Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? (1866–1890)

OVERVIEW
In this lesson, students will examine the growth of the women’s suffrage movement after the Civil War and analyze the ways the Constitution and the Bill of Rights empower all individuals to express their political voices.

OBJECTIVES
- Students will describe the growth of the women’s suffrage movement and its controversies following the Civil War.
- Students will analyze important primary sources in the story of the fight for women’s suffrage.
- Students will assess the ways the Constitution and the Bill of Rights empower all citizens to express their political voice.

MATERIALS
- Background Essay: Shall Women Have the Right to Vote?
- Handout A: Political Cartoon Analysis: “The Age of Brass” and “I wonder if it’s really becoming?”
- Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet
- Handout C: A Movement Divided
- Handout D: Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?
- Handout E: Suffrage by State
- Handout F: Women’s Political Voices
- Appendix A: Amending the Constitution
- Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
- Appendix C: Timeline Cards
- Appendix G: A Pathway for Change
VOCABULARY

- Cult of Domesticity
- republicanism
- National Woman Suffrage Association
- American Woman Suffrage Association

STANDARDS

- National Standards for U.S. History: Era 6 1870–1900
  - Standard 3: The rise of the American labor movement and how political issues reflected social and economic changes

- National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies:
  - Theme 2: Time, Continuity, and Change
  - Theme 6: Power, Authority, and Governance
  - Theme 10: Civic Ideals and Practices

QUOTES

“We represent fifteen million people—one-half the entire population of the country—the Constitution classes us as “free people,” yet we are governed without our consent, compelled to pay taxes without appeal, and punished for violations of law without choice of judge or juror. You are now amending the Constitution, and . . . placing new safeguards around the individual rights of four million emancipated slaves. We ask that you extend the right of suffrage to women—the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens—and thus fulfill your constitutional obligation.”

–SUSAN B. ANTHONY TO CONGRESS, 1865

“We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women!”

–WYOMING LEGISLATURE TELEGRAM TO CONGRESS, 1890
Lesson Plan

Background/Homework » 15–30 min.
A. If students have not done so already, have them read Appendix A: Amending the Constitution and answer the questions about the process the Constitution sets forth for amendments.
B. Still using Appendix A as a resource, have students write a brief reflection in response to this question: The United States constitutional system is designed to respect the authority of the people in individual states to make laws that are different from state to state. How does the Constitution’s amendment process illustrate the principle of federalism?
C. Have students read Background Essay: Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? and answer the questions.

Warm-up » 15 minutes
A. Project, hand out, or post in the room copies of the pair of political cartoons: Handout A: Political Cartoon Analysis: “The Age of Brass” and “I wonder if it’s really becoming?”
B. Have students work in small groups of at least four. Subdivide the groups and give half of each small group one of the cartoons along with Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet. Ask students to examine the cartoons closely, complete Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet for each of the cartoons, and then compare the two cartoons within their groups.
C. Reconvence the whole class and discuss the following questions:
   1. What are some of the obstacles that suffragists faced?
   2. How does the movement for women’s suffrage embody the principles of equality, consent of the governed, and representative government?
   3. How are those principles portrayed differently in the two cartoons?
   4. In what ways are the cartoons alike?
   5. You may wish to clarify some of the terminology in the cartoons. For example, focusing on the titles of the cartoons, one meaning of “brass” is impertinence, audacity, shamelessness. Also, students may not be familiar with the use of “becoming” to mean “attractive.”
Activity 1  » 15 minutes
A. Distribute Handout C: A Movement Divided and have students complete the table using their Background Essays as a reference.
B. Ask for volunteers to share their responses to the review questions from Background Essay, and discuss as a large group.

Activity 2  » 15 minutes
A. Have students analyze Susan B. Anthony’s speech justifying her decision to vote illegally. Working in pairs or trios, students should complete Handout D: Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?
B. Discuss the answers as a large group.

Wrap-up  » 15 minutes
A. Discuss with students the concept of historical thinking. For example: Have students make a T-chart on their paper and quickly list some advantages and disadvantages of the instant communication technology available to them today. On a second T-chart, have them list advantages and disadvantages that people might have experienced before the communication and transportation technologies that emerged after 1900. Lead a discussion of questions such as:

1. Does it seem unusual to us that Susan B. Anthony would travel around her county in the Rochester, New York, area giving speeches? To what extent is a speaking tour important for influential leaders today? What other options for informing the public and generating support are available today?

2. What is the difference between reading a short tweet on our phones and seeing/hearing someone deliver a speech in person? What are some things you experience with the latter that you cannot with the former?

3. How is generating support for a reform movement different today than it may have been in the post-Civil War period?

4. How can easy access to technology benefit individuals and groups in their political rights and responsibilities?

5. To what extent might easy access to technology cause us to take our political rights and responsibilities for granted?

B. Use Appendix G: A Pathway for Change to determine where in the pathway the women’s movement seems to be by 1890.
C. Have students use Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes for reference while they label and shade in Wyoming, Utah, Washington, and Montana on Handout E: Suffrage by State. (Note: The map will be used again in the next lesson.)

Extension Options

A. As a class, brainstorm significant accomplishments of women in U.S. history prior to 1890. Note: You can do this activity even if you have not done the previous lessons in this curriculum. Students can use other books, online sources, and outside knowledge to fill in the information. Distribute Handout F: Women’s Political Voices and have students select two to three additional people/accomplishments to fill in the chart. Have them complete the chart for homework, and then lead students in a discussion of ways that the rights protected in the Constitution and Bill of Rights empower all individuals to persuade their fellow citizens of their views.

B. Play an audio version or have students read the entire speech, “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?” Anthony’s speech is available at “Civil Rights and Conflict in the United States: Selected Speeches by FCIT;” Florida Center for Instructional Technology, College of Education, University of South Florida. Students should write a brief reflection in response explaining which of Anthony’s constitutional arguments they believe was the strongest and why.

C. Have students draw their own pro-suffrage and/or anti-suffrage cartoons.

FOR FURTHER READING


Flexner, Eleanor, Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography, Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, Inc. (1972)

Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? (1866–1890)

Directions: Keep these discussion questions in mind as you read the background essay, making marginal notes as desired. Respond to the reflection and analysis questions at the end of the essay.

Discussion Questions
- How had the work of women to end slavery helped them develop skills that would ultimately be useful in the women’s suffrage struggle?
- What might be meant by the term, “the conscience of the nation,” and how did the fight against slavery help demonstrate that concept?
- What arguments might have been made against women’s suffrage?
- Why were Western states the first to grant suffrage to women?

Introduction
After the Civil War, the nation was finally poised to extend the promise of liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence to newly emancipated African Americans. But the women’s suffrage movement was split: Should women push to be included in the Fifteenth Amendment? Should they wait for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to be adopted before turning to women’s suffrage, or should they seize the moment and demand the vote now? Not content to wait, Susan B. Anthony and other workers in the movement engaged in civil disobedience to wake the conscience of a nation. Meanwhile, railroads opened the West to settlement, and Western territories tried to boost population by offering votes for women.

Life for women in the mid-nineteenth century was as diverse as it is now. What was considered socially appropriate behavior for women varied widely across the country, based on region, social class, and other factors. Branches of the women’s suffrage movement disagreed regarding tactics, and some women (and many men) did not even believe women’s suffrage was appropriate or necessary. Ideals of the Cult of Domesticity, in which women were believed to possess the natural virtues of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness, were still a powerful influence on culture. An important debate and split in the women’s suffrage movement between a state and national strategy emerged during this period.

The Cult of True Womanhood
The Cult of Domesticity, also known as the Cult of True Womanhood, affirmed the idea that natural differences between the sexes meant women, especially those of the upper and middle
classes, were too delicate for work outside the home. According to this view, such women were more naturally suited to parenting, teaching, and making homes, which were their natural “sphere,” happy and peaceful for their families. In other words, it was unnatural and unladylike for women to work outside the home.

Educator and political activist Catharine Beecher wrote in 1871, “Woman’s great mission is to train immature, weak, and ignorant creatures [children] to obey the laws of God . . . first in the family, then in the school, then in the neighborhood, then in the nation, then in the world.” For Beecher and other writers, the role of homemaker was held up as an honored and dignified position for women, worthy of high esteem. Their contribution to public life would include managing the home in a manner that would support their husbands. According to this conception of the roles of men and women, men were considered to be exhausted, soiled, and corrupted by their participation in work and politics, and needed a peaceful, pure home life to enable them to recover their virtue.

Increasingly, women found their political voice through their work in social reform movements. Jane Addams, co-founder with Helen Gates Starr of Hull House and pioneer of social work in America, wrote in 1902, “The sphere of morals is the sphere of action . . . It is well to remind ourselves, from time to time, that ‘Ethics’ is but another word for ‘righteousness . . .’” She noted that, to solve problems related to the needs of children, public health, and other social concerns that affected the home, women needed the vote.

In keeping with the feminine ideals of piety and purity, many women continued work within the temperance movement to campaign against the excesses of drunkenness. This cause was considered a socially permissible moral effort through which women could participate in public life, because of the damaging effects of alcohol abuse on the family. Annie Wittenmyer, a social reformer and war widow from Ohio who had reported on terrible hospital conditions during the Civil War, founded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874 to build support for the idea of abstaining from alcohol use.

According to the tradition of Republican Motherhood, education should prepare girls to become mothers who raised educated citizens for the republic. In a challenge to the Cult of Domesticity, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw an expansion of broader academic opportunities for upper class females of college age in the United States. In the Northeast, liberal arts schools modeled after Wesleyan College (1836) in Macon, Georgia, opened. In 1844, Hillsdale College opened in Michigan, one of the first American colleges whose charter prohibited any discrimination based on race, religion, or sex. Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, founded in 1861, and Wellesley College in Wellesley, Massachusetts, founded in 1875, also expanded educational opportunities for women. Teaching was among the first professions women entered in large numbers. During and after the Civil War, new opportunities also developed for women to become nurses.

**The Changing Roles of Women**

While these career options did not radically challenge the cultural ideal of traditional womanhood, the work landscape of America was changing. As the United States economy grew to provide more options, people began to see themselves as consumers as well as producers. Indeed, mass consumerism drove new manufacturing methods. During the second industrial revolution, the United States started moving from an agricultural economy...
toward incorporating new modes of production, manufacturing, and consumer behavior.

Young working-class women worked in the same laundries, factories, and textile mills as poor and immigrant men, often spending twelve hours a day, seven days a week, in hot, dangerous conditions. Also, women found work as store clerks in the many new department stores that opened to sell factory-made clothing and other mass-produced items.

The Suffrage Movement Grows

Women continued to work to secure their right to vote. The Civil War ended in April of 1865 and the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified eight months later, banning slavery throughout the United States. A burning question remained: How would the rights of former slaves be protected? As the nation’s attention turned to civil rights and voting with the debates surrounding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, many women hoped to seize the opportunity to gain the vote alongside African American men.

The Civil War had forced women’s suffrage advocates to pause their efforts toward winning the vote, but in 1866 they came together at the eleventh National Women’s Rights Convention in New York. The group voted to call itself the American Equal Rights Association and work for the rights of all Americans. Appealing to the Cult of Domesticity, they argued that giving women the vote would improve government by bringing women’s virtues of piety and purity into politics, resulting in a more civilized, “maternal commonwealth.”

The Movement Splits

The American Equal Rights Association seemed poised for success with such well-known leaders as Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, and Frederick Douglass. But internal divisions soon became
clear. Whose rights should be secured first? Some, especially former abolitionist leaders, wanted to wait until newly emancipated African American men had been given the vote before working to win it for women. Newspaper editor Horace Greeley urged, “This is a critical period for the Republican Party and the life of our Nation . . . I conjure you to remember that this is ‘the negro’s hour,’ and your first duty now is to go through the State and plead his claims.” Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe agreed.

But for Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the time for women also was now. Along with many others, they saw the move to put the cause of women’s suffrage on hold as a betrayal of both the principles of equality and republicanism. Frederick Douglass, who saw suffrage for African American men as a matter of life or death, challenged Anthony on this question, asking whether she believed granting women the vote would truly do anything to change the inequality under law between the sexes. Without missing a beat, Anthony responded:

“It will change the nature of one thing very much, and that is the dependent condition of woman. It will place her where she can earn her own bread, so that she may go out into the world an equal competitor in the struggle for life.”

In the wake of this bitter debate, not one but two national organizations for women’s suffrage were established in 1869. Stone and Blackwell founded the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). Worried that the Fifteenth Amendment would not pass if it included votes for women, the AWSA put their energy into convincing the individual states to give women the vote in their state constitutions. Anthony and Stanton founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). They worked to win votes for women via an amendment to the U.S. Constitution at the same time as it would protect the right of former slaves to vote. Anthony and Stanton started the NWSA’s newspaper, The Revolution, in 1868. Its motto was, “Men, their rights, and nothing more; women, their rights, and nothing less.”

The NWSA was a broad coalition that included some progressives who questioned the fitness of African Americans and immigrants to vote because of the prevailing views of Social Darwinism. The racism against black males voting was especially prevalent in the South where white women supported women’s suffrage as a means of preserving white supremacy. In addition, throughout the country strong sentiment reflected the view that any non-white...
or immigrant individual was racially inferior and too ignorant to vote. In this vein, Anthony and Stanton used racially charged language in advocating for an educational requirement to vote. Unfortunately for many, universal suffrage challenged too many of their assumptions about the prevailing social structure.

The New Departure: Testing the Fourteenth Amendment

But there was another amendment which interested NWSA: the Fourteenth. In keeping with NWSA’s more confrontational approach, Anthony decided to test the meaning of the newly ratified Fourteenth Amendment. The Amendment stated in part, “No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States...” Anthony thought it was clear that this language protected the right of women to vote. After all, wasn’t voting a privilege of citizens?

The Fourteenth Amendment went on to state that representation in Congress would be reduced for states which denied the vote to male inhabitants over 21. In other words, states could choose to deny men over 21 the vote, but they would be punished with proportionally less representation (and therefore less power) in Congress. So in the end, the Fourteenth Amendment encouraged states to give all men over 21 the vote, but did not require it. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, banned states from denying the vote based on race, color, or having been enslaved in the past.

Susan B. Anthony on Trial

It was the Fourteenth Amendment’s protection of “privileges or immunities” that Anthony decided to test. On November 5, 1872, she and two dozen other women walked into the local polling place in Rochester, New York, and cast a vote in the presidential election. (Anthony voted for Ulysses S. Grant.) She was arrested and charged with voting in a federal election “without having a lawful right to vote.”

Before her trial, 52-year-old Anthony traveled all over her home county giving a speech entitled “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?” In it, she called on all her fellow citizens, from judges to potential jurors, to support equal rights for women.

At her trial, Anthony’s lawyer pointed out the unequal treatment under the law:
If this same act [voting] had been done by her brother, it would have been honorable. But having been done by a woman, it is said to be a crime... I believe this is the first instance in which a woman has been arraigned [accused] in a criminal court merely on account of her sex.

The judge refused to let Anthony testify in her own defense, found her guilty of voting without the right to do so, and ordered her to pay a $100 fine. Anthony responded:

“In your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled underfoot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights are all alike ignored... I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. And I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women.”

She concluded by quoting Thomas Jefferson: “Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.”

Anthony’s case did not make it all the way to the Supreme Court. However, the Court did rule three years later in a different case, Minor v. Happersett (1875), that voting was not among the privileges or immunities of citizens and the Fourteenth Amendment did not protect a woman’s right to vote.

Suffrage in the West

While Anthony and other suffragists were agitating in the Northeast, railroads had helped open up the Great Plains and the American West to settlement. The Gold Rush of 1849 had enticed many thousands of settlers to the rugged West, and homesteading pioneers continued to push the frontier. These territories (and later states), were among the first to give women the right to vote: Wyoming Territory in 1869, followed by Utah Territory (1870), and Washington Territory (1883).

These territories had many reasons for extending suffrage to women, most related to the need to increase population. They would need to meet minimum population requirements to apply for statehood, and the free publicity they would get for giving women the vote might bring more people. And they did not just need more people—they needed women: There were six males for every female in some places. Some were motivated to give white women the vote to offset the influence of African American votes. And finally, there were, of course, those who genuinely believed that giving women the vote was the right thing to do.

Though several western legislatures had considered proposals to give women the vote...
since the 1850s, in 1869 Wyoming became the first territory to give women full political rights, including voting and eligibility to hold public office. In 1870, Louisa Garner Swain was the first woman in Wyoming to cast a ballot, and a life-sized statue honors her memory in Laramie.

Under territorial government, Wyoming’s population had grown slowly and most people lived on ranches or in small towns. Territorial leaders believed Wyoming would be more attractive to newcomers once statehood was achieved, as had been the case in other western states. The territory came close to reaching the threshold of 60,000 people for statehood, but many doubted whether that number had actually been reached.

Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren refused to wait for more people to move there. He set in motion the plans for a constitutional convention. Though they had the right to do so, no women ran for seats at the Wyoming constitutional convention. Borrowing passages from other state constitutions, delegates quickly drafted the constitution in September 1889. The new element of this constitution is that it enshrined the protections of women’s political rights by simply stating that equality would exist without reference to gender. Only one delegate, Louis J. Palmer, objected to women’s suffrage. Wyoming voters approved the document in November, and the territory applied for statehood.

In the House of Representatives there was some opposition, mostly from Democrats, because the territory was known to lean Republican. Debate did not openly center on party affiliation, but on a combination of doubts about whether Wyoming had truly achieved the required population and on reluctance to admit a state where women had political rights. In response, Wyoming’s legislature sent a telegram: “We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women!” Wyoming officially joined the union in 1890, becoming the 44th state. Anthony praised Wyoming for its adherence to the nation’s Founding principles: “Wyoming is the first place on God’s green earth which could consistently claim to be the land of the free!”

**Reflection and Analysis Questions**

1. What was the Cult of True Womanhood, or Cult of Domesticity?
2. How did the Industrial Revolution challenge the notion that upper- and middle-class women’s bodies were too delicate for work outside the home?
3. Describe the events leading to the split in the women’s movement in 1869.
4. What are some actions in which Susan B. Anthony worked for the cause of women’s suffrage in a very personal way?
5. In your judgment, which of the following was the most significant event in this part of the story of the journey towards woman’s suffrage? Explain.
   - The Fourteenth Amendment is ratified
- Susan B. Anthony is jailed for voting
- Western territories give women the vote
- Other (explain)

6. Using the **Principles and Virtues Glossary**, give examples of ways in which people involved in the debate over suffrage for women demonstrated any three of the constitutional principles and any three of the civic virtues listed below.

- **Principles**: equality, republican/representative government, popular sovereignty, federalism, inalienable rights, freedom of speech/press/assembly
- **Virtues**: perseverance, contribution, moderation, resourcefulness, courage, respect, justice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Example &amp; Explanation</th>
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<th>Virtue</th>
<th>Example &amp; Explanation</th>
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**A Pathway for Change**

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9
Political Cartoon Analysis: “The Age of Brass” and “I wonder if it’s really becoming?”

Directions: Use Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet to study one of the two political cartoons provided. Then you will work with others to compare and contrast the two cartoons.

“The Age of Brass: Or the Triumphs of Women’s Rights,” Currier & Ives, 1869

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.
“I wonder if it’s really becoming?” Suffrage Cartoon

### Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet

**ADAPTED FROM NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS EDUCATION RESOURCES**

#### Meet the cartoon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quickly scan the cartoon. What do you notice first?</th>
<th>What is the title or caption?</th>
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</thead>
</table>

#### Observe its parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Visuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are there labels, descriptions, thoughts, or dialogue?</td>
<td>List the people, objects, and places in the cartoon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>List the actions or activities.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Try to make sense of it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Visuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which words or phrases are the most significant?</td>
<td>List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed.</td>
<td>Which of the visuals are symbols?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which of the visuals are symbols?</td>
<td>What do they stand for?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Who drew this cartoon? When is it from?
- What was happening at the time in history it was created?
- What is the message? List evidence from the cartoon or your knowledge about the cartoonist that led you to your conclusion.

#### Use it as historical evidence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What did you find out from this cartoon that you might not learn anywhere else?</th>
<th>What other documents or historical evidence are you going to use to help you understand this event or topic?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
## A Movement Divided

**Directions:** Complete the table using information from the background essay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement Side 1</th>
<th>Movement Side 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWSA – ____________________ Woman Suffrage Association</td>
<td>AWSA – ____________________ Woman Suffrage Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan B. ____________________;</td>
<td>Lucy ______________________;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Cady ________________</td>
<td>Henry ________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centered in ______________________ (city)</td>
<td>Centered in ______________________ (city)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal: Win voting rights for women through _____________________________</td>
<td>Goal: Win voting rights for women through _____________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supported giving women the vote at the same time as _______________________</td>
<td>Supported voting rights for _____________________________________________ first, then women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteenth Amendment position:</td>
<td>Fifteenth Amendment position:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Friends and fellow citizens: I stand before you tonight, under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last Presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote . . .

We appeal to the women everywhere to exercise their too long neglected “citizen’s right to vote.” We appeal to the inspectors of elections everywhere to receive the votes of all United States citizens as it is their duty to do. We appeal to United States commissioners and marshals to arrest the inspectors who reject the names and votes of United States citizens, as it is their duty to do, and leave those alone who, like our eighth ward inspectors, perform their duties faithfully and well.

We ask the juries to fail to return verdicts of “guilty” against honest, law-abiding, tax-paying United States citizens for offering their votes at our elections. Or against intelligent, worthy young men, inspectors of elections, for receiving and counting such citizens votes.

We ask the judges to render true and unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for a doubt to give its benefit on the side of liberty and equal rights to women . . .

And it is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot—all peaceably, but nevertheless persistently through to complete triumph, when all United States citizens shall be recognized as equals before the law.

**REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS**

1. What appeal does Anthony make to each of the following groups?
   a. All American women
   b. Election officials
   c. Potential jurors
   d. Judges

2. On what Founding principles does Anthony base her argument?

3. Susan B. Anthony took a personal risk by voting illegally, and she was willing to accept the consequences of her action to bring attention to her cause. Now she calls on her fellow citizens to take risks. To what extent is personal risk sometimes necessary to challenge injustice? What virtues are necessary to do this?
Suffrage by State

Directions: Refer to Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes as you fill in the map according to the instructions. You will use this map again in the next lesson.

The “right to vote” was not always clear and consistent. Some states offered some women the right to vote in some elections. For example, Kentucky gave unmarried or widowed women the right to vote in school elections as early as 1838. Kansas allowed women to vote in local school elections in 1861 and in municipal elections in 1887.

By 1890, several Western states had granted full suffrage to women. What are some of the reasons they may have had for doing so?

On the map below, color the following areas green and write the territory/state name and the year when the territory or state granted women the right to vote in local or state elections.

- 1869 Territory of Wyoming/State of Wyoming 1890
- 1870 Territory of Utah
- 1883 Territory of Washington
- 1887 Territory of Montana
# Women’s Political Voices

**Directions:** List significant accomplishments of women in U.S. history by 1890, and add your own examples to complete the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual/Accomplishment</th>
<th>Explain in what ways might (or did) this accomplishment connect to suffrage?</th>
<th>How is this accomplishment related to a right protected by the Constitution or the Bill of Rights?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Grimké Sisters</strong></td>
<td>spoke out against slavery in 1836–37.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dorothea Dix</strong></td>
<td>changed the way Americans care for the mentally ill (1840s and beyond).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Harriett Beecher Stowe</strong></td>
<td>ignited the abolitionist movement with the publication of <em>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</em> (1852).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Elizabeth Cady Stanton</strong></td>
<td>and <em>Lucretia Mott</em> organized the Seneca Falls Convention</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual/Accomplishment</td>
<td>Explain in what ways might (or did) this accomplishment connect to suffrage?</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annie Wittenmyer</strong></td>
<td>Founded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874 to work for Prohibition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jane Addams</strong></td>
<td>Founded Hull House, improving conditions for many in urban Chicago in 1889.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ida B. Wells</strong></td>
<td>Brought national attention to the crime of lynching in the South throughout the 1890s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Answer Key

Background Essay: Shall Women Have the Right to Vote?

1. The Cult of True Womanhood and Cult of Domesticity refer to nineteenth century beliefs about the ideal upper- or middle-class woman: Women were the heart and light of the home, which was their natural sphere, and they had the natural virtues of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness.

2. The Industrial Revolution challenged these views of women's proper role because some women took on new jobs and worked long hours in bad conditions alongside men.

3. After the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were proposed, the women's movement split into two main groups because some reformers wanted to put women's suffrage on the back burner while the rights of former slaves were secured. Others saw this as a betrayal of the principle of equality, and wanted to work for women's suffrage immediately.

4. Susan B. Anthony deliberately challenged the law in New York when she voted illegally, knowing it would mean she was arrested and jailed. She and other suffragists in Rochester interpreted the recently ratified Fourteenth Amendment to protect the right of women to vote because of the principle of equality. Out on bail, she personally traveled, giving in-person speeches. Accept additional reasoned answers.

5. Accept reasoned answers with appropriate supporting evidence. A case could be made for any of the options listed.

6. Accept reasoned responses regarding principles and virtues.

Handout A: Political Cartoon Analysis: “The Age of Brass” and “I wonder if it’s really becoming?”

- With its higher concentration of visual symbolism and smaller amount of text, “The Age of Brass: Or the Triumphs of Woman’s Rights” may be more challenging than “I wonder if it’s really becoming?” Students should note that “The Age of Brass” was (probably) the earlier of the two cartoons. “I wonder if it’s really becoming?” is listed in some sources as having been published in 1891, but the Library of Congress does not include that information, showing “n.d.” for “no date.”

- Students should understand that “The Age of Brass” is an anti-suffrage cartoon, satirizing women’s suffrage by illustrating some of the potential consequences of the movement to give women the vote. The women are lined up to cast their ballots for “The Celebrated Man Tamer: Susan Sharp-Tongue” and for sheriff “Miss Hangman.” Most of the women in the image are wearing caricature versions of the chignon hairstyles that were popular for women in 1869. The women are shown with harsh facial expressions, engaging in a variety of activities that were considered inappropriate for women at the time, for example, smoking cigars, wearing masculine-inspired clothing, and of course, voting. The role-reversal is emphasized by the depiction of an unhappy man holding a baby at the end of the line, and the angry-looking woman shaking her fist at him.
“I wonder if it’s really becoming?” is more direct in its message, with the basic suffragist argument condensed to the text on the woman’s hat feathers. The suspicious looks on the faces of the men looking on suggest a negative answer to the woman’s question.

### Handout C: A Movement Divided

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement Side 1</th>
<th>Movement Side 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWSA – National Woman Suffrage Association</td>
<td>AWSA – American Woman Suffrage Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan B. Anthony;</td>
<td>Lucy Stone;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Cady Stanton</td>
<td>Henry Blackwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centered in New York City</td>
<td>Centered in Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal: Win voting rights for women through an amendment to the Constitution.</td>
<td>Goal: Win voting rights for women through the individual state constitutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supported giving women the vote at the same time as African Americans.</td>
<td>Supported voting rights for African Americans first, then women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteenth Amendment position: Support only if it included votes for women</td>
<td>Fifteenth Amendment position: Support and postpone votes for women.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Handout D: Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?

1. Anthony appealed to:
   a. Women to vote.
   b. Election officials to accept the votes of women.
   c. Potential jurors to nullify in cases of women charged with illegal voting (i.e., to refuse to convict them on the basis of the law being unjust).
   d. Judges to be just and to err on the side of liberty whenever there is any doubt.

2. Accept reasoned answers. Students will probably say Anthony’s argument was based on equality; however, Anthony also appealed to liberty, due process, and consent of the governed.

3. Personal risk is almost always necessary to challenge injustice. Citizens must cultivate virtues of courage, justice, honor, and others to stand up for what is right.
Handout E: Suffrage by State

These territories had many reasons for extending suffrage to women, most related to the need to increase population. They would need to meet minimum requirements to apply for statehood, and the free publicity they would get for giving women the vote would probably bring more people. Specifically, they did not just need more people—with six males for every female in some locations, they needed more women in their state. Of course, there were also those who genuinely believed that giving women the vote was the right thing to do.
Amending the Constitution

ARTICLE V CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

Directions: Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then answer the questions that follow.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof...

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. To “propose” amendments to the Constitution means to suggest them. List one way Congress by itself can propose amendments to the Constitution.

2. List one way the states can force Congress to consider amendments to the Constitution.

3. Which are more valid—amendments proposed by Congress, or amendments proposed in a convention of the states?

4. What fraction of the states must ratify (or approve) amendments before they become part of the Constitution?

5. Draw a diagram that illustrates the amendment process.
Amending the Constitution

LESSON 1 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

**Directions:** Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then consider what you have learned in **Lesson 1** and answer the questions that follow.

**Article V**

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof...

**REFLECTION QUESTIONS**

1. How democratic is the amendment process in Article V of the U.S. Constitution?

2. List some pros and cons for democratic participation in the amendment process. Why do you think the Framers made the amendment process somewhat difficult?

3. How would you evaluate the importance of the right of suffrage for those living under this Constitution?
Amending the Constitution

LESSON 2 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

Directions: Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then consider what you have learned in Lesson 2 and answer the questions that follow.

Article V
The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof…

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. Consider the types of activities carried out by women like Abigail Adams, Hannah Griffitts, Mercy Otis Warren, and Phillis Wheatley.

2. Without the vote, to what extent and in what ways were these women able to influence the U.S. Congress?

3. Without the vote, to what extent and in what ways were women able to influence their state legislatures?
Amending the Constitution

LESSON 3 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

Directions: Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then consider what you have learned in Lesson 3 and answer the questions that follow.

Article V
The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof...

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. George Washington, who presided over the Constitutional Convention, made clear his understanding that the only way to change the Constitution was to use the amendment method the Constitution itself provided:

   “If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.” (Farewell Address, 1796)

   It seems clear in the 21st century that the way to change the Constitution is by the amendment process, and that proposal of amendments by Congress is more expedient than by a convention of the states. But remember that by 1860 the Constitution was only a couple of generations old. What is more, to that time it had only been amended twice (not counting the Bill of Rights, added in 1791). In what ways does this context help you understand whether reformers in the 1800s would have seen amending the U.S. Constitution as the best way for women to gain political rights?

2. How do we know when a constitutional amendment is necessary to correct or revise our constitutional order?
Amending the Constitution

LESSON 4 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

Directions: Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then consider what you have learned in Lesson 4 and answer the questions that follow.

Article V
The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof…

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. The United States constitutional system is designed to respect the authority of the people in individual states to make laws that are different from state to state. How does the Constitution’s amendment process illustrate the principle of federalism?
Amending the Constitution

LESSON 5 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

**Directions:** Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then consider what you have learned in Lesson 5 and answer the questions that follow.

**Article V**

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof…

**REFLECTION QUESTIONS**

Write a brief reflection in response to this scenario: It is 1900 and you and others have worked for decades to secure the right of women to vote. In recent years, movements toward greater equality and democracy have been stirring. Now, more than ever, you think the vote is within your grasp. The only decision now is how to achieve the vote and to have it last.

1. Would the U.S. Constitution’s Article V amendment process seem like the best way forward?

2. What pros and cons would you identify for using the amendment process? For example, to what extent would the amendment process create stability for your movement?

3. Assuming you thought it was wise to seek a constitutional amendment securing votes for women, which of the amendment processes outlined in Article V would you prefer, and why?
Amending the Constitution

LESSON 6 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

Directions: Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then consider what you have learned in Lesson 6 and answer the questions that follow.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof…

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

The Constitution has 25 amendments that are in force today (the 18th enshrined Prohibition, and the 21st repealed it).

1. Which amendment do you think did the most to fundamentally change the Constitution? Explain your reasoning.

2. Was the change for the better, or for the worse?
**Amending the Constitution**

**QUESTIONS FOR ALL LESSONS**

**Directions:** Read the text of Article V of the Constitution below, then consider what you have learned in all lessons and answer the questions that follow.

**Article V**
The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof...

**Article V Critical Thinking Questions**

1. To “propose” amendments to the Constitution means to suggest them. List one way Congress by itself can propose amendments to the Constitution.

2. List one way the states can force Congress to consider amendments to the Constitution.

3. Which are more valid—amendments proposed by Congress, or amendments proposed in a convention of the states?

4. What fraction of the states must ratify (or approve) amendments before they become part of the Constitution?

5. Draw a diagram that illustrates the amendment process.

**Lesson 1 Critical Thinking Questions**

1. How democratic is the amendment process in Article V of the U.S. Constitution?

2. List some pros and cons for democratic participation in the amendment process. Why do you think the Framers made the amendment process somewhat difficult?

3. How would you evaluate the importance of the right of suffrage for those living under this Constitution?
Lesson 2 Critical Thinking Questions

1. Consider the types of activities carried out by women like Abigail Adams, Hannah Griffitts, Mercy Otis Warren, and Phillis Wheatley.

2. Without the vote, to what extent and in what ways were these women able to influence the U.S. Congress?

3. Without the vote, to what extent and in what ways were women able to influence their state legislatures?

Lesson 3 Critical Thinking Questions

1. George Washington, who presided over the Constitutional Convention, made clear his understanding that the only way to change the Constitution was to use the amendment method the Constitution itself provided:

   “If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.” (Farewell Address, 1796)

   It seems clear in the 21st century that the way to change the Constitution is by the amendment process, and that proposal of amendments by Congress is more expedient than by a convention of the states. But remember that by 1860 the Constitution was only a couple of generations old. What is more, to that time it had only been amended twice (not counting the Bill of Rights, added in 1791). In what ways does this context help you understand whether reformers in the 1800s would have seen amending the U.S. Constitution as the best way for women to gain political rights?

2. How do we know when a constitutional amendment is necessary to correct or revise our constitutional order?

Lesson 4 Critical Thinking Questions

1. The United States constitutional system is designed to respect the authority of the people in individual states to make laws that are different from state to state. How does the Constitution’s amendment process illustrate the principle of federalism?
Lesson 5 Critical Thinking Questions

Write a brief reflection in response to this scenario: It is 1900 and you and others have worked for decades to secure the right of women to vote. In recent years, movements toward greater equality and democracy have been stirring. Now, more than ever, you think the vote is within your grasp. The only decision now is how to achieve the vote and to have it last.

1. Would the U.S. Constitution’s Article V amendment process seem like the best way forward?

2. What pros and cons would you identify for using the amendment process? For example, to what extent would the amendment process create stability for your movement?

3. Assuming you thought it was wise to seek a constitutional amendment securing votes for women, which of the amendment processes outlined in Article V would you prefer, and why?

Lesson 6 Critical Thinking Questions

The Constitution has 25 amendments that are in force today (the 18th enshrined Prohibition, and the 21st repealed it).

1. Which amendment do you think did the most to fundamentally change the Constitution? Explain your reasoning.

2. Was the change for the better, or for the worse?

Answer Key

Article V Critical Thinking Questions

1. Congress can propose amendments to the Constitution if two-thirds of both houses agree.

2. Congress can be forced to call a convention to propose amendments to the Constitution if two-thirds of the states officially ask them to.

3. They are equally valid.

4. Three-quarters of the states.

Lessons 1-6 Reflection Questions

Accept reasoned answers for all.
# Timeline and Quotes

**Directions:** Use Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes and Appendix A: Amending the Constitution as you study the struggle for women’s suffrage. Beginning with Lesson 2, write a question or two for each lesson that asks the reader to connect one or more events that are described in different lessons. (For example, you might connect Lessons 3, 4, and 5 in this way: The Seneca Falls Convention is often considered the event that kicked off an organized program for the women’s equality and suffrage movement in the United States. How many years elapsed from this beginning until the achievement of the nation-wide right for women to vote? Identify the person whom you believe was the most important leader in the movement and explain your choice.)

## LESSONS 1 & 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1648** – Margaret Brent appealed to Maryland’s colonial assembly, unsuccessfully demanding a voice and two votes in the assembly’s proceedings. | “Are not women born as free as men? Would it not be infamous to assert that the ladies are all slaves by nature?”  
—JAMES OTIS, 1764 |
| **1690** – John Locke published *Two Treatises on Civil Government*. | |
| **1768** – Hannah Griffitts published “The Female Patriots.” | “I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.”  
—ABIGAIL ADAMS, 1776 |
| **1772** – Samuel Adams published “The Rights of the Colonists,” which was part of the *Boston Pamphlet*, also called *The Report of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston*. | |
| **1773** – Mercy Otis Warren began publishing dramas advocating American independence. | |
| **1773** – Phyllis Wheatley was the first enslaved person to publish a book, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*. | |
### Lessons 1 & 2 Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Abigail Adams wrote to her husband on the hypocrisy of slavery, and asked him to “remember the ladies” in the new government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>New Jersey constitution provided for “all inhabitants” to vote if they were at least 21 years of age, property owners, and county residents for at least one year. Therefore, single women with property could vote. In 1807 the state’s legislature clarified that only free white men who met the property requirement were eligible to vote.</td>
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<td>1777</td>
<td>Vermont constitution became the first to provide for universal male suffrage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1779</td>
<td>Judith Sargent Murray published <em>On the Equality of the Sexes</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>The Articles of Confederation was adopted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>The United States Constitution was adopted, leaving the power to set voting qualifications to the states.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Quotes

- “Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”
  
  – **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776**

- “The one is taught to aspire, and the other is early confined and limited. As their years increase, the sister must be wholly domesticated, while the brother is led by the hand through all the flowery paths of science.”

  – **JUDITH SARGENT MURRAY: WRITTEN 1779, PUBLISHED 1790**

- “We the people…ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America…”

  – **PREAMBLE TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION, 1789**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1791</strong> – U.S. Bill of Rights was ratified.</td>
<td>“Are [women] deficient in reason? We can only reason from what we know, and if opportunity of acquiring knowledge hath been denied us, the inferiority of our sex cannot fairly be deduced from thence ... I would calmly ask, is it reasonable, that a candidate for immortality, for the joys of heaven, an intelligent being, who is to spend an eternity in contemplating the works of Deity, should at present be so degraded, as to be allowed no other ideas, than those suggested by the mechanism of a pudding, or the sewing [of] the seams of a garment?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1792</strong> – Mary Wollstonecraft published <em>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman</em>.</td>
<td>–JUDITH SARGENT MURRAY, 1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1807</strong> – New Jersey revoked the right of women to vote.</td>
<td>“I do not wish [women] to have power over men; but over themselves.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1807</strong> – United States Congress banned the international slave trade.</td>
<td>–MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, 1792</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“To me it is perfectly clear that whatsoever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do.”</td>
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<td>–SARAH GRIMKÉ 1838</td>
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## Lesson 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 3 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836 – Angelina Grimké wrote “An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South.”</td>
<td>“I do not wish by any means to intimate that the condition of free women can be compared to that of slaves in suffering, or in degradation; still, I believe the laws which deprive married women of their rights and privileges, have a tendency to lessen them in their own estimation as moral and responsible beings, and that their being made by civil law inferior to their husbands, had a debasing and mischievous effect upon them, teaching them practically the fatal lesson to look unto man for protection and indulgence.” –SARAH GRIMKÉ, 1838</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840 — Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were refused admittance at World Anti-Slavery Convention in London.</td>
<td>“We are assembled to protest against a form of government, existing without the consent of the governed—to declare our right to be free as man is free.” –ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848 – Seneca Falls Convention was held in New York.</td>
<td>“When a sincere republican is asked to say in sober earnest what adequate reason he can give, for refusing the demand of women to an equal participation with men in political rights, he must answer, None at all. However unwise and mistaken the demand, it is but the assertion of a natural right, and such must be conceded.” –HORACE GREELEY, 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849 – Amelia Bloomer published the first female-run newspaper, <em>The Lily</em>.</td>
<td>“If women want any rights more than they’s got, why don’t they just take them, and not be talking about it?” –SOJOURNER TRUTH, 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851 – Anthony met Stanton at a Syracuse, New York anti-slavery convention.</td>
<td>“Cautious, careful people always casting about to preserve their reputation or social standards never can bring about reform. Those who are really in earnest are willing to be anything or nothing in the world’s estimation, and publicly and privately, in season and out, avow their sympathies with despised ideas and their advocates, and bear the consequences,” –SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>1851 – Harriet Beecher Stowe published <em>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</em>.</td>
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<td>1852 – Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the New York State Women’s Temperance Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860 – Stanton and Anthony worked successfully to amend Married Woman’s Property Law in New York, allowing women to own property, bring suits in court, share child custody, and keep their own earnings and inheritance.</td>
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<td>1861 – U.S. Civil War began.</td>
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# LESSON 4

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 4 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1863</strong> – Anthony and Stanton founded the Women’s Loyal National League, and</td>
<td>“We represent fifteen million people—one-half the entire population of the country—the Constitution classes us as “free people,” yet we are governed without our consent, compelled to pay taxes without appeal, and punished for violations of law without choice of judge or juror. You are now amending the Constitution, and … placing new safeguards around the individual rights of four million emancipated slaves. We ask that you extend the right of suffrage to women—the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens—and thus fulfill your constitutional obligation.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>collected nearly 400,000 signatures in a petition to abolish slavery.</td>
<td>—SUSAN B. ANTHONY TO CONGRESS, 1865</td>
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<td><strong>1865</strong> – U.S. Civil War ended.</td>
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<td><strong>1865</strong> – Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery.</td>
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<td><strong>1868</strong> – Fourteenth Amendment defined citizenship and prohibited states from</td>
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<td>denying due process and equal protection of the law to any person.</td>
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<td><strong>1869</strong> - Territory of Wyoming granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td><strong>1869</strong> – First transcontinental railroad opened.</td>
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<td><strong>1870</strong> – Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, barring states from denying the</td>
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<td>right to vote “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1870</strong> – Utah territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td><strong>1872</strong> – Susan B. Anthony was arrested for voting.</td>
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<td><strong>1874</strong> – The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment’s</td>
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<td>Privileges or Immunities Clause does not protect a right to vote in *Minor v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Happersett.*</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1874</strong>: Annie Wittenmyer founded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>(WCTU) to work for the prohibition of alcohol.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1879</strong> – Frances Willard became President of the Women’s Christian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temperance Union.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1883</strong> – Washington territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
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## LESSON 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 5 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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</table>
| **1887** – U.S. Senate voted to reject proposed women’s suffrage amendment.    | “We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women!”  
  – WYOMING LEGISLATURE TELEGRAM TO CONGRESS, 1890                           |
| **1890** – Wyoming was admitted to the Union.                                  | “There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers.”  
  – SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1897                                                  |
<p>| <strong>1890</strong> – National Woman Suffrage Association and American Woman Suffrage Association merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). |                                                                         |
| <strong>1900</strong> – Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.                |                                                                         |
| <strong>1902</strong> – Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.                                       |                                                                         |
| <strong>1906</strong> – Susan B. Anthony died.                                              |                                                                         |
| <strong>1912</strong> – Arizona, Kansas, and Alaska Territory granted suffrage to women.   |                                                                         |
| <strong>1912</strong> – Theodore Roosevelt ran for President as nominee of the Progressive Party, whose platform included equal suffrage for men and women. Jane Addams seconded his nomination at the party’s convention. |                                                                 |
| <strong>1913</strong> – Sixteenth Amendment was ratified, giving national government the power to tax incomes. |                                                                 |
| <strong>1913</strong> – Seventeenth Amendment was ratified, providing for direct election of U.S. senators. |                                                                 |
| <strong>1913</strong> – Alice Paul organized a suffrage procession in Washington, DC, the day before Wilson’s Inauguration. |                                                                 |
| <strong>1914</strong> - Nevada and Montana granted suffrage to women.                      |                                                                         |
| <strong>1914</strong> – U.S. Senate voted to reject the proposed amendment that would later become the Nineteenth Amendment. |                                                                 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 5 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1916 – Alice Paul broke away from NAWSA to form the National Woman’s Party. | “It is better, as far as getting the vote is concerned I believe, to have a small, united group than an immense debating society.”  
–ALICE PAUL, 1914 |
| 1916 – Alice Paul and other suffrage demonstrators were arrested for obstructing traffic, and began a hunger strike. | |
| 1916 – Jeannette Rankin of Montana became the first woman elected to Congress. | |
| 1917 – New York granted suffrage to women. | |
| 1917 – The U.S. entered World War I. Women’s vital contribution to the war effort boosted support for a suffrage amendment. | |
| 1919 – Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, banning the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcohol in the U.S. | |
| 1919 - Oklahoma and South Dakota granted suffrage to women. | |
| 1919 – U.S. Congress approved Nineteenth Amendment, sending it to states for ratification. | |
| 1920 – Carrie Chapman Catt founded League of Women Voters to provide education for political participation. | |
| 1920 – Nineteenth Amendment was ratified. | |
# Lesson 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 6 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1923** – Alice Paul proposed an equal rights amendment. | “[To recommend] services which will enable women to continue their role as wives and mothers while making a maximum contribution to the world around them.”  
– TASK OF THE PRESIDENT’S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, 1961 |
| **1942** – Large numbers of women entered the workforce during World War II; Representative Winifred C. Stanley proposed a bill banning wage discrimination based on sex. | |
| **1944** – Republican Party platform included support for an equal rights amendment. | |
| **1960s-1970s** – Second Wave Feminism | |
| **1961** – President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 directing federal contractors to “take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed and that employees are treated during employment without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin.” | “Why should anyone raise an eyebrow because a latter-day Einstein’s wife expects her husband to put aside that lifeless theory of relativity and help her with the work that is supposed to be the essence of life itself: diaper the baby and don’t forget to rinse the soiled diaper in the toilet before putting it in the diaper pail, and then wax the kitchen floor.”  
– BETTY FRIEDAN, 1963 |
<p>| <strong>1961</strong> – Twenty-third Amendment provided for the appointment of presidential electors for citizens of Washington, D.C. | |
| <strong>1963</strong> – Kennedy convened the Commission on the Status of Women; their report called for a number of reforms. | |
| <strong>1963</strong> – Congress passed the Equal Pay Act. | |
| <strong>1963</strong> – Betty Friedan published <em>The Feminine Mystique</em>. | |
| <strong>1964</strong> – Congress passed a Civil Rights Act. | |
| <strong>1964</strong> – Twenty-fourth Amendment prohibited the poll tax as a requirement for voting for federal office-holders. | |
| <strong>1965</strong> – Congress passed a Voting Rights Act. | |
| <strong>1967</strong> – President Lyndon Johnson expanded on Kennedy’s 1961 affirmative action order to include women. | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 6 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1968</strong> – Shirley Chisholm won her bid to represent her district of New York in</td>
<td>“We, the people.’ It’s a very eloquent beginning. But when [the Constitution] was</td>
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<tr>
<td>the United States Congress, becoming the first African American Congresswoman.</td>
<td>completed on the seventeenth of September in 1787, I was not included in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She served in that position for seven terms, leaving Washington, D.C. in 1983</td>
<td>that ‘We, the people.’ I felt somehow for many years that George</td>
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<td>to teach at the all-women Mount Holyoke College.</td>
<td>Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>decision, I have finally been included in ‘We, the people.’”</td>
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<td><strong>1971</strong> – Women accounted for three percent of people elected to U.S. Congress,</td>
<td>-BARBARA JORDAN, 1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven percent of statewide elective offices, and 0 in state legislatures.</td>
<td>“I’d like them to say that Shirley Chisholm had guts. That’s how I’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>like to be remembered.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1971</strong> – Twenty-sixth Amendment protected the right of people ages 18 and</td>
<td>-SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, 1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older to vote.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>1972</strong> – Congress approved Equal Rights Amendment, which was ratified by only 35</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>states, rather than the required 38 states.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1972</strong> – Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, banning sex</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>discrimination in higher education.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1973</strong> – Supreme Court ruled in <em>Roe v. Wade</em> that states must not restrict</td>
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<td>access to abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy.</td>
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<td><strong>1974</strong> – In <em>Taylor v. Louisiana</em> the Supreme Court ruled that defendants had</td>
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<td>a Sixth Amendment right to a trial by jury made up of a cross-section of the</td>
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<td>community, which necessarily included women.</td>
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<td><strong>1980</strong> – For the first time, women turned out to vote in a presidential</td>
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<td>election at a higher rate than that of men.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1981</strong> – Women began earning more bachelor’s degrees than men.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1990s</strong> – Third Wave Feminism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesson 6 Events</td>
<td>Quotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td><strong>2016</strong> – Hillary Clinton, a Democrat, became the first female presidential nominee of a major party.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2018</strong> – In November 2018, women comprised 20% in U.S. Congress, 23.4% in statewide elective offices, and 25.5% in state legislatures. In the November 6 midterm elections, voter turnout across the nation was the highest in any midterm election in 100 years, with 50.1% of the voting-eligible population casting their ballots.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2019</strong> – As of January 2019, a record 121 women served in the 116th United States Congress, 102 years after Jeannette Rankin, the first female member of Congress, was elected in 1916. Following the midterm election, women comprised 23.6% in U.S. Congress, 27.6% in statewide elective offices, 28.6% in state legislatures.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Timeline Cards

Directions to teacher: Prepare these Timeline Cards for display on classroom or corridor wall. Recommendations: consider using heavy paper or cardstock, making each lesson’s events in a different color, and laminating the strips before use.

LESSONS 1 & 2

1648 – Margaret Brent appealed to Maryland’s colonial assembly, unsuccessfully demanding a voice and two votes in the assembly’s proceedings.

1690 – John Locke published *Two Treatises on Civil Government*.

1768 – Hannah Griffitts published “The Female Patriots.”
1772 – Samuel Adams published “The Rights of the Colonists,” which was part of the Boston Pamphlet, also called The Report of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston.

1773 – Mercy Otis Warren began publishing dramas advocating American independence.

1773 – Phyllis Wheatley was the first enslaved person to publish a book, Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.

1776 – Abigail Adams wrote to her husband on the hypocrisy of slavery, and asked him to “remember the ladies” in the new government.
1776 – Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence.

1776-1807 – New Jersey Constitution provided for “all inhabitants” to vote if they were at least 21 years of age, property owners, and county residents for at least one year, allowing single women with property to vote. New Jersey’s 1807 constitution limited suffrage to white male citizens who paid taxes.

1777 – Vermont Constitution became the first to provide for universal male suffrage.

1781 – The Articles of Confederation was adopted.

1789 – The United States Constitution was adopted, leaving the power to set voting qualifications to the states.

1791 – U.S. Bill of Rights was ratified.

1792 – Mary Wollstonecraft published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.

1807 – New Jersey revoked the right of women to vote.

1807 – United States Congress banned the international slave trade.
LESSON 3

1836 – Angelina Grimké wrote “An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South.”

1840 – Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were refused admittance at World Anti-Slavery Convention in London.

1848 – Seneca Falls Convention was held in New York.

1849 – Amelia Bloomer published the first female-run newspaper, *The Lily*.

1851 – Anthony met Stanton at a Syracuse, New York anti-slavery convention.
1851 – Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

1852 – Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the New York State Women’s Temperance Society.

1860 – Stanton and Anthony worked successfully to amend Married Woman’s Property Law in New York, allowing women to own property, bring suits in court, share child custody, and the keep their own earnings and inheritance.

1861 – U.S. Civil War began.
**LESSON 4**

1863 – Anthony and Stanton founded the Women’s Loyal National League, and collected nearly 400,000 signatures in a petition to abolish slavery.

1865 – U.S. Civil War ended.

1865 – Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery.

1868 – Fourteenth Amendment defined citizenship and prohibited states from denying due process and equal protection of the law to any person.

1869 – Territory of Wyoming granted suffrage to women.
1869 – First transcontinental railroad opened.

1870 – Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, barring states from denying the right to vote “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

1870 – Utah territory granted suffrage to women.

1872 – Susan B. Anthony was arrested for voting in New York.
1874 – The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment’s Privileges or Immunities Clause does not protect a right to vote in *Minor v. Happersett*.

1874 – Annie Wittenmyer founded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to work for the prohibition of alcohol.

1879 – Frances Willard became President of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union.

1883 – Washington territory granted suffrage to women.
LESSON 5

1887 – U.S. Senate voted to reject proposed women’s suffrage amendment.

1890 – Wyoming was admitted to the Union.

1890 – National Woman Suffrage Association and American Woman Suffrage Association merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

1900 – Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.

1902 – Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.

1906 – Susan B. Anthony died.
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1914 – U.S. Senate voted to reject the proposed amendment that would later become the Nineteenth Amendment.

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1916 – Alice Paul and other suffrage demonstrators were arrested for obstructing traffic, and began a hunger strike to protest their treatment in jail.
1916 – Jeannette Rankin of Montana became the first woman elected to Congress.

1917 – New York granted suffrage to women.

1917 – The U.S. entered World War I. Women’s vital contribution to the war effort boosted support for a suffrage amendment.

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1919 – Oklahoma and South Dakota granted suffrage to women.

1919 – U.S. Congress approved Nineteenth Amendment, sending it to states for ratification.

1920 – Carrie Chapman Catt founded League of Women Voters to provide education for political participation.

1920 – Nineteenth Amendment was ratified.
LESSON 6

1923 – Alice Paul proposed an equal rights amendment.

1942 – Large numbers of women entered the workforce during World War II; U.S. Representative Winifred C. Stanley proposed a bill banning wage discrimination based on sex.

1944 – Republican Party platform included support for an equal rights amendment.

1960s-1970s – Second Wave Feminism
1961 – President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 directing federal contractors to “take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed and that employees are treated during employment without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin.”

1961 – Twenty-third Amendment provided for the appointment of presidential electors for citizens of Washington, D.C.

1963 – Kennedy convened the Commission on the Status of Women; their report called for a number of reforms.

1963 – Congress passed the Equal Pay Act.

1963 – Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique.*
LESSON 6 (CONTINUED)

1964 – Congress passed a Civil Rights Act.

1964 – Twenty-fourth Amendment prohibited the poll tax as a requirement for voting for federal office-holders.

1965 – Congress passed a Voting Rights Act.

1967 – President Lyndon Johnson expanded on Kennedy’s 1961 affirmative action order to include women.

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A Pathway for Change

Driving Question

How does one carry out long-term change in order to better align institutions with principles of liberty, justice, and equality within a constitutional order?

The story of the Nineteenth Amendment is a story of struggle, perseverance, and courage. In 1765 the British jurist William Blackstone described the legal position of married women when he wrote, “The very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage or at least incorporated or consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection, and cover she performs everything.” For most women in most parts of the world there were few opportunities to pursue education, occupation, or social standing. In general, they were regarded as inferior, subservient, and incapable of reasoning.

The Age of Enlightenment prompted a new focus on the abilities of human beings, the ideals of liberty, and the obligation of constitutional government to preserve both. The British writer Mary Wollstonecraft in A Vindication of the Rights of Woman in 1792 raised her voice to insist that women, as human beings, were entitled to equal treatment under the law, an idea perhaps even more revolutionary than the contemporary political upheavals in Britain’s former North American colonies and in France.

The United States was established on the self-evident truth that all humans are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” The fight for women’s equality and the right to vote illustrates the struggle, sacrifice, and hardship involved in making America live up to that truth. The struggle was long, costly, and frustrating but deliberate in its path thanks to the determined individuals who remained committed to the goal. This fight provides an answer to the Driving Question above. The pathway to win that fight involved several stages which may be conceived as shown at the left. It should be noted that the various steps are not necessarily discrete and sequential. Participants in the movement may not always know which step they are in because efforts overlap, progress is hard to see, and the struggle may be long. Constitutional change which rejects the use of violence requires long-term commitment, courage, and perseverance, but its success is deeply rooted and can be permanent.
**Directions:** Trace the steps in women’s battle to win legal equality and the right to vote by filling in dates, people, and methods by which reformers carried out each of the steps below as described in *Votes for Women: the Story of the Nineteenth Amendment*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Steps Toward Change</th>
<th>Women's Suffrage Movement</th>
<th>Women's Suffrage Effectiveness (+ or -) Justify your evaluation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Define the problem.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. State a goal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Pursue education.</td>
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<td>4. Work with others to organize and set interim goals.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
5. Build on prior knowledge of similar or related efforts.

6. Join forces with other like-minded people or groups—seek allies and public support.

7. Participate in ongoing constructive challenge within your work group.

8. Reevaluate progress toward goal and correct course as necessary.

9. Think “outside the box” and evaluate the best ways to respond to others pursuing the same goals by different methods.
Facilitation Notes for Using the Curriculum

Votes for Women: The Story of the Nineteenth Amendment provides classroom resources and activities to help students explore the history of women’s suffrage in the United States through background narratives and primary sources. It includes scaffolding to assist students in analysis of historical events and application to current controversies.

A unique feature of the curriculum is Appendix G: Pathway for Change, a graphic organizer to encourage students to consider the driving question:

How does one carry out long-term change in order to better align institutions with principles of liberty, justice, and equality within a constitutional order?

The final lesson also provides several options to equip students in carrying out their own project-based application of social change to address a community challenge. Having analyzed the history of women’s suffrage as an example of what can be achieved when people exercise such virtues as courage, perseverance, initiative, collaboration, civil discourse and direct action, students are encouraged to study their own community to apply those same character strengths to solve a local problem or to teach others about this important chapter in the American drama.

The book’s front matter includes, in addition to the standard table of contents and book credits, a Principles and Virtues Glossary. Students will become familiar with the interplay between such governing principles as equality, liberty, justice, and separation of powers on the one hand, and essential civic virtues such as civil discourse, humility, integrity, and responsibility, on the other. Through reflection activities in each lesson, students will develop the habit of thinking about self-government through the lens of these crucial principles and virtues.

Within each lesson are activities which employ each of the Appendices found in the back of the book:

APPENDICES

- **Appendix A: Amending the Constitution**: In Appendix A, students will analyze Article V of the U.S. Constitution, reflecting on applications of the constitutional amendment process for each lesson in Votes for Women: The Story of the Nineteenth Amendment.

- **Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes**: Appendix B is a timeline of major events in the struggle for women’s suffrage, along with contemporaneous quotes for each lesson.

- **Appendix C: Timeline Cards**: Appendix C includes the same timeline events found in Appendix B, but they are designed for the teacher to make individual cards for each event so that students may build a class timeline on the classroom or corridor wall. Prior to the lesson the teacher will need to prepare and plan the layout of the timeline cards. We recommend that teachers make each lesson’s timeline cards on a different color of paper, because that can help class members find
details in the appropriate lesson for review and study. Using cardstock and laminating the cards are further recommendations. Further, it will be necessary to plan for the use of wall space in the classroom or corridor. For example, will students find it most helpful to build a Lesson Timeline in which each lesson’s events are displayed separately from those of the other lessons (which is how they are arranged in Appendix C: Timeline Cards)? Or, should students leave space around the room to build an overall Women’s Suffrage Timeline in which the events from various lessons are intermingled chronologically?

- **Appendix D: For Further Study**: Appendix D provides a bibliography for further study, listed by lesson.

- **Appendix E: Declaration of Independence**

- **Appendix F: United States Constitution**

- **Appendix G: A Pathway for Change**: Appendix G is a graphic organizer designed to be used throughout the study, as students grapple with the driving question:

  How does one carry out long-term change in order to better align institutions with principles of liberty, justice, and equality within a constitutional order?

One of our hopes for the use of this curriculum is that the student will grasp the costs and benefits of change within a constitutional order. One increasingly common characteristic of modern life is the expectation of immediate results. People use online apps for immediate answers, rapid food delivery, prompt appointments, extemporaneous conversation and instant outrage. Good and speedy ways exist to solve some of our problems, but others require long-term commitment and a willingness to appreciate what Elizabeth Cady Stanton called “winter wheat”: “We are sowing winter wheat, which the coming spring will see sprout, and other hands than ours will reap and enjoy.”

Radical and rapid change is not necessarily bad, but the slow process of constitutional change allows for many people’s thinking and attitudes to adjust, contributing to stability for the resulting improvements. The pattern is illustrated in the slow steps toward justice and equality in several movements: abolition of slavery, civil rights, prison reform, and the rights of the accused, to name a few. The challenges of course, are patience, determination, resilience, and continued belief that the system will eventually allow for success. Under the rule of law, and given these virtues, the arc of the moral universe can “bend toward justice.” (Theodore Parker, 1853)

We invite both teachers and students to explore Votes for Women: The Story of the Nineteenth Amendment. Through this heroic story of perseverance and overcoming injustice, all can enhance their civic understanding, skills, and dispositions to better understand the past and courageously address today’s challenges.
Principles and Virtues Glossary

Founding Principles

Introduction

The United States was established on a set of principles and ideals that have guided and shaped the public life of the country since the Founding. The American people continue to strive to realize more fully these principles and ideals. Drawn from an examination of human nature and the purposes of government, these principles and virtues form the framework of the American republican government of ordered liberty. Together with essential civic virtues, they help form the conscience of the nation against which Americans judge the justice of their laws. These civic virtues bind a self-governing people together in communities that facilitate a healthy civil society. As Americans we believe it is essential to understand and implement these fundamental or founding principles and civic virtues.

The American System of Government

In modern times, the terms “democracy” and “republic” are commonly used interchangeably, especially in reference to the expansion of citizenship and rights to previously disfranchised groups. However, the distinction between a democracy and a republic is significant.

Democracy: A form of government in which ultimate authority is based on the will of the majority. In a pure democracy (from the Greek demos, meaning “people”) the citizens participate in government directly, rather than by electing representatives. One of the challenges in a direct democracy is that there is no protection for the inalienable rights of minorities, leading to the possibility of tyranny by the majority. Moreover, direct democracy is susceptible to changing passions that can lead to mob rule, as well as demagoguery that can lead to tyranny. The form of government established in the U.S. Constitution is sometimes called a representative or indirect democracy.

Republic: A form of government in which the people are sovereign (ultimate source of power) and give their consent to representatives to make laws. The term, republic, comes from the Latin res publicae, meaning “thing of the people.” In a republic, the will of the people is filtered through several steps, making it less likely that a majority faction can endanger the rights of particular individuals or groups. In Federalist #10, Madison explained why a republic, or system of representation, is the form of government best suited to protecting the rights of all. Madison noted that the Constitution’s structure and limitations on power created a republic that would “refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations.”
**Principles of Government**

This list of principles and virtues is not meant to be comprehensive but instead to be a starting place for the investigation of the American experiment in self-government.

**Checks and Balances:** Constitutional powers are distributed among the branches of government allowing each to limit the application of power of the other branches and to prevent expansion of power of any branch.

**Consent of the Governed/Popular Sovereignty:** The power of government comes from the people.

**Due Process:** The government must interact with all people according to the duly-enacted laws and apply these rules equally with respect to all people.

**Equality:** All individuals have the same status regarding their claim as human beings to natural rights and treatment under the law.

**Federalism:** The people delegate certain powers to the national government, while the states retain other powers; and the people, who authorize both the states and national government, retain all freedoms not delegated to the governing bodies.

**Freedom of contract:** Freedom of individuals and corporations to make legally binding mutual agreements without arbitrary or unreasonable legal restrictions

**Freedom of religion:** The right to choose one’s religion or form of worship, if any, without interference; freedom of conscience

**Freedom of speech, press, and assembly:** The legal right to express one’s opinions freely, orally or in writing, and the right to gather with others in groups of one’s choice without arbitrary or unreasonable restrictions.

**Liberty:** Except where authorized by citizens through the Constitution, government does not have the authority to limit freedom.

**Limited Government:** Citizens are best able to pursue happiness when government is confined to those powers which protect their life, liberty, and property.

**Majority Rule/Minority Rights:** Laws may be made with the consent of the majority, subject to the limitation that those laws do not infringe on the inalienable rights of the minority.

**Natural/Inalienable Rights:** Rights which belong to us by nature and can only be justly abridged through due process. Examples are life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness.

**Private Property:** The natural rights of all individuals to create, obtain, and control their possessions, beliefs, faculties, and opinions, as well as the fruits of their labor.

**Rule of Law:** Government and citizens all abide by the same laws regardless of political power. Those laws are justly applied, consistent with an ethos of liberty, and stable.

**Separation of Powers:** A system of distinct powers built into the Constitution, to prevent an accumulation of power in one branch.
Virtues and Vices

**Virtue** is conduct that reflects universal principles of moral and ethical excellence essential to living a worthwhile life and to effective self-government. For many thinkers throughout the ages, attributes of character such as justice, responsibility, perseverance, respect, and others were thought to flow from an understanding of the rights and obligations of human beings. Virtue is compatible with, but does not require, religious belief. One’s thoughts and words alone do not make a person virtuous. According to Aristotle, virtue must be based on a just objective, it requires action, and it must become a habit.

**Private Virtue:** The idea that, in order to sustain liberty, individuals must be knowledgeable and must conduct themselves according to principles of moral and ethical excellence, consistent with their rights and obligations.

**Civic Virtue:** A set of actions and habits necessary for the safe, effective, and mutually beneficial participation in a society.

**Vice:** Immoral or wicked behavior.

**Virtues**

**Civil Discourse:** Reasoned and respectful sharing of ideas between individuals is the primary way people influence change in society/government, and is essential to maintain self-government.

**Contribution:** To discover one’s passions and talents, and use them to create what is beautiful and needed. To work hard to take care of oneself, one’s family, and one’s community.

**Courage:** The ability to take constructive action in the face of fear or danger. To stand firm as a person of character and do what is right, especially when it is unpopular or puts one at risk.

**Honor:** Demonstrating good character, integrity, and thinking and acting honestly.

**Humility:** To remember that one’s ignorance is far greater than one’s knowledge. To give praise to those who earn it.

**Integrity:** To tell the truth, expose untruths, and keep one’s promises.

**Initiative:** Exercising the power, energy, or ability to lead, organize, or accomplish something.

**Justice:** Upholding of what is fair, just, and right. To stand for equally applied rules that respect the rights and dignity of all, and make sure everyone obeys them.

**Moderation:** The avoidance of excesses or extremes.

**Perseverance:** To continue in a task or course of action or hold to a belief or commitment, in spite of obstacles or difficulty; choosing to take the right path rather than the easy path, and to stay the course.
**Respect**: Honor or admiration of someone or something. To protect one’s mind and body as precious aspects of identity. To extend that protection to all other individuals.

**Responsibility**: Acting on good judgment about what is right or wrong, or deserving the trust of others. To strive to know and do what is best, not what is most popular. To be trustworthy for making decisions in the best long-term interests of the people and tasks of which they are in charge. Individuals must take care of themselves and their families, and be vigilant to preserve their liberty and the liberty of others.

**Resourcefulness**: Taking constructive action in difficult situations quickly and imaginatively.

**Self-Governance**: To be self-controlled, avoiding extremes, and to reject unwise influence or control by others.

**Vigilance**: Being alert and attentive, taking action to remedy possible injustices or evils.

**Vices**

**Ambition**: To be driven by self-interest while pursuing power and fame for oneself rather than serving the republic or the good of others.

**Avarice**: To allow the love of wealth to lead one to do wrong in acquiring it.

**Deception**: To lie to oneself and/or others, thinking and behaving as though something is right when it is wrong and unjust.

**Demagoguery**: To lead others astray because one controls or manipulates their emotions through moving words or a deceptive vision.

**Hubris**: To have excessive pride, vanity, and arrogance that usually leads to a tragic fall.

**Injustice**: To harm others by applying unequal rules and damaging another’s inalienable rights and dignity.

**Political Intolerance**: Disrespect for the different political views of others, leading one to violate their inalienable rights.
### Principles and Virtues Graphic Organizer

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