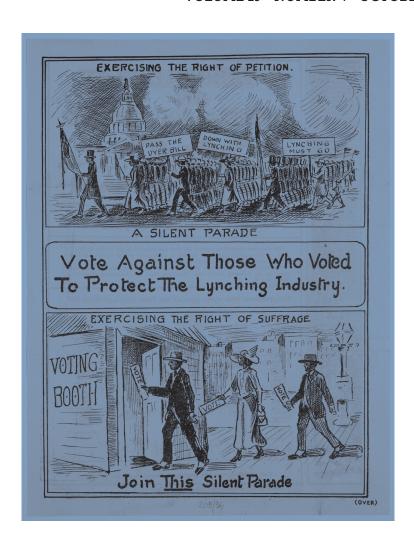


## The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

VOLUME 19 • NUMBER 4 • OCTOBER 2020







Editors: Boyd Cothran, York University Rosanne Currarino, Queen's University

Book Review Editor: Joseph Locke, University of Houston-Victoria

Book Review Editor's Assistant: Michele Curran Cornell, Kent State University

Editorial Assistant: Laura Crossley, George Mason University

Online Editor: Christopher McKnight Nichols, Oregon State University

Founding Editor, 2000–2003: Maureen A. Flanagan, Michigan State University

Editor, 2004–2014: Alan Lessoff, Illinois State University

Editors, 2013–2018: Benjamin H. Johnson, Loyola University Chicago

Robert D. Johnston, University of Illinois at Chicago Editors, 2017-2020: Boyd Cothran, York University C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, George Mason University

## Editorial Board

Christopher Cantwell University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Janet Davis

University of Texas-Austin

Gregory P. Downs

University of California-Davis

Joseph M. Gabriel Florida State University

Cristina Groeger Lake Forest College

Sonia Hernandez Texas A & M University

Adam Hodges

University of Houston-Clear Lake

Doug Kiel

Northwestern University

Suzanna Krivulskaya University of Notre Dame

Michael Lansing Augsburg University

Beth Lew-Williams Princeton University

Rebecca Tinio McKenna University of Notre Dame

Kevin P. Murphy

University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Elaine Frantz Kent State University

K. Stephen Prince

University of South Florida

Alaina Roberts

University of Pittsburgh

Alyssa Neumann, ex officio Cambridge University Press

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in America: History and Life, Historical Abstracts, Scopus, and in the Thompson Reuters Social Sciences Citation Index, Arts & Humanities Citation Index, and Current Contents: Social and Behavioral Sciences.

Instructions appear at the end of this issue for accessing the online edition at Cambridge Journals Online, http://journals.cambridge.org/jga. All content is available from Volume 1, Number 1 through the present. The journal is also archived in JSTOR, www.jstor.org, with issues older than five years available to subscribers of JSTOR's Arts & Sciences V Collection.

Change of Address: Contact alwood@ilstu.edu or go to http://journals.cambridge.org/jga

The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (1537-7814) is a peer-reviewed journal published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006 / Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, U.K., for the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE). It publishes original scholarly essays covering the period 1865 to 1920 and reviews scholarly books on that time period.

**Publishing, Advertising, and Subscription Offices:** Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006, *U.S.A.* (for U.S.A., Canada, and Mexico); or Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, U.K. (for U.K. and elsewhere).

Annual institutional subscription rates for Volume 19, 2020, are \$219.00 in the U.S.A., Mexico, and Canada and £143.00 elsewhere for print and electronic subscriptions; and \$172.00 in the U.S.A., Mexico, and Canada and £108.00 elsewhere for electronic subscriptions only. The rate for regular members of the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE) is £/\$48.00 for print and electronic subscriptions. The rate for sustaining members of the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE) is £/\$48.00 for print and electronic subscriptions. The rate for student members is £/\$19 for print and electronic subscriptions. The rate for lifetime membership in SHGAPE is \$500.00 for print and electronic subscriptions. Single part: \$63.00 in the U.S.A., Mexico, and Canada and £41.00 elsewhere. Prices include postage and insurance. *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* and all other Cambridge journals can be found at http://journals.cambridge.org/.

Individual subscriptions include a membership in SHGAPE, which in addition to publishing this journal offers book and article prizes, sponsors sessions at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and Organization of American Historians, and edits H-SHGAPE, an H-Net discussion list.

For back issues, please contact Periodicals Service Company, 11 Main Street, Germantown, NY 12526; email: psc@periodicals.com

Manuscripts should be submitted electronically in MS Word format to co-editors, Boyd Cothran and Rosanne Currarino, at jgape@yorku.ca. Before submitting any manuscript, please consult http://journals.cambridge.org/jga for details on correct format and citation style. Information may also be obtained at https://www.shgape.org/journal/ or via email at jgape@yorku.ca.

© Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE) 2020. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means, photocopying, electronic, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Policies, request forms, and contacts are available at: http://www.cambridge.org/rights/permissions/permission.htm.

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC), www.copyright.com, email: info@copyright.com.

Forwarding and return postage guaranteed, address correction requested.

## The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era Volume 19 • Number 4 • October 2020

## **CONTENTS**

EDITORS' NOTE	531
SPECIAL ISSUE: THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT AT 100	
CATHLEEN D. CAHILL, CRYSTAL N. FEIMSTER, AND KIMBERLY A. HAMLIN Expanding the Suffrage Archive: Chronology, Region, Ideology, Biography, and Memory	533
HEATHER MUNRO PRESCOTT AND LAUREN MACIVOR THOMPSON A Right to Ourselves:  Women's Suffrage and the Birth Control Movement	542
KARA W. SWANSON Inventing the Woman Voter: Suffrage, Ability, and Patents	559
THOMAS DUBLIN A Crowdsourcing Approach to Revitalizing Scholarship on Black Women Suffragists	575
RACHEL MICHELLE GUNTER Immigrant Declarants and Loyal American Women: How Suffragists Helped Redefine the Rights of Citizens	591
SUNU KODUMTHARA "The Right of Suffrage Has Been Thrust on Me": The Reluctant Suffragists of the American West	607
SPOTLIGHT	
MARGIE BROWN-CORONEL "Born a Leading Lady": The Political Trajectory of Lucretia del Valle	623
PHOTO ESSAY	
CATHLEEN D. CAHILL "Our Sisters in China Are Free": Visual Representations of Chinese and Chinese American Suffragists	634
SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE	
CHRISTOPHER MCKNIGHT NICHOLS, NANCY BRISTOW, E. THOMAS EWING, JOSEPH M. GABRIEL, BENJAMIN C. MONTOYA, AND ELIZABETH OUTKA Influenza Pandemic in the Age of COVID-19	642
BOOK REVIEWS	
Dennis Patrick Halpin, A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865–1920 (Paige Glotzer)	673

On the cover: "A Terrible Blot on American Civilization. 3424 Lynchings in 33 Years," Prepared by the Committee on Public Affairs and the Inter-Fraternal Council and issued by District of Columbia Anti-Lynching Committee North Eastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Washington, 1922. Library of Congress, Printed Ephemera Collection, Portfolio 208, Folder 36.

1790–1915 (Adam Malka)	675
K. David Hanzlick, Benevolence, Moral Reform, Equality: Women's Activism in Kansas City, 1870 to 1940 (Kelsey Carls)	677
CHRISTOPHER W. SHAW, Money, Power, and the People: The American Struggle to Make Banking Democratic (Jefferson Decker)	679
DARA ORENSTEIN, Out of Stock: The Warehouse in the History of Capitalism (Jonathan Rees)	681
David Mislin, Washington Gladden's Church: The Minister Who Made Modern American Protestantism (Cara Lea Burnidge)	683
ERRATA	
HEATHER MUNRO PRESCOTT AND LAUREN MACIVOR THOMPSON A Right to Ourselves: Women's Suffrage and the Birth Control Movement—ERRATUM	685
RACHEL MICHELLE GUNTER Immigrant Declarants and Loyal American Women: How Suffragists Helped Redefine the Rights of Citizens—ERRATUM	686