Women in Early America (1600-1800)

OVERVIEW
In this lesson, students will examine the role of citizens in colonial America and in the early republic, assessing their liberty and equality during this period. They will also examine the purpose of voting and its role within civil society.

OBJECTIVES
- Students will understand women’s roles as citizens in colonial America and the early republic.
- Students will assess women’s liberty and equality during this period.
- Students will understand and apply the concept of “historical thinking” to the act of voting in U.S. history.
- Students will review constitutional amendments related to equality and voting.
MATERIALS
- Background Essay: Life in Early America
- Handout A: Equality and Voting Amendments
- Appendix A: Amending the Constitution
- Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
- Appendix C: Timeline Cards
- Answer Key

VOCABULARY
- homogeneous
- coverture
- non-entities
- Republican Motherhood
- executor of a will
- benign neglect
- autonomy

STANDARDS
- National Standards for U.S. History: Era 3 1754–1820s
  » Standard 2: The impact of the American Revolution on politics, economy, and society
- National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies:
  » Theme 2: Time, Continuity, and Change
  » Theme 6: Power, Authority, and Governance
  » Theme 10: Civic Ideals and Practices

QUOTES
“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.”
– WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, 1765

“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

“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
Lesson Plan

Background/Homework » 15-30 min.

Have students read Handout A: Background Essay: Life in Early America and answer the questions.

Warm-up » 10 minutes

A. Read aloud some or all of following statements one at a time, adding your own that may better capture student interest. Sources for the more recent statements are provided at the end of the lesson. Begin with statements that are obviously describing cultures from the past. Do NOT indicate when you move to statements describing present-day. Do not read aloud the parenthetical note giving the location/time period; that information is provided for teacher background.

For each one, briefly ask students how they would judge that society based on that information.

- A society routinely allows unwanted babies to die of exposure. (ancient Rome, others)
- A society keeps human beings as slaves. (Ancient Greece, Egypt, Rome, China, and most of the world for most of human history, including the United States through 1865)
- A society hangs people accused of witchcraft. (colonial New England)
- A society allows young children to work long hours in hot, dangerous factories. (19th century U.S. and many other parts of the world today)
- A society requires separate schools, travel accommodations, water fountains, and bathrooms for people of color than for whites. (Jim Crow era U.S; South Africa under apartheid)
- A society does not allow women to travel without a male guardian. (Saudi Arabia, present day)
- A society reports eliminating Downs Syndrome because all the women carrying fetuses with the chromosomal abnormality choose an abortion. (Iceland, present day).
- A society keeps young people, from the ages of 6-18, mostly sitting at desks inside for a majority of their day. (U.S., present day)
- A society imposes the death penalty for people of color at a higher rate than for white criminals. (U.S., present day)
- A society has more than 6,000 reported cases of human trafficking. (U.S., 2017)
- A society throws away 133 billion pounds of food a year even though people struggle with food insecurity both within that country and around the world. (U.S., present day)
B. Explain that this was an exercise on historical thinking and humility, and the importance of not judging people of the past by modern standards. Why might certain practices still exist today, even though the overwhelming majority of people know they are wrong? Lead students to understand that even when people identify a wrong (i.e. slavery in the 1800s), that does not mean the practice will be immediately eradicated. It is easy to judge people of the past, but it requires humility to realize one’s own society is guilty of allowing injustices to continue. People like to think they would be the lone voice of reason standing against injustice.

C. Offer the following points to wrap up the discussion:

1. If an act is objectively wrong, such as murder or slavery, it is wrong whether “everyone else is doing it” or not.

2. That said, cultural norms often prevent people from recognizing that an action is wrong.

3. No society is immune from the tendency to assume their cultural norms are correct, and/or that they are more enlightened than those who lived in the past.

4. Remember that people in the future are likely to look back with a critical eye at practices that are tolerated or even promoted today.

Activity I » 20 minutes

A. Explain that historical thinking can help put the history of voting in the U.S. from the early republic to today in context.


C. Have students complete the worksheet independently, and then compare and revise by working in pairs or trios.

D. Discuss students’ responses as a large group, having students record any new insights on their handouts. Then challenge students to independently write a summary statement about all the information at the bottom of the page.

Activity II and Wrap-Up » 20 minutes

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

B. As you add the strips with the contributions of Hannah Griffitts, Phillis Wheatley, Mercy Otis Warren, Abigail Adams, and Judith Sargent Murray, call on a few students to share their responses to the Background Essay homework questions about these women.

C. You may conclude that it is impossible to be sure how their legal status affected their ability to impact society (it might have motivated them to be more active, or it might have dissuaded them; it might have made others less apt to take them seriously, or it may have made their voices especially compelling).
D. Use Appendix A: Amending the Constitution to consider the types of political participation available to women such as those described in this lesson. Consider the types of activities carried out by women like Abigail Adams, Griffitts, Warren, and Wheatley.

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

FOR FURTHER READING


Berkin, Carol. Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America’s Independence (2006)


Murray, Judith Sargent. “On the Equality of the Sexes” (1790)


Rush, Benjamin. “Thoughts upon Female Education” (1787)

Wollstonecraft, Mary. A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792)
Life in Early America (1600-1800)

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

Discussion Questions
- Prior to 1800, how might women have exercised political influence without the right to vote?
- List some possible reasons for restricting the right to vote to property owners.
- List some possible reasons for denying the right to vote to women.

Overview
In early America, free women almost always had essentially the same legal status as children. But despite their many legal restrictions, women neither viewed nor conducted themselves as non-entities. They exercised their responsibilities of citizenship by raising future citizens of a republic and through their powers of persuasion—private and public. Though the suffrage movement was almost a century away, initial strides toward women’s equality can be found in the early republic. The women highlighted in this essay are but a few of the countless numbers who took their responsibilities as citizens seriously, even in a society that did not treat them as legal equals.

Margaret Brent of Maryland
Margaret Brent was born into a wealthy family in Gloucester, England in 1601. She and her siblings emigrated to Maryland in 1638, holding letters from Lord Baltimore Cecil Calvert in England entitling them to large grants of land. She was the first woman in Maryland to own land in her own name. An independent and entrepreneurial woman, Margaret Brent purchased additional tracts of land and became a trusted assistant of Maryland Governor Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore. The provincial court appointed her Lord Baltimore Cecil Calvert’s attorney as well. In 1647, Leonard Calvert on his deathbed appointed Brent executor of his will. She managed his estate, argued cases before the provincial assembly, and quelled a disturbance by hiring soldiers to put down William Claiborne’s rebellion against the Calverts.

The following year, because of her service to the colony, Brent requested membership in Maryland’s colonial legislature, along with two votes, one as Cecil Calvert’s attorney and one for herself as a major landowner. She may have been the only woman in what came to be the United States to personally request an appeal before a session of a colonial assembly. However, Governor Thomas Greene refused her request. Lord Baltimore Cecil Calvert in England
disapproved of her “scandalous…avaricious…presumptuous” behavior, writing to her, “Further, we are inflicted by your indelicacy in demanding a voice and vote in our Assembly there on our behalf. This mortification might well be brought upon us by the spouse of a fishmonger; that one of your high birth should so publicly forget her position gives us embarrassment and great vexation of spirit.” Calvert then named his friend William Stone as his family’s new attorney and governor of the colony.

Stone recognized the value of Brent’s work to preserve the colony and wrote to Lord Baltimore, “It was better for the colony’s safety at that time, in her [Margaret Brent’s] hands, than in any man’s else in the whole Province after your brother’s death.” Nevertheless, offended at Calvert’s refusal to recognize her contribution to the survival of the colony, Brent moved to Virginia in 1651, where she bought more large land holdings. She settled in Westmoreland County, a woman of great wealth and influence in her community, and died there in 1671.

Expectations Regarding Women’s Roles
Margaret Brent’s story is unusual, but not only because she was a courageous, resourceful immigrant who became a powerful business woman and landowner. Any woman who chose to emigrate to the raw Maryland settlement in the 1630s would have required a sense of adventure, strength, courage, and adaptability. What made Brent’s story exceptionally rare was that she achieved wealth, leadership, and influence in her own name as a single woman and not as an accessory of her husband or brothers.

When thinking about women’s lives in early America, it is important to remember that women were not a single homogeneous group. Slavery work was often as physically demanding as that expected of men. The vast majority of married women of European descent spent most of their days caring for children, cooking, making and mending clothing, and other domestic tasks. In addition, they were co-laborers on the family farms that made up 90% of the economy of early America. White women in the North were more likely than those in other areas to be literate and informed about politics, though it was socially unacceptable in most places for women to attend public meetings or speak in public events. The early 1800s saw the rise of the ideal of Republican Motherhood. This ideal, based on the supposed moral superiority of women over men and the greater amount of time that small children spent with their mothers, was that it was the special responsibility of mothers to raise children who would grow up to be good citizens of a republic. Because of that responsibility, education gradually became available to females, especially those who were middle- or upper-class whites.

Yet, free married women had the legal status of children. English legal theorist, William Blackstone, explained the doctrine of coverture in his Commentaries on the Laws of England (1765-1769): “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.” In other words, when a man married a woman, she was entirely under his authority. His legal, social, and economic status covered or concealed hers. She no longer had her own identity—her property and protection were his responsibility. While Quakers in Pennsylvania gave women some additional legal rights, women were mostly excluded from public life. Women were seen as weaker and more likely to be ruled by their emotions, and so it was considered unwise to give
them power to make political decisions, and it was inappropriate for women to speak in public. Families were seen as “little commonwealths” in which the man, as head of the family, represented their needs in the community as a whole. Wives would influence their husbands, but women’s duties and participation in the community were domestic. The idea that a wife would even think about politics for herself was ludicrous and a wife’s vote would simply echo the opinion of her husband. And yet, the status of a woman in most colonies changed radically if she became a widow. After her husband’s death, she could execute his will, own property, and make legal decisions for her children. But they still were not permitted to participate in political matters other than those related to schools.

A similar rationale was behind denying the vote to men without property. Specifically, poor men were vulnerable to being manipulated by the rich. John Adams wrote in a 1776 letter that men who have no property talk and vote “as they are directed by some Man of Property, who has attached their mind to his interest.”

And yet, women did have opinions and influence in public life despite their many legal restrictions. As British policies moved away from the benign neglect of the early period and interfered with the autonomy of the colonies by the 1760s, some women joined in the protests of British policies. Just as they had contributed to
the survival and wealth of the establishment of the colonies, they participated in the movement toward separation from England and the American Revolution.

Hannah Griffitts (1727-1817)

Poet Hannah Griffitts was one of these women. As a Quaker she did not support violent revolution, but she encouraged her fellow citizens to boycott British goods while working for reconciliation. In a 1768 poem called “The Female Patriots,” Griffitts wrote:

“Let the Daughters of Liberty nobly arise
And tho’ we’ve no Voice but a negative here
The use of the Taxables, let us forbear….
Rather than Freedom, we’ll part with our Tea….”

Griffitts took part in the conversation that moved America toward independence, attempting to exert a moderating influence. She called Common Sense author Thomas Paine a “snake beneath the Grass,” accusing him of inflaming the public and drowning out more reasoned dialogue.

Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814)

Mercy Otis Warren was a wealthy, politically-connected writer who also influenced the colonies toward independence. In the years leading up to the Declaration of Independence, Warren criticized the colonial governor of Massachusetts and other British leaders in dramas including *Defeat* (1773) and *The Group* (1775). After independence was won, Warren continued to be involved in politics. As an Anti-Federalist, she opposed the ratification of the Constitution. Later, Warren became the first American woman to publish a non-fiction book, a history of the American Revolution: *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution* (1805).

Phillis Wheatley (c. 1753-1784)

A decade before Griffitts was writing, an eight-year-old girl was kidnapped in West Africa and brought to Boston on a slave ship. She was purchased by John Wheatley, and, as was custom, took her master’s name, becoming Phillis Wheatley. At a time when enslaved people had no access to formal learning, Wheatley’s master and his wife made the unusual decision to educate her. She learned theology, literature, Latin, Greek, ancient history, and other subjects. She went on to become an accomplished poet, publishing her first poem when she was only 13. Her 1773 volume *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* was the first book published by a slave. Wheatley’s master freed her soon after this book was published. As the nation approached independence, Wheatley supported the Patriot
Abigail Adams (1744-1818)

Abigail Adams is best known as First Lady, the wife of the second president, John Adams. With a keen business sense and formidable intellect, she ran the family’s household (as was customary for wives when their husbands were away). She managed their farm and raised their children—including future President John Quincy Adams—mostly on her own while her husband traveled extensively.

Like her friend and correspondent Mercy Warren, Adams was determined to have a voice in the new republic. She wrote many letters to her husband John, including one in which she pointed out the hypocrisy and evil of slavery:

“I have sometimes been ready to think that the passion for Liberty cannot be equally Strong in the Breasts of those who have been accustomed to deprive their fellow Creatures of theirs. Of this I am certain that it [slavery] is not founded upon that generous and christian principal of doing to others as we would that others should do unto us.” (1776)

She also wrote to him about women’s voice in 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.” (1776)

Her tone was lighthearted, but her letter is seen today as an early stride on the journey toward women’s equality and suffrage.

Suffrage at the Founding

At the time of independence, all the colonies but one limited suffrage to white, Protestant, land-owning men. The Founding generation believed that men represented the entire family. Only landowners could vote because landowners were the most invested in the community. Those who owned land worked for themselves—which means their vote was less likely to be influenced by a wealthier man. And since the general belief was that the woman’s political identity was covered by her husband’s, it wasn’t necessary—nor, the argument went, did it make sense—for women to vote.

As Abigail Adams demonstrated in her 1776 correspondence with her husband, not everyone agreed with these social and political restrictions. Further, Abigail Adams, like other influential writers of the time, addressed the superficial education opportunities for girls. Judith Sargent Murray wrote of the injustice in assumptions about education for boys and girls in 1779 (published 1790)

“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.”
Founder Benjamin Rush, recognizing the power that women exercised in the home, wrote in 1787,

“The equal share that every citizen has in the liberty, and the equal share he may have in the government of our country, make it necessary that our ladies should be qualified to a certain degree by a peculiar and suitable education, to concur in instructing their sons in the principles of liberty and government.”

Under the new Constitution in 1789, states maintained their power to set voting qualifications, and most kept property requirements in place. Because land was relatively inexpensive, historians estimate that 75% of white men were eligible to vote. This amounted, however, to less than 20% of the total population.

The outlier for this period, the only place in the world where some women could vote, was New Jersey. That colony’s constitution (1776) read: “all inhabitants of this colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds...and have resided in the county, in which they claim a vote for twelve months...shall be entitled to vote.” And some New Jersey women did vote. However, the practice was short-lived: the state amended its constitution in 1807, limiting suffrage to men. Historians note that the change was not motivated by the desire to deny women equality, but by party politics: Federalists pushed to disenfranchise women because females tended to vote Democratic-Republican.

Equality and Suffrage

However, suffrage itself soon became the subject of a growing conversation regarding the position of women in a free society. In *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (1792), British philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft argued that a society that kept women “from a participation of the natural rights of mankind” was immoral, and she expressed the connection between voting and those natural rights. Wollstonecraft’s work was influential beyond England and inspired many other advocates for women’s equality.

Judith Sargent Murray was influenced by Wollstonecraft’s work, and was among the first to argue that men and women were equal in every way.

In her essay “On the Equality of the Sexes” in 1790 she argued that men and women were naturally equal, but women were disadvantaged by their need to focus their energies on domestic tasks, which Murray viewed as less creative and fulfilling.

The political, social, and economic status of women in society affected their access to suffrage. Since a married woman was considered to be represented by her husband, she did not need to vote. Voting was limited to those men who had a financial stake in a community, and a married woman could not own property. But despite these restrictions, it is clear that women neither viewed nor conducted themselves as non-entities. They exercised their responsibilities of citizenship by raising future citizens of a republic and through their powers of persuasion—private and public.
REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS

1. The ideal of Republican Motherhood reveals a cultural awareness of the difference between what it means to be a citizen in a republic versus a subject in a monarchy. Describe those differences.

2. What was the legal doctrine of coverture?

3. Summarize the ways each of the women described in this essay participated in public life. Other than overlapping life timelines, what, if anything, did they have in common?

4. How free were women in this social system?

5. How did each woman’s legal status affect her ability to participate in public life? Her ability to impact society?

6. Choose one of Abigail Adams’s letters quoted in this essay and write a brief reflection explaining how it touches on principles of liberty, equality, and/or republican government.

7. Use the Principles and Virtues Glossary as needed to give examples of ways in which people involved in the debate over women’s equality demonstrated any three of the constitutional principles and any three of the civic virtues listed below.

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

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<th>Principle</th>
<th>Example &amp; Explanation</th>
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<tr>
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**A Pathway for Change**
Equality and Voting Amendments

Directions: List one or more of the constitutional principles most closely associated with each constitutional amendment paraphrased below. The first one is done as an example.

Women in early America had no right to vote, and faced additional legal restrictions as well. Others who faced obstacles to equal participation in their communities included enslaved individuals and white men who owned insufficient property. Slaves were considered property and denied all their rights. Depending on specific laws within a given colony/state, religious minorities were also excluded from voting or holding office. Some of the amendments to the United States Constitution since those days help trace steps toward equal opportunity to pursue life, liberty, and happiness. People seeking the ideals of equality and justice have used their natural rights to speak, write, and assemble, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, to pursue laws and constitutional amendments expanding equality and voting.

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Summarize the changes over time through constitutional amendments related to equality and voting.

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
Answer Key

Background Essay: Life in Early America (1600-1800)

1. Students should recognize that dependency means less freedom. In a monarchy, subjects have all their rights and privileges only at the pleasure of the King. In contrast, in a republic, rights are acknowledged as pre-existing, and government has only those powers granted it by the people. Kings rule over subjects, whereas citizenship in a republic requires the capacity of self-government without a master: virtue, participation in civil discourse, and exercise of constitutional rights for the common good.

2. The doctrine that held that a married woman was “covered” by her husband and had no legal status as an independent person.

3. Griffitts wrote poetry and dialogued publically arguing against the war for independence; Wheatley wrote patriotic poems and met with George Washington at his invitation; Mercy Otis Warren wrote plays and a history, and corresponded with other prominent citizens; Adams corresponded with her husband and other leading citizens. All four women had access to education, all were politically engaged, all provide examples of civil discourse necessary for self-government; accept other reasoned answers.

4. Accept reasoned answers. Students should recognize that these four women were less free than their male counterparts, but were not all similarly free. As a Quaker, Griffitts had more legal rights than many women in other colonies; Wheatley was enslaved for much of her life; all four had a level of freedom that came with access to education.

5. Accept reasoned answers.

6. Accept reasoned answers.

7. Accept reasoned answers.

Handout B: Equality and Voting Amendments

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**Summary statement:** Accept reasoned responses. Using constitutionally protected rights such as those listed in the First Amendment, individuals and groups appealed to the constitutional principles of equality and justice, in a slow process, to align the U.S. Constitution with our highest principles. You might introduce students to this 1850s statement from Theodore Parker: “I do not pretend to understand the moral universe; the arc is a long one, my eye reaches but little ways; I cannot calculate the curve and complete the figure by the experience of sight; I can divine it by conscience. And from what I see I am sure it bends towards justice.” Martin Luther King, Jr. paraphrased the statement a century later in the civil rights struggle: “The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.”
Warm-Up Sources


Amending the Constitution

ARTICLE V CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

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

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

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

5. Draw a diagram that illustrates the amendment process.
Amending the Constitution
LESSON 1 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

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

**REFLECTION QUESTIONS**

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

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

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

LESSON 2 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

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

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

LESSON 4 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

Article V

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

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

LESSON 5 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

**Article V**

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

**REFLECTION QUESTIONS**

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

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

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

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

LESSON 6 REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

Article V

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

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

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

1. Which amendment do you think did the most to fundamentally change the Constitution? Explain your reasoning.
2. Was the change for the better, or for the worse?
Amending the Constitution

QUESTIONS FOR ALL LESSONS

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

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

Article V Critical Thinking Questions

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

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

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

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

5. Draw a diagram that illustrates the amendment process.

Lesson 1 Critical Thinking Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lesson 3 Critical Thinking Questions

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

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

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

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

Lesson 4 Critical Thinking Questions

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

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

1. Would the U.S. Constitution’s Article V amendment process seem like the best way forward?
2. What pros and cons would you identify for using the amendment process? For example, to what extent would the amendment process create stability for your movement?
3. Assuming you thought it was wise to seek a constitutional amendment securing votes for women, which of the amendment processes outlined in Article V would you prefer, and why?

Lesson 6 Critical Thinking Questions

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

1. Which amendment do you think did the most to fundamentally change the Constitution? Explain your reasoning.
2. Was the change for the better, or for the worse?

Answer Key

Article V Critical Thinking Questions

1. Congress can propose amendments to the Constitution if two-thirds of both houses agree.
2. Congress can be forced to call a convention to propose amendments to the Constitution if two-thirds of the states officially ask them to.
3. They are equally valid.
4. Three-quarters of the states.

Lessons 1-6 Reflection Questions

Accept reasoned answers for all.
**Timeline and Quotes**

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

### LESSONS 1 & 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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| **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>| <strong>1768</strong> – Hannah Griffitts published “The Female Patriots.” | |
| <strong>1772</strong> – Samuel Adams published “The Rights of the Colonists,” which was part of the <em>Boston Pamphlet</em>, also called <em>The Report of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston</em>. | |
| <strong>1773</strong> – Mercy Otis Warren began publishing dramas advocating American independence. | |
| <strong>1773</strong> – Phyllis Wheatley was the first enslaved person to publish a book, <em>Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral</em>. | |</p>
<table>
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<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>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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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1791</strong> – U.S. Bill of Rights was ratified.</td>
<td>“Are [women] deficient in reason? We can only reason from what we know, and if opportunity of acquiring knowledge hath been denied us, the inferiority of our sex cannot fairly be deduced from thence ... I would calmly ask, is it reasonable, that a candidate for immortality, for the joys of heaven, an intelligent being, who is to spend an eternity in contemplating the works of Deity, should at present be so degraded, as to be allowed no other ideas, than those suggested by the mechanism of a pudding, or the sewing [of] the seams of a garment?”</td>
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<td><strong>1792</strong> – Mary Wollstonecraft published <em>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.</em></td>
<td>– <strong>JUDITH SARGENT MURRAY, 1790</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1807</strong> – New Jersey revoked the right of women to vote.</td>
<td>“I do not wish [women] to have power over men; but over themselves.”  \</td>
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<td><strong>1807</strong> – United States Congress banned the international slave trade.</td>
<td>– <strong>MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, 1792</strong></td>
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<td>“To me it is perfectly clear that whatsoever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do.”  \</td>
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<td>– <strong>SARAH GRIMKÉ 1838</strong></td>
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## Lesson 3

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<tr>
<th>Lesson 3 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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| **1836** – Angelina Grimké wrote “An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South.” | “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 |
| **1840**—Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were refused admittance at World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. | “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 |
| **1848** – Seneca Falls Convention was held in New York. | “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 |
| **1849** – Amelia Bloomer published the first female-run newspaper, *The Lily*. | “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 |
| **1851** – Anthony met Stanton at a Syracuse, New York anti-slavery convention. | “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 |
| **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. |
| **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. | **1861** – U.S. Civil War began. |
# LESSON 4

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

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

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Alice Paul proposed an equal rights amendment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>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>
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<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Republican Party platform included support for an equal rights amendment.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1960s-1970s</strong></td>
<td>Second Wave Feminism</td>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>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.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Twenty-third Amendment provided for the appointment of presidential electors for citizens of Washington, D.C.</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Kennedy convened the Commission on the Status of Women; their report called for a number of reforms.</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Congress passed the Equal Pay Act.</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Betty Friedan published <em>The Feminine Mystique</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Congress passed a Civil Rights Act.</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Twenty-fourth Amendment prohibited the poll tax as a requirement for voting for federal office-holders.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Congress passed a Voting Rights Act.</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>President Lyndon Johnson expanded on Kennedy’s 1961 affirmative action order to include women.</td>
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<tr>
<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.” – TASK OF THE PRESIDENT’S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<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.” – BETTY FRIEDAN, 1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesson 6 Events</td>
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</table>
| **1968** – Shirley Chisholm won her bid to represent her district of New York  | “‘We, the people.’ It’s a very eloquent beginning. But when [the Constitution] was completed on |\
| of New York in the United States Congress, becoming the first African          | the seventeenth of September in 1787, I was not included in that ‘We, the people.’ I felt  |\
| American Congresswoman. She served in that position for seven terms, leaving   | somehow for many years that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out |\
| Washington, D.C. in 1983 to teach at the all-women Mount Holyoke College.     | by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court             |\
| **1971** – Women accounted for three percent of people elected to U.S.         | decision, I have finally been included in ‘We, the people.’”                                 |\
| Congress, seven percent of statewide elective offices, and 0 in state         | -BARBARA JORDAN, 1974                                                                         |\
| legislatures.                                                               |                                                                                                 |\
| **1971** – Twenty-sixth Amendment protected the right of people ages 18 and    | “I’d like them to say that Shirley Chisholm had guts. That’s how I’d like to be            |\
| older to vote.                                                               | remembered.”                                                                                    |\
| **1972** – Congress approved Equal Rights Amendment, which was ratified by    |                                                                                                 |\
| only 35 states, rather than the required 38 states.                           |                                                                                                 |\
| **1972** – Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, banning sex  |                                                                                                 |\
| discrimination in higher education.                                          |                                                                                                 |\
| **1973** – Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that states must not restrict |                                                                                                 |\
| access to abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy.                   |                                                                                                 |\
| **1974** – 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.                             |                                                                                                 |\
| **1980** – For the first time, women turned out to vote in a presidential     |                                                                                                 |\
| election at a higher rate than that of men.                                 |                                                                                                 |\
| **1981** – Women began earning more bachelor’s degrees than men.              |                                                                                                 |\
| **1990s** – Third Wave Feminism                                              |                                                                                                 |
### Lesson 6 Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>A Democrat, became the first female presidential nominee of a major party.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Women in Congress</td>
<td>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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<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>Women in Congress</td>
<td>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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</tbody>
</table>
**Timeline Cards**

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

**LESSONS 1 & 2**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1781 – The Articles of Confederation was adopted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1848 – Seneca Falls Convention was held in New York.

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

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

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

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

1861 – U.S. Civil War began.
LESSON 4

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

1865 – U.S. Civil War ended.

1865 – Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery.

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

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

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

1870 – Utah territory granted suffrage to women.

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

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

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

**1883** – Washington territory granted suffrage to women.
LESSON 5

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

1890 – Wyoming was admitted to the Union.

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

1900 – Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.

1902 – Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.

1906 – Susan B. Anthony died.
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.
**LESSON 5 (CONTINUED)**

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

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

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

1963 – Congress passed the Equal Pay Act.

1963 – Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique.*
**1964** – Congress passed a Civil Rights Act.

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

**1965** – Congress passed a Voting Rights Act.

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

**1968** – Shirley Chisholm won her bid to represent her district of New York in the United States Congress, becoming the first African American Congresswoman.
1971 – Women accounted for three percent of people elected to U.S. Congress, seven percent of statewide elective offices, and 0 in state legislatures.

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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 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>
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<th>Examples/Explanation</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Checks and balances</td>
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