. Some critics argued that their fortunes represented ill-gotten gains, and that their money was tainted, culled from the exploitation of growing ranks of laborers who were ill-fed, ill-housed and underpaid.

Many of these *nouveaux riches* spent lavish sums on social display, giving rise to “palaces” in New York and Newport, and extravagant social events such as the notorious Bradley Martin ball. Held at great expense at the height of the depression of 1893, this particular event was deemed so inappropriately extravagant that the hosts subsequently left the country amid a storm of public criticism.

While many of these “robber barons” and “society queens” squandered their fortunes on themselves, a few, such as Rockefeller and Carnegie invested a substantial portion in philanthropy. This, too, was controversial, garnering both censure and praise, as critics pondered whether they were using their great wealth to buy the nation's churches, colleges and universities to promote their own ends.

Few women gave money away on this scale during the Gilded Age, for several reasons. First, despite the passage of Married Women's Property

Acts in many states, the great fortunes were still controlled by men who made them, rather than their daughters and wives. Moreover, some men managed to control their estates even after death, by tying them up in trusts. It has also been argued that women tend to be more "personalistic": more inclined to give their money to their children, friends, relatives, and to causes in which they participated, rather than creating entirely new ventures, like Carnegie and Rockefeller did when they sponsored universities, research institutes and foundations.

Based on the following readings, how did elite men's and women's philanthropic activities differ in the Gilded Age, and what did this mean in terms of the ways in which the two groups exercised social, political, economic and philanthropic authority in the years between 1870 and 1900?

Readings:

Andrew Carnegie, The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays, ed. Edward C. Kirkland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz, "The American Philanthropic Foundation and the Public Sphere," Minerva (Summer 1981): 236-70.

Kathleen D. McCarthy, Women's Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Chapters 5-6.

John D. Rockefeller, Random Reminiscences of Men and Events (1910).

Background Readings:

Charles Clotfelter, ed., Who Benefits from the Nonprofit Sector? (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

John Ensor Harr and Peter Johnson, The Rockefeller Century (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988).

Matthew Josephson, The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901 (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1962).

Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy and Public Policy (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).

Teresa Odendahl, Charity Begins at Home: Generosity and Self-Interest Among the Philanthropic Elite (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

Joseph Frazier Wall, Andrew Carnegie (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Industrialization and the Rise of Capitalism
- 2) "Patriarchal Philanthropy"
- 3) Women and Wealth

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Was Gardner right? Given the era's tremendous social needs, would society have been better if she had redistributed her money to the poor?
- 2) When asked for his opinions about the tainted money issue, one potential donee advised, "take it from the Unspeakable Turk; take it from the Devil himself. Above all, take it from a bad man a gambler, a thief.... Let the taint in some of his money be cleansed." Does the end justify the means?
- 3) Are philanthropists today still creating new types of institutions akin to Gilded Age and Progressive Era universities, museums and foundations? If so, what are they?
- 4) Should Bill Gates give his money away? Why?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) We know very little about the women who gave large donations in the Gilded Age. Who were they, and how did their activities relate to their social economic roles?
- 2) What impact, if any, did women's philanthropy have on the rise of "Society" in the Gilded Age?
- 3) What was the differential impact of men's and women's large-scale donative philanthropy in specific fields, such as education, music, health, and reform? What did this mean for middle-class men's and women's professional activities, or expanded opportunities for the poor?

4) What matters most in determining the amounts people give: gender, class, religion, ethnicity, race? Do men and women give for different reasons?

WEEK 10 **Jane Addams and Progressive Reform**

Women played a prominent role in Progressive Era reform movements at the local, state and national levels. Progressivism was marked by a search for reform initiatives that could hold American society together in the face of increasing social problems among the poor, and growing rapacity and repression by the very rich. In effect, it constituted a liberal search for gradualistic mechanisms to guide the country through an era of industrial growing pains marked by the twin threats of anarchy and rampant plutocracy.

Beginning in the 1870s, labor protests became increasingly violent and widespread, marked by clashes such as the national railroad strike of 1877, Chicago's Haymarket Riot of 1886, and the Pullman riot of 1894. Each was borne of work-related grievances, such as workers' protests at George Pullman's industrial town in South Chicago. Pullman seemed to symbolize philanthropy gone awry, providing a planned city with good housing for his workers, but then running the town with a heavily authoritarian hand, a situation that exploded during the depression of the 1890s when Pullman raised rents and cut salaries at the same time.

Cities like Chicago, where Jane Addams founded her social settlement, Hull House, five years before the Pullman strike exploded, were industrial "shock cities." Chicago grew from a frontier outpost of a few hundred souls in the 1830s, to a sprawling metropolis of over a million sixty years later. Much of this growth was due to the influx of Irish, German, Italian and Eastern-European immigrants who flooded into the city in search of industrial jobs. Rapid urbanization generated a host of related ills, from spreading slums to health and sanitation problems. Infant mortality was high, tuberculosis common, crumbling tenements pervasive, and industrial accidents an endemic threat.

When Addams opened Hull House in one of the city's worst slums, she created one of the country's earliest, and most influential social settlements, providing a "home" where some of the most gifted members of the first generation of college women came to live, to do research, and to

sponsor a variety of reforms.

In 1931, she became the second woman to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, in recognition of a lifetime of influential reform.

Readings:

Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House (c. 1910; any edition).

Kathleen D. McCarthy, Noblesse Oblige (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), Chapter 5.

Kathryn Kish Sklar, Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Who Funded Hull-House?" in Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990): 94-118.

Elizabeth Hayes Turner, Women, Culture and Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), Chapters 7-10 and Conclusion.

Background Readings:

Stanley Buder, Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

William H. Chafe, "Women's History and Political History," in Visible Women, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 101-18.

Allen F. Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Kathy Peiss, Cheap Amusements (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

Robert Rydell, All the World's a Fair (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), Chapter 2.

Upton Sinclair, The Jungle.

Carl Smith, Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Urbanization, the Columbian Exposition and the Pullman Strike
- 2) The Social Settlement Movement and Hull House
- 3) Women and the Progressive Movement

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Who funded Hull House? How did this differ from the institutions that men like Carnegie and Rockefeller sponsored?
- 2) Why was Hull House funded this way?
- 3) What impact did this type of funding have for the opportunities of the women who lived and worked there?
- 4) How did Addams and her colleagues manage to make such a substantial impact on reform without the vote?
- 5) How did their efforts compare to those of Dorothea Dix or Catharine Beecher? What had changed?
- 6) Where did they have the least political impact? The greatest?
- 7) How did their efforts relate to — and with — women's clubs and organizations like the WCTU and the COS?
- 8) How did the activities of social settlements such as Hull House compare to the Progressive reform initiatives of Southern women?
- 9) Why did Addams get involved? Is all philanthropy purely altruistic? What did she and the other residents get in return?
- 10) Why would Hull House be included under the category of "philanthropy"?
- 11) Who speaks for the poor today? Do we have a contemporary counterpart to Hull House? Should we? Who sets the policymaking agendas for the poor, and who provides this information?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) How representative is Hull House? How did its activities differ from religiously-based settlements? Were there any African-American or ethnic settlements, or similar ventures in the South, and if so, how did their agendas, populations, influence and funding patterns differ from Addams's work?
- 2) Who funded social settlements? Were there any differences between those headed by women and men? Was there any relationship between funding patterns and the level of political and social influence they were able to exercise?
- 3) How did funding patterns differ between social settlements and universities in the 1920s, and how did this influence the locus of policymaking and reform during the interwar years?

WEEK 11

Philanthropy and Professionalization

Philanthropy played a major role in opening professions to both women and men. Women's colleges, the great universities, scientific research, museums, social work, medical and nursing education all owed their recruitment practices and expansion, in large measure, to the generosity of the donors who supported them.

Foundations were particularly influential in fostering professionalization after the turn of the century. Although most of the major foundations were created by men, a few female donors like Olivia Sage did create major grantmaking institutions in the Progressive era. Sage was a veteran of both the COS movement and women's campaigns for higher education and the vote. The Russell Sage Foundation that she created in 1907 was one of the first big foundations, and one of the only ones to afford women prominent roles on the board and staff. It also made a major impact on the professionalization of social work, a field in which women had historically predominated.

The following readings provide a variety of perspectives on the roles of philanthropy in opening — and narrowing — career opportunities for different groups.

Readings:

Ellen Fitzpatrick, Endless Crusade (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1982).

Stephanie Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and Do (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Background Readings:

Alfred Chandler, The Visible Hand (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

Vanessa Gamble, Making a Place for Ourselves (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).

Martin Sklar, The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Steven C. Wheatley, The Politics of Philanthropy: Abraham Flexner and Medical Education (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Women, Nursing and the Medical Profession
- 2) Women, Science, and Higher Education
- 3) Foundations, Corporate America and Twentieth-Century Professionalization

Discussion Questions:

- 1) What role did philanthropy play in shaping middle-class white women's professional options besides the work of the Sage Foundation?
- 2) How did this differ from its impact on the careers of middle-class white male managerial elites; on those of African Americans?
- 3) What implications did this have for the ways in which different groups participated in public policymaking?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) There are a wide variety of unstudied areas of professional development, particularly for the 1920s. What impact did the advent of the big foundations have on professional areas where middle-class women had previously carved out professional roles?
- 2) What professional areas were expanded for women through foundation funding? Were only white women involved in these activities?
- 3) What role, if any, did fundraising by professional women's organizations and women's clubs have on professional advancement in the 1920s?
- 4) Are there other examples of what Margaret Rossiter terms "creative philanthropy," and if so, what impact did they have?
- 5) How many foundations were created by women over the course of the twentieth century, and what did they do? How did their programs compare to those of the big foundations created by men like Carnegie and Rockefeller?



WEEK 12 From Suffrage to the ERA

One gift that did have a substantial impact was Mrs. Frank Leslie's \$1 million plus bequest to Carrie Chapman Catt, the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The suffrage campaign began to evolve into a mass movement when conservative national organizations such as the WCTU began to lobby on behalf of women's right to vote. By the Progressive era, the movement was attracting support from a wide range of women's social, professional and reform organizations under the banner of "municipal housekeeping": the idea that women needed the vote to protect their communities and homes.

Like the Civil War, women's participation in patriotic efforts during the First World War heightened expectations that they deserved and would receive the franchise at war's end. But even in the 1910s, it was a struggle, marked by protests and arrests, as well as parades, publications and even films, such as the 20-minute feature movie "Votes for Women," that starred Addams and Catt. Mrs. Leslie's gift finally arrived in 1917, after years of litigation, providing the necessary funds to wage a full-scale, national publicity campaign.

Many of these women sought the vote with the moralistic argument that once they had the ballot, they would initiate a new era of municipal government and reform. However, after the amendment was passed in 1920, quite the opposite proved to be the case, as female voters split their ballots along more familiar lines of class, ethnicity, religion and race.

A second major initiative, the quest for an equal rights amendment, was launched in the 1920s. Like the suffrage movement it, too, pursued its goal over more than sixty years. Unlike the suffrage movement, however, the ERA campaign foundered in the 1980s.

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Majorie Spruill Sheeler, New Women of the New South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Background Readings:

Ellis Hawley, The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

William Leuchtenberg, The Perils of Prosperity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

Rosiland Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) The Suffrage Campaign
- 2) World War I
- 3) Women's Political and Philanthropic Roles in the 1920s

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Why did the suffrage movement succeed and the ERA fail? How did the strategies, goals, and rhetoric with which they were presented differ?
- 2) What happened to women's movements in the 1920s? Did they succumb to "reform nausea" in the wake of the war? What causes did women continue to promote?
- 3) What are the major issues in the women's movement today?
- 4) What is the difference between suffragism and feminism?
- 5) What kinds of arguments have been used to legitimize legislation for women?
- 6) How did Stanton's "Declaration of Sentiments," Willard's "home protection" campaign, and Addams' "municipal housekeeping" differ from Alice Paul's rhetoric and rationale for the ERA?
- 7) How did the opponents of female suffrage and the equal rights amendment compare? Who are the most vocal opponents of contemporary feminism, and how do they disseminate their views and influence public policy?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) Who funded the suffrage movement and the equal rights campaigns? How are feminist initiatives funded today?



WEEK 13 **The Rise of the Welfare State**

Although many of the women of Addams's generation were beginning to pass from the scene after 1933 (Addams died in 1935), others remained, and they and their younger protégées assumed a variety of key roles in the Roosevelt administrations.

Mary McLeod Bethune's career exemplified the links that often existed between women's philanthropy and governmental roles. Like many African-American women, she began her philanthropic career in the church, training for missionary work. Later, she opened a Presbyterian mission school in Florida, building a notable reputation as an educator and fundraiser for institutional developments in the African-American community, efforts capped by a \$55,000 grant for her college from the Rockefeller-sponsored General Education Board.

She was also active in the women's club, and served as president of the National Association of Colored Women in the 1920s. In 1935, she founded the National Council of Negro Women to fight discrimination and segregation, particularly in terms of their impact on women's lives. This, in turn, brought her into contact with Eleanor Roosevelt, who helped secure her appointment to the National Advisory Committee of the government's National Youth Administration. By 1939, Bethune had become the director of the Administration's Division of Negro Affairs.

Parleying contacts and visibility gained in the course of philanthropic activities into government posts was one way in which women used their donations of time and money to carve out a larger political role for themselves as the welfare state expanded. Skillful use of their national volunteer groups was another.

A number of historians and sociologists have recently begun to examine the role of middle-class women's organizations in "nation building," particularly the policies and legislation that contributed to the development of modern welfare states. In an important — and controversial — work,

sociologist Theda Skocpol argues that the American welfare state began in the 1910s and 1920s, rather than the 1930s, and that it was created primarily by and for women.

Unlike other countries, which tended to focus on workmen's compensation and social insurance as the nucleus of their programs, America's earliest social welfare agendas dealt with the needs of mothers and children. Skocpol traces this "maternalist" agenda to the lobbying of Gilded Age and Progressive Era women's organizations. As she points out, a large number of states adopted mother's pension legislation by the 1910s because of their efforts, and the federal government created the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912 — the only national governmental bureau headed and run by women in the Western world.

In the 1920s, the Sheppard-Towner bill passed, providing federal funds for state programs to improve child health. According to Skocpol, this, rather than the welfare programs implemented under Roosevelt in the 1930s, constituted the beginnings of the American welfare state. And, like the Sanitary Commission, it was carried out through national public/private partnerships that implemented state and local Sheppard-Towner programs with the aid of women's organizational networks and female volunteers.

Readings:

William H. Chafe, "Women's History and Political History" in Visible Women, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 101-118.

Linda Gordon, ed., Women, the State and Welfare (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1889-1920," American Historical Review 95,4 (October, 1990): 1076-1108.

Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Women, Politics, Philanthropy: Some Historical Origins of the Welfare State," in The Liberal Persuasion, ed. John Patrick Diggins (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): 142-50.

Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Historical Foundations of Women's Power in the Creation of the American Welfare State," in Mother's of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, (New York: Routledge, 1993): 43-93.

Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Theda Skocpol, Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): 142-50.

Susan Ware, Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

Background Readings:

Blanche Wiesen Cook, Eleanor Roosevelt (New York: Penguin Books, 1992).

James T. Patterson, America's Struggle Against Poverty, 1900-1985 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) Social Welfare before 1929
- 2) The Depression and the New Deal
- 3) Women's Roles in the New Deal

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Is Skocpol right: was the modern welfare state built in tandem with women's voluntary organizations?
- 2) What happened to the Sheppard-Towner legislation, and what does this reveal about women's political fortunes in the 1920s?
- 3) When does the modern welfare state begin: in the 1920s or the 1930s?
- 4) What impact will current efforts to dismantle the welfare state have on the legislation that the women of Addams's generation helped to promote?
- 5) How did the political impact of women's philanthropy change after women won the vote?

Graduate Research Topics:

- 1) Was Bethune's career a fluke, or did other white and African-American women use their philanthropic records to gain political posts after 1920? How common was this pattern, and how widespread were the benefits?
- 2) We need to know much more about African-American women's philanthropic activities, from the institutions they created to the fundraising and funding that supported them; the causes they espoused, and their impact on public policy.
- 3) What impact did the New Deal have on women's roles in shaping public/private partnerships at the local level? Was much state and federal money funneled through women's organizations for the provision of services during these years? Did those amounts increase or decrease during the Great Society Years of the 1960s?
- 4) What role did women's organizations play in the Second World War? How did this compare to their work with the Sanitary Commission and in World War I? How can the inclusion of women's philanthropic activities enhance our understanding of women's wartime participation in this era, and the prevailing image of "Rosie the Riveter"? How did these activities vary by class, region and race?

WEEK 14 *Fin-de-Siècle* Feminism

Women figured prominently in the great social movements of the 1960s. Although they contributed substantially to both the civil rights and peace campaigns, the feminist movement had the greatest impact on reshaping opportunities for women themselves.

While Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique marked the beginning of a floodtide of increasingly influential feminist publications, pioneers like Gloria Steinem worked to build the underpinnings of an enduring movement through the National Organization of Women and publications such as Ms. Magazine.

Because of the efforts of crusaders and writers like Steinem and Friedan, American women began to lobby for — and win — opportunities for better access to education and remunerative jobs. Other feminist agendas, such as women's right to birth control, legal abortions, and more equitable divorce legislation also left an indelible imprint on American society.

There are still barriers, and the glass ceiling remains an enduring, albeit invisible, barrier in many fields. Female poverty has also grown, as the number of female-headed households dramatically increased. Nonetheless, since the 1960s women have entered into a wide range of occupations and professional positions from which they had previously been barred by prejudice and custom. Moreover, despite enduring disparities between men's and women's salaries, women in the paid workforce now enjoy professional options that their mothers' generation could hardly have imagined, much less possessed.

Since the 1980s, these gains have come increasingly under fire, as some legislators have tried to roll back affirmative action and the social and economic trends unleashed by the feminist movement a generation ago.

The Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill hearings brought home with graphic clarity the extent to which women are still underrepresented in Congress, sparking a push to strengthen women's political clout. One of the organi-

zations that is currently working toward this end is Emily's List, which raises campaign funds for Democratic, female pro-life candidates. Abortion has also become a hotly contested issue, as pro-life and pro-choice organizations continue to clash head-on.

Fundraising and voluntarism have similarly been affected by feminist gains and federal retrenchment. Middle-class women have historically comprised the bulk of the nation's volunteers, yet many of these women now work in paid jobs, raising questions about future sources of volunteers, an issue of concern as nonprofit organizations try to compensate for shortfalls in government support.

The threat of Government cutbacks since the beginning of the Reagan administration in 1980 has also endangered nonprofit operations. Most nonprofits, be they charities, educational institutions, or health and cultural services, depend in part on government funding. The ratio varies with the type of service — culture currently receives very little in public funding, while health services tend to be heavily dependent on government contracts and grants. One of the questions in the current political climate is the extent to which those organizations serving the poorest populations may have to curtail those services, including programs for impoverished women and girls.

Another question is how organizations can compensate for state and federal reductions. One way is to create more income-generation activities — selling products and services — but this sometimes brings these tax-exempt services into competition with for-profit businesses, which do pay taxes.

Nonprofit groups can also try to raise more funds, although research has clearly demonstrated that private giving is far too small to offset many of the cutbacks that have been requested since 1980. The need for more aggressive fundraising has highlighted women's growing economic power, both as inheritors, and as wage earners in their own right. As the baby-boom generation enters its fifties — the age range where Americans historically begin to donate larger amounts — more attention will be devoted to cultivating female donors.

Finally, although the Istook Amendment was recently defeated, indications are that it may resurface again. Under this legislation, nonprofits that received more than five percent of their revenues from federal funding would be prohibited from lobbying. Although nonprofit organizations are currently prohibited from using public funds for lobbying activities, this act would have broadened the definition of "lobbying" to include any contact with governmental agencies at any level. Thus, local YWCA

representatives would jeopardize their ability to receive public funds if they shared their ideas about after school programs with local school boards; and Red Cross officials would discuss disaster-relief with state officials at financial risk.

Women's mass entry into the paid workforce, and the social revolution set in motion by the feminist campaigns of the 1960s left a tremendous imprint on American society, as has the Reagan legacy of retrenchment and privatization. Together, they may significantly alter the role of women's philanthropy in the future.

Readings:

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Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Philanthropy," in The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History, ed. Wilma Mankiller, et al. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1998).

Teresa Odendahl and Michael J. O'Neill, eds. Women and Power in the Nonprofit Sector (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1994).

Francis Ostrower, Why the Wealthy Give (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), Chapter 3.

Background Readings:

Arlene Kaplan Daniels, Invisible Careers: Women Leaders from the Volunteer World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Betty Freidan, The Feminine Mystique.

Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage (New York: Bantam Books, 1987).

Allen Matusow, The Unravelling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

Undergraduate Topics:

- 1) The Re-emergence of Feminism
- 2) Reaganomics and the Feminization of Poverty
- 3) Women and Philanthropy: Currents, Trends, and the Challenges Ahead

Discussion Questions:

- 1) Are you involved with a women's organization and if so, has it experienced any impact from the recent welfare reforms?
- 2) Do you contribute to, or volunteer in an organization that serves women, and if so, why?
- 3) Did the Thomas/Hill hearings have a lasting impact on American society, or American politics?

**LITERATURE
OVERVIEW**

Part II.

**A. WOMEN AND VOLUNTARISM IN THE UNITED STATES:
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

by Dorothy Browne

This essay examines the historiography of women and philanthropy in the United States, focusing primarily on nineteenth-century mainstream benevolence and reform. This literature illustrates the significance of women's roles as donors and volunteers in economic, social and political history. The literature suggests that the significance of women's philanthropy lies not only in its impact on the community being served, but in its impact on women's place in that community. While the breadth of this growing body of work defies easy categorization, certain themes have occupied center-stage for historians thus far. Each scholar grapples with the relative importance of gender, class, ethnicity and race in analyzing the actions of and reactions toward, "Lady Bountiful." Early work on women's philanthropy stresses gender, by focusing on the roots of feminism and the growing consciousness of common bonds between nineteenth-century middle-class white women. The notion of separate spheres and the cult of domesticity is central to these works.

For example, Barbara Berg argues that women involved in antebellum benevolent organizations gradually came to view their domestic sphere as oppressive. Horrified by the increasing poverty and social problems they found in urban slums, benevolent women attempted to improve the lives of poor and working-class women while carving out a public role for themselves. For Berg, the nineteenth-century cult of domesticity confined women to the home, separating women from the economic roles that they had held in preindustrial America. Simultaneously, using this notion of domestic female virtue and leadership to create and sustain voluntary associations provided welcome opportunities to escape the confining domestic sphere and develop new ways to influence society. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg also portrays voluntary associations as crucial in chal-

lenging male cultural dominance, as female moral reformers increasingly depicted themselves as guardians of virtue in their war on vice. Moral-reform women aggressively challenged male vice, by publishing the names of men who seduced women or frequented bordellos, and campaigning for laws against seduction. Ellen DuBois views the antislavery movement as the crucible of feminism, where female abolitionists:

followed the course of the antislavery movement from evangelicism to politics, moving from a framework of individual sin and conversion to an understanding of institutionalized oppression and social reform.

DuBois argues that women broke free of abolitionist networks to form an independent movement based on the campaign for women's suffrage. DuBois and others seek to highlight the ways in which philanthropy provided women with a forum in which to learn organizational skills and fundraising, and to influence public policy.¹

These authors stress the ways in which the ideology of separate spheres led women to create voluntary associations. The work of benevolence, moral and social reform engendered bonds of sisterhood and a nascent awareness of their oppression as women. They assert that benevolent organizations led to moral reform organizations, which in turn led to social reform organizations and campaigns for women's rights. In other words, all these voluntary associations were directly linked in the progression toward feminist consciousness.

Other historians note striking differences between women in different kinds of voluntary associations which challenge this progressive model of the bonds of sisterhood. Nancy Hewitt examines activists in nineteenth-century Rochester during the revival period, and finds that three distinct types emerged: benevolent, perfectionist, and ultraist. The benevolent women were the most elite socially and economically, as well as the most conservative, and the ultraists were the most marginal socially and economically, as well as the most radical. She concludes that relations between these organizations could be characterized as much by "sibling rivalry" as sisterhood.²

Likewise, Anne Boylan illustrates important differences between benevolent and reform organizations in terms of membership and goals. She also notes that wealth and the type of church women attended were important factors in determining which types of organizations they joined. Benevolent women tended to be wealthier, and belong to churches which charged pew rents, while many reform women such as abolitionists tended to be poorer and belong to "free" churches.³ Boylan and Hewitt demonstrate

that these organizations did not attract the same women, nor did most of these women embrace women's rights in later years. Moreover, most antislavery women remained ambivalent or hostile to suffrage and other feminist goals. Amy Swerdlow's study on New York's antislavery societies shows that many of the female abolitionists had experience with evangelical and moral reform associations. Such organizations did not sanction the transgression of separate spheres for women, and argued forcefully against women speaking in public. In this case, evangelicism hindered, rather than encouraged women from taking on public roles. Thus, even within the antislavery movement, women's rights were opposed by many women.⁴ It is clear that neither benevolent, moral reform, or antislavery work necessarily inspired feminism. Each type of association included some conservative elements. Gender did not bind these women to the same causes in the same ways.

Historians such as Christine Stansell, Mary Ryan and Kathy Peiss argue that class is more important than gender in determining women's philanthropic activity and its impact on the community. Christine Stansell studies class formation in antebellum New York. She asserts that middle-class charity visitors misunderstood the needs of working-class and poor women, and attempted to enforce bourgeois values on their recipients. The benevolent women defined themselves in opposition to working-class modes of domesticity and child-rearing.⁵ Similarly, Mary Ryan views women's voluntary association's efforts before the Civil War to transform family values as part of the formation of middle-class identity. She finds that upper-class and working-class women articulated these family values slightly differently.⁶ Kathy Peiss examines attempts to reform and control working women's recreation at the turn-of-the-century, and discovers that middle-class reformers failed in their attempts at cross-class partnerships.⁷ These works demonstrate fissures between elite and working-class women. This is not to say that cross-class partnerships were never successful — but rather that they were fraught with difficulties that women often failed to overcome.

Partnerships between African-American women and white women were even rarer. In fact, the only integrated associations in the antebellum period were certain antislavery associations such as the Boston Female Antislavery Society. Amy Swerdlow finds that many antislavery associations, especially in New York, barred African-American women. Furthermore, African-American associations faced obstacles that white women's organizations did not, and these differences shaped their development.⁸ Anne Boylan notes that black women blended mutual aid, benevolence, and social reform in unique ways, ever mindful of the racist atmosphere in which they worked.⁹ This argument has been made for other periods as well.¹⁰

Finally, partnerships between women in Catholic and Protestant associations were also unusual. Hasia Diner points out that because Protestant charities had a reputation for proselytizing, many Catholics remained suspicious of working with them or receiving services from them.¹¹ Nativism proved to be another barrier to collaboration. Thus, Catholic women donated their time and money to church-related or sponsored organizations. Unlike Protestant associations, these remained local in scope. And unlike some Protestant associations, they also remained cool to women's equality and suffrage.

These authors illustrate the difficulty in making generalizations about all women's voluntary associations when trying to locate the seeds of feminism or a broadly defined sense of sisterhood. Thus, women's associations differed in outlook and membership according to many factors, the most important of which was race, but also including class and religion.

What, then, did these organizations have in common? They provided women with economic and political roles in a period when women possessed few resources and lacked the right to vote. In various ways, these scholars examine the ways in which women made an impact on the political and economic landscape before they won the right to vote. For example, Paula Baker argues that after the American Revolution, women addressed political issues that had hitherto been considered beyond their sphere. Women championed causes like temperance, child welfare, and moral reform, and "domesticated" the political culture. Other historians have highlighted the political impact of women's antislavery petitioning, requesting charters of incorporation from state legislatures for their organizations, and, of course, the campaigns for woman suffrage.¹²

Recent work by Theda Skocpol, Susan Ware and other historians on the rise of the welfare state focuses on the legacy of women's maternalist welfare campaigns, and their impact on modern programs such as Social Security. For instance, Linda Gordon and Priscilla Clement both argue that these welfare programs are rooted in the protection of traditional family systems, with the father as breadwinner and the mother as homemaker. They view modern welfare debates and the feminization of poverty as stemming from this older tradition of reform in the nineteenth century.¹³

Women also played a crucial economic role in organizations and communities through the use of their voluntary labor, their donations of money and crafts, and their fundraising abilities. For instance, Hasia Diner illustrates that Irish women as a group donated large sums of money to Catholic churches, communities, and charities, despite the fact that they were not wealthy. In addition, Catholic sisterhoods provided schools, orphanages, and other services primarily on the basis of volunteer labor.

They were paid very little, and sometimes they received no remuneration at all. Women also proved very adept at fundraising, either by canvassing door-to-door, or staging fairs. Some of these nineteenth-century fairs raised thousands of dollars. Women's labor and their fundraising provided services that the public sector otherwise would have had to manage, allowing men to focus on other aspects of politics and commerce. Lori Ginzberg notes that women often took pains to hide their business acumen and resources, for fear that men would accuse them of stepping out of their proper sphere, or would take over women's organizations and their funds. Lori Ginzberg, Suzanne Lebsock, and Kathleen McCarthy point out that after the 1850s men often coopted the leadership and endowments of women's institutions.¹⁴ Thus, it is important to highlight the various strategies women employed in managing their philanthropy.

Ginzberg notes that women after the 1850s began to focus on building institutions such as asylums and schools, rather than on changing public opinion through the use of "moral suasion" and the publication of impassioned treatises. This change reflected a shift in the political culture, which increasingly stressed partisan politics as a tool of social change. Lebsock shows that women in Petersburg, Virginia traded the autonomy of separatist voluntary associations for the influence they gained as auxiliaries of the institutions men were building. Like Paula Baker, Lebsock argues that women had been able to get their causes embraced by the whole community. McCarthy shows that women engaged in cultural philanthropy adopted three strategies in their voluntary associations: separatist, assimilationist, and individualist. Each of these strategies could enable women to influence their community and play an important economic, social and political role before and after they gained the right to vote.¹⁵

This cursory examination of the literature on women's roles as donors and volunteers reveals that their significance must be examined using a variety of perspectives. Clearly, women employed various tactics to overcome the limits of the feminine sphere, but in different ways and for different reasons. While the importance of the roots of feminism should not obscure the diversity of the goals and membership of women's associations, it is important also to recognize the ways in which women confronted the many obstacles in their path to enrich and define their communities. Finally, the diversity of this literature demonstrates that women's philanthropy and voluntarism had many different goals and constituencies, and women's history is beginning to reflect this spectrum. However, more work needs to be done on the work of African-American, Native-American, working-class, and immigrant women to present a clearer picture of the role of philanthropy in U.S. culture and political economy.



LITERATURE OVERVIEW

B. VOLUNTEERISM AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

By Erica Ball

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, African-American women created associations to provide services for their communities. Black women worked through independent secular clubs, and through church auxiliaries. At times they worked within interracial organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), or in associations or movements with African-American men. They often kept their work within the bounds of ladylike propriety, but they were no strangers to vocal political activism. Though their efforts are only beginning to be examined by historians, we can see that African-American women's philanthropy filled an important need in black communities across the country.

Because the field of African-American women's history is a relatively new area of study, literature addressing African-American women's voluntary associations and community philanthropic efforts is just beginning to appear. At present, no well-defined historical debate has emerged. However, scholars do tend to shape their analysis of black women's philanthropy around two major themes. Some, like Wilson Jeremiah Moses, point to the women's tendency to use their voluntary associations to work on behalf of the African-American population. He describes their organizations as black nationalist endeavors.¹⁶ Others prefer to examine the gender restrictions faced by black women, and the feminist implications of their work.

Throughout the antebellum era the overwhelming majority of the African-American population remained enslaved. But free African-American women donated their time to a number of societies and organizations. As Shirley Yee describes in her study of black women abolitionists, African-American women created benevolent and moral reform associations, literary societies, and church auxiliaries to provide services to their communities. They also organized and participated in a variety of antislavery

organizations. Yee argues that by addressing audiences of men and women, and by writing strongly-worded anti-slavery articles, African-American women occasionally transcended what some believed were the bounds of proper female behavior. When they did so, they faced denunciation by male counterparts who preferred that women confine their activities to the home.¹⁷

Most of the literature on black women's philanthropy focuses on their clubwork from the 1890s through the first World War. During this time period, which one scholar describes as the nadir of African-American history¹⁸, the number of secular African-American women's associations increased dramatically. By 1896, African-American women had created enough organizations to combine under the auspices of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). These middle upper-class women considered themselves to be "colored women of education and culture." And they planned to act as "evidence of the moral, mental, and material progress made by people of color" for white America.¹⁹ They used the NACW biennial meetings as an opportunity to meet other clubwomen from across the nation, trade ideas, and present a positive image of African-American women to white Americans. Darlene Clark Hine argues that these activities allowed the women to reclaim their own pride and dignity just as they worked to instill self esteem in the poor and working-class women they served.²⁰

Much of the clubwomen's volunteer efforts turned on what Kevin Gaines has called racial uplift ideology. He argues that by the 1890s, most elite African-Americans believed that education, racial unity, and self-help programs would be the most effective methods to "uplift" the black population from the degradation of slavery. He finds that some, like Booker T. Washington, hoped to increase job opportunities for African Americans by providing industrial education programs for the rural and working class members of the population. Others, like W.E.B. DuBois, planned to use education to enlarge the black professional class, and provide white Americans with personal examples of the black population's fitness for American citizenship. In addition, according to Gaines, proponents of racial uplift agreed that the black population needed to conform to the middle-class gender ideal of separate spheres before African Americans could advance as a race.²¹

Because they worked within the framework of racial-uplift ideology, African-American clubwomen did not directly challenge popular conceptions of appropriate gender roles. Instead they focused their efforts on helping the women and children of the African-American population. Through their efforts, the clubwomen provided a number of community services neglected by local and state governments. They organized moth-

ers' meetings, cooking classes, and day care facilities for poor and working-class women. They created and maintained libraries, public health clinics, orphanages, kindergartens and nursing homes for their towns and neighborhoods. They also created juvenile detention facilities to keep young lawbreakers from being jailed with adult offenders. Stephanie Shaw notes that clubwomen often leased such institutions to their local governments with the stipulation that the women continue to work there, and that the government continue to use the facilities to provide services to the African Americans in the area.²²

In *Righteous Discontent*, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham reminds us that black women's volunteerism was not limited to secular clubwork. For throughout this time period, African-American women continued to be active in their church auxiliaries and societies. In her study of black Baptist women, Higginbotham finds that a number of African-American women raised funds and created community institutions through their church associations. Unlike the middle-class composition of the NACW and its network of clubs, most of the membership of the black Baptist women's associations came from the poor and working classes. Higginbotham argues that their commitment to volunteerism helped to make churches the most important institutions in black communities. At the same time, they allowed the women involved to extend and challenge the boundaries of prevailing gender ideologies.²³

In the years after 1920, the mass movement of African Americans to northern urban areas, and the movement away from racial-uplift thought led younger African-American women to join a variety of new male-led and inter-racial organizations. These women supported groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and Marcus Garvey's black nationalist Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). But others, particularly in the South, continued to participate in their religious and secular women's clubs. As Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson point out in their synthesis of black women's history, the skills African-American women learned while working within these organizations prepared them for their important role in the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s.²⁴ Ideally future scholarship will address these efforts, and further investigate the long and rich tradition of black women's philanthropy in the United States.

Notes

¹ Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: The Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct:*

Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Ellen DuBois, Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

² Nancy Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

³ Anne Boylan, "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797-1840," Journal of American History 71 (1984): 497-524.

⁴ Amy Swerdlow, "Abolition's Conservative Sisters: The Ladies' New York Anti-Slavery Societies, 1834-1840," in The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994): 31-44.

⁵ Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

⁶ Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁷ Kathy Peiss, Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

⁸ Amy Swerdlow, "Abolition's Conservative Sisters," in The Abolitionist Sisterhood, ed. Yellin and Van Horne: 31-44.

⁹ Anne M. Boylan, "Benevolence and Antislavery Activity Among African American Women in New York and Boston, 1820-1840," in The Abolitionist Sisterhood, ed. Yellin and Van Horne: 119-38.

¹⁰ Jean E. Fairfax, "Black Philanthropy: Its Heritage and its Future," in Cultures of Giving II: How Heritage, Gender, Wealth, and Values Influence Philanthropy (San Francisco: Jossey Bass Inc., Publishers, 1995).

¹¹ Hasia Diner, Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1983).

¹² Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and Political Society, 1780-1920," American Historical Review 89 (1984): 647. See also, among others: Sara Evans. Born for Liberty: A History of Women in

America (New York: The Free Press, 1989); and Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

¹³ Linda Gordon, Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); and Priscilla Ferguson Clement, "Nineteenth-Century Welfare Policy, Programs, and Poor Women: Philadelphia as a Case Study," in Feminist Studies 18 (Spring 1992): 35-58. See also, Mimi Abramovitz, Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present (Boston: South End Press, 1988).

¹⁴ Hasia Diner, Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1983). See also: Lori Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); and Kathleen D. McCarthy, Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹⁵ For further insights on strategies, see, Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in Lady Bountiful Revisited.

¹⁶ Wilson Jeremiah Moses, The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

¹⁷ See Shirley Yee, Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Rayford Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought, The Nadir 1877-1901 (New York: Dial Press, Inc., 1954): 52.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, Lifting As They Climb (Washington D.C.: NACW, 1933): 41.

²⁰ Darlene Clark Hine, "'We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible': The Philanthropic Work of Black Women," in Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-construction of American History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 112; first appeared in: Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

²¹ See Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

²² Stephanie Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women, in "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History ed. Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, and Linda Reed (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995): 440.

²³ See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

²⁴ Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson, *A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America* (New York: Broadway Books, 1998): 238.

**ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Part III.

by Kelly Anderson, Erica Ball, Dorothy Browne and Hilary-Anne Hallett

A. Voluntarism & Reform — General:

Abramovitz, Mimi. Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present. Boston: South End Press, 1988.

Abramovitz explores the development of the welfare state and its roots in the male breadwinner ethic, which was based on the idea that men worked to support the family financially, and women worked to take care of the family at home. She argues that this ideal has dominated the discourse on female poverty and social welfare since colonial times. It penalizes women who do not adhere to the traditional ideal family economy. Although this ethic was modified over time, from colonial times toward industrialization, it continued to favor a male breadwinner, from poor laws during the colonial era to Aid to Families with Dependent Children in the twentieth century. This analysis is based on secondary research, which the author acknowledges tends to be strongest in the study of the urban northeast. Abramovitz focuses on the regulatory impact on women's lives. While most chapters cover state functions, rather than voluntarism and philanthropy, chapters five and six provide an analysis of private sector reform and relief from the progressive period up to 1920.

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

In this broadly conceived essay, Baker outlines the transformations in political culture for both men and women in nineteenth-century America. She notes that women's participation in politics had roots in the American Revolution, and matured during the nineteenth century to create a separate political culture for women. The Jacksonian era saw the rise of a male

political culture centered in the saloons, barber shops, and other male preserves. Antebellum women used their role as guardians of virtue and the sphere of the family to effect political and social change through organizations such as the Female Moral Reform Society. Women were supposed to take care of the home sphere, but women ventured beyond the dooryard to build institutions of charity and reform nonetheless. The separate-spheres ideology allowed women to address public issues such as temperance, child welfare, and moral reform by expanding the definition of their sphere to include the welfare of the community as a whole. By the twentieth century, however, women were granted the right to vote. Baker argues that women lost their moral authority when the government took over issues of social concern which many considered so large and national in scope that only government could handle them. Despite that loss of direct influence, Baker stresses that women shaped the national political culture. In effect, they “domesticated” it.

Berg, Barbara J. *The Remembered Gate: The Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Berg addresses voluntarism and philanthropy in chapters seven through eleven. She studies the development of benevolent and moral reform organizations to locate the seeds of sisterhood and feminism. Berg argues that through their work in organizations such as the Boston Seaman's Aid Society, women came to understand the causes of their oppression and the links that bound women of all classes together. They defied the “woman-belle” ideal of being home-bound, leisured matrons and set out to ameliorate the ills of urban life. In so doing, they articulated a new feeling of confidence and determination to create a better society for themselves and poorer women. Although religion was a factor in inspiring voluntarism, Berg asserts that the clergy generally discouraged women from acting autonomously in public. The reformers' main motivation, Berg argues, was to improve the lives of poor women while investing their own lives with meaning and excitement. By training their sights on men as the cause of women's ills, reformers developed a nascent feminist consciousness.

Boylan, Anne, “Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797-1840.” *Journal of American History* 71,3 (1984): 497-524.

Boylan challenges the historiography of women's benevolent associations which argues that these groups formed the basis for the development of feminism and broader reforms. The author argues that her research on

New York and Boston shows that there was no direct connection between the early charitable groups such as the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and later reform groups such as the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Boylan notes that the benevolent groups, especially those formed before 1830, were less ambitious in scope than reform groups, more traditional in their attitudes about gender roles, and were comprised primarily of women of high status and wealth. In fact, she also points out that reform societies founded after 1830 tended to have more of a mixed-class membership, and be comprised of women belonging to liberal and "free" churches such as the Society of Friends. Boylan asserts that it was out of these reform groups founded in the 1830s and 1840s that feminists developed their networks and consciousness.

Clement, Priscilla Ferguson, "Nineteenth-Century Welfare Policy, Programs, and Poor Women: Philadelphia as a Case Study." In Feminist Studies 18,1 (Spring 1992): 35-58.

Clement examines the extent to which welfare during the nineteenth century addressed the needs of poor women. The author also seeks to understand the root causes of their poverty. Clement finds that public and private welfare differed for men and women. Early in the century, women received more aid than men, in cash and in kind, and they received it without having to answer questions about their personal lives. Yellow fever epidemics in Philadelphia had fostered sympathy for poor widows, and although aid was never wholly sufficient, it was relatively easy to obtain. Between 1810 and 1850, public aid was reduced as suspicion of the character of the poor grew. Although some women benefited from the increase in factory jobs, many remained without a living wage. Concerns about vice centered around women, and cash relief was withdrawn in favor of food, fuel or health services. Although welfare increased again between 1850 and 1900, the increase primarily benefited men. Depressions fed the belief that male unemployment were due to scarcity of work, not laziness or vice. In the era of the cult of domesticity, unemployed working women did not receive as much sympathy. Many Philadelphians believed women's place was in the home. Private charity grew as public charity declined. Asylums and similar institutions proliferated, and sought to provide home-like atmospheres for poor women. Clement concludes that poor women suffered due to the increasing stress benevolent institutions placed on virtue and domesticity. Women had to prove they deserved aid, and the aid was never enough to sustain them without work.

Cook, Blanche Wiesen. "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman." In *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women*, ed. Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.

Cook looks at the attitudes and careers of these four activists to explicate one of the bases for their strength: each other. Three of them relied on other women colleagues, friends and lovers to reform society, a fact which has often been left out of history books due to homophobia or ignorance. Only Emma Goldman lacked such a support system, although she expressed the desire for it. Cook examines the ways in which the personal lives of these women shaped their intellectual and political lives.

Cott, Nancy. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Cott begins her study on the origins of American feminism in the nineteenth century, when voluntary associations provided access for women to public space and political issues. By the early twentieth century, women used their political skills in the women's club movement, the YWCA, the WTUL, the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, and to promote various reforms such as child welfare programs. In addition, they waged suffrage battles and partisan political struggles as well. Cott notes that there was a lack of uniformity among women's groups on many issues, and that no voting bloc for women as a gender developed. She considers the interwar years a fertile period for voluntary associations, because of the expansion of activity into ever more diverse and specialized goals for reform.

Diner, Hasia. *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Chapter six, "The Web of Support: Sisters of Service" analyzes the voluntarism and philanthropy of Irish women in their communities. Diner argues that in the face of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic feelings among Protestant reformers, Irish women preferred to seek relief only among their Catholic sisters. Aside from the informal networks of support among neighbors and kin, frequently the only source of benevolence available to Irish women was the Catholic Church and its organizations. Nuns provided schools, hospitals, employment bureaus, shelters, and more. Accordingly, large numbers of Irish women donated what money they could spare to the Church and its sponsored charities. Furthermore, many be-

came nuns themselves. Both donor and recipient understood each other in terms of gender, religion and nationality.

Evans, Sara. Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America. New York: The Free Press, 1989.

Evans undertakes a survey of the history of women which stresses their impact on the political landscape of America. Specifically, Evans looks at the ways in which women created their own vision of politics through voluntary associations. While all chapters relate to this thesis, chapter four, "The Age of Association," discusses the proliferation of voluntary organizations between 1820 and 1845. From raising money and maintaining boycotts during the Revolution, to the Mothers Against Drunk Driving in the 1980s, Evans charts the influence of women on public policy through their own brand of moral authority. Women's associations politicized issues which had hitherto been considered private matters: alcohol abuse, sexuality, child labor, etc. It is a broad and comprehensive work which incorporates many aspects of American life under the rubric of political culture.

Ginzberg, Lori. Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Ginzberg studies the work of female philanthropists in the nineteenth century, and concludes that these women experienced and expressed the increasing class tensions and flux that shook American society by the Gilded Age. Class and gender identity for these middle-class women were "inextricable," Ginzberg argues, and the changing development of benevolence helped make them so. However, this is not a narrative of social control, but of the tensions in female benevolence ideology between conservative authoritative impulses and more radical ones. Ginzberg stresses, however, that the conservative elements became dominant after the Civil War. Chapter four, "Moral Suasion is Moral Balderdash," charts the rising importance of electoral politics as a tool of reform in the 1850s, a development which caused important changes in women's philanthropic strategies. No longer was fiery rhetoric on moral matters such as temperance or slavery the main expression of women's voluntarism. Increasingly, women turned to building institutions of social betterment and reform such as asylums and schools. While their work often produced tangible results in the forms of buildings and societies such as the Children's Aid Society, Ginzberg argues that the focus on political and secular routes to power limited and softened female reformers' challenges to the status quo.

Gordon, Linda. Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

Gordon seeks to chart the history of welfare as a concept as well as a series of private and government programs. In the late nineteenth century, the term welfare referred to social well-being generally, encompassing a wide array of ideals and programs. However, the author asserts that it now refers almost exclusively to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Gordon argues that a two-tiered system of welfare programs now exists, with Social Security and other middle-class programs for workers at the top, and poor relief programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children at the bottom. The top tier programs enjoy broad popularity, while the bottom tier programs which benefit primarily women and children evoke widespread hostility. Furthermore, Gordon states that this system has its roots in the early efforts of women reformers and social workers to create a system of aid to mothers and children. The attitudes of these reforms were highly ambivalent about aid to single women, especially reflecting a desire to preserve the traditional patriarchal family, as well as class and racial biases. In this volume it is difficult to sort out the private voluntarist activism from the state bureaucratic work. Gordon demonstrates that the women in the network frequently wore several different hats, one day volunteering at a settlement house, for example, the next perhaps joining a government-sponsored committee on legislation such as the Sheppard-Towner Act. Gordon notes that the professionalization of these activities proceeded gradually and should not obscure the importance of the voluntarist tradition and ethos of these reformers through the New Deal period.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. Revolt Against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.

Hall's book covers the period from the end of nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. It includes a thorough chronicle of the southern suffrage movement and southern evangelical women's voluntarism before launching into the movement against lynching. Hall argues that the anti-lynching campaign by white southern women like Ames represented a crusade against southern patriarchy, which sought to "protect" white women by mob rule if necessary against "insults," but required their subordination and obedience in return. Her analysis covers, but does not focus on, the racial and class tensions which beset the coalition of white and black southern philanthropists.

Hewitt, Nancy A. "Charity or Mutual Aid?: Two Perspectives on Latin Women's Philanthropy in Tampa, Florida." In Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Hewitt's complicated task is to view the relationships between class, ethnicity, race, and gender through the prism of Latin women's voluntarism in Tampa, Florida during the progressive era. Such causes as diverse as the Cuban revolutionary uprising, temperance reform, and mutual aid brought together Anglo-American women with poor and wealthy Latin women of different nationalities. The clearest distinction Hewitt discerns is that between efforts at charity by the well-to-do of any ethnic group, and those of Latin women helping each other rise above adversity. One group is looking down the social scale, the other is looking across it horizontally to their neighbors.

Hewitt, Nancy A. Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.

Hewitt studies the types of voluntarism which developed in the dynamic city of Rochester during a period of economic expansion and religious revival. She finds that despite the similarities between benevolent and activist reformers which are noted by other historians, three distinct types of voluntarism emerged. Hewitt describes the earliest group as benevolent, characterized by conservatism and a focus on charity. The second group attempted to eradicate social problems like intemperance and slavery, and she describes them as perfectionist, since they were influenced by millennial fervor. The third and most marginal group, which Hewitt calls ultraist, included the most radical of reformers. Comprised of a heterogeneous membership including Quaker Hicksite feminists, black abolitionists, and working-class advocates, they represented the most egalitarian strain of voluntarism. The three groups differed in outlook, method and status in the community. Although they shared certain experiences and perspectives as Protestant women reformers, they viewed the city and their role in it often in conflicting ways.

Kessler-Harris, Alice. "The Paradox of Motherhood: Night Work Restrictions in the United States." In Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1880-1920, ed., Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Jane Lewis. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Kessler-Harris notes that the United States fell far behind other industrial democracies in enacting protections such as maternity leave for working

mothers. It was not until 1993 that the United States passed legislation protecting women's jobs before and after childbirth. Women reformers in organizations such as the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumer's League took the lead in promoting such legislation early in the twentieth century. They advocated protective legislation which prohibited women from working at night and reduced hours, which they did not advocate for male workers. Laws which would curtail men's right to work at night would curtail their freedom of contract, many believed, which was unacceptable. It was, however, perfectly acceptable to curtail women's freedom of contract. According to Kessler-Harris, this was because reformers and trade unionists viewed all women as potential mothers, and believed that women's traditional role in the family should be protected. Both opponents and advocates of restrictions on women workers' hours stressed this view.

Lebsock, Suzanne. The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985.

In chapter seven "Women Together: Organizations," Lebsock poses a question addressed by many writers on women's philanthropy: that is, how working together for charitable or missionary purposes shaped the growth of feminist consciousness. Lebsock, however, points out that this approach may divert attention away from more important matters, since feminist consciousness was somewhat rare in antebellum America. Despite her focus on women's organizations, Lebsock argues that "'Woman's sphere' was never a fixed space." (p.198) Looking at the movement to create an orphan asylum, Lebsock notes that at the same time that building organizations increased women's influence and freedom of movement, their autonomy was being curtailed in other areas, as if to compensate.

McCarthy, Kathleen D. "The History of Women in the Nonprofit Sector: Changing Interpretations." In Women and Power in the Nonprofit Sector, ed., Teresa Odendahl and Michael O'Neil. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994.

This essay provides a historiographical survey of women and philanthropy in the United States. McCarthy cites historians such as Nancy Cott and Ann Firor Scott as examples of earlier work which focused on elements of sisterhood and homogeneity among women philanthropists in separatist social reform organizations. She notes that since the 1980s historians such as Christine Stansell and Nancy Hewitt, influenced by Marxism, illustrate how women's voluntarism and giving masked the wielding of power over

other classes. Still a third group of historians led by Theda Skocpol explore the role of women in the rise of the welfare state. McCarthy welcomes these additions to the field but adds that further work needs to explore the history of women on boards, women of color and working-class women, and women donors, as well as actively solicit the perspectives of active practitioners of philanthropy today.

McCarthy, Kathleen D. Noblesse Oblige: Charity & Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

McCarthy asks the following question of urban philanthropy and its decline in the twentieth century preceding the New Deal: "Did community apathy develop naturally, an insidious concomitant of the welfare state?" (p.x) The answer begins in the antebellum period. "Benevolent Ladies" practicing the ideal of *noblesse oblige* were agents of community spirit and health in the years preceding the Civil War. They ministered to the sick and poor, travelling the nation's walking cities amongst all classes, and developing asylums and other public welfare institutions. The cholera epidemic of 1849's devastating effect on Chicago acted as a catalyst toward the creation of programs and homes for orphans. Many women risked their lives caring for the victims of the epidemic and laying out the dead. Women assumed control of these institutions, offering their skills and names to the projects, and in return received sanction for engaging in fulfilling and valuable uses for their talents. However, in the Gilded Age, while women developed new forms of philanthropy and service, they were more removed from the immediate problems of poverty. They moved to outlying suburbs, beyond the vistas of tenements. Instead of offering services in poor neighborhoods, they asked the poor to travel to asylums in middle-class districts. Women increasingly devoted their time to arts and culture, in the form of patronage, travel, and club work. As the Gilded Age gave way to the Progressive, reform work increased the network of clubs across the nation. In this period, the ideal of *noblesse oblige* decreased in popularity, even as charity work and benevolence increased in popularity. During the Twenties, philanthropy was considered less of an obligation, and more of a hobby. Before the rise of the welfare state, apathy had set in. The New Deal saw professionals and government bureaucrats fill the gap left by the nation's wealthy elite, who gladly handed over the reins. Women "dabbled" in philanthropy between lunches and dances. Professionalization, the rise of mass culture, and suburban flight took their toll on the notion of *noblesse oblige*. McCarthy points out that these trends reduced the influence of individualistic women volunteers and diminished community cohesion.

McCarthy, Kathleen D. "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere." In Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

McCarthy examines the ways in which women have used parallel power structures of male frameworks in order to gain access to political, social and financial resources in the voluntary sphere. Footnote number one defines the terms of voluntary sector. She notes that women of different ethnic and class groups pursued different strategies toward these ends, and in so doing, they have made an assault on many fronts on changes in "social and institutional reforms, professionalization, legislation, and even on the Constitution itself." (p. 23) McCarthy demonstrates that while their efforts used parallel power structures to men, they differed in important ways. For example, women seldom created major foundations, with the exception of Olivia Sage's Russell Sage Foundation. Yet, without the same resources as their male counterparts, women used time and money to effect great changes even when disenfranchised.

McCarthy, Kathleen D. Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

McCarthy locates three unique strategies used by women supporting the arts: separatist, assimilationist, and individualist. Philanthropists such as Candace Wheeler created separatist organizations run by women to promote both female arts like needle work and charitable aid. Decorative arts organizations hoped to elevate decorative arts, promote female artists and provide a means of generating income for women simultaneously. Women like Louisine Havemeyer or Mary Cassatt on the other hand, used their resources to promote established institutions and male artists. Patrons like Louisine Havemeyer donated money and art to strengthen institutions like the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but received very little influence in exchange. Instead, their efforts served to promote the careers of male artists and male bureaucrats. Individualists like Isabella Stewart Gardner and Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney promoted their own careers and created their own institutions. These were very personal ventures, made easier in the 1930s by changes in attitudes toward traditional gender roles. So while Gardner succeeded by the turn of the century in creating her own museum on her own terms, she was often criticized. Whitney took advantage of changing roles for women and the relatively uncharted terrain of contemporary art and suffered less criticism. These three different strategies reveal much about the challenges of cultural leadership for women, as well as changing notions of culture itself.

Peiss, Kathy. Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Peiss studies efforts to reform working women's recreation during the Progressive period. She notes that middle-class women felt uncomfortable with the new heterosocial world of commercial amusements available to the laboring women. They objected to the bawdy, freewheeling atmosphere at nickelodeons, dance halls, and amusement parks. In response, women like Grace Hoadley Dodge attempted to lure working women to events sponsored by organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Working Girls' Society, and settlement clubs. According to Peiss, their efforts met with a lukewarm response from working women and girls, who preferred the commercialized amusements and trade unions to staid teas and balls in which men were usually barred and which featured discussions of topics such as domesticity. In the final analysis, cross-class attempts at philanthropy and sisterhood paled in comparison to the effect that commercial amusements had in bridging cultural gaps between classes of New Yorkers at the dawn of the twentieth century.

Ryan, Mary. Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Ryan analyzes the changes in family structures and ideology in the nineteenth century, and how associations helped effect these transformations. Although the book as a whole addresses women's voluntary associations to some extent, chapter three, "The Era of Association: between family and society, 1825-1845," is particularly useful. Ryan notes that women's associations such as the Female Missionary Society financed Charles Grandison Finney's tour of the county during the revivals. Other associations such as the Maternal Association spread ideas about changing views of childrearing and baptism, women's roles in the community, and moral reform issues such as temperance and the elimination of prostitution. Ryan argues that these institutions took over community roles such as moral surveillance and caring for the poor that had previously been the responsibility of the family, church or state. These were new ways to organize society, ways which freed the men of the community to devote all their energies to commerce and industry, and which gave women a larger sphere of activity and influence. These associations attempted to defend the family against modern changes in society. Associational fervor waned in the 1840s as middle class Oneidans retreated into the home to protect their families. Both families and society had been transformed from the old New England patriarchal ways.

Scott, Anne Firor. "Women's Voluntary Associations: From Charity to Reform." In Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

This essay seeks to understand the functions served by women's voluntary associations, the effects of such work on the social, political, and economic landscape of America, and how voluntarism shaped women's place in society. Scott outlines four phases of women's voluntarism in American history: "Benevolence" (1793-1820); "Making the World Over" (1820s-1850s); "Civil War" (1861-1865); and "The Great Expansion" (1865-1920). Each era saw women addressing important issues of their day through voluntary action, with diverse goals in mind. Their collective impact on the American culture and economy as a whole was as great as their impact in expanding the place of women within it.

Sklar, Kathryn Kish. "Who Funded Hull House?" In Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Sklar gives us a rare view into one of the most important pieces of the philanthropic picture: funding. Sklar asserts that although Jane Addams and her associates at Hull House raised funds from many wealthy businessmen and women, it was a close circle of women on whom Addams depended to keep Hull House out of the red. Letters and other documents show the personal side of fund raising, the encounters which produced financial results. Jane Addams also relied on a great deal of her own money to build this institution. Sklar argues that this strategy kept control of Hull House decision-making firmly within Addams's grasp.

Skocpol, Theda. Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1992.

Skocpol began her sweeping analysis of the origins of the welfare state believing that gender was not central to her story, but concluded with the opposite view. In fact, Skocpol became impressed with the successes of maternalist legislation in comparison with the frustration of labor reform initiatives. From mothers' pensions to protective laws for women laborers, to the establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912, women succeeded in creating many reforms at a time when they could not vote. Compared to Western European welfare states, which were more comprehensive and focused on the male breadwinner, the United States was closer to a maternalist welfare state, although it has never approached the scope of

other industrial nations. In many ways, Skocpol argues, the record of maternalist legislation is poor, and its historical evolution served to inhibit the growth of social welfare programs for all Americans.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

This group of essays seeks to show how social and political identities in antebellum America were shaped by gender. Smith-Rosenberg sees the moral reform movement as significant for women in that they fashioned a public identity for themselves based on moral authority. As they crusaded against prostitution and male predations against women's virtue, female reformers increasingly viewed themselves as the proper vanguard for the millenium. The natural depravity of men required women to step forward and put an end to sins such as rape, seduction, and exploitation. Women visited slums, harassed bordellos, spoke out in public, handed out bibles, and created refuges for "fallen" women. In these ways, they challenged the male bourgeoisie's grip on cultural dominance over public and private space.

Stansell, Christine. City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986.

Stansell examines class identity formation in antebellum New York. Her analysis of charity and reform organizations persuasively shows the class-based meanings of virtue which informed bourgeois reformers' attitudes toward poor districts. The different methods of housekeeping, working, and child-rearing dictated by tenement life and poverty did not mesh with the middle-class charity visitors' ideologies of domestic tranquility. For example, the Children's Aid Society attacked working-class families for allowing their children to scavenge in the streets for food, fuel or other supplies, without seeing these practices as necessary ways to address the limitations of tenement life. The reformers, according to Stansell, defined their domestic ideals as normative for the society as a whole, and attempted to coerce everyone into their mold.

Swerdlow, Amy. "Abolition's Conservative Sisters: The Ladies' New York Anti-Slavery Societies, 1834-1840." In The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Swerdlow demonstrates that not all antislavery women were feminist — two female anti-slavery societies in New York City worked actively to oppose women's equality (the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Chatham Street Chapel and the Ladies' New York Anti-Slavery Society). Many of these women had experience in moral reform and evangelical organizations which did not sanction women speaking in public. These activists opposed slavery as a sin against domestic ideals. However, they opposed women speaking in public on abolition just as strenuously because they feared it would subvert women's domestic roles. Thus, Swerdlow shows that no direct connection can be drawn between the development of benevolence, abolition, and feminism. While many abolitionists in Boston such as the Grimké sisters became leaders of women's rights, the majority of anti-slavery activist women in New York opposed any direct challenge to separate spheres.

Ware, Susan. Beyond Suffrage: Women and the New Deal. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Ware focuses on the impact of a network of women on the social welfare programs of the New Deal. Women who came of age during the campaigns for suffrage and other progressive programs worked together during the Great Depression for the welfare of women, workers and families. Headed by Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, Molly Dewson and others, they pushed for platforms and programs such as unemployed women's camps, child-labor restrictions, social security legislation, minimum wage, and limited work hours. Eleanor Roosevelt used her access to President Roosevelt to get women in the network appointed to administrative posts and to get cherished programs developed and funded. Ware notes that although her study focuses mainly on political or bureaucratic action within the Democratic Party, the network of women worked closely with organizations such as the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers League. The line between professionals and volunteers was a fluid one. Ware concludes that these women strove to create a New Deal for most American women, but by 1938 their influence began to diminish due to political and economic turmoil, both at home and abroad.

B. AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN

Boylan, Anne. "Benevolence and Antislavery Activity Among African American Women in New York and Boston, 1820-1840." In The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Boylan asserts that African-American antislavery women employed different strategies and faced different obstacles to success than their white counterparts. She finds that black women were more likely to stress mutual aid endeavors by combining benevolence with reform than white women. In addition, the author notes that black women felt more comfortable speaking in public, but held their members to much stricter codes of moral behavior than white abolitionists. African-American women faced racial stereotypes which maligned their virtue and defined them as unfeminine. These women did not have the opportunities to claim the moral authority that white activists claimed as domestic guardians of virtue. While Boston's antislavery movement incorporated African-American assistance and leadership, New York's societies such as the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society were run by white women alone. Black women formed the Manhattan Abolition Society in response to this exclusion. Boylan demonstrates the fissures and diversity of the antislavery movement, which the "bonds of womanhood" could not solve.

Brown, Elsa Barkley. "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent order of Saint Luke." Signs 14, (Spring 1989): 610-33. Also reprinted in Black Women in America, Social Science Perspectives, ed. by Micheline R. Malson, Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, Jean F. O'Barr, and Mary Wyer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Brown argues that African-American feminists have historically seen feminism and race consciousness inseparably through their "womanist" approach to feminism. In this article she uses history of the community

work and writings of Maggie Lena Walker to demonstrate this womanist consciousness in action. She describes Walker's leadership position in the "Independent Order of Saint Luke," a mutual aid society benefiting the black community of Richmond Virginia. Brown discusses Walker's participation in numerous other philanthropic organizations designed to expand opportunities for black women in particular. She also addresses Walker's attempts to combat discrimination and increase economic opportunities for the African-American men and women of her community.

Fairfax, Jean E., "Black Philanthropy: Its Heritage and its Future." In Cultures of Giving II: How Heritage, Gender, Wealth, and Values Influence Philanthropy. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1995.

Fairfax argues that black philanthropy in America has a common ethos of "connectedness" running through its history from the colonial era to today. She draws a sharp contrast to the ideal of "*noblesse oblige*" which she states dominated upper-class white philanthropy. A sense of solidarity with oppressed groups spurred activities such as the Freed African Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1787. This group sponsored a wide array of causes, including sanctuary for the Underground Railroad, medical assistance for both whites and blacks during the epidemic of 1793 and abolition. In more modern times, Fairfax points to Madame C.J. Walker's benevolence during the Harlem Renaissance as an example of upper-class black patronage. Although Fairfax finds that people of all incomes contributed money to many types of charities or organizations, religious organizations were a crucial center of philanthropic activity. Aside from the example of Madame Walker, however, women do not figure prominently in this article.

Gaines, Kevin. Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

[See: chapters entitled "The Woman and the Labor Questions in Racial Uplift Ideology" and "The Everyday Struggles and Contradictions of Uplift Ideology in the Life and Writings of Alice Dunbar-Nelson"]

In two chapters of this recent study, Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century, Kevin Gaines examines the rhetoric and activities of two prominent reform-minded African-American women: Anna Julia Cooper and Alice Dunbar-Nelson. Gaines analyzes some of the published and unpublished writings of Cooper and Dunbar-

Nelson, provides biographical information, and discusses some of their activities. Gaines places the women's commitments to bourgeois values and class distinctions squarely within the tradition of racial uplift ideology, and believes that the women's feminist tendencies merely added additional complexity to their philosophy of racial uplift. Gaines argues that the women's writings and activities on behalf of African-American women reflected an ongoing debate between the African-American women and men active in racial uplift programs.

Giddings, Paula. In Search of Sisterhood: Delta Sigma Theta and the Challenge of the Black Sorority Movement. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1988.

Giddings offers an account of the establishment and growth of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. Giddings focuses on the internal development of the organization, its expansion across the country, and its many benefits to its membership. Giddings argues that the sorority offered a sense of community to the members of chapters at Southern black institutions, but also offered a range of services (such as housing and dining facilities) often unavailable to the African-American women alienated on the predominantly white college campuses of the North and midwestern United States. Though Giddings says little about the sorority's community service activities, she does briefly address the Delta's national library project, which for twenty years raised funds to finance traveling book-baskets and book-mobiles, and establish libraries for African-Americans living in the rural south.

Giddings, Paula. When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America. New York: Bantam Books, 1984.

In this volume, Giddings traces the history of black women in America from slavery to the early 1980s. She focuses on the various organizations and institutions that African-American women created to combat racism and sexism over the years. The vast majority of information in the book concerns the black women's club movement at the turn of the century, and black women's work in the civil rights campaigns of the 1960's. Giddings also includes substantial biographical information on the leaders of several societies and organizations.

Gordon, Linda. "Don't Wait for Deliverers': Black Women's Welfare Thought." In Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935, ch. 5. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

In "Don't Wait for Deliverers," Linda Gordon analyzes the welfare activities of African-American women in the early twentieth-century. Gordon discusses the ways in which black women pooled their time and resources to provide the much needed services and institutions that the state refused to supply for black communities. Gordon addresses black women's national organizations, but also describes the nature of their local community efforts. She argues that black women's welfare activity took three primary forms: mutual aid or fraternal societies, church groups, and women's clubs. Gordon finds that like their white counterparts, reform-minded African-American women adhered to the maternalist interpretations of gender common for that time. Gordon notes that the women active in these organizations remained committed to the ideal of racial uplift and did not separate this agenda from any of their reform activities.

Harley, Sharon. "For the Good of Family and Race: Gender, Work, and Domestic Roles in the Black Community, 1880-1930." Signs, 15,2 (Winter, 1990); reprinted in Black Women in America, Social Science Perspectives, ed. by Micheline R. Malson, Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, Jean F. O'Barr, and Mary Weyer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

In this article, Harley demonstrates that despite the prevailing community attitude that frowned on married women's employment in the public sphere, large numbers of African-American women worked outside their homes in low-status positions as domestics and laundresses. Harley argues that many black women reformers recognized the importance of black working-class women's contributions to their family's income, and lobbied to improve work opportunities for black women. Harley also finds that working-class black women measured their self-worth not by their low occupational status, but rather through their ability to provide unpaid labor for their families, communities, and churches.

Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

By focusing on women's roles in the National Black Baptist Convention, Higginbotham demonstrates the signal importance of black women in

making the church the most important institution in community self-help efforts. Through their fundraising, black church women enabled the church to build schools, provide clothing, food, and shelter for poor people, and build orphanages and homes for the elderly. The author shows that the women's club movement owed its existence to the organizational groundwork laid by the women's church societies. In addition to fundraising, women played active roles in teaching, taking care of the sick and dying, and conducting mothers' training courses. Despite protest from within the black church by males and in the larger society by racist whites, black women persisted in their efforts to become a force in the shaping of church social policy.

Hine, Darlene Clark, "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible': The Philanthropic Work of Black Women." In Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

This essay studies the efforts of women such as Jane Edna Hunter, Ada Harris, and Mary McLeod Bethune toward building institutions and networks of aid and education for black women and girls. In the process, Hine finds, while not overtly challenging racial segregation and discrimination, they pushed at its boundaries. They strove to reject negative images of black women and create new ones in their place of respectability and Christian charity. Such organizations as the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs pooled resources from all economic classes with remarkable success. And yet, these leaders paid a personal price not exacted from their white counterparts, because of racism.

Hine, Darlene Clark, and Kathleen Thompson. A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America. New York: Broadway Books, 1998.

Hine and Thompson create a synthesis of African-American women's history from the seventeenth century to the present. Much of the book discusses black women's voluntary efforts to work for social and political change. The authors describe a variety of black women's organizations from antebellum antislavery societies, to black women's work within religious institutions, to turn-of-the-century women's clubs, to the Women's Political Council that sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955. Hine and Thompson argue that throughout their history in the United States, black women volunteered their time to serve the communities in which they lived. They also argue that the organizing and fundraising skills they learned in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century

organizations prepared them for their crucial role in the Civil Rights movements of the 1950s and 60s.

Jones, Adrienne Lash. Jane Edna Hunter: A Case Study of Black Leadership, 1910-1950. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc. 1990.

Adrienne Lash Jones constructs a biography of Jane Edna Hunter, an African-American woman who emerged as a leader of the Cleveland, Ohio black community during the first half of the twentieth century. Jones discusses the origins of the Cleveland black community, and the massive growth of Cleveland's black population in the years 1900-1920. Jones then describes Hunter's role within the Working Girls' Home Association, the organization's ties to the white women of the Cleveland YWCA, and the establishment of the Phillis Wheatley Association's homes for working-class African-American women. Throughout, Jones provides detailed information on Hunter's roles in the local black women's organizations of Cleveland, along with larger organizations like NACW and YWCA.

Jones, Beverly Washington. Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Church Terrell, 1863-1954. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc. 1990.

In Quest for Equality, Beverly Washington Jones traces the life, philanthropic and civil rights activities of Mary Church Terrell. Jones presents Terrell as an example of the "New Woman" of her time, one who moved into the public sphere to work for the advancement of the men and women of her race. In this biographical account, she includes information on Terrell's role in club work and the formation of the National Association for Colored Women, her role as spokeswoman for the African-American populace, her efforts to increase interracial understanding, her suffrage activities, her role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The volume also includes a number of Terrell's most important speeches and articles.

Jones, Jacqueline. Labor of Love Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present. New York: Random House, 1984.

In this book, Jacqueline Jones describes the work and family life of African Americans throughout the history of the United States. Though she mentions club work, civil rights activities and other philanthropic activities on occasion, Jones generally focuses on working-class black women's

attempts to resist racism and maintain some control over their activities in the workforce and their unpaid labor within their households.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. "Black Bourgeois Feminism versus Peasant Values: Origins and Purposes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women." In The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Wilson Jeremiah Moses provides readers with a summary of the inception of the National Association of Colored Women. He includes biographical data on leaders such as Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary Church Terrell, and Margaret Murray Washington. Moses argues that the upper- and middle-class women of the NACW felt little kinship with the poor and working-class African-American women they sought to help. Still he believes that their rhetoric illustrated a genuine concern for poor African-Americans, while their voluntary activities indicated a nationalist commitment to black pride and self-sufficiency.

Neverdon-Morton. Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.

This book is an overview of the types of activities and organizations in which turn-of-the-century black women participated in the name of racial uplift. Neverdon-Morton begins with a detailed discussion of the history, leadership, philosophy, and curricula of several black colleges that provided training for reform-minded African-American women. She then compares this setting with the status and working conditions of the majority of southern African-American women. Neverdon-Morton thoroughly examines black women's attempts to increase educational opportunities in southern African-American communities. She continues with chapters describing the organization of women's clubs, settlement houses, orphanages, and health campaigns in the communities of Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, Nashville, and Baltimore. She also discusses the establishment of the National Association of Colored Women and its involvement with other national organizations of the time.

Salem, Dorothy. To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1990.

In To Better Our World, Dorothy Salem discusses black women's roles in the most prominent African-American organizations during the turn-of-the-

century. She traces the founding and establishment of the National Association of Colored Women, discusses black women's role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and examines their association with the Young Women's Christian Association. She also compares black women's experiences within African-American women's organizations with the experiences that stemmed from interracial cooperation with white men and women. While providing a great deal of information on black women's roles in prominent national organizations, Salem also includes examples of their localized, community endeavors. Throughout, Salem argues that African-American women emerged as leaders at the local and national levels, and provided invaluable service to the black population.

Shaw, Stephanie. What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers during the Jim Crow Era. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

In this book, Stephanie Shaw analyzes the lives of African-American professional women from the 1870s through the 1950s. Shaw argues that African-American professional women's activities as teachers, nurses and librarians in large reflected their commitment to racial uplift ideology. She discusses black women's internalization of community consciousness and racial uplift beliefs as young women, and then goes on to address the nature of the professional work on behalf of their communities. In chapter six, Shaw addresses black women's unpaid activities in the public sphere. Here, she analyzes the ways in which African-American professional women moved beyond their professional duties to further serve community interests, create institutions, develop leadership roles for themselves within their communities, and challenge government and social policies at the national, state and local levels.

Thompson, Mildred I. Ida B. Wells-Barnett: An Exploratory Study of an American Black Woman, 1893-1930. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1990.

In this volume, Thompson documents the life and work of activist Ida B. Wells-Barnett. She explores Wells's early history as a young teacher, and her beginnings as a journalist. She details her anti-lynching crusade in the United States and abroad. Thompson also discusses Wells-Barnett's work within the black women's club movement, and her suffrage activities. She argues that Wells-Barnett was a unique figure of her time who embraced poor and working-class men and women along with the middle-class

reform women of her circle. Thompson also includes a number of Wells-Barnett's speeches and articles in the book.

Winch, Julie. "“You Have Talents—Only Cultivate Them”": Philadelphia's Black Female Literary Societies and the Abolitionist Crusade." In The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Home, 101-118. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Far from being elite circles which gathered to discuss the latest novels or write maudlin poetry, the black female literary societies of Philadelphia were egalitarian organizations which sought to create social reform for all people of color. The less educated members of the Female Literary Association, the Female Minervian Association, and the Edgeworth Literary Association were tutored by their more learned sisters. Though the women of these organizations did not reject their “traditional” female roles as gentle, forgiving, and maternal, they broadened the “domestic sphere” to include such important topics as emigration, education, and abolition. Their poems and essays on these topics appeared in periodicals like the Liberator and the Colored American. In addition to their literary contributions, the associations raised money to help feed, clothe, and shelter the thousands of fugitive slaves who sought refuge in the city each year.

Yee, Shirley J. Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Yee describes the precarious position of black females in their struggles to gain racial and gender equality in the nineteenth century. Caught between the sexism of the antislavery movement and the racism of the women's movement, black women carved their own niches as activists, organizers, and community builders. Yee explains the roles of women in churches and schools. She also describes the roles of women in benevolent and moral reform societies. Black women were integral in collecting and distributing aid to widows and orphans. They also stressed the importance of stopping prostitution and opposed the excessive use of alcohol. By engaging in activities which were an extension of the domestic sphere, black women were adhering to expectations of womanhood and helping their community. But many women stepped outside the boundaries of “respectability” by delivering public addresses, organizing antislavery societies, and submitting essays to antislavery journals and newspapers. In doing so, they sometimes incurred the wrath of their male counterparts who thought a woman's place was in the home.



**ADDITIONAL
CITATIONS**

Part IV.

Collected by Kelly Anderson, Erica Ball, Dorothy Browne, and Hilary-Anne Hallett

A. GENERAL

- Alexander, Ruth M. "‘We are Engaged as a Band of Sisters’: Class and Domesticity in the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, 1840-1850." Journal of American History 75,3 (1988): 763-785.
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Center for the Study of Philanthropy

Founded in September 1986 at the Graduate School of the City University of New York, The Center for the Study of Philanthropy focuses attention on giving, voluntarism, and nonprofit entrepreneurship by individual donors, foundations, and corporations in the United States and around the world.

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