

*“On Account of Color or Sex”:
A Historical Examination of the
Split between Black Rights and
Women’s Rights in the American
Equal Rights Association, 1866-1869*

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In America, both the women’s rights movement and the black rights movement had their roots in the abolitionist organizations of the early 1800s, and they shared many members, goals, and methods. Despite these early commonalities, though, in the latter half of the century the two movements faced each other as adversaries. Throughout the antebellum and Civil War years, the movements had cultivated increasingly divergent goals and tactics, particularly in regards to the issue of suffrage. By the late 1860s, the leaders of the two movements disagreed completely on the relationship between their movement and the existing political structure, particularly the Republican Party. They also held divergent opinions on why either women or black people needed the vote and when enfranchisement should occur. By the end of the decade, they would not even acknowledge the legitimacy of each other’s goals.

Although this conflict was played out in many forums, it is most clear in the proceedings of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA). This organization, designed to combine the resources and energy of the black and women’s suffrage movements, held three annual conferences after its initial meeting in 1866. These

meetings forced the leaders of the two movements to articulate their goals and the means by which they were to achieve those goals. Eventually, the two movements had no choice but to confront the reality of the growing rift between them. It was on the convention floor in 1867 and 1868 that the conflict over the Republican Party and the urgency of suffrage became clear, and the debate at the group's final meeting in 1869 revealed that these fundamental disagreements had destroyed desire for cooperation and even respect between the two movements. The collapse of the AERA is often viewed as a symbol of the split between women's suffragists and black suffragists. By examining the proceedings of the AERA's annual meetings and the events that influenced them, we can discern both the actual and symbolic end of the two movements' collaboration.

The abolition movement had a long history in America. It originated in the tolerant Quaker communities of the North; as early as 1790, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society was active and sending petitions to the United States Congress.¹ The movement continued to grow throughout the early republic, but it lacked cohesive organization. That changed in the 1830s, when radical William Lloyd Garrison capitalized on the upsurge in abolition involvement sparked by the Protestant revivals of the New England-based Second Great Awakening.² Two years later, delegates from around the country formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, a group that brought both radical and moderate abolitionist groups together, to great success throughout that decade. The organization split in 1840, however, over the role of women in the movement – a foreshadowing of conflicts to come.³

With Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863 and the passage of the 13th Amendment in 1865, many anti-slavery groups transformed themselves into black rights groups. As activist leader Frederick Douglass said, "the work does not end with the abolition of slavery, but only begins."⁴ Even as the Civil War was still being fought, activists were working to better the position of black people in America. Though

fighting for various aspects of their economic and political equality, one of the earliest goals was full citizenship. This, of course, included the right to vote. This became a primary goal of many national groups: for example, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, an abolitionist newspaper, changed its masthead to “No Reconstruction Without Negro Suffrage.”⁵ By 1867, many of the leaders in the movement agreed that “slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot.”⁶

Like the black rights movement, the women’s rights movement had its roots in abolitionism. Feminists Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton first met as delegates to the World Anti-Slavery Society convention in 1840, and the landmark Seneca Falls Convention eight years later was sparked by their exclusion from that very anti-slavery convention because of their sex. These “moral crusader feminists” were commonly involved in other reform causes in the first half of the 1800s, including temperance and anti-prostitution, and they understood women’s rights as a moral issue.⁷ It was from their work in abolitionism and other social reform movements that women’s rights leaders learned the tactical skills necessary for politically advancing the cause of women.⁸ The Declaration of Sentiments that came out of Seneca Falls was a synthesis of women’s rights issues, such as better education, more economic and social independence, and greater political autonomy, that had been gaining popularity since the 1830s.⁹ However, in the divisive years immediately before and during Civil War, a single issue – suffrage – increasingly became the focus of many high-profile women’s rights activists.¹⁰ Like former abolitionists now working for black equality, these women and men realized that freedom in American was contingent on the ability to participate in the democratic process.

The end of the war and the concomitant start of Reconstruction brought the issue of black suffrage to the front of national politics. The ratification of the 13th Amendment, which permanently abolished slavery, brought about the larger debate on the nature of freedom in America and the as-yet undefined political status of millions of former slaves. Congress first tried to approach this with the Civil Rights Bill in 1866, but President Andrew Johnson's veto of the bill over the issue of Congressional power led to passage of the 14th Amendment.¹¹ In a vast expansion of federal power, the amendment's first article established national citizenship and forbade states from denying citizens "equal protection of the laws." At the same time, the second article proportionally reduced Congressional representation to states that denied the right to vote to any "male... citizens of the United States." In some ways, the 14th Amendment left women and black people in a similar position: "citizens without political rights."¹² Black rights activists objected to the implicit acceptance of racial discrimination in the second article, though they strongly supported the equal protection language in the first.¹³ Women's suffragists viewed the amendment as a blatant affront to their previous cooperation with the abolition and black rights movement.¹⁴ Its inclusion of "male" in the second article, the first time that word had appeared in the U.S. Constitution, did not bode well for their cause. To many inside and outside Congress, it appeared that it was simply a matter of time until the momentum of legalized racial equality would next lead to the universal enfranchisement of black men.¹⁵ The possibility of a similar victory for women remained uncertain.

It was in this climate of both contention and progress that the American Equal Rights Association was formed. Women's rights activists proposed the group in order to join the cause of gender equality with that of racial equality. The attempted fusion of the two movements was both a nod to feminists' participation in abolitionism and an acknowledgement of the importance of the demand for equal rights, particularly suffrage.¹⁶ Its founders were active in both the black and women's rights movements of the mid-nineteenth century: Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony proposed the idea at a Boston anti-slavery meeting in January 1866, and within the next few months Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Frederick Douglass had founded the group and called for a meeting that May.¹⁷ Leading activists and radicals from both movements – as the New York Herald joked, “All the isms of the age” – gathered in New York City for the founding meeting in May 1866.¹⁸ Although there were numerous offices and committees within the group, the top leadership consisted of prominent figures involved in both movements: Lucretia Mott was named president, Douglass, Stanton, and Theodore Tilton (abolitionist, women's right's activist, and editor of reform journals *The Independent* and *The Golden Age*) became the three vice-presidents, and Susan B. Anthony was voted in as secretary.¹⁹ After two days of lecture and debate, the group unanimously adopted the name American Equal Rights Association, and the AERA's initial conference passed with little incident.²⁰

The conferences of 1867 and 1868 did not share that distinction. Over the course of two contentious meetings – both held for one or two days in May of their respective years – the debates between feminists and black rights activists focused on two of the fundamental disagreements between the two movements. The first was the dependability

of the political establishment, especially political parties. Anger was still simmering in both movements over the perceived betrayal of the 14th Amendment, which was in the process of being ratified by the states during 1867 and 1868, and the conferences revealed the different ways in which the two groups responded to that betrayal: feminist groups moved away from the Republicans and in fact the entire party system, while the black rights movement aligned itself even more closely.²¹ The second issue was based on a question: why does a group of people need to have the vote? The different answers given on behalf of black men and white women showed an underlying split in the way the movements understood the function and necessity of suffrage.

After the initial meeting in 1866, members of the AERA had initiated a number of state-based initiatives designed to bring the vote to both black people and women, including a particularly contentious campaign in Kansas to remove both “male” and “white” from the state constitutional requirements on suffrage. Few of these efforts had been successful, but they *had* continuously forced activists to confront the political problem of agitating for dual enfranchisement.²² It was becoming clear that the Republican Party, even its Radical wing, was loath to endorse women’s suffrage. In a letter from Kansas on the day of the 1867 convention, Lucy Stone fumed about the campaign she was working on: “there is a plot to get the Republican party to drop the word ‘male,’ and also to agree to canvass [campaign] *only* for the word ‘white.’”²³ Experiences with these campaigns, coupled with the blame that many feminists placed on “the dominant party for its retrogressive legislation” that was the 14th Amendment, had driven many working for women’s suffrage away from the Republicans.²⁴ Although women’s suffragists to some extent used the Democrats for legislative support, the party

did not actually endorse women's suffrage, but trumpeted the cause in order to discredit Republican support for black suffrage.²⁵ The women's rights movement had essentially disassociated itself from the political system – woman, said Stanton, “must not put her trust in man.”²⁶

In contrast to the feminists' actions, the black rights movement had responded to the 14th Amendment by falling more in line with the Republican Party. After the elections of 1866, Republicans had become more vocal in their support for black suffrage. Former abolitionists now united with the powerful Radicals in the party's left wing.²⁷ What was critical about this divide was not that black suffrage workers became Republican, but that they engaged with the system at all. This move both indicated and enhanced the political clout of the movement. Even the existence of the AERA itself was a testimony to this: its creation in some measure was an effort on the part of feminists to take advantage of the political power that the black rights movement was now enjoying.²⁸ However, black suffrage activists increasingly worried that attempts to combine the two movements would deplete the support for both, especially black suffrage, which in 1867 and '68 looked to be an approaching reality.²⁹ Many in the black rights movement increasingly perceived their goal as easily attainable and women's suffrage as a noble yet far-fetched prospect in the Reconstruction years.³⁰ With political and public opinion on their side, black rights activists sought increasingly to move towards the Republican Party and to distance themselves from the women's rights groups without overtly severing ties.

The issue of political party alignment and the growing confidence of black rights advocates was illustrated clearly in an exchange at the 1868 conference. Frederick

Douglass, who spoke on behalf of the black suffrage movement on the difference in urgency between the black and women's votes, gave a speech that was perhaps more insightful (and cutting) than he had intended. The campaign for women's suffrage, he said, "meets nothing but ridicule," but a black man demanding his vote is met with "the Ku-klux and Regulators [who] hunt and slay the offending" petitioner. The critical word, "ridicule," revealed the growing sentiment that women's suffrage was, or at least was perceived to be, a fantasy. In response to this subtle insult, feminist Olympia Brown quickly turned the debate into a denouncement of Republicans. Avoiding voicing support for the Democratic Party, Brown criticized the Republican Party, stating that it "cares for nothing but party!" Lucy Stone, too, claimed that the party was "false to principle unless it protected women as well as colored men" in their voting rights. Douglass stood staunchly in support of Republicans throughout, praising the party for admitting states that had "constitutions guaranteeing negro suffrage forever."³¹ The exchange highlighted the growing rift between the two factions over cooperation with the Republican Party, which was augmented by the strain caused by the increasing power of the black suffrage movement without a simultaneous rise in support for women's suffrage.

The second prevalent theme of the AERA conventions in 1867 and 1868 was the debate over what the vote would do for black people or women, a question which determined the timing of granting suffrage – that is, whether black people (implicitly men) or women (implicitly white) were entitled to the vote first. On one side stood those who called for support for the immediate enfranchisement of black men. Black men were often portrayed as having earned their citizenship and suffrage through their participation

in the Union Army, and suffrage supporters often used the language of the Constitution to argue that giving black men the vote was part of America's destiny as a great civilization.³² More importantly, black suffrage was not only seen as a step in the direction of equality, but also a "matter of life or death."³³ Only if black men in the South had the vote could they protect themselves from the injustices being done to them in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. The black man, said Frederick Douglas, "needs suffrage to protect his life and property, and to ensure him respect and education."³⁴ Black male suffrage was portrayed as a political right and a physical necessity.

On the other side of the debate were those who supported women's suffrage first or concurrent with black suffrage. Women's suffragists, like black suffragists, used appeals to the democratic foundations of the country, protesting "in the name of republican freedom" that women were not represented in their own government.³⁵ Women voters were portrayed as a positive moral influence, whose political influence could "save the country."³⁶ It was argued that the reform spirit of the nation provided the perfect atmosphere in which to call for universal suffrage, and many women's suffrage supporters feared that it would be many years "ere the constitutional door will again be opened."³⁷ In addition to the redeeming qualities of women, some argued for their suffrage on the basis of perceived undesirable qualities of black men. It was common among women's rights groups to hear insults about the trustworthiness or abilities of black men to support a family as a justification for giving black women the vote.³⁸ Others claimed that giving poor or uneducated black men the vote before educated middle-class white women would be degrading or humiliating to the latter.³⁹ Women (or sometimes just white women) deserved the vote not only because of their rights and positive moral

influence, but because their education and status made them more desirable voters than black men.

At the 1867 convention, the issue of whose suffrage should come first was the subject of a heated debate, which started when each side tried to argue its case by calling a prominent black woman to the podium.⁴⁰ It was the free-born and well-educated Frances Watkins Harper who took the side of the black suffragists, echoing her sentiments from the previous conference that it was the racism of white women, even her fellow activists, that was a threat to black equality.⁴¹ She downplayed the necessity of lifting middle-class white women “out of their airy nothings and selfishness,” and emphasized that it was black people who need the vote *now* – even if it was only black men at first.⁴² Sojourner Truth, the illiterate former slave and gifted orator, responded to Harper by speaking of the idleness and arrogance of black men. She proclaimed that suffrage for women would bring them economic independence, declaring, “When we get our rights we shall not have to come to you [black men] for money.”⁴³ She even stated that “White women are a great deal smarter, and know more than colored women,” although it was because all the latter could do was “go out washing” – implying that it was a lack of education, not intelligence, that plagued black women.⁴⁴ This issue of education led to an argument between George T. Downing and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Downing demanded of Stanton if she opposed black enfranchisement if women did not also get the vote; she replied that without female suffrage, the “highest type of manhood” should have the vote, not the “incoming tide of ignorance, poverty, and vice” – in other words, uneducated immigrant and black men.⁴⁵ The conference, mired in controversy, did

nothing but adopt a low-key resolution stating that suffrage provided “self-protection, self-reliance and self-respect.”⁴⁶

Thus, at the 1867 and 1868 AERA conferences, a clear division formed between advocates of immediate black suffrage and those who demanded the vote for women before or at the same time as for black males. Certainly, this was not simply a division between white women and black men. Many white women thought that black men, once enfranchised, would be stronger allies than white men in the fight for sexual equality; there were black men like Charles Remond who demanded the same rights for his wife and sister as for himself; and black women found themselves in a difficult position in either camp.⁴⁷ The activists were divided less by race and gender, and more by their understanding of why people needed or deserved suffrage. These groups also diverged over their opinion of the Republican Party: female suffragists wanted nothing to do with the Republicans (or really even the Democrats, except when they needed legislators to introduce bills), while those fighting for black rights saw the Republican Party as important to their movement’s growing power and support. These conflicts over ideology and action set the stage for the explosive final conference of the short-lived American Equal Rights Association.

The 1869 AERA convention again occurred in May in New York City. The meeting was called by Stanton and Anthony, who had recently aligned themselves with George Francis Train, the racist women’s rights supporter and newspaper editor.⁴⁸ The women were intent on healing old wounds from the first conferences and rallying support for a new project: a proposed 16th Amendment that would give the vote to women.⁴⁹ However, another issue was also on the table, although many feminists would have

preferred it not be. The 15th Amendment, granting suffrage to black men, had passed in Congress in February of that year, and by May it was in the process of being ratified by the necessary states.⁵⁰ Despite feminists' attempts at promoting their 16th Amendment, the bulk of the convention was to be spent in a blaze of arguments over the 15th. The dispute over whether or not to support the new amendment revealed the lack of esteem and loss of a cooperative spirit between the two sides. The women's suffragists applied racist language to their arguments against the amendment. In return, black suffrage advocates belittled the cause of the feminists by repeatedly arguing for the amendment by emphasizing the importance of black male enfranchisement over women's suffrage. This conflict, which was rooted not just in ideas but also in each movement's opinion of the other, was the breaking point of the AERA and the two groups' cooperation.

Feminists, who by and large opposed the 15th Amendment because it did not allow for female suffrage, frequently insulted the black race, particularly black men, in their arguments against it. Over the past few years, some of the leading women's movement leaders had been gaining a decidedly racist subtext to their messages.⁵¹ That undercurrent of thought was obvious at the AERA. Sometimes it was disguised as "educated suffrage."⁵² Susan B. Anthony stated, "if you will not give... suffrage to the entire people, give it to the most intelligent first."⁵³ At other points, it was in the form of insulting black men. Paulina W. Davis called black men in the South "a race of tyrants" and proclaimed, "the black women are more intelligent than the men, because they have learned something from their mistresses."⁵⁴ Finally, there was overt racism from women like Stanton. Although she was reprimanded for an earlier comment about the danger of giving the vote first to "Patrick and Sambo and Hans and Ung Tung," she repeated at the

conference that she objected to “allowing ignorant negroes and foreigners to make laws.”⁵⁵ These racist remarks were present in many of the women suffragists’ speeches.

Black suffragists, not unexpectedly, objected strongly to this kind of language being used among supposed defenders of equality. However, their own arguments contained implications that were offensive to women’s suffragists. Statements about the urgency of the need for the black vote had, by this time, been transformed into assertions that black suffrage was more important than female suffrage; this allegation was infuriating to many who were devoting their lives to women’s rights. The importance of black over women’s issues was implied when speakers attributed current national conflicts to race relations only, not gender. Douglass, after listing off numerous tribulations that black people faced, was asked if they were not also true for black women. “Yes, yes, yes,” he cried impatiently, “it is true of the black woman, but not because she is a woman, but because she is black.”⁵⁶ In some exchanges, the primacy of race problems was stated overtly. Frances Watkins Harper said that with issues where “it was a question of race, she let the lesser question of sex go.”⁵⁷ In their arguments for the necessity of immediate black emancipation, black suffragists downplayed the importance and legitimacy of the women’s movement.

The strong negative feelings on both sides were present even from the very first debate of the 1869 conference. Upon the conclusion of Stanton’s introductory message, Stephen Foster quickly denounced her as a racist.⁵⁸ Douglass followed by recounting the specific racist remarks she had made. She had used “certain names, such as ‘Sambo,’” and had made offensive comparisons between “the gardener, and the bootblack, and the daughters of Jefferson and Washington.” His main point, though, was that although he

was “in favor of woman’s suffrage,” it was not matched in urgency by the need for the black vote. A woman, he claimed, had “10,000 modes of grappling with her difficulties,” while black men had none. Susan B. Anthony responded hotly by declaring, “If intelligence, justice, and morality are to have precedence in the Government, let the question of women be brought up first and that of the negro last.”⁵⁹

The opening exchange set the tone for all the rest that followed; the conference revealed that each movement no longer respected the other’s legitimacy. Much of the women’s suffrage leadership was clearly no longer interested in fighting to enfranchise men whom they considered inferior. At the same time, few black suffrage activists could see the point in devoting their resources to a movement that they perceived as lacking in both support and relevance. Despite many of the delegates’ desire to focus on what Lucy Stone called the “middle principle” or common ground, without even the foundation of mutual respect to stand on, the organization could not continue to function. The final action of the AERA was a weak resolution that supported the 15th Amendment but expressed “profound regret that Congress has not submitted a parallel amendment for the enfranchisement of women.”⁶⁰ After the concluding remarks on the third day, the American Equal Rights Association disbanded; the attempt to fuse the two movements had failed.

In the immediate aftermath of the AERA’s final conference, suffrage workers founded two competing groups. Stanton, Anthony, and other former abolitionists created the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in a meeting two days after the AERA convention. The group focused purely on women’s enfranchisement, “separate

and apart from the question of equal rights and manhood suffrage” – that is to say, *black* manhood suffrage.⁶¹ The all-female NWSA did not involve the issue of race in its mission.⁶² Its tenets evolved into the more popular school of feminism, and the group has been called the “first national feminist organization in the United States.”⁶³ At the same time, those who believed that black and women’s suffrage were not mutually exclusive, including Harper and Stone, formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). Its members continued to work for equal rights for both races and sexes, in the more traditional vein of the abolitionist movement.⁶⁴ The AWSA was not as militant and thus was less successful in attracting members or attention. Though a few women like Sojourner Truth were involved in both groups, most activists chose one side and did not budge. The impasse continued for twenty years, until 1890 when the two groups combined as the National American Woman Suffrage Association. However, this organization was guided much more strongly by Stanton and Anthony’s brand of women’s suffrage than Stone and Harper’s, and the issue of race faded from popular feminism.⁶⁵

The failure of the black rights movement and the women’s rights movement to remain in collaboration was due to the fundamental differences that had evolved between them in the 1850s and 1860s. These disagreements, which centered on the issue of suffrage, concerned both action and ideas. Feminists who felt betrayed by the Republican Party could not effectively work with black suffragists who saw cooperation with that party as an important step in achieving their goals. The two groups also could not agree on why, and thus when, women and black people should get the right to vote; black rights activists pointed to the dire situation in the Reconstruction South and claimed

black suffrage was the only solution, while women suffragists argued for their positive moral influence and refused to accept that uneducated black men would be enfranchised before they were. These strong divisions led to the heated arguments that produced the hostile feelings so apparent in the 1869 AERA convention. Female suffragists brought racist language into their arguments, while black suffragists belittled the need for women's enfranchisement in their appeals for their own cause. In the end, the leaders of these once-united movements could no longer respect each other's opinions or work. By the end of the final conference of the AERA, the split between the movements for women's rights and black rights was complete.

¹ Joseph J. Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 83.

² James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 8.

³ Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History, Volume 1: To 1877* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2005), 453.

⁴ Frederick Douglass, qtd. in Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), 34.

⁵ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 1865, qtd. in E. Foner, *Short History*, 31.

⁶ Frederick Douglass, qtd. in *ibid.*, 30-31.

⁷ Alice S. Rossi, ed., *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 249.

⁸ Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920" in Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds, *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 74.

⁹ "Selections from the *History of Woman Suffrage: 'The Seneca Falls Convention'*" in *Feminist Papers*, 419.

¹⁰ Rossi, *Feminist Papers*, 281; P. Baker, "Domestication of Politics," 74.

¹¹ E. Foner, *Short History*, 113-115.

¹² Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 62.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁴ Clinton, *Other Civil War*, 93.

¹⁵ E. Foner, *Short History*, 117-120.

¹⁶ Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1984), 65

¹⁷ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 63; Wilbert L. Jenkins, *Climbing Up to Glory: A Short History of African Americans during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2002), 217.

¹⁸ *New York Herald*, 1866, qtd. in Philip S. Foner, ed., *Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), 28.

¹⁹ "Memorial of the American Equal Rights Association to the Congress of the United States," printed in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 22 December 1866, in *Frederick Douglass*, 82.

²⁰ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 64.

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- ²¹ Ibid., 73-75.
- ²² Ibid., 65-66.
- ²³ Letter from Lucy Stone to Unnamed Recipient, 9 May 1867, in *Feminist Papers*, 439.
- ²⁴ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 67.
- ²⁵ Ibid., 76.
- ²⁶ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, qtd. in E. Foner, 115.
- ²⁷ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 75.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 64.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 71.
- ³⁰ Nell Irvin Painter, "Voices of Suffrage: Sojourner Truth, Frances Watkins Harper and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage" in Jean H. Baker, ed., *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 50.
- ³¹ "Proceedings of the American Equal Rights Association Convention in Cooper Institute, New York, May 14, 1868" in *Frederick Douglass*, 84.
- ³² E. Foner, *Short History*, 50-51.
- ³³ "Proceedings... May 14, 1868," 84.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ "Memorial," 82.
- ³⁶ "Proceedings of the American Equal Rights Association Convention, Steinway Hall, New York City, May 12, 1869" in *Frederick Douglass*, 89.
- ³⁷ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, qtd. in E. Foner, *Short History*, 115.
- ³⁸ Painter, "Voices of Suffrage," 47-48.
- ³⁹ Ibid., 44.
- ⁴⁰ One might imagine that since the AERA looked at both sex and race, it could be seen as the ultimate organization for black women; however, due to inherited racism and sexism from the early abolition movement, only five black women ever served as officers or as speakers in the whole existence of the organization. DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 69.
- ⁴¹ Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*, 66.
- ⁴² Frances Smith Foster, "Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911)," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1993), 532-37, qtd. in Painter, "Voices of Suffrage," 47.
- ⁴³ "Address to the American Equal Rights Association, Delivered by Sojourner Truth, New York City, May 9, 1867" in Janey Weinholt Montgomery, *A Comparative Analysis of the Rhetoric of Two Negro Women Orators – Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper* (Hays, KS: Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1968), 99.
- ⁴⁴ "Address... by Sojourner Truth," 98.
- ⁴⁵ "The American Equal Rights Association: Day Two," in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds, *History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 2: 1861-1876* (Rochester, NY: Privately Published, 1881), 214-216, <http://www.alexanderstreet6.com/wasm/wasmrestricted/doctext/S10010055-D0004.htm> (accessed 5 December 2004).
- ⁴⁶ "Resolution Adopted at First Annual Meeting, American Equal Rights Association, New York City, May 9-10, 1867" in *Frederick Douglass*, 83.
- ⁴⁷ Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*, 68n.
- ⁴⁸ Painter, "Voices of Suffrage," 50-51.
- ⁴⁹ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 185-187.
- ⁵⁰ E. Foner, *Short History*, 189.
- ⁵¹ Painter, "Voices of Suffrage," 47.
- ⁵² Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*, 67.
- ⁵³ "Proceedings... May 12, 1869," 87.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., 89.
- ⁵⁵ "Editorial Correspondence, Washington, January 22. 1869)," in Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, eds, *History, vol. 2*, 353-355, <http://www.alexanderstreet6.com/wasm/wasmrestricted/doctext/S10010055-D0008.htm> (accessed 5 December 2004); "Proceedings... May 12, 1869," 90.
- ⁵⁶ "Proceedings... May 12, 1869," 87.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., 90.

⁵⁸ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 187.

⁵⁹ "Proceedings... May 12, 1869," 86-87.

⁶⁰ "Equal Rights," *New York Times*, 14 May 1869, qtd. in DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 188-189.

⁶¹ "Meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association," *New York Times*, 18 May 1869, qtd. in *ibid.*, 189-190.

⁶² Painter, "Voices of Suffrage," 51.

⁶³ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*, 190.

⁶⁴ E. Foner, *Short History*, 193.

⁶⁵ Painter, "Voices of Suffrage," 52-53.