

JOURNAL OF WOMEN'S HISTORY

GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Journal of Women's History
Guide to Periodical Literature

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Literature

COMPILED BY

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FOREWORD BY

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INTRODUCTION BY

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FOREWORD

Christie Farnham

In the spring of 1987, more than twelve years after I began doing research in women's history and at least fourteen years after the founding of the field, the realization came to me that there were no journals devoted exclusively to women's history. True, there were high-quality feminist periodicals, such as *Signs*, which published women's history along with works in other disciplines, but there was not one single journal dealing solely with women's history. This omission struck me as exceedingly strange, not only because the past decade had seen a proliferation of new journals addressed to all sorts of scholarly subjects and periods but also because the sheer quantity of research done in women's history had long since led its practitioners to refer to it as an "explosion." Indeed, it was astonishing to me that such an essential means of promoting a field and preserving its achievements for future generations could have been neglected. Someone should certainly have founded such a journal, I believed.

Why someone else? On further reflection it seemed to me that if I saw a need, I bore some obligation to see that it was met. It was also obvious that Indiana University, where I was then a faculty member, was an ideal place to found such a periodical, since it was already home to three history journals (*American Historical Review*, *Journal of American History*, and *History of Education Quarterly*). So I decided to take the initiative by inviting Joan Hoff, then Executive Secretary of the Organization of American Historians, to join me.

In June 1987, we set about creating a board of nationally recognized scholars and foreign advisers; establishing a working relationship with Indiana University, which supplies a portion of our operating funds in return for the training of graduate students; and contracting with Indiana University Press for publication. Joan Catapano, Acquisitions Editor, was of inestimable value in our getting started. Having put all the pieces together, we incorporated on October 17, 1988, and published our inaugural issue in spring 1989. Such a time-consuming and costly venture as a journal could not have succeeded in its initial phases without the generous assistance of the William Bingham Foundation of Cleveland.

This reference guide grew out of our early efforts to fulfill commonly held expectations that a journal should review books in the field. Since we had neither the lead time nor the initial funds to institute a conventional book review section in our first issues, and since women's history is highly interdisciplinary, with articles appearing in widely scattered publications, we decided that it would be a valuable service to the profession to substitute bibliographies on selected topics for regular book reviews until we were in a better position to address that section of the journal.

Emilye Crosby, our first graduate assistant, had the thankless task of setting up a system for organizing and computerizing the bibliographical information which she collected. Michael Regoli of the Organization of American Historians provided

much helpful advice and access to data. Crosby was succeeded by Gayle V. Fischer, who, under Joan's and my supervision, compiled the bulk of the entries in this *Guide*.

Women in the History Profession

The approximately fifty-five hundred individual entries which the *Guide* contains attest to the fact that women's history is the fastest-growing field in the profession. This is the result of its birth in the transforming vision of women's liberation, the vastness of the subject matter awaiting investigation (the history of at least half of the world's population), the rise of social history with its methodological advances in writing history "from the bottom up," and, most important, the prior existence of women already trained as historians.

Women had been members of the organized historical profession from its inception in the 1880s, holding token positions on its committees; but with few exceptions they were excluded from the real bases of the profession's power and prestige, i.e., positions on the faculty of the nation's major educational institutions and editorship of the foremost historical journals. The *Journal of American History* (formerly the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*), for example, had no women editors in the early seventies, fewer than 2 percent of its book reviews were contributed by women, and in some years not a single article was authored by a woman. Unlike the *American Sociological Review*, where editors serve limited terms and the journal passes among institutions at regular intervals, history periodicals are linked to individual universities, and editors serve as long as they want. As a consequence, a small number of individuals and schools have a large influence on the shaping of the field. The situation at the ten highest-ranking graduate departments in the nation's major research universities was also dismal. For the 1968-69 academic year there were no women full professors and only four at the associate and assistant levels. Berkeley, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, and Wisconsin had no women; Chicago had one out of a faculty of fifty-seven, Columbia two out of seventy-two, Michigan two out of forty-four, and Yale two out of seventy-three.¹ The bias against women in the profession was clear.

In the 1920s and 1930s, women received 15 percent of all the Ph.D.'s awarded in the nation. Those percentages declined, not because of any fall in absolute numbers, but because the number of men attending graduate school increased sharply in the fifties and sixties. Women were 13 percent of the 1930-59 Ph.D. cohort, dropping to 10.4 percent in the 1960-69 cohort.²

During this period, academic positions throughout the humanities were seldom advertised but instead were filled through "old boy" networks. Women often depended upon letters of reference, which might contain gratuitous sexist characterizations like the following: "While she probably doesn't have the stamina for independent, scholarly work, she loves big parties and mixes well." Or, "If she has any faults, they are those that usually accompany the ambitious woman of her age." Prejudice against women's intellectual abilities was pervasive. Numerous

studies showed that the same professional record was given a lower evaluation when it was attributed to a woman rather than to a man, no matter what the sex of the evaluator.³

The feminist movement of the sixties had a profound effect upon the younger women in the historical profession, and they began to organize to oppose gender discrimination. In 1969, women's history was not yet a recognized field of scholarship, and many students were actively discouraged from doing research in this area. Only 10.4 percent of history Ph.D.'s were women, and there were no women officers in either of the two major historical associations (the American Historical Association, which covers all fields and periods, and the Organization of American Historians, which addresses itself primarily to Americanists). At the 1969 meetings of the American Historical Association, Berenice Carroll initiated the founding of the Coordinating Committee of Women in the Historical Profession to end discrimination against women in the profession. By 1975 its additional objective of furthering instruction and research in women's history was recognized by the affiliation of the Conference Group on Women's History with the AHA. Membership, however, remains largely joint. The CCWHP/CGWH, along with permanent committees in the AHA and OAH on the status of women in the profession which were created as the result of lobbying efforts, have proved to be highly effective instruments of change.⁴

In 1970 the then ad hoc AHA Committee on the Status of Women presented its findings. Known as the "Rose Report," after the committee chair, Willie Lee Rose, the report formed the agenda for the succeeding twenty years, and the statistics it presented on women in the profession have served as a base line for evaluating women's status.

The Rose Report disclosed that not only was there gender bias, but the position of women was in some respects actually deteriorating. For example, 16 percent of full professors in history departments at coeducational colleges were women in 1959-60, but by 1968-69 only one remained, and she retired the following year. This example highlights the fact that women not only suffered from discrimination but frequently found such bias reinforced by changes in society. These women full professors were undoubtedly part of the generation of women Ph.D.'s trained in the twenties and thirties whose retirements were met by a sharp increase in the number of men who, benefiting from the GI bill following World War II, were now in graduate school. The result was a plentiful supply of males in a market where men were preferred.

The feminist movement arrived too late for women to benefit substantially from the enormous growth in higher education which took place between 1957 and 1967. Unfortunately, this expansion was to be short-lived, and academia was caught unaware of the changes which the seventies would bring--inflation, recession, cutbacks in government funding, salary erosion, and lower enrollments. Until 1970-71 faculty salaries had kept pace with those of other workers; afterwards, deterioration was more severe than in any other professional group. In addition, departments faced declining history enrollments, with B.A.'s dropping

from 44,000 to 21,000 in the period from 1972 to 1979.⁵

Although partially reflecting the drop in the number of men entering the

discipline as a consequence of the lure of better-paying positions elsewhere, the percentage of history doctorates awarded to women rose from 10.4 percent (1960-69) to 15.8 percent (1970-74) to 26 percent (1975-80). In addition, women were included within the goals of affirmative action. Thus, by the early seventies women historians were knocking on the door of the profession, demanding their rights, only to see that door almost closed in their faces as a result of what came to be known as the "job-hiring crisis." History departments were slow to adjust their production of Ph.D.'s to the severely contracting market. At the 1971 AHA convention, 2,300 graduate students sought positions among the 155 advertised there. Even by 1976-77 there were more than two people in the market for every Ph.D. granted that year.⁶

Under these conditions, women's entry into the profession increased the feminization of the part-time and temporary segment of the market. Even those women fortunate enough to have tenure-track positions faced the "revolving door" phenomenon, as retrenchment forced a rise in publication standards. Many women moved into public history, where women had traditionally found jobs before the field had a name. They also led in establishing organizations for the unaffiliated scholar, such as the Institute for Research in History. The difficulties of these years are summed up in statistics for academically employed women. In the cohort which was thirty-six to forty-five years old in 1987, 19 percent of the women, compared to 13.1 percent of the men, still held non-tenure-track positions.⁷

Despite all of these difficulties, women historians have made significant gains in the past twenty years. The area of greatest success has been the history organizations themselves. There are several reasons for this: the skill of women's lobbying efforts and the high quality of their leadership; the visibility of these organizations within education, which places significant pressures on them for gender equity; and the fact that advances here are less threatening to male academic culture than improvements in women's status in individual departments.

By 1991, the twenty-year lobbying effort had given the AHA one woman president and the OAH four (one of whom is an African American). Gains were made in other organizations as well. Women also served as presidents of the American Studies Association and the Southern Historical Association during this period. The percentage of women who were elected officials of the AHA increased from zero in 1969 to 38 percent in 1977 to 46 percent in 1990, when they represented but 25 percent of the membership.⁸ Such success out of proportion to their percentage of the membership is frequently credited to "preferential treatment," even though a majority of women won in the 1980s when they ran against men.

Opening up the historical organizations has led to two consequences of special significance: it has increased the visibility of women and women's history in the profession, and it has opened the hiring process to all, by substituting a national listing of positions for the "old boy" system whereby mentors sought to locate jobs for their students through personal contacts. Not only is advertising more equitable for women, but it has benefited minorities and those men not privileged by the former elitist system.

Progress on other fronts has been uneven, however. In 1990 the AHA

Committee on Women Historians published a follow-up to the "Rose Report,"⁹ assessing women's position in the profession twenty years later. It found a salutary increase in the visibility of women in the profession. Further, entry-level salaries had reached the same level as men's by 1987, and women's share of Ph.D.'s had risen to 38 percent by 1988. Yet major problems remain.

Despite initiatives to address the poor representation of racial and ethnic groups in the profession, their proportion of new Ph.D.'s had actually declined; and those who were offered academic positions often found themselves isolated and bereft of an accepting, collegial environment. College enrollments of minorities had also declined, reflecting cutbacks in student aid which led to fewer students in the pipeline. The absolute number of doctorates awarded to minority women from 1975 to 1988 was discouragingly small: Native Americans, 8; Hispanics, 41; Asian Americans, 42; and African Americans, 101. For purposes of comparison, it is useful to note that of the total number of Ph.D.'s awarded to academically employed historians between 1946 and 1988, 12,500 went to men and 2,500 to women.¹⁰

Women historians continued to experience significant inequities. The longer they remained in the profession, the further they fell behind men in rank and salary. Figures for history were more extreme than those for the rest of the humanities. Women Ph.D.'s in four-year colleges and universities earned only 80.6 percent of men's salaries in 1987. The part-time segment of the market remained "feminized," with women accounting for twice as many non-tenure-track positions and fifteen times as many adjunct positions as men. These positions characteristically carried few or no health and pension benefits. The number of women at the top of the profession continued to increase, but slowly, and was even declining in women's colleges. In the ten top-ranked research universities listed above, the percentage of women had improved but little--to 12 percent of the faculty.¹¹

Although not all women historians are historians of women, the overwhelming majority of historians of women are women. Almost from its inception, women's history has been history from a feminist perspective, even though within that perspective a range of positions are held. The field, whose beginning was marked by the First Berkshire Conference on the History of Women in 1973, attended by only five hundred people, has reached early maturity. The first generation of historians of women were self-taught, but by 1990 their students had become mature scholars who were already revising earlier interpretations and questioning explanatory frameworks. The rigorous and innovative quality of scholarship in the field led to over two hundred history departments listing a specialist in women's history by 1988, and over fifty institutions offering doctoral training by that date. The field has grown to international importance. In 1990 the first conference of the International Federation for Research in Women's History was held in Madrid. This organization is composed of representatives of twenty-three nations.

The linkage of feminism, women's history, and women historians proved to be a strong combination for advancing the status of women in the historical profession. Feminism provided a framework for understanding and articulating the position of women in the profession as well as the focus and the energy for

organizing a militant assault upon sexism in the academy. Feminism, in its emphasis upon equality, spoke to universalistic norms in both the profession and the nation, thereby forming a bridge to male academic culture which led to sympathetic support by many men.

If feminism provided the framework, women's history provided the vehicle for the project of improving women's status in the profession. Because women constitute half or more of the world's population, no field of history is unrelated to their concerns. Because both feminism and women's history are, at root, critiques of power and domination, their ideas reverberate throughout the field. Women historians, whatever their specialty, found not only that women's history had something to say, but that probably a lacuna existed on women which needed filling. Thus, women's history provided research topics to all subfields and, additionally, opportunities to revise and reconfigure them. The field of women's history itself has provided new positions which are generally filled by women.

And, finally, women historians themselves have been the primary engine behind advances in their professional status. This is not to deny that many men have provided support. Nevertheless, one cannot imagine the enhancement of women's professional status without their own considerable efforts. The resistance with which they have been and continue to be met is clear in the statistics presented above. In the final analysis, no group relinquishes its privileges without a challenge.

Notes

1. OAH Committee on the Status of Women, Report for 1985; AHA's 1970 report of the Committee on the Status of Women (known as the "Rose Report").

2. Virginia Sapiro, *Women in American Society: An Introduction to Women's Studies* (Palo Alto: Mayfield, 1986), Table 4-1, p. 114; *American Historical Association Guidelines on Hiring Women Historians in Academia*, 3rd edition.

3. N. J. Hoffman, "Sexism in Letters of Recommendation: A Case for Consciousness-Raising," *Modern Language Association Newsletter* (September 1972):5-6; cited in Joan Abramson, *The Invisible Woman: Discrimination in the Academic Profession* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1976), p. 79; For examples of studies of discrimination in professional record evaluation, see L. S. Videll, "Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology," *American Psychologist* 25 (1970); Philip Goldberg, "Are Women Prejudiced against Women," *Transaction* (April 1968).

4. The Coordinating Committee of Women in the Historical Profession was initially cochaired by Carroll and Gerda Lerner. Their custom of dividing responsibilities led to the creation of the Conference Group on Women's History, which became an autonomous affiliate of the AHA in 1975. However, the membership is largely joint and composed of individuals, although CCWHP/CGWH acts as an umbrella organization for fifteen regional associations

as well. See review of Hilda Smith, Nupur Chaudhuri, and Gerda Lerner, *A History of the Coordinating Committee of Women in the Historical*

Profession--Conference Group on Women's History, Journal of Women's History 2 (Winter 1991):145.

5. Joan Hoff-Wilson, "Is the History Profession an 'Endangered Species'?" *The Public Historian* (Winter 1980):19.

6. Lawrence Stone, "The AHA and the Job Market for Graduate Students," *AHA Newsletter* 10 (March 1972):22-27; "Placement Survey," *AHA Newsletter* 16 (March 1978):2.

7. *Guidelines on Hiring Women Historians.*

8. *Newsletter of the Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession* 20 (September 1989):5; "Rose Report"; Joan M. Jensen, "Committee on Women Historians, 1970-1990: A Twenty-Year Report," *AHA Perspectives* (March 1990):8, 9.

9. Jensen, "Committee on Women Historians," pp. 8, 9.

10. *Guidelines on Hiring Women; Humanities Doctorates in the United States: 1989 Profile* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1991), p. 31.

11. *Guidelines on Hiring Women Historians*; Jensen, "Committee on Women Historians," pp. 8, 9.

INTRODUCTION: An Overview of Women's History in the United States

Joan Hoff

Equal education, for which women have clamored . . . has meant the extension to women of men's education in their own history and judgments of themselves. . . . It is basically a sex-education--masculine in design and spirit. . . .¹

The Journal Of Women's History, pursuing its goal of serving as the journal of record for the field of women's history in the United States and abroad, is proud to present this compilation of periodical literature from 1980 to 1990 prepared by Gayle V. Fischer. Since the 1970s, women's history in the United States has been strongly rooted in the politics of women's liberation--acknowledging the need to find a collective past for the purpose of contributing to a praxis whose goal is women's autonomy and self-realization. Nowhere is this more evident than in the articles published during the last decade.

The zeal to uncover power relationships in the interest of equality and social justice has seldom been denied by historians of women until most recently, as will be noted below. In fact, methodologies developed in women's history demythologize the writing of objective history, demonstrating that "objectivity" is an impossibility and that "objective" history often amounts to nothing more or less than male history, a realization achieved by historian Mary Ritter Beard over fifty years ago, as is reflected in the introductory quotation.

Women's history also refuses to be neatly labeled in a disciplinary box. Drawing on multidisciplinary theories and methodologies, women's history has adopted a variety of strategies for achieving its goals. The globalization of the world economy, together with the media revolution of the last thirty years, which provides instant access to what is going on all over the world, portends the reinforcement of this interdisciplinary perspective in the 1990s--as does the increased influence of Third World women upon the conceptualization of women's history. Because of its interdisciplinary nature and the continued reluctance of mainstream historical journals in the United States and other nations to devote any more than 10 percent of their articles to women's history, it has proven difficult to keep track of the latest scholarship. Much of this material has been published in obscure journals, state historical periodicals, or publications which only occasionally carry historical articles.

This ten-year bibliography of periodical literature from the 1980s has been compiled to facilitate the work of scholars, teachers, and general readers in
women's history. It is the hope of the editors and staff of the Journal of Women's History that this compilation will assist readers in keeping up with the latest

scholarship and will assess those areas in which more research needs to be done, because we are assuming that periodical literature of the 1980s anticipates the subject matter of monographic publications in the field of women's history during the 1990s. A list of the serial publications from which this bibliographic reference has been prepared can be found at the end of the volume. There are forty subject entries, divided into subcategories, totaling over 5,500 individual articles that have been extensively cross-listed in order to facilitate the use of this reference work. A statistical analysis indicates that the two most researched areas in the field of women's history are *work* (including *economics* and *professions*), which accounts for 14 percent of all the entries, and *religion*, constituting 8 percent. Twenty-three percent of all entries are about countries other than the United States, and while they also reflect the dominance of economic and religious topics, some of the following generalizations about other categories apply more to American scholarship on women than to that in other countries.

One might ask why so many of the articles are about the work women do outside the home, since the middle-class, two-income family is largely a post-World War II development in most countries. Even though most of the authors of these articles are middle-class, many of them began writing about working-class families in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when wives commonly supplemented their husbands' income in both urban and rural settings. In fact, there has been only one ten-year period in all of U.S. history when the average husband's family wage was sufficient to support his wife and children--the postwar baby and economic boom decade of the 1950s. While the sufficiency of the male family wage varies from country to country, working women have been common in all time periods, especially in agriculture, industry, and domestic service. In addition to an abundance of primary material about working women, the disproportionately large number of articles on women's work also reflects the influence of socialist historians, who have played a prominent role among both women scholars and women activists, especially in the United States, England, and France since 1945. Moreover, one early way to legitimize women's history since the 1960s has been to connect it with an already established subfield, in this instance labor history.

Another question that might be asked concerns the surprisingly high percentage of entries on *material and popular culture*--7 percent, equal to the percentage of articles on *politics*. This proportion is higher among historians of women in the United States than among those in other countries. This is probably due to American Studies tradition which has, since the 1960s, encouraged historians to look at how people lived privately, rather than simply at what they thought and accomplished publicly. Because of the mentalité school of historiography in France, one also finds a higher percentage of articles about the living conditions of average women in that country than of those in most other nations. Six percent of the articles in this collection are about women and *art* and women within the *family*. Five percent are about the *theoretical* aspects of writing and researching women's history in the United States and other nations. Based on titles of articles, this bibliography conveys the strong impression that a higher percentage of

theoretical articles are published by historians of women outside the United States.

A number of topics each constitute 4 percent of the total entries. They are *marriage and divorce*, *biographies*, *military and war*, *social reform and community organizing*, *education*, and *African-American women*. Three percent of the articles can be found in the areas of *law and crime*, *ethnicity*, *sexuality*, and *feminism*. Only 2 percent are devoted respectively to the topics of *lifestages and lifestyles*, *suffrage* (including *anti-suffrage*--a topic of little interest outside the United States and England), and *birth control*. One percent of the articles are about *southern women in the United States*, *agriculture*, *health*, *prostitution*, and *violence*. Less than 1 percent of all the entries cover such topics as *utopias*, *pornography*, and *sports*.

Readers may want to use this statistical breakdown to draw a number of conclusions about their own future research and geographical area of concentration. Clearly, the small proportion of entries related to matters of *sexuality* (including *lesbianism*), *lifestages and lifestyles*, *birth control* (including *abortion*, *fertility*, *infanticide*, and *reproductive rights and options*), and *pornography* and *violence* against women, totaling only 6 percent of all articles, probably does not reflect the importance of these issues to contemporary women as found in public policy discussions at local, state, and national levels. Just as obviously, these articles reflect a diversity with respect to race, class, and gender that belies recent claims that women's history in the 1980s continued to focus primarily on white, middle-class women, as it had in the 1970s.

The following essay is based on monographic publications (with selective references to the periodical literature in this compilation) and is aimed at those interested in a review of trends in the field of women's history during the twentieth century in the United States, but especially since the Second World War.

Patriarchal History

The kind of history many of us were taught from primary school through college is so familiar that we scarcely think of it as having a name. A shorthand term for that nameless though ubiquitous type of history is "patriarchal," where the standards of power, prestige, and traditional periodization abound. Such criteria have eliminated most women from historical consideration or have resulted in the peripheral inclusion of only the "exceptional" among them.

Throughout the ages, the writers of patriarchal history have emphasized the exercise of public power as the most important aspect of human life. One of the recurrent activities in the public sphere has been abrupt or violent changes in relationships between individuals and nations and between humans and their environments. It is not only politics and wars that represent these values of power and prestige and that determine traditional textbook periodization; so too does the emphasis in patriarchal history on dramatic confrontations between powerful individuals rather than on the evolution of social relations.

Consequently, one of the most common features of patriarchal history is the search for heroic or charismatic figures. This search has been reinforced in the

United States by the rise of the cult of hero worship since the 1920s because of technological advancements in mass communication, but it is also not uncommon among historians of other countries. Thus, conservative historians of the present traditionally write about conservative leaders of the past. Radical historians look for radical models as subjects of their research. Labor historians focus on class differences, while gay historians search for examples of homosexuality. Minority or ethnic historians search for prominent representatives of their respective races or ethnic backgrounds. This attempt to find historical figures representing particular political, class, sexual, racial, or ethnic preferences became particularly evident in works published during the 1970s.

To the degree, therefore, that historians of women simply emphasize finding heroines from the American past, they are continuing to write in a patriarchal mold. Even if they write about women who are less well known, they often resurrect them using traditional values of power and prestige. The same is true of historians who specialize in the study of minority or ethnic leaders. Since women and other subordinate groups simply have not produced many individuals who meet traditional patriarchal criteria, one soon runs out of these kinds of heroes. While some of these compensatory or remedial efforts are necessary to overcome the historical invisibility of these groups, such history contains serious limitations. For one, patriarchal history has placed far too much emphasis on atypical individuals whose public careers have little in common with the private lives of "average" women. This emphasis when continued by historians of women also raises the political question about whether concentrating primarily on "notable" or exceptional women can contribute to the empowerment of all women. Thus, much compensatory or remedial history perpetuates the patriarchal tradition of according more importance to the public than to the private sphere of human existence and usually consists of narratives about women's experiences that parallel those of men using standard political, socioeconomic, and cultural terminology and periodization. It is an attempt not so much to "rewrite history," as Virginia Woolf advocated in 1929, by accumulating a "mass of information" about women's daily lives, as it is to imitate conventional history.²

Compensatory or remedial history constituted a first step toward achieving historical visibility for powerless groups who were traditionally relegated to the invisible confines of the private sphere. Nonetheless, early compensatory history was seriously flawed because it often only substituted women for men. Even when prominent women emerged in the United States, the documentation of their lives and achievements was usually left to white males who imposed their own values on them. First, they wrote about women prescriptively, assigning them status and societal value according to prevailing mainstream standards; that is, they took female "outsiders," assigned them mainstream characteristics, and thus made "acceptable" models out of the private and public lives of women ranging from Deborah Sampson Gannett to Eleanor Roosevelt. Second, in deciding that only certain records about these exceptional women should be preserved, they allowed much documentation to suffer destruction or deterioration.

Relationship between the public, male and private spheres has profoundly affected how historians write about female sexuality, especially homosocial and/or

homoerotic bonding.³ The conventional tendency has been to trivialize love relationships between women in comparison to the heterosexual home as a haven from the heartless world, or to stress how love relationships between women supported them in their public and private activities. Neither approach, however, has yet legitimized the single woman as a sexual being for whom no theoretical and historical heterosexual or homosexual apologia need be made. The staff of the *Journal of Women's History* believes that the theoretical and historical study of female friendships and sexuality is so important that it warrants its own subheading in this bibliography.

Often, interpretative battles over historical manifestations of female sexuality and friendship have been fought in book reviews. For example, there was a flood of reviews attempting to explain away the obviously intense relationship between Lorena Hickok and Eleanor Roosevelt when it was exposed, but ironically denied, in Doris Faber's book.⁴ Patriarchal historians assiduously ignored Roosevelt's relationship with Hickok, disregarding over 3,000 letters they wrote each other in the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, Roosevelt's post-1945 papers remain unprocessed and unindexed. They are still crammed into their original White House file boxes at the FDR Presidential Library in Hyde Park, even though her career assumed international dimensions through her work at the United Nations. In the minds of many historians and librarians, Roosevelt symbolically "died" when her husband did in 1945. The deficiencies of patriarchal history become most painfully evident when so prominent a person as Roosevelt can have not only her private life sanitized but also her important contributions to domestic politics and to international affairs systematically undervalued.⁵ In Roosevelt's case this neglect was due not so much to the difficulty posed by her close relationships with women as to the fact that most wives of presidents of the United States have been ignored as research topics by both patriarchal *and* feminist historians. There are only a little over thirty citations on First Ladies in this collection of articles.

Female sexuality and friendship continue to pose theoretical difficulties for historians, especially biographers. The best theoretical study of female friendship is Janice Raymond's book *Passion for Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection*.⁶ As Gerda Lerner has noted, there appears to be an inability or reluctance among biographers of women to analyze their subjects' public and private lives from a holistic perspective. She indicates that the reluctance to deal with the sexual preferences of women has the tendency to produce "homophobic judgements."⁷ At the very least, homosocial as well as homoerotic relations between women should be subjected to the same set of historical standards currently used to analyze and describe heterosexual ones, rather than ignored or exaggerated. Several biographies about Hilda Doolittle, known to her literary friends as H.D., constitute another striking example of this dispute over how to characterize women's homosocial and/or homoerotic relations. Two books about Doolittle, in particular, contain otherwise inexplicable discrepancies regarding her sexual orientation.⁸

Patriarchal historians have also typically destroyed or ignored sources about women. In 1848, for example, the year of the Seneca Falls Conference, Charles

Francis Adams edited the letters of his famous grandmother, Abigail Adams. In the process, he systematically destroyed most of the letters written to her by women unrelated to the family--women whom he deemed unimportant. Consequently, what remains of her correspondence is primarily with women of Mercy Otis Warren's prominence, but not with numerous less "significant" women who wrote to her expressing their ideas and concerns about life during the Revolution.⁹

Another example of distortion involves the flamboyant Deborah Sampson Gannett. Familiar to many because she fought as an enlisted soldier in the War for Independence, Gannett collaborated with an editor friend, Herman Mann. In 1797 he published an account of her revolutionary activities with a title that encapsulates the classic patriarchal view of Gannett's life: *The Female Review of Memoirs of an American Young Lady Whose Life and Character Are Peculiarly Distinguished--Being a Continental Soldier for Nearly Three Years in the Late American War during Which Time She Performed the Duties of Every Department into Which She Was Called with Punctual Exactness, Fidelity and Honor, and Preserved Her Chastity Inviolable by the Most Artful Concealment of Her Sex.*¹⁰ Because Gannett's original manuscript was lost, all that remains is Mann's verbose account, which turns a rather rough, competent colonial woman into a genteel lady whose chastity is intact. In 1916 another patriarchal historian, John Adams Vinton, decided to reprint Mann's book with his own introduction and annotations. Although Vinton corrected the worst exaggerations and stereotypes of the first account, it remains a highly idealized and unreal portrait of Gannett. Sadly, we shall never know how she perceived herself, only how two men perceived her according to the prevailing male standards of their day.¹¹

Despite the renaissance in women's history all over the world during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, we still find similar treatment accorded to prominent women and their papers. Many are still made to fit into a mainstream mold, especially in matters involving their sexuality, and often papers involving their intimate relations are sanitized or suppressed. Seldom are the private or public lives of even those women who best fit the patriarchal prerequisites of power and prestige accorded accurate personal renditions and adequate recognition in monographs or textbooks.

Patriarchal neglect was even more blatant where "average" women were concerned. Their collective socioeconomic contributions, cultural networks, and private intrapsychic existence are now the subject of extensive historical research. Originally, sources for the history of women and minorities remained inadequate because they consisted primarily of documents collected and preserved using patriarchal standards. As of the late 1980s, the problems with source collection for the writing of women's history are, to a degree, the reverse of those in the past. Although the two volumes of *Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States* (1979) indicate that approximately two-thirds of the collections consist of personal papers, this basic reference lists few private documents describing those personal family activities involving sexuality, pregnancy, and child-rearing techniques of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and

early twentieth-century American women.¹²

Most of what we do know about female sexuality, fertility, and birthing patterns in these periods comes from demographic data and other aggregate statistics culled largely from courthouse and church records. Today, in contrast, we have an abundance of published testimonies, as well as official government figures, about the sexuality, pregnancies, and child-bearing habits of women since the Second World War. Yet our female ancestors in those earlier centuries may have left proportionately more diaries and letters than contemporary women in the last half of the twentieth century. Our records in this century will remain incomplete for the "average" woman, but for different reasons. The contemporary woman is now less likely to write her friends; rather, she will telephone or visit them. So we may have less intimate documentation about homosocial bonding among today's typical women than we do for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women.

If this is correct, then archivists and historians should encourage women who are not the "notables" of our age to deposit their personal papers. Most contemporary notables will make provisions for their papers without being asked. Another valuable aspect of preserving the reflections of average contemporary women is that they may be less self-conscious and more truthful than those of prominent women who, like prominent men, often write letters or keep diaries with their future publication in mind. This subtle but significant change from diary-as-a-private-record to diary-as-a-public-record will probably alter the value of diaries and letters for research purposes in the future.

We now have a particular type of qualitative material (largely intrapersonal) about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women, but little quantitative documentation. For most of this century we have an abundance of quantitative information, but fewer inter- and intrapersonal documents. Advances in electronic preservation have made legal and quantitative data rather than qualitative material easy to acquire and store. As a result, in the next century it may become more, rather than less, difficult to write biographies of both well-known and "average" women that integrate their public and private lives.

Despite the persistence of patriarchal history, dramatic changes have taken place during the last quarter-century in the writing of U.S. women and in the profession of history itself. Many of those currently writing women's history have led the way in making curricular and textbook changes, and in the training and placing of students and the hiring and promoting of faculty.¹³ Hence, the new history about women in the United States has often been the focus of shifting ideological battles inside the profession. Analyzing the state of the art in any discipline, especially one such as history that has recently developed challenging subfields, is often a mask for talking about political and interpretive divisions created by new research. Thus, women's history has simultaneously threatened traditional patriarchal history and traditional departmental politics when it came to hiring, promotion, and tenure decisions since the early 1970s. Most important, as it has matured, women's history (and women's studies in general) has begun to challenge not only the criteria of power, prestige, and standard periodization, but also the basic theoretical foundations of patriarchal history with poststructural gender analysis.

Ironically, what we have come to call women's history is a misnomer, because the subject is really the history of gender, which is "the cultural definition of behavior appropriate to both sexes."¹⁴ Because the new social history did not contain gender analysis when it emerged in the late 1960s, the subfield of women's history was misnamed. In fact, because the new social history of the 1960s in the United States was so intertwined with the political and cultural movements of that decade, male bias dominated the methodology and narratives to the point that it "obscur[ed] rather than uncover[ed] the actual historical experiences of women."¹⁵ At best, early social historians knew that social and cultural anthropologists used a structural functionalist approach to distinguish gendered roles in society, without recognizing that the anthropologists usually trivialized or devalued women's activities by using a male standard of power and prestige. Thus, social historians repeated the mistake of anthropologists when they studied the family by ignoring women as individuals and underestimating their collective contributions to history.¹⁶

Although gender is at the heart of all socialized behavior and perceived differences between the sexes, twenty years ago the meaning of *gender* was at best only vaguely perceived among historians, in male-biased anthropological terms at best, and in grammatical terms at worst, denoting words that were masculine, feminine, or neuter and hence requiring agreement with or selection of appropriately "gendered" modifiers. Likewise in the early years of the Second Women's Movement, the words *woman*, *women*, and *sex* became common usage in historical writings, while *feminism* and *feminist* did not because they were considered too confrontational and subversive even within supposedly liberated intellectual circles during the early development of the new social history. At the height of the Second Women's Movement in the United States in the 1970s, however, the term *feminism* gained widespread usage, replacing the derogatory *Women's Lib* in popular and scholarly literature.

Beginning in the late 1970s, some self-conscious feminists among social historians insisted on distinguishing between the meanings of *sex* and *gender*, usually following the sex/gender theories of feminist anthropologist Gayle Rubin. She argued in 1975 that women's seemingly universal oppression originated not simply in economic conditions, as Marx and Engels had written, or in their reproductive capacities, as cultural feminists insisted, but in a set of social relations based on gender stereotypes that may differ from culture to culture, but which perpetuate a largely male-dominated sexual hierarchy.

The idea that men and women are more different from one another than either is from anything else must come from somewhere other than nature. Furthermore, although there is an average difference between males and females on a variety of traits, the range of variation of those traits shows considerable overlap. . . . The idea that **men and women are two mutually exclusive categories must arise out of something other than a nonexistent "natural" opposition.** Far from being an expression of natural differences, **exclusive gender identity**

is the suppression of natural similarities. It requires repression: in men, of whatever is the local version of "feminine" traits; in women, of the local definition of "masculine" traits. The division of the sexes has the effect of repressing some of the personality traits of virtually everyone, men and women.¹⁷

Thus, *sex* as purely a biological term, referring to women's physical reproductive capabilities, increasingly became separated from socially conditioned gender characteristics in the minds of many feminists in the Second Women's Movement and in the discipline of history by the late 1970s. For example, the first edition of a nationally published list of readings and course outlines in women's history used largely in the 1970s did not carry the word *gender* in any of the titles; however, in the 1987 edition, gender appeared "as an organizing principle in one out of nine" entries, and it dominated papers given at the Eighth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women in 1990.¹⁸

In the 1980s there was a tendency in history classes and in the articles in this bibliography to substitute the word *gender* for *feminist* or *women* for a variety of reasons. First, since *gender* clearly includes the study of men as well as women, it was considered more inclusive; and second, it is more politically acceptable on most campuses in the face of the conservative backlash than, at least, the term *feminist*. Thus, the use of *gender* has become problematic because it has become politicized: at either extreme of the political spectrum, the term can be used to essentialize women or to depoliticize gender, as noted below. To confuse matters further, many government and institutional forms in the United States have incorrectly substituted *gender* for *sex*. Surely the census bureau does not want to know how each individual in the United States was socialized. It simply wants to know each individual's biological sex.

Stages of Development in U.S. Women's History

Misnomer or not, in this century U.S. women's history has passed through three discernible stages of development that diverge from traditional patriarchal history: (1) the *remedial stage*; (2) the *prefeminist stage*; and (3) the *feminist stage*. A fourth, *postfeminist stage* under the influence of poststructuralism is now emerging that is theoretically most sophisticated and intriguing, but carries with it some disturbing political overtones for the Second Women's Movement. The first stage occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when historians attempted to make up for the previously deficient historical treatment of women by producing remedial histories of "exceptional" women. Some of these early histories were written by professional women historians who were activists, and some by amateur historians who had participated in the campaign for suffrage, or the First Women's Movement, at the end of the last century.¹⁹ The suffragists-turned-historians were laudatory about the feminine qualities of their subjects, while using victim or slave images to describe the general conditions of women in society. Subsequently, professional and amateur historians alike adopted the

dichotomous view of women as both superior and subordinate that histories had propagated since the beginning of recorded history and that has led to women's veneration but not their empowerment.

By portraying women as exploited and exceptional, the remedialists created an interpretative problem: they needed to explain how certain women overcame discrimination and excelled while others were defeated by it. This problem has not been completely resolved in contemporary works on individual women in all areas of the world, especially those who have successfully challenged the societal limitations placed upon their own personal and public lives, as many of the articles in the biography sections of this bibliography indicate. In addition to their simplistic and often contradictory biographical portraits of such women, these early twentieth-century amateur historians also wrote descriptive institutional histories of women's organizations and studies of literature prescribing women's domestic and social roles but did not speculate about the relationships or interconnectedness among socioeconomic or legal statuses of women to the larger society. Stressing the differences between the private sphere of women and the public sphere of men, these historians unwittingly reinstated patriarchal notions about the family and femininity among the first and second generations of suffrage leaders.

Largely descriptive and anecdotal, whether written by women (with the exception of works by Alice Morse Earle)²⁰ or men, this compensatory or remedial approach to women's history flourished from the first decade of the twentieth century until the 1940s in the works of such professional historians as Edith Abbott, Mary Ritter Beard, Mary Sumner Benson, Elisabeth Anthony Dexter, Abbie Graham, Richard Morris, and Julia Cherry Spruill.²¹ In the 1950s and 1960s it could still be found in the writings of Mildred Adams, Catherine Cleverdon, Olivia E. Coolidge, Emily Taft Douglas, Eleanor Flexnor, Roger Fulford, and Alan P. Grimes—all of whom made a commitment to suffrage as a patriarchal standard of excellence for their female subjects and also made suffrage synonymous with feminism. Other historians concentrated on "exceptional" women or on specific groups of working women, such as those in the South or in the early factory system.²² Except in the writings of Mary Ritter Beard, man was the "measure of excellence." Beard remains one of the few historians of women to have broken with their traditional academic training and institutional affiliation.

The second stage of development in U.S. women's history can be considered prefeminist. These histories contain some of the same remedial and contradictory features of the earlier conventional works, especially the concentration on "notables," because these early historians of women were still trained in the traditional patriarchal mode of the 1950s and 1960s. However, the second-stage historians did begin to look at political events and movements other than suffrage and to ask new questions of old data from a female—but not necessarily a feminist—point of view. (I am dating the emergence of modern feminism in the late 1960s to the formation of the Second Women's Movement.) By and large, however, these historians continued to research the lives of "exceptional" rather than ordinary women and to write political or institutional histories.

As they progressed, however, this generation of historians became more critical

of their female subjects, especially the suffragists and the women who participated in the Progressive Movement. Their negativism attested to the influence of Richard Hofstadter, who dealt harshly with most reform periods in U.S. history. Ironically, Hofstadter's "status anxiety" and "status decline" explanations for reform activity did not take into consideration the gendered humanitarian motivations of female as opposed to male Progressives.²³ Nonetheless, his ideas were often uncritically applied to both sexes by women and men historians during this period.

Twenty years ago the profession generally accepted a women's history that found fault with individual women and women's organizations because it dovetailed with the history being written in other fields. Criticism of early U.S. reform movements increased as the civil rights and antiwar movements began to influence the politics of younger historians. By the beginning of the 1970s, women's history reflected the left-of-center concerns of many historians while it retained traditional periodization, e.g., the American Revolution, the age of Jackson, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the origins of the First and Second World Wars.

The best-known among the prefeminist historians are Carl Degler, David M. Kennedy, Aileen S. Kraditor, Christopher Lasch, Gerda Lerner, William O'Neill, David Potter, Robert Riegel, Anne Firor Scott, Andrew Sinclair, Page Smith, and Barbara Welter.²⁴ Writing in the late 1960s and early 1970s, they depicted women's early attempts to achieve equality and influence American society, and the shallowness of the separate-sphere ideology of the suffragists. In particular, some of these historians condemned the suffragists for allowing race and class interests to narrow their assessment of women's problems and to limit their demands to the right to vote. Others judged those women draped in the "cult of true womanhood" harshly by the standards of their own time, reserving their praise for only the very first generation of suffragists led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who met the increasingly radical political standards of the Vietnam and Watergate eras. The deficiencies of this anachronistic historical interpretation were not seriously questioned until the development of the new social history directly challenged both traditional patriarchal and prefeminist histories by featuring the concerns of ordinary rather than exceptional people; by elevating rather than condemning the private sphere occupied by women in contrast to the public one of men; and by attending to how women of the past *perceived* themselves and positively bonded with each other within the much-debated domestic circle rather than to the pejorative contemporary review of domesticity that Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* had prompted among many second-stage historians.²⁵

The new social history of the late 1960s produced the third, or modern feminist, phase in American women's history. In keeping with their left-of-center politics and their involvement in the Second Women's Movement, the men and women who wrote the new social history deliberately added a feminist agenda to their research programs. Most of these historians had received traditional graduate training, and thus initially used the conventional sources of their predecessors, but they freed themselves from these sources by employing new methodologies that

questioned the older data.²⁶

Many of the questions they asked came directly or indirectly from the political agendas of the civil rights, antiwar, and Second Women's movements. For example, how did the black family remain intact in the face of slavery? How did blacks, women, and immigrant groups develop distinctive family and kinship patterns that were largely ignored or undetected by the dominant power structure? Did such networks serve as a defense against psychic and other forms of exploitation? How were formal or informal rituals transmitted intergenerationally? Do women and men experience the major events of history similarly? How did the socialization of children differ among different class and racial groupings? What is the significance of homosocial bonding among women? How much conscious sense of community and collective action can be found among the powerless? Do gender behavior patterns cut across class and time, or are they historically variable, that is, determined by particular socioeconomic and cultural periods? What contributions have women and minorities made during times of war, depression, or other national dislocations? What is the political and cultural significance of iconographic representations of women, especially in times of national trauma? Why do periods of conservative backlash inevitably follow wars, and what gendered implications do they contain? Do subcultural organizations have different functions and modes of operation than those run by white males? Have changes in the legal status of U.S. women since the colonial period reflected more about the evolution of the country's political economy than about "progress" in women's rights? And finally, is there a "timeless" definition of feminism that can be applied to all of American or any other national history?

Most of these questions cannot be answered by traditional historical approaches to research. Conscious feminist historians all over the world have begun to use innovative methods involving oral history, ethnography, sociology, ethnology, semiotics, family reconstitution, collective biographical sketches (prosopography), and various forms of statistical and computerized demographic analysis, such as multiple regression analysis, and other microhistory techniques. Most recently, they have begun to answer such questions with poststructural perspectives borrowed from literature, philosophy, and film criticism. These innovations led first to the reconstruction of the aggregate history of female and other subcultural groups from incomplete and hence largely ignored data, and now to the deconstruction of the concept of gender itself. Once believed inadequate for historical analysis, such sources as obscure legal, church, census, and other demographic records, as well as folklore, films, female literature, transcripts of interviews, music, and evidence of informal community and interest-group networks, have all yielded new and valuable historical information on women. Although 23 percent of the articles in this bibliography are about countries other than the United States, they are not varied enough to determine whether a similar pattern of development can be found elsewhere. Clearly, these avant-garde American historians were borrowing advanced methodology in a variety of disciplines from other countries, especially France and England. The 1986 International Conference on Women's History in Amsterdam demonstrated both the intellectual borrowing that had taken place in the last two decades, and the

remaining differences in national historiographies of women.²⁷

Since it was influenced by the new social history *and* the Second Women's Movement, the third stage of U.S. women's history was not initially taken seriously by the predominantly white male historical establishment. Such men viewed such historical research as either marginal or too ideological and present-minded. In addition, they devalued the subject matter—e.g., female culture, female networks, sexuality, female socialization, and women's life cycle within the family—and therefore often discounted feminist contributions to research as being unscientific or "nonobjective" and hence less deserving of recognition for promotion or tenure. Until this third stage in the writing of U.S. women's history emerged, even historians of the family largely ignored women because they did not employ gender analysis.²⁸ And if one takes seriously the arrogant "ten commandments" for the writing of women's history that family historian Lawrence Stone proclaimed in the April 11, 1985, issue of the *New York Review of Books*, there are many establishment historians who still think that women should be written about only "in relation to men and children."²⁹

In summary, third-stage women's history went beyond the male-defined interests and values of the early new social history by establishing gender as a fundamental category of analysis. Feminist historians—too numerous to mention by name here, and including many who conduct research on women in all areas of the world, not simply those in the United States—have begun to show the importance of women struggling to reconcile their roles in the public and private spheres. They have also begun to restore women in positive ways to the subfields of economic, urban, religious, and family history, in which they had been ignored (or removed altogether) by traditional patriarchal historians and considered only negatively or marginally by the second-stage prefeminist historians. Most important, some of these modern feminist historians took up the task of writing about class, racial, sexual, and other significant differences among women.

At first, the most striking aspect of this latest stage in U.S. women's history appeared to be the intersection of women's common experience over time with an improved understanding of the specific experiences of women in particular historical periods. Often centering on the life cycle of women, feminist historians have tried to reflect the totality of women's public and private lives. Three thematic areas of emphasis have emerged from their research. They can be summed up in the terms *family*, *functionalism*, and *feminism*. Initially, feminist historians successfully placed women as a gender category into family history. If anything, women's gendered roles within the family have been analyzed more extensively by these third-stage historians than any other aspect of female life. Second, such historians have exposed the traditional way in which women were accorded "functionalist treatment"—that is, the prescriptive view that female existence is largely circumscribed by roles within the patriarchal family structure.³⁰ Instead, they have redefined functionalism to mean the work of women inside and outside the home in relation to the predominant sexist and racist market and political economy. Third, they have attempted to trace the origins and development of several distinct types of historical feminism. Historical interpretations employing

all three themes increasingly rely on some form of poststructural gender analysis.

Trends in Third-Stage Feminist Scholarship

Until the mid-1970s, most published works on U.S. women reflected a stable and homogeneous society--not one based on diverse and often dissatisfied marginal groups--except for those discussing certain working-class women located primarily in the eastern corridor.³¹ Thus, despite the more sophisticated methodology, the new social history approach, and the left-of-center backgrounds of these third-stage scholars, great emphasis continued to be placed on the private activities of women within the larger constructs of the family, religion, community, and female networks inside and outside the home. Because they concentrated on the similarities among women across class, race, and ethnic lines to a much greater degree than their liberal or radical colleagues in other parts of the world, the initial scholarship by third-stage historians in the United States suspiciously resembled the 1950s consensus scholarship, which the liberal and radical historians of women's history had originally repudiated. The bulk of the earliest historical writings of third-stage feminists paint a rather positive, homogeneous picture of U.S. women. To summarize, U.S. history looks more humane, more progressive, and more concerned about social justice when women are integrated into it. Yet at the same time, these writings also promoted the ideas of American exceptionalism, patriotism, and unending progress based on traditional middle-class, liberal notions about political and legal individualism. (It is not clear from the entries in this bibliography whether the same generalizations hold true with regard to the historical writings about women in other parts of the world where the influence of socialism in intellectual and political circles has been much greater since World War II than in the United States. This has meant that class, race, and comparative analysis appears consistently stronger in the writings of non-U.S. historians of women.)

How did this happen? These first histories by third-stage feminist historians were largely the result of the relatively easy access to, and abundance of, sources on white, northeastern, middle- and working-class women. Thus, despite its methodological and often theoretical sophistication drawn from postwar European and English intellectual developments, the new social history in the United States did not initially consist of comparative, cross-national studies or concentrate on class diversity that existed among American women of the past and present. It was also insufficiently attentive to regionalism (until the last half of the 1980s, for example, western women in the United States remained the orphans of women's history), to racial or ethnic diversity, and to conflict between different socioeconomic classes of women, while placing too much stress on women as depositories of sexuality, on motherhood, and on their fulfillment primarily in a heterosexual family setting rather than on their contributions to other aspects of private life and to public life outside the workforce. Women's lives in nonnuclear families--either alone as single mothers, with other single or never-married women, or in lesbian relationships--was also largely ignored until the mid-1970s. Until then, many of the new social history theories seldom progressed beyond traditional economic analytical categories or simplistic cultural notions about the

"eternal feminine."

Nonetheless, the enormous outpouring of scholarship that has taken place in the field of U.S. women's history in the last twenty years not only has become more diverse in content, as this collection of articles from the 1980s clearly indicates, but it has also contributed to the acceptance of such research in women's history by tenure committees and the integration of material on women into survey and other classes. Much remains to be done, however. Although feminist scholarship has dramatically altered two subfields within the discipline of history--the new social history and the new legal history--women continue to be studied and taught primarily as a separate group rather than integrated into all historical fields.

Although the discipline of history (and the humanities in general) is far from being transformed by the new social history with its emphasis on women and minorities, both have already come under attack from neoconservatives. Recent critics ranging from such politicians as President George Bush and William Bennett, former head of the Department of Education and former U.S. drug "czar," to intellectuals of some stature such as Allan Bloom, Gertrude Himmelfarb, and Theodore Hamerow, and most recently to lightweight thinkers such as Dinesh D'Souza and Camille Paglia, fear that this new scholarship, in particular, has already undermined the patriarchal underpinnings of conventional history and of Western culture itself.³²

The attack on the diversity and pluralism in American academe (called "political correctness") by such neoconservatives reached a fever pitch in the United States in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Criticism of "political correctness" has taken on the added legitimacy of "patriotic correctness" in the wake of the Gulf War. The critics of "political correctness" offer a variety of contradictory depictions of intellectual life at American institutions of higher education because they have wrapped themselves in the mantle of the "privilege" (rather than "right") of free speech, patriotism, and praise for great white Western scholarship. Thus, according to Bennett, universities in the United States are dominated by "a herd of independent minds" all moving in the same direction and by a "balkanized" view of society that has no respect for the marketplace or ideas and breeds ethnic and racial violence because of the supposed overemphasis on multiculturalism, diversity, and deconstructionism. The fact that most liberal/radical professors from the 1960s would not know how to deconstruct a binary opposition if their livelihood depended on it, and that it is the conservative groups on most American campuses who are actively organizing and dominating the intellectual and political discourse in the early 1990s, simply is lost is this "hysteria over 'political correctness'" now raging in the United States. So the ultimate irony of the neoconservative position is that it has coopted the long-standing liberal one in the United States that the price for entry into mainstream American society is assimilation based on white, male standards.

There is still another irony associated with the putative threat that the new social history and multifaceted humanities programs, advocating the right of the average person to be heard and understood, represent to American neoconservatives in the last decade of the twentieth century. The new social history in particular initially produced some of the most unreadable books and

articles, hence limiting its influence. The same is equally, if not more, true of recent scholarship based on semiotics and deconstruction. Without intelligibly written women's history, the better utilization of sources counts for little in educating women (and the general public) about our past, present, and future. Currently, modern feminist historians are attempting to develop an analytical narrative style of historical writing that can be readily understood despite the complexity of the methodology or theoretical construct employed.³³

Such analytical narration must explain female intentionality and intersubjectivity in other than the psychological terminology of deviance or exclusionary terms about the politics of differences, and portray women not only in groups but also as important individuals who are *inside* rather than *outside* the history of their particular time periods. The best analytical narrative, therefore, recovers women's intentionality (female agency within patriarchal structures) so as to restore the premise of women's subjectivity (allowing the female subject to interpret her own actions and interactions so as to be "realized as subject both to herself and in history").³⁴ If the intentionality and intersubjectivity of women were analyzed and they were restored to their historical and individual agency, figures such as Pocahontas, Anne Hutchinson, Elizabeth Freeman, Abigail Adams, Maria Stewart, Susan B. Anthony, Harriet Tubman, Mary McLeod Bethune, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Fannie Lou Hamer would become integral to U.S. history classes instead of the oddities they remain. Successfully employed, analytical narratives would rescue the study of "notable" or exceptional women from the suspect categories of compensatory, "classist," or liberal individualist history. Unfortunately, the standard type of biographical article by historians making up the 4 percent of the periodical literature for the decade of the 1980s was not particularly sophisticated from a methodological or analytic point of view.

Whether this resistance to analytical narration in historical biography will continue during the 1990s remains to be seen.

Other trends in this third stage of historiography about women have been revealed by previous surveys of articles and books written in the United States and abroad. For example, after reviewing U.S. and European periodical and monographic literature, in addition to Ph.D. dissertations, from 1975 to 1980, Hilda L. Smith found a disturbing concentration on "women's role in the family, the various stages in their life cycles (usually biologically determined), and their relationships among themselves rather than those with public institutions in general or men in particular (except in the family)." Smith saw the same trend continuing in periodical literature from 1982 to 1986 and concluded that women's history is in danger of becoming "merely a branch of social history," to the neglect of women's intellectual, political, or other individual achievements.³⁵ The relatively large number of articles published in the 1980s on women and politics (7 percent) in the United States and other nations would seem to indicate that this particular trend did not continue unabated.

Other historians have suggested that women's history, in part because of its current methodological sophistication and growing number of practitioners and publications, is well on its way to becoming an *alternative to*, rather than merely

a subfield of, the discipline. While this remains to be seen, the periodical literature of the past decade clearly indicates that *women's history is the fastest-growing historical subfield in the United States.*

Historians, influenced by the politics of reform movements of the 1960s in the United States, began to apply more positive (and more complicated) interpretations and generalizations in studying women's private and public lives, compared to the standard views of U.S. women that prevailed under patriarchal history twenty years ago. Generally speaking, the result by the first half of the 1970s was a historiography that stressed the commonality of subordinate and oppressive female experiences across class and race lines. The best examples of this type of women's history did this *without* minimizing the differences between classes of women and women of color. As the new history matured, it also began to stress how women were distinguished from men by socialized gender characteristics in almost every aspect of their private and public existence.³⁶ Gender analysis, in other words, became a major contribution of women's history to all other historical subfields, including social, economic, political, and intellectual history *before* the younger generation of poststructuralist historians of women "discovered" it at the end of the 1980s. By that time women's history was already explaining common gender experiences and identities among American women without ignoring obvious class and race diversity. During that same decade, feminist activists in the U.S. had also succeeded in projecting some modicum of common female identity for political purposes, and in asserting themselves in various walks of public and private life.

At this crucial juncture, poststructural analysis and deconstructionist methodology entered the American academic world and began to assert just the opposite by denying commonalities among women of the past and present and by questioning whether there will be any distinctive female identity in the future. Some poststructural (gender) historians, for example, "acknowledge, celebrate and support the instigation of all differences that divide and constitute both men and women" to the point that they no longer identify their work as being *about women.*

In this sense, deconstruction represents an attack on radical political feminism in the United States, as well as on the feminist historical interpretations of the last twenty years that stressed the common personal and/or public experiences of women. For deconstructionists, material experiences became abstract representations drawn from textual analysis; personal identities and agency became subjects constructed exclusively by nonmaterial discourses; and flesh-and-blood women became social constructs—with no "natural" or physiological context except as a set of symbolic meanings constructing sexual difference. Feminist politics, according to the poststructuralists, no longer could be used to alleviate conditions of oppression because "identity is not an objectively determined sense of self defined by needs" any more than "politics is . . . the collective coming to consciousness of similarly situated individual subjects."³⁷

If experience could not be based on relatively unchanging socioeconomic categories or on the diversity and variability of common gender *identities*, then there could be no materially based history from which contemporary feminist

activists could draw sustenance and advice for opposing and criticizing the remaining areas of oppression experienced by women in the United States and other countries. Thus, instead of remaining simply another useful methodological innovation for studying women's history and making that history more relevant to radical political feminism, poststructuralism has become a potentially politically paralyzing and intellectually irrelevant exercise for endlessly analyzing myriad representations of cultural forms and discourses.

Under the influence of poststructuralism, women's history in the late 1980s became more and more removed from the political and legal arena in which the battle for rights of women and minorities was being waged. In the process such history has inadvertently contributed to the rationalization of the violent and abusive portrayals of women now so common in various forms of popular culture in the United States, because poststructural theories lead to a totally relativistic view of the world in which there are no centers of power, and no societal harms that cannot be deconstructed on paper. Reality, according to poststructuralists, consists of only decentered, genderless individuals whose very real and objective material problems and experiential contact with oppression can be reduced to linguistic exercises through deconstructing binary oppositions.

Yet difference and dominance go hand in hand in the sense that both continue to be defined in America and other societies by male criteria. Simply because gender differences can be variously interpreted by researchers so that they are found to be "historically and culturally specific," and because they are social rather than biological, does not mean that they are also benign, neutral, or noncategorical.³⁸ To the contrary, their very historical and cultural diversity often masks their oppressive commonality--namely, that gender is, in fact, about the power of men over women. Simone de Beauvoir captured the historical significance of this enduring patriarchal form of female oppression when she proclaimed in 1949: "Throughout history [women] have always been subordinated to men, and hence their dependency is not the result of a historical event or a social change--it was not something that occurred."³⁹

Since deconstruction can also lead to an antiessentialist particularism and political paralysis, it should be viewed primarily as a methodological tool for historical research--nothing more and nothing less. Even with this caveat, some women of color are justifiably concerned that a "race for theory" now exists among academic humanists in the United States, based largely on French poststructural hypotheses that radical feminists and feminists of color have come to consider dangerous.⁴⁰ Their concern about deconstruction is twofold: first, they suspect that deconstruction may become the hegemonic practice in elite academic circles, thereby displacing the collective understanding of racism that women of color have struggled to obtain by using African or rationalist modes of analysis; and second, they suspect that feminists who use deconstructionist techniques may be unintentionally racist because deconstruction prompts them to suggest that race, like gender, is a discursively constructed binarism. Gerda Lerner and Linda Gordon have both suggested much more constructive approaches.

For example, Lerner has reconceptualized a "holistic" history--one that would understand "interrelated aspects of the system of patriarchal dominance" rather

than continuing "to regard class, race and gender dominance as separate, though intersecting and overlapping systems."⁴¹ Linda Gordon has described this as tension between writing history with the "mythic power" to inspire moral and political action and writing accurate history which, even if it cannot contain the absolute truth in the way "grand" patriarchal history purported to, will at least point out the "objective lies" from the past about women's public and private lives. "There may be no objective canon of historiography," according to Gordon, "but there are degrees of accuracy; there are better and worse pieces of history. The challenge is precisely to maintain this tension between accuracy and [the] mythic power [of history]." To the degree that historians of women exclusively emphasize one or the other, their writings will not serve the cause of political and legal reform on behalf of women in the United States and abroad. In particular, Gordon has noted that she fears the current emphasis among historians of women on "'difference' is becoming a substitute, an accommodating affable, and even lazy substitute, for opposition."⁴²

Nonetheless, it is becoming increasingly common among poststructural and socialist feminists to deny both categories of "woman" and "women" because they represent a false or fictive "universalization of sex class that does not focus on specificity and only recognizes the homogeneity of women." This criticism is almost as simplistic as were the early patriarchal views of women. While it is desirable to avoid imposing a "false sense of commonality" on different groups of women in specific time periods, it is equally desirable to recognize that women are perceived in all societies as "an always-already constituted group" because of the specific prevailing "discourse of engendered sex 'difference,'" which presumes that sex and gender are the same thing. Rather than deny any "specific unity" among women, therefore, we should try to identify it historically along with a description of their *relevant* subjective and objective differences. In other words, as Zillah Eisenstein has noted, "the tension between diversity and unity" must become the focus--not one extreme or the other.⁴³

In summary, under the influence of the Second Women's Movement, historians of women first began challenging patriarchal stereotypes of women in the early 1970s and then interpreted a set of common female experiences to explain how women sought to coordinate their private lives with their public ones. This synthesis is now being challenged by poststructural histories, some of which focus so much on the existence of multiple "masculinities" that they are "implicitly denying the existence of patriarchy" and espousing theories about the predominance of differences among women in which "the voice of gender risks being lost entirely." In other words, deconstructionist techniques that focus increasingly on "male sensitivity and male persecution" downplay male privilege and, hence, not only depoliticize the use of the word *gender*, but also seem to deny that feminism can or should be a coherent philosophy or ideology in the writing of women's history.⁴⁴

A 1990 exchange between Linda Gordon and Joan Wallach Scott encapsulated the debate over the meaning of feminism between poststructural and other theoreticians of women's history in the United States. In summary, their

disagreement centered on whether linguistic/psychoanalytical analysis as practiced by deconstructionists is the best way to practice feminist history. This approach privileges the "text"--that the social construction of reality (which appears in these "texts"--which can be more than just written words) is the only reality. Epistemology and linguistics, then, are the keys to analyzing power relationships. **A man beats his wife: What constitutes "reality" in this situation--is there anything separate from the interpretation/construction of that event?** For those who subscribe to deconstruction, the answer is no. The question for those who do not subscribe to deconstruction is whether or not this framework addresses fully the consequences of such power relationships.

Gordon charged that such analysis dismissed the "reality" which is separate from constructions. Since linguistic analysis cannot take place without words, this emphasis eliminates the possibility of including marginalized groups which did/do not produce written texts running counter to the feminist commitment to social change and inclusive analysis. By highlighting the text alone, Gordon argues that a crucial aspect of power relationships is ignored, an aspect that has "real" consequences in the world, and particularly for women. This leads to the kind of pluralism that whitewashes power differentials and makes gender equal to "difference in itself."

For her part, Scott attacked what she perceived as Gordon's failure to sufficiently probe the texts which formed the basis of her book *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence*, primarily by remaining wedded to the theory of social control. This theory, according to Scott, leaves Gordon in the land of dualism and simple oppositions and an overly simple notion of agency of women who decided to take advantage of the services of their child-saving agencies in Boston from the 1880s through the 1960s. Scott argued that Gordon did not analyze the texts produced by the social workers; after all, the social workers, not the clients, produced the texts, making them dubious sources for information about the clients' experiences. And there is no reality separate from the social construction of experience, no "real family oppressions" experienced outside the labels.⁴⁵

Both Gordon and Scott end up charging that the other is claiming superiority for her own theoretical approach (and by implication for her "own" brand of feminism). Nonetheless, their debate over each other's work underscores the vitality of theory for women's history, as do the 5 percent of theoretical articles in this compilation.

Unfortunately, a less sophisticated and constructive debate has been initiated by younger poststructural historians for whom feminism, and even the future of women's history, has little relevance. These poststructural historians claim that women's history has lost its identity and go so far as to predict that women's history is about to "dissolve." Apparently, their deliberate depoliticization of power through representations of women's history as totally diffuse and decentered has created their own private identity crisis and sense of lack of agency that they now attribute to the subfield of women's history as a whole. **Women's history will dissolve only when it has nothing to offer contemporary feminism. Therefore,**

in addition to its apoliticalness, if not actually neoconservatism, the other possible danger poststructuralism constitutes for women's history circles is that it is destabilizing this subfield by insisting on its demise. These arguments by postfeminists are not unlike those by neoconservatives who have tried to undermine all of post-World War II revisionist history with theories about posthistory or the death of history now that the Cold War is over.⁴⁶

Obviously, women's history in the United States (and other countries) is alive and well, despite the extremes to which some want to carry postfeminist and poststructural arguments as the world enters a post-Cold War era and the twenty-first century.

Notes

I want to thank Christie Farnham, Gayle Fischer, and Georg'ann Cattelona for reading earlier versions of this essay.

1. Ann Lane, ed., *Mary Ritter Beard: A Source Book* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988; reprint of 1977 Schocken Books edition), pp. 204-205, citing Beard's 56-page syllabus published by the American Association of University Women in 1934, entitled "A Changing Political Economy as It Affects Women."

2. The terms *resurrection*, *contribution*, *compensatory*, and *her-story* have all been used to describe what this essay refers to as remedial history. See Mari Jo Buhle, Ann G. Gordon, and Nancy Schrom, "Women in American Society: An Historical Contribution," *Radical America* 5, no. 4 (July-August 1971): 3-66; Berenice A. Carroll, ed., *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 75-92; Linda Gordon et al., "Historical Phallacies: Sexism in American Historical Writing," *ibid.*, pp. 55-74; and Joan Wallach Scott, "Women in History: The Modern Period," *Past and Present* 101 (November 1983): 141-157 (Virginia Woolf quotation at 141). In this essay Scott uses the term *conventional history* to refer to patriarchal history. For a discussion of the economic, cultural, and political significance of the doctrine of separate spheres, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174; Linda K. Kerber and Jane De Hart Mathews, eds., *Women's America: Refocusing the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 3-22; Anne Firor Scott, "On Seeing and Not Seeing: A Case of Historical Invisibility," *Journal of American History* 71 (June 1984): 7-21; and Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 9-39.

3. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America," *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29. With this article Smith-Rosenberg set in motion a debate over women's erotic lives with each other that is still in progress, despite all attempts to downplay the importance of women's socially constructed and distinctive culture within what

remains the reality of a private female sphere. See Kerber, "Separate Spheres," pp. 14-17, 37-39.

4. Doris Faber, *The Life of Lorena Hickok: E.R.'s Friend* (New York: William Morrow, 1980). *Washington Post*, October 23, 1979, p. C1; *New York Times Book Review*, February 17, 1980, pp. 3, 25. One of the most even-handed reviews of this controversial book was by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt in *Books of the Times* 3, no. 3 (March 1980): 117-119. Historians Joseph P. Lash and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., have consistently contributed to this misleadingly mainstream view of Eleanor Roosevelt. Ironically, both Lash and Schlesinger belatedly and misleadingly tried to employ the theories of Smith-Rosenberg about nonphysical, homosocial bonding among nineteenth-century women to explain Roosevelt's extraordinarily close and affectionate relationships with other women. See *Washington Post* citation in this footnote and Lasch, *Eleanor Roosevelt and Her Friends* (New York: Doubleday, 1982), pp. xii, xiii, 30, 143-291; reviewed, *New York Times Book Review*, June 13, 1982, pp. 11, 25, 28. For criticisms of Lasch's and Schlesinger's self-appointed roles as guardians of Eleanor Roosevelt's reputation and image by other scholars, see *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1984, and the collection of revisionist essays about Eleanor Roosevelt edited by Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

5. Fortunately, Blanche Wiesen Cook's forthcoming biography *The Many Lives of Eleanor Roosevelt* should do much to correct this neglect and misrepresentation.

6. Janice G. Raymond, *Passion for Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection* (Boston: Beacon, 1986).

7. Gerda Lerner, "Where Biographers Fear to Tread," *Women's Review of Books*, September 1987, p. 12.

8. Susan Stanford Friedman, *Psyche Reborn: The Emergence of H.D.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); and Janice S. Robinson, *The Life and Work of an American Poet* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1982). It was not surprising to find Friedman's book, which stressed Hilda Doolittle's emotionally intense relationships with women, reviewed or summarized in women's publications, and Robinson's work, which emphasized her relationships with men, given attention by mainstream publications such as the *New York Times*. See *Ms.*, February 1982, pp. 65-66, 79; and *New York Times Book Review*, February 14, 1982, pp. 3, 26.

9. For documentation on Charles Adams's destruction of his grandmother's papers, see L. H. Butterfield, ed., *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), vol. 1, p. xxvii, fn. 13. Mary Beth Norton was one of the first U.S. historians to call attention to the neglect or destruction of women's papers when she recounted the extraordinary life of Sarah Hagar Wheaton Osborn (1714-1796), who apparently "wrote more than fifty volumes of diaries and commentaries, each ranging from 100 to 300 pages in length," of which only one slim published volume remains. See "'My Resting Reaping Times': Sarah Osborn's Defense of Her 'Unfeminine' Activities," *Signs* 2, no. 2

10. Herman Mann, *The Female Review of Memoirs of an American Young Lady Whose Life and Character Are Peculiarly Distinguished--Being a Continental Soldier for Nearly Three Years in the Late American War during Which Time She Performed the Duties of Every Department into Which She Was Called with Punctual Exactness, Fidelity and Honor, and Preserved Her Chastity Inviolable by the Most Artful Concealment of Her Sex* (Dedham, Mass.: printed by Nathaniel and Benjamin Heaton for the author, 1797).

11. Herman Mann, *The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson, the Female Soldier in the War of the Revolution*, with an introduction and notes by John Adams Vinton (Boston: J. K. Wiggin and W. P. Lunt, 1866).

12. Andrea Hinding, ed., *Women's History Sources Survey* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1979), 2 vols.; idem, paper delivered at 1984 Society of American Archivists annual meeting.

13. This was at the 1988 NEH Conference on Graduate Training in U.S. Women's History at Wingspread, attended by 70 scholars representing 60 public and private institutions.

14. Elizabeth H. Pleck, "Women's History: Gender as a Category," in James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams, eds., *Ordinary People and Everyday Life* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983), p. 54.

15. The new social history directly challenged traditional patriarchal history by concerning itself with the affairs of ordinary people, and private rather than public matters, conceptualizing such historical phenomena as family relationships, fertility, and sexuality in terms of micro interpersonal power and macro social processes. But initially the new social history in the form of family history ignored women as a separate social category. For example, early scholarship in family history most frequently dealt with categories such as 'household,' 'single parents,' 'children,' 'adolescents,' and 'the aged,' without recognizing that each of these is fundamentally divided by sex. "The result [was] history that either ignore[d] women or [gave] the false impression that female and male experiences with the primary institution of the family were the same." See Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck, *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 16, 17 (quotation). See also Ellen Ross, "Women and Family," *Feminist Studies* 5 (1979): 182 (quotation).

16. Ellen Carol DuBois et al., *Feminist Scholarship: Kindling in the Groves of Academe* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), pp. 20-24.

17. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna Rapp Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 157-210, quote from pp. 179-180. Also see Virginia Sapiro, *Women in American Society: An Introduction to Women's Studies* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 78-82, passim; and *Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, Women's Realities, Women's Choices: An Introduction to Women's Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 173-180, passim.

18. Annette K. Baxter and Louise L. Stevenson, eds., *Women's History: Selected Reading Lists and Course Outlines from American Colleges and*

Universities (New York: Marcus Wiener, 1987), p. 3 (quotation). A continuation of this trend was reflected in the syllabi exchanged at the 1988 Conference on Graduate Training in U.S. Women's History. See note 13 above.

19. For example, eleven of the twenty-two women historians who were listed in the first edition of *Notable American Women* were also active participants in the First Women's Movement. See Kathryn Kish Sklar, "American Female Historians in Context, 1770-1930," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975): 173. Classic examples of activists as amateur historians are Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mathilda J. Gage, and Susan B. Anthony, eds., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (Rochester, N.Y.: Charles Mann, 1886); and Carrie Chapman Catt, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Scribners, 1926).

20. Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days* (New York: Macmillan, 1898); idem, *Colonial Dames and Good Wives* (New York: Frederick Unger, 1962; reprint of original 1895 edition). Before Earle, the typical anecdotal descriptions of women could be found in Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution* (Charleston, S.C.: A. E. Miller, 1828), and Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1853-54).

21. Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry; A Study in American Economic History* (New York: Appleton, 1910); Mary Ritter Beard, *Woman's Work in Municipalities* (New York: National Municipal League Series, 1915); idem, *On Understanding Women* (New York: Longman's, Greene, 1931); idem, *America through Women's Eyes* (New York: Macmillan, 1933); idem and Martha Bensley Bruere, eds., *Laughing Their Way: Women's Humor in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1934); idem, *Woman as Force in History: A Study in Traditions and Realities* (New York: Macmillan, 1946); Mary Sumner Benson, *Women in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Opinion and Social Usage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935); Elisabeth Williams (Anthony) Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs: A Study of Women in Business and the Professions in American before 1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924); idem, *Career Women of America, 1776-1840* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1950); Abbie Graham, *Ladies in Revolt* (New York: Woman's Press, 1934); Richard Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), pp. 126-200; Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928).

22. Mildred Adams, *The Right to Be People* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1967); Catherine Lyle Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); Olivia E. Coolidge, *Edith Wharton, 1862-1937* (New York: Scribner, 1964); idem, *Women's Rights: The Suffrage Movement in America, 1848-1920* (New York: Dutton, 1966); Emily Taft Douglas, *Remember the Ladies: The Story of Great Women Who Helped Shape America* (New York: Putman, 1966); idem, *Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Birth Control Movement* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York:

Atheneum, 1968); idem, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1972); Roger Fulford, *Votes for Women: The Story of a Struggle* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957); Alan Pendleton Grimes, *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

23. Anne Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 152; Carol Bacchi, "First Wave Feminism: History's Judgment," unpublished paper, 1980, p. 6.

24. Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); idem, "What Ought to Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 79 (December 1974): 1479-90; idem, *Is There a History of Women?* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); David M. Kennedy, *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970); Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); idem, ed., *Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968); Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963* (New York: Knopf, 1965); idem, ed., *The Social Thought of Jane Addams* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); idem, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1969); idem, ed., *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England* (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1971); David Morris Potter, *History and American Society: Essays of David M. Potter*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Robert Edgar Riegel, *American Feminists* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1963); Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); idem, ed., *What Is Happening to American Women* (Atlanta: Southern Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation, 1970); idem, *Women in American Life: Selected Readings* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1970); idem, *The American Woman: Who Was She?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971); idem and Andrew M. Scott, *One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975); idem, *Women and Men: Changing Roles, Relationships, and Perceptions--Report of a Workshop*, ed. Libby A. Caster and Anne F. Scott with Wendy Martyna (Palo Alto, Calif.: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1977); idem, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*; Andrew Sinclair, *The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); Page Smith, *Daughters of the Promised Land* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970); and Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood."

25. Kerber, "Separate Spheres," pp. 11-14.

26. Two of the few second-stage historians to make the shift to third-stage methodology and interpretations were Anne Firor Scott and Gerda Lerner. For example, in her collection of essays *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (1984), Scott recounts the transition she made from prefeminist to feminist historical

writing. The essays and lectures in her book contribute not only to our understanding of one woman's personal and professional odyssey but also to the general field of white women's history during a time when the new social history collided so productively with the study of the "other half" of the American population. In particular, Anne Scott has demonstrated in her own life and work that "the historian who calls attention to something hitherto overlooked . . . teaches others to have a broader vision of the past." Her unending (and highly successful) campaign to make white southern women not only visible but also integrated and important components of U.S. history laid solid groundwork for others who would follow. She did not, however, account for race or class differences among southern women, as she herself admitted in 1984. See Scott, "On Seeing and Not Seeing," p. 7. Scott has recently extended her research to include African American women. See "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (February 1990): 3-22.

Even more impressive is the first volume of Lerner's work *Women and History: The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), because she does not ignore class or race. Picking up where Simone de Beauvoir left off, this is an ambitious theoretical and multidisciplinary effort in which Lerner argues that male dominance over women is the product of historical development and, therefore, is not "natural" or immutable. Just as particular historical processes created patriarchy, so too particular historical events can end it. Lerner also argues that the first forms of slavery were based on gender, not class. Lerner not only has transcended the limitations of the second-stage, prefeminist historians, but has also overcome the limitations of Marxist theory that influenced her early work. Writing in her forthcoming second volume of *Women and History* about a "holistic history" of women and men that would illuminate "how the patriarchal system organizes and secures the cooperation of women without which it cannot exist," Lerner is attempting to reconceptualize history through understanding of the "interrelated aspects of the system of patriarchal dominance" rather than continuing "to regard class, race and gender dominance as separate, though intersecting and overlapping systems." See Lerner, "Placing Women in History: A Theoretical Framework," unpublished 1988 paper.

27. Arina Angerman et al., eds., *Current Issues in Women's History* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 1-20.

28. Cott and Pleck, *A Heritage of Her Own*, p. 17. See also notes 15 and 16 above.

29. *New York Review of Books*, April 11, 1985, p. 21. For a rejoinder to Stone's remarks, see Joan Scott, letter to editor, *New York Review of Books*, May 30, 1985, pp. 52-53.

30. Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 10-11; Judith A. Baer, *The Chains of Protection: The Judicial Response to Women's Labor Legislation* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 168-169, 180-181, 216-217; Jo Freeman, "Women and Public Policy: An Overview," in Ellen Boneparth, ed., *Women, Power and Policy* (Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1982), pp. 49, 62-65.

31. For an exaggerated summary of these early characteristics of third-stage feminist history, which does not recognize the diversity that began to appear by the 1970s, see Nancy A. Hewitt, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s," *Social History* 10, no. 3 (1986): 299-321; and Louise M. Newman, "Critical Theory and the History of Women: What's at Stake in Deconstructing Women's History," *Journal Of Women's History* 2, no. 3 (Winter 1991): 58-68.

32. Allan David Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987); and Theodore S. Hamerow, *Reflections on History and Historians* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); idem, "Decline of the Historical Profession," *OAH Newsletter* (November 1987); Dinesh D'Souza, *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* (New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1991); and Camille Paglia, "Ninnies, Pedants, Tyrants and Other Academics," *New York Times Book Review*, May 5, 1991, pp. 1, 29. For a critique of this conservative school of historical thought and of the conservative attack on what it perceives to be liberal or radical political correctness in higher education, see Carl N. Degler, "Is the New Social History Threatening Clio?" *OAH Newsletter* 16, no. 3 (August 1988): 4-5; Linda Kerber, American Studies Association Keynote Address, October 1988; and Michael Kinsley, "Hysteria over Political Correctness," *New York Times*, May 3, 1991, p. A25.

33. One of the best examples of feminist analytical narrative can be found in Kathleen Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New York University Press, 1988).

34. Kathleen Barry, "The New Historical Syntheses: Woman's Biography," *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 3 (Winter 1990): 75-76.

35. Hilda L. Smith, "Female Bonds and the Family: Recent Directions in Women's History," in Paula Treichler, Cheri Kramarae, and Beth Stafford, eds., *For Alma Mater: Theory and Practice in Feminist Scholarship* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), pp. 272-291; idem, "Female Bonds and the Family: Continuing Doubts," unpublished paper, portions of which appeared in the *Organization of American Historians Newsletter*, February 1987, pp. 13-14 (quotations are on p. 13). Joan W. Scott also noted a similar trend in "Women in History: The Modern Period," pp. 151-153.

36. Lisa Vogel, "Telling Tales: Historians of Our Own Lives," *Journal Of Women's History* 2, no. 3 (Winter 1991): 89-101. Vogel denies the "triumphalist" interpretation of the poststructural historians of women who insist that the feminist stage of women's history in the 1970s suffered from terminal "methodological and theoretical errors." Instead, she describes this early women's history as grounded in the politics of the Second Women's Movement and, therefore, concludes that its practitioners "did not essentialize women and ignore difference. They did not produce a feminism that exalted women's sphere and culture. And they did not operate within a stolidly simpliminded epistemology" (p. 92). Clare Dalton,

"Where We Stand: Observations on the Situation of Feminist Legal Thought," *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* 3 (1987-1988): 9.

37. Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 2, 11.

38. Jeffrey Weeks, "Questions of Identity," in *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*, ed. Pat Caplan (London: Tavistock, 1987), p. 31. See also Kathleen Barry, "Deconstructing Deconstruction (or, Whatever Happened to Feminist Studies?)," *Ms.: The World of Women* (January/February 1991): 83-85. Barry notes that the politics of differences almost always result in the exclusion rather than inclusion of marginal groups by making them the "other."

39. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Bantam, 1961), p. xviii. For standard rationalizations about the harshness and hopelessness of de Beauvoir's assumptions, see Mary Daly, *Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy* (Boston: Beacon, 1984), pp. 137-138.

40. Barbara Christian, "The Race for Theory," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 67-79. This issue of *Feminist Studies* addresses the problems that occur when United States feminists adapt French deconstructionist thought for academic and political purposes, as does "Learning about Women: Gender, Politics, and Power," a special issue of *Daedalus* 116, no. 4 (Fall 1987): 1-210. For a discussion of the Afro-feminist analytical model and Third World historiographer's perspectives, see *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora*, ed. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Sharon Harley, and Andrea Benton Rushing (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1988); Gloria I. Joseph and Jill Lewis, *Common Differences: Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives* (1981; Boston: South End Press, 1986); Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Boundary 2: A Journal of Post Modern Literature and Culture* 12-13 (1984): 333-359; and Maxine Molyneux, "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua," *Feminist Studies* 11 (Summer 1985): 227-254.

41. Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: A Theoretical Framework," unpublished 1988 paper. Hegemonic and racist implications of deconstruction are discussed in Kathleen Barry, "Biography and the Search for Women's Subjectivity," *Women's Studies International Forum* (November 1989). Mary Poovey criticizes the ahistorical and apolitical strains of deconstruction in "Feminism and Deconstruction," *Feminist Studies* 141 (Spring 1988): 60-63.

42. Gordon, "What's New in Women's History," in Teresa de Lauretis, ed., *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 21-22, 25.

43. Zillah R. Eisenstein, *The Female Body and the Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 3, 39-40.

44. Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075; idem, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference," *ibid.*, p. 36 (first quotation); idem,

"Rewriting History" in Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University

Press, 1987), p. 22 (second quotation); Lois Banner, "A Reply to 'Culture et Pouvoir' from the Perspective of United States Women's History," *Journal Of Women's History* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 104 (third and fifth quotations); Myra Dinnerstein, "Questions for the Nineties," *Women's Review of Books*, February 1989, p. 13; and Dalton, "Where We Stand," p. 11 (fourth and sixth quotations).

45. Book Reviews, *Signs* 15 (Summer 1990): 848-860 (quotation at 851, 858).

46. See "Theories about the End of Everything," introduction to the *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 3 (Winter 1990), for reference to the end-of-history theory proclaimed by Francis Fukuyama, U.S. State Department policy planner, on the eve of the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe. For other predictions about the end of women's history, see the summary of a session of the Eighth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, where a handful of historians expressed concern about the future of women's history, in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 5, 1990. This point of view was strongly challenged in a subsequent letter to the editor from Gerda Lerner and Kathryn Kish Sklar.

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Names
**National Genealogical Society
 Quarterly**
Nebraska History
Negro History Bulletin
**Netherlands' Journal of Social
 Sciences**
Network News Exchange
Nevada Historical Society Quarterly
New Community
**New England Historical and
 Genealogical Register**
New England Quarterly
New German Critique
New Jersey History
New Left Review
New Literary History
New Mexico Historical Review
New Political Science
New Society
New Theatre Quarterly
**New York Historical Society
 Quarterly**
New York History
**New York University Review of
 Law and Social Change**
**Newsletter Intellectual History
 Group**
Nineteenth-Century Contexts
North American Culture
North Carolina Historical Review
North Dakota History
North Dakota Quarterly
**North Louisiana Historical
 Association Journal**
Northwest Ohio Quarterly

- Norwegian-American Studies
 Nova Scotia Historical Review
 Nursing Forum
 NWSA Journal
 OAH Magazine of History
 Ohio Dentistry Journal
 Ohio History
 Old Fort News
 Old Northwest
 Ontario History
 Oral History
 Oral History Review
 Oregon Historical Quarterly
 Oxford Art Journal
 Pacific Affairs
 Pacific Historian
 Pacific Historical Review
 Pacific History Review
 Pacific Northwest Quarterly
 Palimpsest
 Panhandle-Plains History Review
 Papers on Far Eastern History
 Parameters
 Past & Present
 Peace & Change
 Pennsylvania Heritage
 Pennsylvania History
 Pennsylvania Magazine of History
 and Biography
 Performing Arts Resources
 Permian Historical Annual
 Perspectives
 Perspectives in Religious Studies
 Perspectives on the American South
 Pharmacy in History
 Phylon
 Pittsburgh History
 Plains Anthropologist
 Polish American Studies
 Political Science Quarterly
 Political Studies
 Politics and Society
 Polyphony
 Population Studies
 Prairie Forum
 Present Tense
 Presidential Studies Quarterly
 Proceedings of the Academy of
 Political Science
 Proceedings of the American
 Antiquarian Society
 Proceedings of the American
 Philosophical Society
 Proceedings of the Annual Meeting
 of the French Colonial Historical
 Society
 Proceedings of the Massachusetts
 Historical Society
 Proceedings of the Southeastern
 American Studies Association
 Proceedings of the Unitarian
 Universalist Historical Society
 Prologue
 Prose Studies: History, Theory,
 Criticism
 Prospects
 Psychohistory Review
 Psychology of Women Quarterly
 Public Culture
 Public Historian
 Publishing History
 Quaderno
 Quaker History
 Quarterly Journal of Speech
 Quarterly Journal of the Library of
 Congress
 Quarterly Review of Historical
 Studies [Calcutta]
 Queen City Heritage
 Queen's Quarterly
 Quest
 Race and Class
 Radical America
 Radical History Review
 Railroad History
 Records of the Columbia Historical
 Society of Washington, D.C.
 Recusant History
 Red River Valley Historical Review
 Register of the Kentucky Historical
 Society
 Religion

- Religion and American Culture
 Religion and Public Education
 Religious Studies and Theology
 Renaissance Quarterly
 Renaissance Studies
 Renditions
 Representations
 RES
 Resources for Feminist Research
 [Canada]
 Restoration and 18th Century
 Theatre Research
 Retrospection
 Review and Expositor
 Review of African Political
 Economy
 Review of English Studies
 Review of Radical Political
 Economics
 Reviews in American History
 Revista Interamericana de
 Bibliografía
 Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa
 Revue française d'études américaines
 Revue internationale d'histoire
 militaire
 Rhode Island History
 Rotunda
 Russian History
 Russian Review
 Sage
 Salmagundi
 San Diego History
 Saskatchewan History
 Scandinavian Economic History
 Review & Economy and History
 Scandinavian Journal of History
 Scandinavian Studies
 Scarlet Women
 Scholarly Publishing
 Science & Society
 Scientific American
 Scottish Historical Review
 Semeia
 Signs
 Sindhological Studies [Hyderabad,
 Pakistan]
 Sixteenth Century Journal
 Slavery and Abolition
 Slavic & East European Review
 Slavic Review
 Slavonic & East European Review
 Social Analysis
 Social History
 Social History of Medicine
 Social Justice
 Social Problems
 Social Science History
 Social Science Medicine
 Social Science Quarterly
 Social Science Research
 Social Science Review
 Social Service Review
 Social Studies
 Social Text
 Social Theory and Practice
 Socialist Review
 Societas
 Society
 Society for the Study of Labour
 History
 Sociology and Social Research
 Sociology Spectrum
 South African Journal of Cultural
 History
 South Atlantic Quarterly
 South Atlantic Urban Studies
 South Carolina Historical Magazine
 South Dakota History
 Southern Atlantic Quarterly
 Southern California Historical
 Quarterly
 Southern California Quarterly
 Southern Exposure
 Southern Friend
 Southern Historian
 Southern Quarterly
 Southern Studies
 Southwest Review
 Southwestern Historical Quarterly
 Soviet Review

- Soviet Studies
 Soviet Studies in History
 Speculum
 St. Mark's Review
 State University of New York at
 Buffalo Studies in History
 Studia Theologica: Scandinavian
 Journal of Theology
 Studies in History and Politics
 Studies in Latin American Popular
 Culture
 Studies in the American Renaissance
 Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly
 Swedish-American Historical
 Quarterly
 Tampa Bay History
 Technology and Culture
 Telos
 Tennessee Historical Quarterly
 Tequesta
 Texas Journal of Ideas, History, and
 Culture
 Texas Liberator
 Theatre History in Canada
 Theatre Journal
 Theatre Notebook
 Theatre Survey
 Theodore Roosevelt Association
 Journal
 Theological Studies
 Theory and Society
 Tiger Lily
 Timeline
 Toronto Journal of Theology
 Trans. Gaelic Society Inverness
 Trends in History
 Trinity Journal
 Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature
 Turn-of-the-Century Woman
 U.S. Catholic Historian
 UCLA Historical Journal
 Ufahamu
 Union Seminary Quarterly Review
 University of Dayton Review
 University of Pittsburgh Law
 Review
 Upper Midwest History
 Urban History Review
 Urbanism Past and Present
 Utah Historical Quarterly
 Vermont History
 Vermont History News
 Victorian Studies
 Vintage Fashions
 Virginia Cavalcade
 Virginia Magazine of History and
 Biography
 Virginia Quarterly Review
 Vox Benedictina
 West Georgia College Studies in the
 Social Sciences
 West Tennessee Historical Society
 Papers
 West Virginia History
 Western Folklore
 Western Historical Quarterly
 Western Journal of Black Studies
 Western Pennsylvania Historical
 Magazine
 Western Political Quarterly
 Western Society for French History
 Western States Jewish History
 Westminster Studies in Education
 Westminster Theological Journal
 William and Mary Quarterly
 Wilson Quarterly
 Windsor Yearbook of Access to
 Justice
 Winterthur Portfolio
 Wisconsin Magazine of History
 Wisconsin Women's Law Journal
 Woman of Power
 Woman's Art Journal
 Women & Criminal Justice
 Women & Health
 Women & Performance
 Women & Politics
 Women and History
 Women's Studies
 Women's Studies International
 Forum

Women's Studies International
Quarterly
Women's Studies Quarterly

World Marxist Review
Yale Journal of Criticism
Yale Review

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