

Plains where it has become a greater nuisance than in its native steppes. Along with the cultural imprints that it has made, the story of tumbleweed further attests to the significant and globe-spanning impacts that historical encounters with the Russian steppes had with the Great Plains.

Moon has crafted a solid and sophisticated environmental history that avoids environmental determinism; as he summarizes, “it was human choices, made first in the grasslands of the Russian Empire and later in North America, to engage in similar activities in similar environments themselves, that explain the ‘Russian roots’ of elements of Great Plains agriculture” (406). *The American Steppes* is a highly recommended work that enriches both regional and global perspectives.

Suffrage: Women’s Long Battle for the Vote, by Ellen Carol DuBois. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020. viii, 303 pp. Appendices, notes, additional reading, illustrations, index. \$28.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Katherine Kitterman is historical director at Better Days, a women’s history non-profit organization in Utah. Her research interests include suffrage history, women’s history and western history.

Suffrage: Women’s Long Battle for the Vote is a comprehensive account of the suffrage movement from eminent women’s historian Ellen Carol DuBois, timed to coincide with the centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment in 2020. DuBois has researched and written on feminist history, the women’s movement, and suffrage for more than forty years, publishing titles such as *Feminism & Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women’s Movement in America, 1848–1869* (1978), *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (1997), and *Woman Suffrage & Women’s Rights* (1998), as well as co-authoring and co-editing several textbooks on women’s history.

In *Suffrage*, DuBois revisits the long fight for women’s voting rights at a crucial juncture in its history. Although she builds on previous work in the field, she also utilizes newspapers, correspondence, conference reports and more, allowing a diverse range of suffrage leaders’ voices to come through in the narrative. The result is admirable: a readable, accessible, and yet complex picture of women’s agitation for the vote over more than three-quarters of a century.

DuBois’ account highlights a diversity of women and organizations who moved the suffrage issue forward, shows the difficulty of securing the Nineteenth Amendment, and critically examines women’s political activity after 1920. She recounts the origins of women’s agitation for the vote, details the painful split in the equal rights movement over the Fifteenth Amendment, and traces the rise of rival organizations focused

on securing women's right to vote. Her chapters introduce a wide variety of suffrage leaders, white and black, and explain the intersection of suffrage work and other causes. *Suffrage* shows how pro-suffrage arguments based in motherhood and "home protection" took root as well as those based in xenophobia and racism. It also shows how alliances with organizations such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union swelled the movement's ranks and changed its course.

In discussing strategies and tactics, DuBois, like many other suffrage historians, focuses heavily on the final push for a federal amendment, spending one-third of the book from 1915 onward. This structure privileges the 1915 and 1917 campaigns in New York State in the narrative, as well as NAWSA and NWP efforts in the nation's capital. Although DuBois mentions early victories in the west and nods to midwestern suffragists' organizing, readers can get the sense that everything of note happened in New York City and Washington, D.C., rather than in millions of homes and communities across the United States.

Importantly, though, DuBois continues her narrative past August 1920 to discuss what happened after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment as suffragists focused their efforts on new policy goals. From voter education to maternal health, birth control, regulating child labor, the Equal Rights Amendment, anti-lynching, and fighting voter suppression, she traces how the movement for women's political equality continued (and continues) to unfold.

Suffrage accomplishes the difficult balance of providing an overview and context for a complex, long, and fractious national movement while providing an action-packed and energetic narrative. There's enough detail to make a point without bogging the story down.

DuBois brings major players in the movement to life in rich detail, without shying away from discussing their complex personalities, mistakes, setbacks, and disagreements with each other. She highlights a diversity of women and organizations who moved the issue forward, many of whom have been omitted from suffrage history for far too long. Most importantly, DuBois shows over and over again how racism factored into the movement, from arguments for "educated suffrage" to the pursuit of a "southern strategy" to individual leaders' unwillingness to confront racism in the ranks by taking a stand for black women's political equality. It is a critical look at the movement that mirrors much of recent scholarship, even though it does not engage with that scholarship directly.

Suffrage deserves a place alongside new work such as *Vanguard* and *Recasting the Vote* for its refreshingly readable, comprehensive, and

quick-paced overview of the movement. Ultimately, DuBois' final assessment is that "our understanding of what the woman suffrage movement really means for American history continues to provoke and challenge us" (303). This is especially true as Americans today continue to grapple with issues of women's equality, citizenship, racial justice, and voting rights. In *Suffrage*, readers will find an accessible, engaging, and comprehensive history of a social movement that has never been more relevant.

Recasting the Vote: How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement, by Cathleen D. Cahill. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2020. 384 pp. Notes, bibliography, index, images. \$32.50 hardcover.

Reviewer Mandy L. Cooper is lecturer of women's and gender history at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Her research combines women's, economic, political, and legal history to explore the economic and political implications of connections between the "private" and the "public."

Cathleen D. Cahill's *Recasting the Vote: How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement* is a powerful call to "reflect on who has been part of our suffrage stories and who has been left out" (277). In this well-written and deeply researched book, Cahill narrates an intersectional history of suffrage by focusing on six women: Gertrude Simmons Bonnin/Zitkala Ša, Mabel Ping-Hua Lee, Carrie Williams Clifford, Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin, Adelina "Nina" Luna Otero-Warren, and Laura Cornelius Kellogg. She threads these women's stories throughout the book, recontextualizing prominent events (including the 1913 suffrage parade in Washington, D.C.) through the eyes of these women of color suffragists. As she ably demonstrates, by paying attention to women of color suffragists and moving beyond the binary of Black and white, the history that we tell fundamentally changes, extending both the chronology and the geography of the suffrage struggle.

The book is organized in four parts. Part one examines each woman's background. The second part turns to women's activism between 1913 and 1917 as suffragists across the country revived their campaign for a national amendment. The third section turns to the Great War, while the final section focuses on the continued activism of women of color after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. In so doing, Cahill casts 1920 as a pivot point—not an end or a beginning—in women's struggle for suffrage. Each chapter is a relatively self-contained story focused on one of these six women in the broader context of more well-known figures and events.