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Women's History and Digital Media: Uniting Scholarship and Pedagogy

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Digital Media Review

Women's History and Digital Media: Uniting Scholarship and Pedagogy

Thomas Dublin and Kathryn Kish Sklar. "Black Women Suffragists." Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600–2000. Alexander Street Press. ISSN 2164-537X (Basic Edition); ISSN 2164-5361 (Scholar's Edition). http://wass.alexanderstreet.com.

P. Gabrielle Foreman. Colored Conventions Project. http://coloredconventions.org/.

"History of Women's Struggle in South Africa." South African History Online. http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-womens-struggle-south-africa.

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In the twenty-fifth anniversary issue of the *Journal of Women's History* (*JWH*), historian Claire Bond Potter asks, "Has the Internet made a difference to the practice of *women's* history? If so, what difference has it made?" Potter emphasizes the potential and challenges of a range of digital resources for women's and gender history, focusing on matters of access, creation of community, and the role of such "traditional" academic arenas as print journals and the standard of sole authored works in the process. This digital media review essay marks the beginning of a new *JWH* initiative, connecting the traditional and digital realms of publishing while enhancing a sense of community among scholars of women's and gender history from diverse backgrounds and career paths.

The Journal of Women's History joins such peer-reviewed journals as the American Historical Review, the Journal of American History, Western Historical Quarterly, and Bulletin of the History of Medicine in vetting digital media. In a timely intervention, the historian Cameron Blevins calls for historians to seize and shape the current wave of reviews. He observes that peer-review of digital projects ranges from informal Twitter dialogues and blog posts to print journals and, in his analysis, falls into three general categories: pedagogy and public engagement, academic scholarship, and data and design criticism.² Limiting a digital media review to only one or two of these categories, however, potentially obscures a major contribution of digital projects.³ This review therefore focuses on the primary strength

of digital media projects: the ability to bridge the gap between scholarship and pedagogy.

Currently, many digital media reviews reinforce a false dichotomy between scholarship and pedagogy. The Journal of American History (JAH), for example, sponsored by the Organization of American Historians, began publishing "web site reviews" as early as June 2009 in collaboration with the educator resources site *History Matters* jointly sponsored by American Social History Project and the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media. The *JAH* editors explicitly name educators as their primary review audience.4 The American Historical Association (AHA) creates a similar separation between digital media scholarship and pedagogy. In 2016, the AHA Today blog launched the excellent "Teaching with #DigHist" series, edited by historian and high school teacher John Rosinbum, which discusses the use of a range of digital projects in the secondary and university-level classroom. In terms of scholarship, Alex Lichtenstein's 2016 introduction to American Historical Review's "AHR Exchange: Reviewing Digital History," characterizes the AHR's strategy of pairing digital media reviews with responses from digital editors as an "opportunity to defend their approach and to clarify how the digital medium made it possible for them to push scholarship in new interpretive directions." This distinct focus on scholarly contributions in the traditional journal aligns with the AHA "Guidelines for the Professional Evaluation of Digital Scholarship by Historians," released in June 2015, where the terms "teaching" and "pedagogy" do not appear in the main section "Forms and Functions of Digital Scholarship." On the AHA website, however, these scholarship guidelines are found under the site heading "Teaching and Learning," which indicates the need for more focused discussions in the historical profession on the role of digital media projects in scholarship and teaching.

Digital media consumers represent a broad audience, including academics who identify strongly with both scholar and educator communities. Early adopters of digital media, furthermore, are cognizant of statistics that reveal significant numbers of K-12 educators utilizing primary and secondary sources made available through large scale projects like *German History in Documents and Images* (*GHDI*) and the Library of Congress's *American Memory*. Data from open access projects like *GHDI* attest to the value of doing history in public, a practice that creates community across traditional divides between the academy, K-12 educators, and the general public.

As part of her anniversary article, Potter highlights the emergence of key digital scholarship projects in the 1990s, including *H-Net: Humanities and Social Science Online* (H-Net) in 1992 and the *American Social History Project* at the City University of New York in 1991.8 The *Women and Social Movements* (WASM) project, founded in 1997 by Kathryn Kish Sklar and

Thomas Dublin at Binghamton University, represents this moment well. The evolution of *WASM*, in both content and platform, reveals much about the issues of access, community, and academic practices in women's history that Potter outlined in 2013. My essay evaluates the latest *WASM* collection "Black Women's Suffragists" together with the *Colored Conventions Project* (*CCP*), directed by P. Gabrielle Foreman at the University of Delaware and the "History of Women's Struggle in South Africa" collection in *South African History Online* (*SAHO*). All three projects bridge the gap between scholar-ship and pedagogy and are evaluated by the following criteria: the creation of community (based on access and audience); the project's structure; its contribution to the historiography of women's and gender history; and its contribution to teaching women's and gender history.

The digital media products under review are located at the intersection of women's history, race, and suffrage. While each project follows its own trajectory in content and platform, all three rely on collaborative research, bringing together academic experts, educators, and crowdsourced material and transcriptions in the case of *CCP* and *SAHO*. The projects reflect a vibrant women's history community that transcends the boundaries of physical and virtual space, defining the communities through project-specific approaches to the questions of access and audience, as well as connections to "political communities outside the university." For women's historians, Potter argues, the task of "writing across national, class, and racial lines is . . . complete only when our scholarship is returned to the communities where the research originates." Projects that focus on historically marginalized populations, including *Wearing Gay History*, demonstrate the importance of dissemination of this scholarship to diverse and non-academic audiences. Digital methods provide a powerful answer to Potter's call. 12

WASM represents a traditional approach to creating a scholarly community of women's historians through a digital media resources collection. The audience is implicitly academic, that is, limited to scholars and higher education professionals with access to a subscription, although subscriptions are on a sliding scale based on the size and budget of the subscribing library. While the subscription model limits the audience for the extensive database of over 4300 primary sources, Sklar and Dublin explain the process that led to their partnership with Alexander Street Press in "Keeping up with the Web, 1997–2008: Women and Social Movements in the United States." Here, the editors reveal their original inspiration for WASM: to establish an online presence for women's history. The inevitable challenges of sustainable funding and institutional support eventually led them to the current subscription model, which unfortunately creates a substantial problem for non-academic and K-12 audiences without institutional subscriptions.¹³

Sklar and Dublin partnered with African American historian Rosalyn Terborg-Penn in 2014 to create the "Black Women Suffragists" (BWS) collection within the WASM database. BWS is another impressive effort by the WASM team to document and curate primary sources and original scholarly essays on a much-neglected topic in women's history. The project uses Terborg-Penn's dissertation and subsequent monograph, African American Women in the Struggle for the Right to Vote, 1820–1920, as a foundation, specifically building on a list of black suffragists from her dissertation.14 Terborg-Penn's traditional scholarship represents a fixed moment in the historiography of black women suffragists. Sklar and Dublin add rich biographical detail to her analysis, creating biographies and secondary resources on each suffragist. BWS also fosters connections between the women on Terborg-Penn's original list with a variety of digital resources which were not available forty years ago, most notably the digital collections at the University of Massachusetts and Harvard University. As has become their trademark, Sklar and Dublin used WASM to fill a significant gap in the field of women's history and digital media.

The Colored Conventions Project (CCP) at University of Delaware harnesses the power of Omeka, an open source web publishing platform for digital collections of educator-driven, crowdsourced content that focuses on underrepresented groups in history. According to its website, "The CCP attends to issues of race and gender equity and bias, historical and presentday [which] therefore, requires that we confront the underrepresentation of women in the convention minutes and articulate their substantial contributions to reform and organizational movements of the nineteenth century."15 The CCP editors' use of Omeka and a 2016 Digital Humanities Start-Up Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities allows the sources to be open to all audiences without the restriction of paywalls or subscriptions. The specter of sustainable funding for the project is evident, however, in the form of a "donate" button on its homepage. 16 As is the case of both WASM and SAHO, CCP was founded as a pedagogical tool and educational resource platform for a neglected aspect of history—in this instance the American "Colored Conventions" which began in 1830. The Colored Conventions movement drew African American delegates to state and national meetings to discuss such issues as labor, civil, and property rights. Whereas secondary essays and primary source digitization for WASM is primarily commissioned work, CCP embraces crowdsourcing, most prominently in the form of transcribed convention minutes using the Scripto plug-in. The CCP team usefully provides open access to the transcribed files on their website to "promote innovative uses of the convention minutes." 17

The third digital media resource reviewed here is *South African History Online*, described by its editors as "a non-partisan people's history institu-

tion."¹⁸ In terms of breadth, *SAHO* includes a range of content material and collections. *SAHO*'s primary mission is to create and maintain an online encyclopedia on South African and African history. The research team achieves this goal by building community relationships with university history departments, a robust internship program, and local history groups. ¹⁹ *SAHO* receives funding from a range of local and international agencies, including the Ford Foundation. ²⁰ Like the *CCP* project, the need for steady funding for the project is evident in a "contribute" link on their homepage.

Digital media audiences, both academic and general, expect a clear user interface and robust search capabilities. The WASM database represents the limits of early conceptions of digital collections within the parameters of print media formatting. In this case, WASM is organized as an online journal with specific thematic issues, therefore navigating to the "Black Woman Suffragists" materials is not straightforward. Users can nonetheless access all biographies of the identified suffragists and scholarly essays in a central menu in Dublin and Sklar's introduction to the project. The BWS collection boasts fifteen scholarly essays drawing on newly digitized sources from black suffragists, including a critical introduction by Terborg-Penn. WASM's primary contribution is the digitization of more than 1600 primary sources from black women suffragists. Often, written sources do not explicitly identify black women or obscure their identities by the appropriation of pseudonyms or use of a husband's name. These practices represent a significant challenge to scholars attempting to use digital methods to study intersectionality. The historian and director of the "Her Hat was in the Ring" project, Wendy Chmielewski, notes that, historically, individual race and ethnicity is a complex question further complicated by the realities of nineteenth- and twentieth-century recordkeeping.²¹ Despite these challenges, the WASM team located writings by sixty-nine of the eighty women included in BWS.²² Not only does WASM provide researchers with unprecedented access to sources, the availability of such a large body of digitized texts allows scholars to use text encoding and other methods to analyze trends in this unique collection. The historian Michelle Moravec demonstrated the potential of this methodology using the WASM-digitized History of Woman Suffrage (HWS) edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage as well as the first 405 documents of the BWS collection. Through careful analysis of collected WASM documents, or corpus, Moravec found significant differences in suffragists' language, especially in the prevalence of "embodied discourse" in the BWS corpus, which uses possessive pronouns to convey political agency as opposed to the term "women" in HWS. Since BWS primary sources exist as their own distinct collection, created mostly by African American women, the primary and secondary sources in WASM lend themselves to comparisons

between groups of suffragists. In short, digital methods enable scholars to discover and corroborate patterns in the extensive collections housed in the *WASM* database.²³

A useful element of the *WASM* format for both research and teaching is the inclusion of hyperlinks throughout the footnotes of the Dublin introduction essay and scholarly essays in BWS. The historians Kelly McCullough and James Retallack argue that "while the hyperlink has the power to 'pull' information together, it can also create narratives, intended or not." These hyperlink narratives represent a significant, seemingly organic product of the *WASM* database. The authors of the BWS scholarly essays create hyperlink narratives to related content, frequently embracing the full spectrum of the *WASM* site. Perhaps most impressive, BWS hyperlink narratives also reach beyond the *WASM* database, citing information in the Schlesinger Library collections at Harvard University and the W.E.B. Dubois Papers at the University of Massachusetts, facilitating the research process for both scholars and their students. The digital format of *WASM*, therefore, reveals a distinct potential to put documents and scholarship in conversation in ways that only individual historical research previously explored.

Perhaps the greatest strength of the BWS collection is the integration of both secondary and primary sources on black women into the fabric of the *WASM* database. Rather than keeping BWS materials isolated from other document projects, Dublin and Sklar situate the collection in the database and, by extension, the historiography. Indeed, one of the first *WASM* document collections "How did the National Woman's Party Address the Issue of the Enfranchisement of Black Women, 1919–1924?" serves as a both a connected narrative and a marker for the historiographical gap that BWS fills.²⁵ As *WASM* transitions to a new editorial team, hyperlink narratives are worth considering as an intentional part of the digital design process, rather than organic by-products of the document collection.

While WASM uses journal issues to conceptualize data collections, the Colored Conventions Project team uses exhibits (a common unit for Omeka) to draw attention to neglected aspects of African American historiography centered on the Colored Conventions movement. Black women were not allowed to be delegates to the Colored Conventions until the 1850s, yet PhD candidate in English Carolyne King and American studies scholar Erica L. Ball argue in "The 'Conventions' of the Conventions" that women were "engaged political activists in their own right." King and Ball read the convention minutes carefully, placing black women's involvement in the rituals of the conventions at the forefront of the exhibit, using visual strategies like word clouds. In another exhibit, the historian Samantha de Vera emphasizes black women's contributions outside the space of the convention floor. In particular, De Vera claims that, by providing local accommodations

for delegates, black boarding house hostesses were critical to the success of the Philadelphia conventions.²⁷ Like King and Ball, De Vera employs an array of data visualizations to augment the exhibit, including such Piktochart graphics and tables as "Women in the Conventions," which combines a map of the United States populated with the conventions and lists of female participants.²⁸ To improve navigation of these charts, De Vera could provide a permanent link to expand the illustration, which is broken as of this writing. The "Interactive Map of the Community," in contrast, provides an important spatial context for institutions that served African Americans in 1830s Philadelphia, augmented by an introductory text and descriptive place markers. Nevertheless, the *CCP* platform generally provides a clear path for navigation through side menus and issues of consistency regarding illustrations that can be addressed as the project continues.

The SAHO represents an important departure from the American- or Western-style digital media structure models of WASM and CCP. For example, the American projects retain a clear focus on authorship, whereas *SAHO* does not. There are two possible reasons for this type of discrepancy. First, the emphasis on authorship is a consequence of the persistent expectations for single-author and collaborative scholarship in the tenure and promotion process at North American universities. Second, it is a reminder of the analog methods that form the foundation of each project's structure. WASM retains the fundamental structure of an academic journal and CCP is grounded in library science and archiving standards for cataloging and classifying each item, known as metadata. It is unclear why authorship is often ambiguous on the SAHO site, yet each page includes dates of original publication and last update, which help users situate the essays in the historiography.²⁹ SAHO's Capetown-based team meets its audience where they are with pages that are fairly easy to navigate, a critical feature considering Africa's largely "born mobile" digital culture.³⁰ In addition, the SAHO team provides hyperlinks between articles and clear links to related content, especially biographical content, at the beginning of each article and in the side menus. These links provide the user with the ability to craft rich hyperlink narratives, personalizing the information and easing navigation as WASM does; CCP, however, does not include such an array of hyperlinks in the exhibits, possibly due to its status as the most recently founded project under review.

Each project reflects the intersectionality of gender, race, and class in women's historiography and by curating extensive digital collections of primary and secondary sources around this theme, they bring activists who were obscured previously by scholarship to the forefront. Perhaps as a result, all three projects react to the challenges of addressing these complex variables through distinct biographical components. *WASM* pairs individual

biography pages for each activist with scholarly essays and links to related primary sources. This approach is perhaps best demonstrated in the case of Anna Julia Haywood Cooper (1858–1964), who stands out among her contemporaries for her work on the connections between race, gender, and class. The suffragist's BWS biography page contains links to 108 of her original works, thirty-two sources about Cooper, six letters addressed to Cooper, and four WASM-digitized biographical sketches.³¹ Cooper's page is representative of WASM efforts to create a dialogue between their database and external collections, like the W.E.B. DuBois Collection at the University of Massachusetts, providing a convenient link to thirty-three related letters in the DuBois papers. Finally, the biography page directs users to Sharon Harley's insightful scholarly essay "The Solidarity of Humanity: Anna Julia Cooper's Personal Encounters and Thinking about the Intersectionality of Race, Gender, and Oppression."32 Here, Harley elaborates on Cooper's background as the daughter of former slave Hannah Stanley and slave master George Washington Haywood, arguing that elements of Cooper's personal experiences contributed to her keen understanding of what is now termed intersectionality. A prolific writer, Cooper's digitized works in WASM include her 1892 book A Voice from the South and the two-volume Personal Recollections of the Grimke Family and The Life and Writings of Charlotte Forte Grimke. The extensive BWS collection not only provides scholars with access to ample sources to analyze previously neglected women but also creates a space for students to read Harley's essay and practice their own historical thinking by reading such primary sources as Voice of the South. As discussed earlier, the CCP exhibits also focus on women's stories to illustrate informal and formal political work in an environment often dominated by men. These biographical elements are the strength of all three websites, which illuminate the everyday experience of women through a combination of their own words and historical analysis.

SAHO also includes strong biographical and organization entries that establish the context and identity of South African women. The "History of Women's Struggle in South Africa" collection provides multiple lenses on women's history in South Africa from 1905 to the twenty-first century including menus for topics, organizations, document archives, and biographical entries. Like WASM, SAHO provides a growing list of women's biographies with links to related content.³³ The anti-pass campaign of the 1950s provides a key example for the versatility of the SAHO site. "[W]omen were prominent in virtually all . . . avenues of protest," SAHO argues, "but to none were they more committed than the anti-pass campaign." Here the authors provide a comprehensive secondary essay which features women's activism in the anti-pass campaign, contextualizing the events and people involved through hyperlinks to related content and primary sources, such as

the Women's Charter adopted at the founding conference of the Federation of South African Women on 17 April 1954. They also provide critical context to the 1956 Women's March on Pretoria, which demonstrated that women were not simply "tied to the home" or "politically inept and immature," but a powerful voice heard by political allies, including the African National Congress (ANC), and opponents. The curation of secondary and primary content into easily discoverable themes on all three sites not only draws scholarly attention to women as historical agents, it provides educators with excellent resources for project-based learning and digital content-creation in their own classrooms.

The WASM, CCP, and SAHO project directors facilitate connections to women's history scholarship in classrooms at their own institutions and beyond. Indeed, Sklar and Dublin's project first emerged out of the desire to disseminate women's history research tools in Sklar's undergraduate and graduate courses. Technology and pedagogy have changed, but the inclusion of clear teaching resources in digital projects is a hallmark of the women's and gender history digital community. WASM maintains a "Teaching Tools" section with twelve Document-Based Questions (DBQ) and forty-two model lesson plans. The comprehensive teaching section includes several lessons and questions focused on African American history. This section, although updated in 2016, would benefit from further updates that include model lessons using sources from the BWS collection—which is not currently represented. In contrast, the CCP project maintains a comprehensive teaching section, modeling clear expectations for both student-generated content and collaborating educators.³⁶ The list of national teaching partners is impressive, including twelve scholars across the United States. The goal of the CCP teaching section is twofold: first, to foster the community of educators and students who drive content creation for the site; and second, to provide a clear model for teaching digital media skills to students through a public project. As a model for digital media pedagogy, CCP succeeds well. The site provides clear templates for Memoranda of Understanding, library research guides, and Omeka exhibit tutorials. Educators can use the "Curriculum in a Box" to participate in the CCP project, while it also serves a secondary purpose of providing templates for other digital projects.

SAHO has a comprehensive "Classroom" section organized by grade level and topics. This section features a clean interface that encourages use by educators and invites them to contribute content. The SAHO aligns its educational materials with the South African Department of Basic Education Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS). Although the "Classroom" section lacks specific topics on women, it does feature the booklet "For Freedom and Equality—Celebrating Women in South African History," which the SAHO team compiled for the Department of Basic Education.³⁷

This booklet is a critical resource for women's history educators and available in both html and pdf format.

WASM, CCP, and SAHO provide three distinct models for curating and disseminating women's and gender history content through digital media. Each project represents a unique historiographical context in terms of topic, geographic focus, "physical" location of team members, funding models, and structure. Despite these differences, all three projects attest to the rich women's and gender digital media historiography and the tremendous potential for collaboration, community building, and widening knowledge within the discipline.

Notes

¹Claire Bond Potter, "Thou Shalt Commit: The Internet, New Media, and the Future of Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* 25, no. 4 (2013): 350–62, 354 (emphasis in original).

²Cameron Blevins, "The New Wave of Review," *Cameron Blevins*, March 7, 2016, http://www.cameronblevins.org/posts/the-new-wave-of-review/.

³Ibid.

⁴Kelly Schrum, "Web Site Reviews," Journal of American History 96, no. 1 (2009): 330–31, 330.

⁵Alex Lichtenstein, "AHR Exchange: Reviewing Digital History," *American Historical Review* 121, no. 1 (2016): 140–42, 141.

⁶American Historical Association, "Guidelines for the Professional Evaluation of Digital Scholarship by Historians," accessed December 29, 2016, https://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/digital-history-resources/evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-in-history/guidelines-for-the-professional-evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-by-historians. See also Seth Denbo, "AHA Council Approves Guidelines for Evaluation of Digital Projects," *Perspectives on History*, (September 2015), https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2015/aha-council-approves-guidelines-for-evaluation-of-digital-projects.

⁷Kelly McCullough and James Retallack, "Digital History Anthologies on the Web," *Central European History* 46, no. 2 (2013): 346–61, 357; Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, "Exploring the History Web: Teaching and Learning," *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web*, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, accessed December 29, 2016, http://chnm.gmu.edu/digitalhistory/exploring/5.php#_ednref47; "German History in Documents and Images," German Historical Institute, accessed December 29, 2016, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/; and "American Memory from the Library of Congress—Home Page," Library of Congress, accessed December 29, 2016, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html.

⁸Potter, "Thou Shalt Commit," 351. See also "The American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning," City University of New York, accessed December 29, 2016, https://ashp.cuny.edu/; and "H-Net: Humanities and Social Sciences Online," Michigan State University Department of History, accessed December 26, 2016, https://networks.h-net.org/.

⁹The WASM site as a whole has been reviewed extensively elsewhere. See Louise Newman, Review of Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600–2000: Scholar's Edition, Journal of American History, 98 (June 2011): 310–12; and Bonnie S. Anderson, Review of Database: Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600–2000, Women's History Review 19, no. 5 (2010): 795–97.

¹⁰Potter, "Thou Shalt Commit," 355.

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 $^{12}\rm{Eric}$ Nolan Gonzaba, Director, Wearing Gay History, accessed January 30, 2017, http://wearinggayhistory.com/.

¹³Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, "Keeping up with the Web, 1997–2008: Women and Social Movements in the United States," *Perspectives on History* (May 2009), https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2009/intersections-history-and-new-media/keeping-up-with-the-web-1997-2008.

¹⁴Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Afro Americans in the Struggle for Woman Suffrage" (PhD Diss., Howard University, 1977); and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

¹⁵"Curriculum," Colored Conventions, accessed June 15, 2017, http://coloredconventions.org/curriculum#set. For information on the Omeka content management system, see https://omeka.org/.

¹⁶"NEH Grant Awarded to Support Colored Conventions Project," *UDaily*, April 14, 2016, http://www1.udel.edu/udaily/2016/apr/neh-colored-conventions-041416.html.

 $^{18}{\rm ''}$ About SAHO," South African History Online, accessed December 29, 2016, http://www.sahistory.org.za/about-us.

 $^{19}\!''$ Mission and Values," South African History Online, accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.sahistory.org.za/mission-and-values.

²⁰"Funders," South African History Online, accessed December 29, 2016, http://www.sahistory.org.za/about-us.

²¹Wendy Chmielewski, email messages to author, January 3 and 4, 2017; and "Her Hat was in the Ring—U.S. Women Who Ran for Political Office before 1920," accessed July 31, 2017, http://www.herhatwasinthering.org/web/index.aspx.

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 - ²⁴McCullough and Retallack, "Digital Anthologies," 360.
- ²⁵Kathryn Kish Sklar and Jill Dias, "How Did the National Woman's Party Address the Issue of the Enfranchisement of Black Women, 1919–1924?" accessed February 10, 2017. http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/was2/was2.object.details.aspx?dorpid=1000636529.
- ²⁶Carolyne King and Erica L. Ball, "The 'Conventions' of the Conventions: Political Rituals and Traditions," in *Colored Conventions Project*, ed. P. Gabrielle Foreman, accessed February 10, 2017, http://coloredconventions.org/exhibits/show/the-performance-of-convention-.
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- ³²Sharon Harley, "The Solidarity of Humanity: Anna Julia Cooper's Personal Encounters and Thinking about the Intersectionality of Race, Gender, and Oppression," Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600–2000 19, no. 1 (2015).
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³⁵"The 1956 Women's March, Pretoria, 9 August," South African History Online, March 31, 2011, http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/1956-womens-march-pretoria-9-august.

 $^{36} Foreman, "Teaching," Colored Conventions Project, accessed June 14, 2017,$ http://coloredconventions.org/teaching.

³⁷"For Freedom and Equality—Celebrating Women in South African History Booklet, South African History Online, accessed July 6, 2017, http://www.sahistory.org.za/aids-resources/freedom-and-equality-celebrating-women-south-african-history-booklet.