Rights, Equality, and Citizenship

OVERVIEW
In this lesson, students will examine the idea of natural rights and equality as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. They will delve into the relationship between liberty and equality and examine the interplay of these two principles with respect to the idea of change within the United States constitutional order.

OBJECTIVES
- Students will analyze the principle of equality as articulated in the Declaration of Independence.
- Students will distinguish between natural rights and rights conferred by civil society.
- Students will assess the principles of liberty and equality, their relationship, and how they relate to American citizenship.
- Students will examine the principle of equality with respect to long-term change in the United States constitutional order.

MATERIALS
- Background Essay: Rights, Equality, and Citizenship
- Handout A: What Kind of Right?
- Handout B: Equality Quotes
- Appendix A: Amending the Constitution
- Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
- Appendix C: Timeline Cards
- Appendix G: Pathway for Change
- Answer Key

VOCABULARY
- suffrage
- democratic
- republican
- renounce
- coverture
- poll tax
STANDARDS

- National Standards for U.S. History: Era 2 1585-1763
  - Standard 2: How political, religious, and social institutions emerged in the English colonies.
  - Standard 3: How the values and institutions of European economic life took root in the colonies, and how slavery reshaped European and African life in the Americas.

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

- C3 Framework:
  - D2.His.2.9-12. Analyze change and continuity in historical eras.
  - D2.His.5.9-12. Analyze how historical contexts shaped and continue to shape people’s perspectives.
  - D2.His.7.9-12. Explain how the perspectives of people in the present shape interpretations of the past.

QUOTES

“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

“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

“I do not wish [women] to have power over men; but over themselves.”
–MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, 1792

“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.”
–SARAH GRIMKÉ, 1838
Lesson Plan

Background/Homework » 15-30 min.

Have students read Background Essay: Rights, Equality, and Citizenship and answer the questions.

Warm-up » 10 min.

A. Distribute Handout A: What Kind of Right? or read it aloud and have students respond to each statement with a show of hands. As you go, refer to the background essay discussion of natural rights as part of our human nature, and not a gift of the government. These rights are also called negative rights because they can be exercised without anyone else acting on our behalf.

B. Continue until you have completed all 15 items, clarifying any misconceptions as you go. See the Answer Key for some clues that the privileges (or rights conferred by civil society) listed are not natural rights.

C. Conclude by asking, “What about voting? Is voting a natural right, a privilege, or neither?” Allow some discussion for a few moments.

Activity I » 15 min.

A. Have students work in small groups. Distribute Handout B: Equality Quotes and tell students they should first individually analyze the quotes and mark whether each reflects a commitment to equality for women, and then briefly discuss their answers within their small groups.

B. Next, conduct a whole-class discussion in which you provide the source information (from the Answer Key) for students to fill in on their charts and ask if anything surprises them or causes them to change their minds about the quotes. Allow students to share observations.

C. Have students complete the Handout B Comprehension and Reflection Questions in their small groups and ask what characteristics writers in each category had in common.

D. At this point, provide students with Appendix G: A Pathway for Change and introduce 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? Spend a few moments previewing the graphic organizer. Note that students should keep this document in their folders and expect to refer to it frequently. Based on their discussion of Handout B: Equality Quotes, and considering the status of women at the American Founding, where do students think that American women were in the Pathway by 1800?
Activity II  » 20 min.

A. Write on the board the following two pairs of questions:

- Is suffrage a right or a privilege? Is suffrage necessary for a person to be considered a citizen?
- Is legal equality necessary for liberty? Can a person be free if not equal under the law?

B. Divide the class into four large groups (subdividing if your class is large), assigning each group to respond with arguments supporting the following positions:

- Group A: Suffrage is a privilege that is NOT necessary for a person to be considered a citizen.
- Group B: Suffrage is a right necessary for a person to be considered a citizen.
- Group C: Equality is necessary for liberty.
- Group D: Equality is NOT necessary for liberty.

C. Have them work in their groups to develop their arguments, perhaps in spite of what may be their personal beliefs.

D. After about 10 minutes, have each group designate a speaker to explain their best arguments to the class.

E. Debrief as time allows, offering as a prompt the way both Locke and Samuel Adams begin with the proposition that all people are born free, and are equal in this natural freedom. Note: This may be a good time to point out how the use of the term “man” in this context means all people. It has fallen out of fashion to use a masculine term to include both males and females, but at the time Locke and Adams were writing, their audiences would have understood the term “man” to encompass all human beings.

Activity III  » 10 min.

A. Read aloud from the last paragraph of Background Essay: Rights, Equality, and Citizenship, or ask students to reread it silently. Ask them to brainstorm other groups in American history who have gained greater legal equality over time.

B. Have students complete Appendix A: Amending the Constitution, and answer the 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? Encourage students to incorporate ideas from class discussion into their responses.
C. Ask students to journal for a few minutes regarding to what extent this lesson has helped them develop a context and set the stage to learn about the movement for women’s equality and suffrage.

Wrap-Up » 10 min.

A. As a class, place each of the Appendix C: Timeline Cards on your class timeline.

B. As students work with the timeline cards, encourage them to discuss the historical significance of the events. For example, you might challenge them to decide which of the constitutional amendments included in Lesson 1 was the most significant in promoting constitutional principles and civic virtue.

FOR FURTHER READING
- Flexner, Eleanor, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography*, Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, Inc. (1972)
Rights, Equality, and Citizenship

**Introduction**

What is equality? What is the connection between equality and citizenship? The principle of equality means that all individuals have the same status regarding their claim to natural rights and treatment before the law. Our definition of citizenship has expanded throughout American history, most often through claims to our natural equality. The story of women’s suffrage is an example of the patience, determination, and sacrifice necessary to carry out long term change within a constitutional order. The word, suffrage, meaning “the right to vote,” originated with the Latin *suffragium*, meaning “a vote cast in an assembly, or influence given in support of a candidate.”

**Equality**

The Declaration of Independence asserts as a self-evident truth that all people were created equal. Something “self-evident” is a plain truth that does not need to be proven through reasoned deduction from other principles. It is apparent immediately (or self-evident) to any reasonable observer that there are no natural differences among people which give one person or group of people (such as kings and queens) the power to rule over others without their consent. All have equal rights and dignity.

In his *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690), as part of an argument against slavery, English philosopher John Locke theorized that all people are born free: “The natural liberty of man [human beings] is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man [humans], but to have only the law of nature for his rule.”

Almost a century later, Samuel Adams quoted Locke regarding the natural liberty of man, agreeing that all people are created equally free; there are no natural rulers.

**Equality and Natural Rights**

Further, the Declaration asserts that it was “self-evident” that human beings were “endowed by their Creator” with certain rights. In the
Founders’ view, since rights come from God, the creator of our human nature, an individual’s natural rights could be neither given nor taken away. They are, to use the Declaration’s word, unalienable.

The term “natural” here refers to human nature. Natural rights are those rights humans have at birth, including life, liberty, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and others. No person or government can “give” an individual these rights; they are part of what it means to be human. One can know natural rights are natural because they can all be exercised without requiring anything from others. Natural rights are sometimes called negative rights for this reason. They are also called inherent rights because they inhere in humanity: they are an essential characteristic of human nature.

“Nobody Can Give More Power Than He Has Himself”

The assertion of inherent rights remains the foundation for the principle of equality. In the same argument against slavery, Locke reasoned:

“This freedom from absolute, arbitrary power, is so necessary to, and closely joined with a man’s preservation, that he cannot part with it...for a man, not having the power of his own life, cannot, by compact, or his own consent, enslave himself to any one, nor put himself under the absolute, arbitrary power of another, to take away his life, when he pleases. Nobody can give more power than he has himself; and he that cannot take away his own life, cannot give another power over it.”

In other words, Locke maintained, individual lives and the rights that flow from human nature belong to the Creator.
Again, Adams echoes Locke in *The Rights of the Colonists* (1772):

“It is the greatest absurdity to suppose it in the power of one, or any number of men, at the entering into society, to **renounce** their essential natural rights, or the means of preserving those rights; when the grand end of civil government, from the very nature of its institution, is for the support, protection, and defense of those very rights; the principal of which, as is before observed, are Life, Liberty, and Property. If men, through fear, fraud, or mistake, should in terms renounce or give up any essential natural right, the eternal law of reason and the grand end of society would absolutely vacate [make void] such renunciation. The right to freedom being the gift of God Almighty, it is not in the power of man to alienate this gift and voluntarily become a slave.”

Because humans are born with inherent rights, these rights are the same under any political system. An unjust government—including a tyrannical majority—may abuse or abridge the people’s inherent rights, but can never remove them, since these rights are essential to human nature.

But not all rights are inherent. Political rights, for example, may vary through times and places, because, unlike natural rights, they are given by government. Many political rights, including voting and serving on juries, have been expanded to more groups of people throughout American history through claims to natural and inherent equality. Although people use the term “rights” to refer to them, these rights conferred by civil society could more accurately be considered privileges—abilities that can be justly given or denied by government under certain conditions. For example, a driver’s license will be granted if a person passes a driving test, but can be revoked for drunk driving or too many accidents.

A person can lose the ability to serve on a jury and to vote if convicted of a felony. People have inherent rights by nature, but must have permission in order to exercise a privilege.

The U.S. Constitution

The Declaration asserted two more principles that were self-evident: that in order to secure our rights, “governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,” and that when a government repeatedly abuses the peoples’ rights, the people have the power and the duty to “alter or abolish”
it and create a new government that will better protect their rights and ensure their safety and happiness.

After a time under the Articles of Confederation, many observers recognized the need for a more powerful central government, giving rise to a convention of the states in 1787. The resulting new Constitution’s opening lines “We the people…ordain and establish this Constitution” outlined a government of limited powers, recognizing the sovereignty of the individual and protecting the natural right of the people to govern themselves.

With this right to self-government come many responsibilities. In fact, it could be argued that citizenship is more about responsibilities than about rights. Individuals are free to make choices about their government and direct their own lives within a system that guarantees the equal right (and responsibility) of others to do the same. The Constitution reflects the sovereignty of the individual, by limiting the national government to certain enumerated powers, leaving everything else to the states and to the people.

Theory vs. Practice

Despite the bold proclamation, the principle of equality was not meaningfully reflected in the lives of all people during the early republic. Enslaved persons and Native Americans were unable to exercise their inherent rights and were not afforded political rights. The Constitution sanctioned slavery both explicitly and implicitly: it gave Congress the power to ban the international slave trade, but mandated a 20-year waiting period before doing so. The Constitution also allowed slave states to count three-fifths of their enslaved population toward the calculation of those states’ representation in Congress. Though this compromise prevented slave states from having even greater power (they had wanted to count their entire slave populations), the policy tolerated the practice of owning and trading in human beings. Though many of the leading Founders were convinced of the evils and injustices of slavery, they did not end it in their lifetimes.

Women also lacked legal equality. Enslaved women and Native American women were denied all of their rights. Among white women, and depending on varying state laws, widows had some political rights and could own property, but married white women had no legal status at all under the traditional doctrine of coverture. The English jurist William Blackstone explained this doctrine in 1765. Through marriage, husband and wife become one person under the law: “the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs everything.”

The Constitution left voting requirements to the states, and so states could adopt different policies. Some states did away with property requirements but still required voters to be taxpayers. Some states required a tax to vote, or a poll tax. Vermont became the first state to grant universal male suffrage in 1777. New Jersey allowed property-owning white women and free African Americans to vote for a short time before that right was revoked in 1807.

Extending Equality

The Founding generation did not perfectly live out its ideal of equality. However, it provided a foundation for greater expansion of liberty through time. Through sustained effort and commitment over time, Americans have
persistently appealed to Founding documents and their root principles to insist on changes that gradually recognized and protected both natural and civil rights.

The women’s suffrage movement provides a model for implementing social and legal change to better align institutions with principles of liberty, justice, and equality. The pathway for change was long. Seventy-two years passed between the Declaration of Independence assertion of self-evident and equal natural rights and the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, where women planned to “discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman.” In most parts of America in 1848 it was considered improper—even illegal—for women to speak in public meetings. Now they were convening one. It took another seventy-two years of struggle for women to achieve a constitutional amendment—the Nineteenth in 1920—protecting their right to vote, and guaranteeing their opportunity to participate more fully in the political process.

The Constitution contains the means to institute the meaningful changes required to bring it more in line with the governing principles on which it was founded. One of these methods is the amendment process, which is slow but effective. Reformers committed to equality and justice endured hardship and sacrifice to implement the amendment process to end slavery, and to grant the vote to black men, women, and people ages 18-21. Other methods of aligning the law with these principles, particularly equality, result from the system of checks and balances. The Supreme Court in 1954 checked the power of majorities in states when it ruled segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. Congress has also invoked its enumerated powers to protect legal equality with laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Appeals to equality continue today as Americans debate the meaning of the principle as it applies to undocumented immigrants, the unborn, LGBTQ community members, disabled people, and many others.

**REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS**

1. On what basis did John Locke and Samuel Adams claim that slavery was unjust?
2. List four truths the Declaration of Independence asserts are self-evident.
3. What is a natural right?
4. Should voting be considered a right or a privilege? Explain your choice.
5. Do you agree with Locke that there are limits to what we can consent to? Does consent make any action good? Explain why or why not.
6. Some say that natural rights do not exist because so many governments have abused them throughout history. (Indeed, the Founders argued that the British King and Parliament were abusing theirs.) They say that if a right cannot be exercised effectively, it does not exist. Evaluate this assertion.
7. The Founding generation did not fully live out its ideal of equality. Which ideals do people fail to live up to in modern times?
8. Certain principles shape the United States system of government and society. Using the Principles and Virtues Glossary at the front of this book, give examples of ways the United States Founding documents reflect any three of the constitutional principles below. Maintaining and advancing these principles requires that individuals apply such virtues as vigilance and deliberate action. Give examples of ways in which any three of the virtues listed below can help maintain the constitutional principles.

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

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**A Pathway for Change**
What Kind of Right?

Directions: A natural right is a right that comes from our human nature. Humans are born with natural rights and do not need anyone to act on their behalf in order to exercise them. (For this reason they are also called negative rights.) Privileges, on the other hand, are rights conferred by civil society. These may vary through times and places, because, unlike natural rights, they are given by government.

Mark whether each is a natural right, a privilege, or neither.

1. Life
2. Self-Defense
3. Liberty
4. Driving
5. Freedom of religion
6. Happiness
7. Serving on a jury
8. Remaining silent
9. Holding a parade on public streets
10. Choosing a line of work
11. Running for office
12. Not hearing offensive words
13. Freedom from unreasonable searches
14. Refusing to purchase certain goods
15. Shouting down a controversial speaker
### Equality Quotes

**Directions:** Place a check in the appropriate column below to show whether each statement reflects a commitment to this position: *Women have the unalienable right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness to the same degree that men do.*

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<td>2</td>
<td>Oh, my daughter, I wish you were a boy.</td>
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<td>If we surrender the right to speak in public this year, we must surrender the right to petition next year, and the right to write the year after and so on. What then can woman do for the slave when she herself is under the feet of man and shamed into silence?</td>
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<td>He thought these females could have a sufficient field for the exercise of their influence in the discharge of their duties to their fathers, their husbands, or their children, cheering the domestic circle, and shedding over it the mild radiance of the social virtues, instead of rushing into the fierce struggles of political life.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>I have been derisively called a ‘Woman’s Rights Man.’ I know no such distinction. I claim to be a ‘Human Rights Man’; and wherever there is a human being, I see God-given rights inherent in that being, whatever may be the sex or complexion.</td>
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She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. If it is plainly reasonable that the two sexes shall study together in the same high school, then it cannot be hopelessly ridiculous that they should study together in college also.

When I turn from the arena where man contends with man for what we call the prizes of this palpably world, I want to go back, not to the embraces of some female, but to the embraces of my true woman. I want those blissful loving details of domestic life and domestic love.

When those vestal fires of love and piety are put out, the contest is ended, and true love is gone. It will be a sorry day for this country when a woman is found in the public arena, or knows the name of a battle of life, and not the name of a home. They have a higher and a holier mission. Their mission is at home, by their blandishments, not in the turmoil and battle of public life. They must be a slave, or an equal; there is no middle ground. It is plain that it cannot be hopelessly ridiculous that they should study together in the same high school, reasonable that the two sexes shall study together in the same high school, sympathetic and blended.

In relation to mind, to soul, to thought, where there is as undeniably no such strife of rains, male and female sunshine. How much more ridiculous is it to talk of male and female atmospheres, male and female springs, male and female atmospheres. It would be ridiculous to talk of male and female atmospheres. It would be ridiculous to talk of male and female atmospheres. It would be ridiculous to talk of male and female atmospheres.

Thrice has stamped upon women a milder, gentler nature, which not only makes them shrink from, but disqualifies them for the turmoil and battle of public life. Their mission is at home, by their blandishments, not in the turmoil and battle of public life. She has a higher and a holier mission, their mission is at home. They have a higher and a holier mission. Their mission is at home. They have a higher and a holier mission. Their mission is at home. Their mission is at home.

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### COMPREHENSION AND REFLECTION QUESTIONS

*On your own paper, complete these questions after filling in the sources of each quote.*

1. List the names of women who supported equality for women, and summarize their arguments.
2. List the names of men who supported equality for women, and summarize their arguments.
3. List the names of women who opposed equality for women, and summarize their arguments.
4. List the names of men who opposed equality for women, and summarize their arguments.
5. List the names of people whose opinions on equality for women may be debated, and summarize reasons their statements might be interpreted either way.
6. In what ways might these quotes help illustrate momentum for the process of social change in a constitutional order?
Answer Key

Background Essay: Rights, Equality, and Citizenship

1. Locke and Adams argued that people’s lives belonged to God, and if humans could not own themselves, it followed that they could not own other people.

2. The Declaration of Independence asserts that all men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men; that when government repeatedly abuses the rights of the people, the people have the power to alter or abolish that government and set up a new one.

3. A natural right is a right with which people are born; it inheres in human nature and does not require action on anyone else’s part to exercise.

4. Some may say voting is a right since voting is an important responsibility of citizenship an adult is presumed to have. Others may say voting is a privilege, since it is extended on the basis of age (18+) and it can be revoked (for example, felons may not vote.)

5. Accept reasoned answers. Help students understand that an action does not become good simply because someone consents to it (for example, letting someone take answers off your paper during an exam is wrong even if you allow it.)

6. The notion that natural rights do not exist denies human dignity. All human beings have the same natural rights, though many have suffered under despotic rulers or majorities. If natural rights were given to individuals by government, some people could have more rights than others, and no one could say that there was anything wrong with that. It is only through a claim that natural rights come from God or from human nature that one can say that all human beings are equal, or argue that slavery is wrong.

7. Accept reasoned answers.

8. Principles:

   - Equality: The Declaration of Independence states at the outset that all men (or all human beings) have an equality of natural rights given by a Creator.

   - Republican/representative government: The Constitution requires the national government to ensure all states have a republican form of government; Congress is made up of representatives of the people (and of the states, prior to the Seventeenth Amendment)

   - Popular sovereignty: The Constitution names the people as the source of the power given to the national government.

   - Federalism: The national government was given only those specific powers the Founders believed necessary for a government over all the states. The states, who were closer to the people, kept broader, more indefinite powers, as did the people themselves.
Inalienable rights: The Declaration states that governments exist to protect inalienable rights. The Constitution is written to provide a framework for ensuring that the peoples’ rights, safety, and happiness are protected.

Virtues: any virtue may be selected here, with the reason related to the responsibilities and opportunities of individual citizens to pursue happiness while respecting the equal natural rights of others.

Handout A: What Kind of Right?

1. Natural
2. Natural
3. Natural
4. Privilege (For example, the state can issue or revoke driver’s licenses, or put limits on certain drivers)
5. Natural
6. Neither
7. Privilege (For example, lawyers can remove potential jurors for various reasons; felons cannot serve on juries.)
8. Natural
9. Privilege (For example, the state can require a permit to hold a parade.)
10. Natural
11. Privilege (for example, the U.S. constitution gives age limits for certain offices.)
12. Neither
13. Natural
14. Natural
15. Neither

Handout B: Equality Quotes

Accept reasoned responses regarding whether the quote supports equality of inalienable rights for men and women. Suggested responses are shown below.

Sources:

1. Yes; Mary Wollstonecraft, 1792
2. Unsure; Judge Daniel Cady, father of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1826
3. Yes; Angelina Grimké, 1837
4. No; U.S. Congressman Benjamin Howard, (Maryland) 1838; from a speech by John Quincy Adams
5. Yes; William Lloyd Garrison, 1853
6. Yes; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1854
7. No; U.S. Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, 1867
8. Yes; Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, 1873
9. Yes; U.S. Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, 1886
10. No; U. S. Senator George G. Vest of Missouri, 1887
11. Yes; Frederick Douglass, 1888
12. No; Josephine Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage, 1914
13. Yes; Carrie Chapman Catt, 1917

Comprehension and reflection questions:

1. Mary Wollstonecraft, Angelina Grimké, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt. These arguments reflected the constitutional principles of equality, inalienable rights, and the significance of consent of the governed.

2. William Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Henry W. Blair, Frederick Douglass. These arguments, like those of the women quoted, center on the constitutional principles of equality, inalienable rights, and the significance of consent of the governed.

3. Josephine Dodge. Mrs. Dodge's position emphasized that women's roles and responsibilities (sometimes called “women's sphere”) are, and in her view are ordained by nature to be, different from those of men.

4. Benjamin Howard, Theodore Frelinghuysen, George G. Vest. These arguments, like those of Mrs. Dodge, emphasize the different societal expectation imposed on women, compared to those imposed on men.

5. The teacher may wish to share this biographical information with students. Judge Daniel Cady made this statement to Elizabeth shortly after the death of his only son who had survived childhood, Eleazar Cady. Judge Cady and his wife, Margaret Livingston Cady had 11 children, but only five of their daughters survived to live long lives. Elizabeth was 11 when her brother Eleazar died at age 20, just before graduating from college. Judge Cady may have wished Elizabeth was a boy because of his grief at having lost all his male heirs, or because he believed boys had greater opportunities in the world, or because he believed boys are more capable. His sorrowful statement may have simply been an acknowledgement of the lack of opportunity for women in an imperfect social system, not indicating approval of that system. Elizabeth showed great academic interest and talent, and Judge Cady encouraged her to study subject matter at home that was not usually taught to girls in school.

6. Accept reasoned responses. Students may point to the long period of time elapsed, indicating that change in a constitutional order requires commitment and perseverance. They may note the similar themes expressed by each side in the controversy, indicating that successful social change tends to center on a few fundamental ideas that are important to a large group of people.
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LESSONS 1 &amp; 2</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</strong></td>
<td><strong>Quotes</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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. | “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 |
<p>| 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. | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</th>
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</table>
| **1776** – Abigail Adams wrote to her husband on the hypocrisy of slavery, and asked him to “remember the ladies” in the new government. | “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 |
| **1776** – Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. | |
| **1776** – 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. | “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 |
| **1777** – Vermont constitution became the first to provide for universal male suffrage. | “We the people…ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America...”  
– PREAMBLE TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION, 1789 |
<p>| <strong>1779</strong> – Judith Sargent Murray published <em>On the Equality of the Sexes</em>. | |
| <strong>1781</strong> – The Articles of Confederation was adopted. | |
| <strong>1789</strong> – The United States Constitution was adopted, leaving the power to set voting qualifications to the states. | |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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<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?” —JUDITH SARGENT MURRAY, 1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1792</strong> – Mary Wollstonecraft published <em>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.</em></td>
<td>“I do not wish [women] to have power over men; but over themselves.” —MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, 1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1807</strong> – New Jersey revoked the right of women to vote.</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.” —SARAH GRIMKÉ 1838</td>
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<td><strong>1807</strong> – United States Congress banned the international slave trade.</td>
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Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
### LESSON 3

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<tr>
<th><strong>Lesson 3 Events</strong></th>
<th><strong>Quotes</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1836</strong> – 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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<td><strong>1840</strong>—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><strong>1848</strong> – 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>
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<td><strong>1849</strong> – 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>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1851</strong> – 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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<td><strong>1851</strong> – Harriet Beecher Stowe published <em>Uncle Tom’s Cabin.</em></td>
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<td><strong>1852</strong> – Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the New York State Women’s Temperance Society.</td>
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<td><strong>1860</strong> – 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><strong>1861</strong> – U.S. Civil War began.</td>
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### Lesson 4

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<tr>
<th>Lesson 4 Events</th>
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<tr>
<td>1863 – Anthony and Stanton founded the Women’s Loyal National League, and collected nearly 400,000 signatures in a petition to abolish slavery.</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.” –SUSAN B. ANTHONY TO CONGRESS, 1865</td>
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<td>1865 – U.S. Civil War ended.</td>
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<td>1865 – Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery.</td>
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<td>1868 – Fourteenth Amendment defined citizenship and prohibited states from denying due process and equal protection of the law to any person.</td>
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<td>1869 – Territory of Wyoming granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td>1869 – First transcontinental railroad opened.</td>
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<td>1870 – Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, barring states from denying the right to vote “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”</td>
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<td>1870 – Utah territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td>1872 – Susan B. Anthony was arrested for voting.</td>
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<td>1874 – The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment’s Privileges or Immunities Clause does not protect a right to vote in <em>Minor v. Happersett</em>.</td>
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<td>1874: Annie Wittenmyer founded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to work for the prohibition of alcohol.</td>
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<td>1879 -- Frances Willard became President of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union.</td>
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<td>1883 – Washington territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
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## Lesson 5

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>U.S. Senate voted to reject proposed women’s suffrage amendment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Wyoming was admitted to the Union.</td>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>National Woman Suffrage Association and American Woman Suffrage Association merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.</td>
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<td>1902</td>
<td>Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>Susan B. Anthony died.</td>
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<td>1912</td>
<td>Arizona, Kansas, and Alaska Territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td>1912</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>1913</td>
<td>Sixteenth Amendment was ratified, giving national government the power to tax incomes.</td>
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<td>1913</td>
<td>Seventeenth Amendment was ratified, providing for direct election of U.S. senators.</td>
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<td>1913</td>
<td>Alice Paul organized a suffrage procession in Washington, DC, the day before Wilson’s Inauguration.</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>Nevada and Montana granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>U.S. Senate voted to reject the proposed amendment that would later become the Nineteenth Amendment.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Quotes

- “We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women!”
  
  — WYOMING LEGISLATURE TELEGRAM TO CONGRESS, 1890

- “There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers.”
  
  — SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1897
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 5 Events</th>
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| **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

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<tr>
<td><strong>1923</strong> – Alice Paul proposed an equal rights amendment.</td>
<td>“[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.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1942</strong> – Large numbers of women entered the workforce during World War II; Representative Winifred C. Stanley proposed a bill banning wage discrimination based on sex.</td>
<td>– TASK OF THE PRESIDENT’S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1944</strong> – Republican Party platform included support for an equal rights amendment.</td>
<td>“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.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1960s-1970s</strong> – Second Wave Feminism</td>
<td>– BETTY FRIEDAN, 1963</td>
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### Lesson 6 Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Shirley Chisholm won her bid to represent her district of New York in the United States Congress, becoming the first African American Congresswoman. She served in that position for seven terms, leaving Washington, D.C. in 1983 to teach at the all-women Mount Holyoke College.</td>
</tr>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>Women accounted for three percent of people elected to U.S. Congress, seven percent of statewide elective offices, and 0 in state legislatures.</td>
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<td>Twenty-sixth Amendment protected the right of people ages 18 and older to vote.</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>Congress approved Equal Rights Amendment, which was ratified by only 35 states, rather than the required 38 states.</td>
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<td>Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, banning sex discrimination in higher education.</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>Supreme Court ruled in Roe v. Wade that states must not restrict access to abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy.</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>In Taylor v. Louisiana the Supreme Court ruled that defendants had a Sixth Amendment right to a trial by jury made up of a cross-section of the community, which necessarily included women.</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>For the first time, women turned out to vote in a presidential election at a higher rate than that of men.</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>Women began earning more bachelor’s degrees than men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>Third Wave Feminism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Quotes

- “We, the people.’ It’s a very eloquent beginning. But when [the Constitution] was completed on the seventeenth of September in 1787, I was not included in that ‘We, the people.’ I felt somehow for many years that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court decision, I have finally been included in ‘We, the people.’”
  - Barbara Jordan, 1974

- “I’d like them to say that Shirley Chisholm had guts. That’s how I’d like to be remembered.”
  - Shirley Chisholm, 1983
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Quotes</th>
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<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>
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<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>
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</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.
LESSONS 1 & 2 (CONTINUED)

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.

LESSONS 1 & 2 (CONTINUED)

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 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.
1912 – Arizona, Kansas, and Alaska Territory granted suffrage to women.

1912 – Theodore Roosevelt ran for United States 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.

1913 – Sixteenth Amendment was ratified, giving national government the power to tax incomes.

1913 – Alice Paul organized a suffrage procession in Washington, DC, the day before Wilson’s Inauguration.
1914 – Nevada and Montana granted suffrage to women.

1914 – U.S. Senate voted to reject the proposed amendment that would later become the Nineteenth Amendment.

1916 – Alice Paul broke away from NAWSA to form the National Woman’s Party.

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.

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**

**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
Lesson 6 (Continued)

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.”

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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>
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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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<tr>
<td>4. Work with others to organize and set interim goals.</td>
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<td>5. Build on prior knowledge of similar or related efforts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Join forces with other like-minded people or groups—seek allies and public support.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Participate in ongoing constructive challenge within your work group.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Reevaluate progress toward goal and correct course as necessary.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Think “outside the box” and evaluate the best ways to respond to others pursuing the same goals by different methods.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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.

Demagogy: 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
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