The Movement Unites (1890-1920)

OVERVIEW
In this lesson, students will examine the impact of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and assess the connection between suffrage, citizenship, and public life. Students will also examine how people applied or failed to apply constitutional principles and civic virtues in the women’s suffrage movement.

OBJECTIVES
- Students will understand how women won suffrage with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.
- Students will continue to assess the connection between suffrage and citizenship, including individual efficacy in politics and public life.
- Students will recognize ways in which people applied or failed to apply constitutional principles and civic virtues in the women’s suffrage movement.

MATERIALS
- Background Essay: The Movement Unites (1890-1920)
- Handout A: Decision Time
- Handout B: Sorting Arguments
- Handout C: What’s the Plan?
- Handout D: Harry T. Burn Newspaper Interview
- Handout E: Suffrage by State
- Handout F: Carrie Chapman Catt Speech Excerpt
- Appendix A: Amending the Constitution
- Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
- Appendix C: Timeline Cards
- Appendix G: A Pathway for Change
- Answer Key
VOCABULARY

- Progressive Movement
- Labor unions
- Triangle Shirtwaist Factory
- Temperance
- Municipal Housekeeping
- Prohibition
- Bull Moose Party
- National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
- National American Woman’s Suffrage Association
- National Woman’s Party
- Winning Plan
- Nineteenth Amendment

STANDARDS

- National Standards for U.S. History: Era 7 1890 – 1930
  - Standard 1: How Progressives addressed problems of industrial capitalism, urbanization and political corruption

- 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

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.
–GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1796

There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers.
–SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1897

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
Lesson Plan

Background/Homework » 15-30 min.

A. If students have not already done so, have them read Appendix A: Amending the Constitution and answer the reflection questions about the process the Constitution sets forth for amendments.

B. Still using Appendix A as a resource, have students write a brief reflection in response to this 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 constitutional amendment process of Article V 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 objectives?

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 to implement, and why?

C. Have students read Background Essay: The Movement Unites and answer the questions.

Warm-up » 10 minutes

Note: This warm-up activity, as well as Handout A: Decision Time and Handout C: What’s the Plan, assume some general background knowledge related to the time period of World War I. An alternate warm-up activity is to have the class discuss your choice of the Reflection and Analysis Questions at the end of Background Essay: The Movement Unites (1860-1920).

A. Show the two images located within the Background Essay of the Silent Sentinels and the Kaiser Wilson sign and ask students to respond to this prompt:

The comparison of the president to the German Kaiser was justified.

B. Have students state whether they agree or disagree and why. They can write this or just talk with a person near them, then have a quick class discussion.

C. If desired, you could expand this activity to make it more interactive and provide more practice in developing an argument. Direct students who agree to stand on one side of the room and those who disagree to stand on the other, with undecided students standing in the middle until each side shares their reasoning. Then the undecided students would need to pick a side.
Activity 1 » 20 minutes
A. Give each student a copy of Handout A: Decision Time, assign each student a 1918 identity from those listed on the handout, and divide the class into four groups: Italian American, Younger Brother, Parade Spectator, and Newspaper Reader. Within each identity group, each student should use the information in their background essays and/or other resources to compose short speech in response to the prompt: It is 1918. From the perspective of your assigned identity, do you favor or oppose women gaining the nation-wide right to vote? The identities, the prompt, and additional directions are available on Handout A: Decision Time.

B. Have students take a few minutes in silence to individually jot down points that each one wants to make in the speech. Then allow students to collaborate in composing their drafts and give each other feedback. Depending on your classroom needs, you might instruct students to then write individual speeches, or to create a single speech for the group.

C. Next, have students jigsaw into new groups of four made up of students representing each of the four different identities. Give them a few minutes in this new grouping to share their drafts and offer suggestions for improvement.

D. As students are working, circulate among the groups and identify the students with the strongest drafts for the next step.

E. Finally, call on one student of each identity to share their speeches. All speeches could be turned in for a grade.

Activity 2 » 25 minutes
A. Have students work in their groups to complete Handout B: Sorting Arguments. After a few moments go over the correct answers for the diagram and clarify any questions students might have.

B. Next, distribute Handout C: What’s the Plan? Have students check which course of action they personally think would have been wisest. Take a quick count of the number of students who prefer each course of action and record those numbers for later comparison.

C. Now, conduct a whole class discussion regarding which course of action might have been the preference of each of the 1918 Americans listed on Handout A: Decision Time.

D. Before concluding the conversation, make sure students understand that under Catt’s leadership, the women’s suffrage movement had an amendment to the Constitution as its goal, but worked at both the state and federal levels toward that end.
Activity 3 » 10 minutes

Use Handout D: Harry T. Burn to tell the story of 24-year-old Tennessee legislator Harry Burn through a “news interview.” Have one student acting as the newspaper reporter present the introduction and another acting as Harry T. Burn, dramatically read aloud his statements regarding his vote to ratify the 19th Amendment.

Note: Burn’s statement is used by permission from www.TeachTNHistory.org, an education program of East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville. The primary source documents themselves, the journal excerpt and the Febb E. Burn letter, are found in the holdings of the Tennessee Library and Archives in Nashville. See http://www.teachtnhistory.org/file/Harry_T_Burn.pdf.

Wrap-up » 15 minutes

A. Conduct a whole-class discussion of the various factors that led to the unification of the women’s suffrage movement and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Challenge students in their groups of four to decide what they believe was the most significant historical event leading to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, and write a summary statement explaining their viewpoint.

B. To help students develop geographic understanding, have students get their colored pencils and go over the information on Handout E: Suffrage by State. Have students use Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes to fill in the map as instructed. (If students have completed lesson four, this would be a good time to call on a few to recall what they learned about suffrage being achieved by women in western states.) Students can complete the shading in of the map at home, discussing the information with their parents.

C. Have students read the document on Handout F: Carrie Chapman Catt Speech Excerpt and write a brief reflection in response to the prompt.

D. Have students discuss where the women’s movement was on the Appendix G: Pathway for Change graphic at the start and end of this lesson. Reflect on what phases took longest, where suffragists encountered the staunchest opposition, etc.

Extension Activities

A. Using a world map, push-pins, and different colors of yarn, have students show the geographic movements and convergences of major figures over time in the journey towards women’s suffrage. Each major figure would be assigned a different color yarn and that yarn strung between push-pins at key locations in order to show, for example, Alice Paul’s travels (from the US to England and back), participation in parades and picketing of the White House (Washington D.C.) and time spent in jail (D.C. jail and in Occoquan, Virginia). Other major figures could include Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others. When, where, and why do their journeys converge?
B. Using sources such as Library of Congress (https://www.loc.gov/rr/news/topics/alicePaul.html), browse articles related to the Silent Sentinels, Washington D.C. Jail, Occoquan Workhouse, and the treatment of the protesting suffragists to answer one or more of these questions:

a. How important was the mistreatment and suffering of suffragist demonstrators in changing public opinion and eventual success of the suffragist movement?

b. What must one risk in order to accomplish social change?

c. Using the struggle for women's suffrage as a pattern, what steps would you recommend to achieve change in a constitutional society?

FOR FURTHER READING

Abbot, Lyman “Why Women Do Not Wish the Suffrage,” The Atlantic, September (1903)

Addams, Jane “The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women,” NAWSA Convention (1900)

Addams, Jane “If Men Were Seeking the Franchise” (1913)

Addams, Jane “Women’s Memories—Challenging the War” (1916)


Howe, Marie Jenney “An Anti-Suffrage Monologue” (1913)

Kelley, Florence “Working Women’s Need of the Ballot,” NAWSA Convention, (1898)

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady “Solitude of Self” (1882)

Stetson, Charlotte Perkins [Later Gilman], “The Ballot is an Improver of Motherhood”, NAWSA Convention (1896)
The Movement Unites (1890-1920)

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
1. What are the advantages of achieving a constitutional amendment protecting women’s right to vote, rather than seeking to directly persuade a sufficient number of voters to support their mission?
2. Are there limits to the will of the majority in a democracy?
3. Are there limits to the will of the majority in a republic?
4. Is the U.S. a republic or a democracy?

Introduction
The movement for women’s suffrage had made great strides by the end of the nineteenth century. Rooted in the ideas of the Declaration of Independence and given strength through the determined and unrelenting efforts of its supporters, the movement was on the verge of victory. The final steps included both moderate and conciliatory actions led by Carrie Chapman Catt and courageous and controversial actions led by Alice Paul. Paul, a thorn in the side of the more conservative members of the movement and of President Woodrow Wilson, exercised constitutionally protected rights to challenge injustice through civil disobedience. Her confrontational tactics alienated some but also helped galvanize the movement to finally win passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and secure the right to vote for American women.

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of a time of healing and strengthening of the women’s suffrage movement: the two branches came back together. The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) had been focused on achieving a constitutional amendment, while the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) had worked on persuading the states to give women the vote in their state constitutions. These two groups reunited and formed the National American Woman’s Suffrage Association, or NAWSA, in 1890. Since the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had been ratified without addressing women’s suffrage, the stage was set for their combined energies and talents to finally persuade the states and the nation that denying women the vote was incompatible with the Founding principle of equality.

Women in Public Life: Labor Reform
While the NAWSA lobbied state and federal lawmakers, the suffrage movement gained
strength as larger numbers of women turned to work outside the home to support themselves and their families. By 1900, over 3 million American women were working for wages. Very often, these women worked in poor and hazardous conditions. Indeed, most workers—adults and children alike—labored seven days a week for long hours in conditions that would shock most people today. In one tragic incident, 146 people, almost all of them young immigrant women, were killed when the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory went up in flames in 1911. Many were unable to escape because the doors had been locked to prevent workers from taking extra breaks or stealing. Many were convinced that women needed a more direct influence on laws governing working conditions in factories and other workplaces.

Frances Perkins was a young sociology professor in 1911, visiting with friends when they heard fire engines and screams nearby. They rushed outside to see the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in flames. Perkins later explained:

“We could see this building from Washington Square and the people had just begun to jump [from the upper floors] when we got there. They had been holding until that time, standing in the windowsills, being crowded by others behind them, the fire pressing closer and closer, the smoke closer and closer. [As firefighters struggled to deploy a net to catch them] finally they couldn’t wait any longer. They began to jump. The window was too crowded and they would jump and they hit the sidewalk...Everybody who jumped was killed.” —Frances Perkins, Lecture at Cornell University, September 30, 1964.

Perkins had already been a settlement house worker and a reformer lobbying for laws to improve working conditions. She described the Triangle Factory fire as a pivotal moment in her life, prompting her to devote her career to such reforms as an end to child labor, a minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and laws prohibiting unsafe work places. President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 would appoint Perkins Secretary of Labor,
making her the first female cabinet member. In Roosevelt’s administration, she went on to help draft the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Women sought to participate in labor unions in response to dehumanizing working conditions. The Triangle Factory fire helped grow the power of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU), founded in 1900. The ILGWU, one of the first labor unions with mostly female members, negotiated for more humane working conditions and better contracts from factory owners. It and other labor unions lobbied state and federal government for stronger safety regulations. Suffragist Mary Ware Dennett said about the Triangle Factory fire, “It is enough to silence forever [the claim that] working women can safely trust their welfare to their ‘natural protectors.’… to the sort of protection, care, and chivalry that is indicated by the men who allow 700 women to sit back to back, wedged in such close rows between machines that quick exit is an impossibility; a ten-story building with no outside fire escapes… We claim in no uncertain voice that the time has come when women should have the one efficient tool with which to make for themselves decent and safe working conditions—the ballot.” A widespread suffragist slogan was, “A vote is a fire escape.”

**Women in Public Life: Temperance**

Women also continued to play a significant role in public life through participation in and support of such social reforms as settlement houses to help poor immigrant families, labor reform, and the temperance movement. This “Municipal Housekeeping”, an allusion to a traditional role in the home, became a popular phrase for this work in “cleaning up” towns in cities.

The efforts of Frances Willard and many others helped lead thirty-eight states to enact state-wide prohibition laws by 1915. Women also worked to change education practices and curriculum: by the early twentieth century, every state required its public schools to provide instruction on temperance. And of course, the crowning achievement of the temperance movement was nation-wide prohibition, which would go on to be enacted by constitutional amendment in 1918. The work of women involved in such social reforms over the half-century since the Seneca Falls Convention provided rich experience in mobilizing, organizing, and creation of social institutions intended to align American society with principles such as equality and inalienable rights. The suffragists capitalized on the experience and the networks created through these efforts in order to galvanize women around suffrage.

**Suffrage Struggling**

Amid other progressive reforms of the early twentieth century were amendments to the Constitution, including income tax (1913), direct election of senators (1913), and prohibition (1919). The women’s suffrage movement, however, struggled to gain support for a constitutional amendment. Although the 1912 Progressive, or “Bull Moose” Party made women’s suffrage part of their platform, their candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, was defeated.

The United States Congress was not eager to give women the vote. In 1911, California Senator J. B. Sanford, Chairman of the Democratic Caucus, argued:

“Suffrage is not a right. It is a privilege that may or may not be granted. Politics is no place for woman [and] consequently the privilege should not be granted to her… The mothers of this country can shape the destinies of the nation by keeping in their
places and attending to those duties that God Almighty intended for them. The kindly, gentle influence of the mother in the home and the dignified influence of the teacher in the school will far outweigh all the influence of all the mannish female politicians on earth.”

Other arguments against suffrage included that women were already represented in government by their husbands, that women could not be full citizens because they did not defend the nation in war, the assertion that divorce rates and crime had risen in states with women’s suffrage, and the claim that most women did not actually want the right to vote. It is difficult to know the percentage of women who opposed women’s suffrage.

While women formed national organizations advocating their right to vote as early as 1869, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was founded in 1911. Suffragist Alice Paul saw that it was time to step forward. Paul had been raised by Quaker parents and had attended women’s suffrage meetings with her mother since she was a little girl. After earning her bachelor’s and master’s degrees from New York School of Philanthropy (now Columbia University), she went to England to earn her Ph.D. There she observed the more confrontational (but generally non-violent) tactics of British suffragists, including picketing and hunger strikes. Paul began to take a stronger leadership role in NAWSA, and decided to make her move around the time of Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration.

Banking on the national attention that would be focused on Wilson's inauguration, Paul convinced NAWSA to hold a procession in Washington, D.C. the day before Wilson's inauguration. Paul and her fellow suffragists would, as the program described, “march in a spirit of protest against the present political organization of society, from which women are excluded.” On March 3, 1913, more than eight thousand marchers from all over the United States and the world joined the procession in support of women's suffrage. The procession included floats, marching bands, and groups mounted on horses. In keeping with common segregation practice of the day, African Americans including Ida B. Wells-Barnett were expected to walk in the back of the parade. Mrs. Barnett bristled at the segregation, refused to comply, and unobtrusively joined the parade flanked by white women. The marchers encountered hostile crowds who tried to disrupt and block their way. Aggressive spectators shouted insults, shoved and tripped the marchers. Violent scuffles occurred, with little action by the police to restore order. More than 100 marchers were treated for injuries. Congress later investigated the event and concluded that the procession route had not been adequately secured.

Four days later Paul and others met with President Wilson, who told them it was not the right time for a constitutional amendment. Rather than feeling dissuaded, Paul increased her efforts. She founded a new group, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. This group distributed pamphlets and held peaceful protests, lobbying Congress to propose a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage. Paul's tactics of picketing and hunger strikes might seem tame in modern times, but a century ago, they were considered radical and unseemly behavior for women. In 1914 Paul was losing patience with the ability of NAWSA to effect change. She wrote in a letter, “It is better, as far as getting the vote is concerned I believe, to have a small, united group than an immense debating society.” In 1916 Paul officially split from NAWSA and formed a new organization, the National Woman's Party, or NWP.

Also in 1916, Carrie Chapman Catt became president of NAWSA. Though she was not always successful, Catt worked hard to bring the movement together. She proposed working at both the state and national levels. Her plan called for an amendment to the Constitution as its ultimate goal, but it also encouraged the development of state and local initiatives. If a state offered equal voting rights, the women in that state should campaign for the federal amendment. If the state appeared open to the idea of voting rights, they would organize at the state level. All the groups working for ratification needed to work together, even if they did not see eye to eye on tactics.

When the United States entered World War I, Paul's tactics fell under even greater scrutiny. Would women's suffragists support the president and the country, or would they hinder the war effort? Catt decided to curb NAWSA's petitions and instead focus on the war effort. She hoped this decision would earn favor by turning NAWSA into a symbol of patriotism and love of country.

Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, on the other hand, did not pause their efforts because the country was at war. In fact, they claimed that the war shined a light on Wilson's hypocrisy: The U.S. was fighting what Wilson called a war to make the world “safe for democracy,” when half the U.S. population did not have the right to vote. In 1917, the National
Woman’s Party held constant, silent vigil in front of the White House, protesting throughout the day, regardless of the weather. The peaceful sentinels broke no laws. However, their continued picketing drew the criticism that they were disloyal by distracting the nation during wartime. Mobs attacked them, knocked them to the ground, and shredded their banners while the police stood by, refusing to intervene.

In October of 1917, police announced that protesters in front of the White House would be arrested. Though Paul and her companions were peacefully exercising their First Amendment rights, they were arrested and jailed on charges of blocking traffic, and subjected to brutal treatment while in the Washington, D.C. Jail and in the Occoquan Workhouse. The suffragists were housed in freezing rooms, forced to wear filthy, scratchy prison uniforms, and provided food that was often spoiled or filled with worms. The workhouse was unsanitary, and prisoners were forced to share cells, bedding, and dishes with people who had contagious diseases. As protesters were arrested, new women stepped up to picket in their places until they too were arrested. Over time, the jail sentences grew longer and physical mistreatment escalated to beatings and other forms of torture.

Paul, who was jailed for seven months and fed only bread and water, grew so weak that she was sent to the prison hospital. To protest the treatment used against the suffragists, she began a hunger strike and then was force-fed through the nasogastric method. With the prisoner restrained, a tube was forced through the nostril, down the back of the throat, and into the stomach. Then liquid food, such as raw eggs mixed with milk, was funneled into the tube. The grotesque procedure often resulted in the prisoner vomiting violently.

Public opinion had initially been against the NWP for impeding the war effort, but sympathy for Paul increased when reports surfaced regarding the ruthless treatment that she and other suffragists suffered.
Victory at Hand

With the change in public opinion and the end of the war (World War I ended when Germany surrendered on November 11, 1918) the suffragists were on the verge of victory. World War I increased the momentum of the suffrage movement as more women moved into the workforce to take the place of men who had gone off to fight the war. The contributions that women made to the war on the home front may have helped NAWSA when it resumed lobbying. The Progressive Movement’s call for the people to have a more direct voice in government also gave weight to the idea that women should vote. The amendment prohibiting the national government and state governments from denying the vote based on sex passed in both houses in June, 1919. President Wilson, whose attitude toward Alice Paul was hostile, respected and admired Carrie Chapman Catt. He had announced his support of the amendment in 1918. He said, “We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of right?” It would then be up to the states for ratification. On August 24, 1920, Tennessee became the critical thirty-sixth state to ratify. Two days later—seventy-two years after the start of the suffrage movement—the Nineteenth Amendment was adopted.

The Nineteenth Amendment

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

On August 18, 1920, Alice Paul unfurled a banner with 36 stars, signifying ratification by 36 states and the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment. (Library of Congress)
1. How did greater participation by women in the labor force strengthen the cause for women’s suffrage?

2. The Temperance Movement, led largely by women, succeeded in amending the Constitution (something that had been done only 18 times to that point in U.S. history) before most American women could cast a vote. How would you respond to someone who pointed to this fact as evidence that women did not need voting rights in order to achieve their political ends and civic objectives?

3. What was Alice Paul’s background? What are some ways her upbringing and young adulthood influenced her style as a reformer?

4. How did Carrie Chapman Catt work to unify the women’s suffrage movement?

5. How did the U.S. entry into World War I affect the women’s suffrage movement?

6. Using the **Principles and Virtues Glossary**, give examples of ways in which people involved in the debate over women’s suffrage demonstrated any three of the constitutional principles and any three of the civic virtues listed below. Complete the charts on the next page.

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

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**A Pathway for Change**

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Decision Time

Directions: Check your assigned identity below, then write a brief speech showing how you respond to the prompt. Be sure to mention whether/how what you have seen and experienced has affected your approach to the issue. You will practice and edit your speech in your small group.

It is 1918. From the perspective of your assigned identity, do you favor or oppose women gaining the nation-wide right to vote?

- **Italian American:** You are a 40-year old immigrant from Italy who has been in the U.S. for 20 years. You’re too busy making ends meet to be very concerned about women’s right to vote. Your 14-year-old daughter died in the 1911 Triangle Factory fire.

- **Younger Brother:** You are 17 years old, and you don’t give much thought to whether women should have the right to vote. Your older brother has just been drafted into World War I. You are proud of him, and you think right now the country should be focused on winning the war.

- **Suffrage Procession Spectator:** You are a supporter of women’s suffrage, and you were among the spectators at the 1913 suffrage procession, where marchers were jeered and attacked.

- **Newspaper Reader:** You previously thought things were just fine without women having the right to vote. But your conscience was shocked when you read in the newspaper about the brutal treatment Alice Paul and other suffragists endured in prison in 1917.
Sorting Arguments

**Directions:** Read the arguments and then place their number in the correct part of the Venn Diagram. (Note: some of these are direct quotes while others simply summarize a point of view.)

1. We would have to convince all the state legislatures to give women the vote if we work through the states, but a constitutional amendment will require only three-fourths of the states to approve.

2. A constitutional amendment will provide more security for the future.

3. African Americans got their right to vote protected in the U.S. Constitution, and so should women.

4. The Constitution leaves voting laws to the states, so the states are where we should focus our efforts.

5. The states are very different. Working at the state level will allow us to persuade each state in ways that resonate with them and their concerns.

6. “The time has come to cease talking to women and invade town meetings and caucuses.” - Carrie Chapman Catt

7. “Some of you hold to the doctrine of states’ rights as applying to women’s suffrage. Adherence to that theory will keep the United States far behind all other democratic nations upon this question.” - Carrie Chapman Catt

8. “Why not put the amendment through Congress and the legislatures? We shall all be better friends, we shall have a happier nation, we women will be free to support loyally the party of our choice, and we shall be far prouder of our history.” - Carrie Chapman Catt
What’s the Plan?

Directions: After hearing the speeches of the four hypothetical people listed on Handout A: Decision Time, and working in character according to your assigned identity, now it is decision time. In your group of four, discuss and decide together which of the options listed below are most likely to be chosen by each of the four 1918 Americans.

A. Work at the state level to convince states to give women the vote. After all, it is states who control voting rights. It will be way too hard to convince members of Congress to support a constitutional amendment when it’s not something the voters in their home states want.

B. Work at the national level to convince Congress to pass a constitutional amendment. We can focus our efforts in Washington. Every state will never agree to do it, and so a constitutional amendment is the only way we will secure women’s right to vote all through the nation.

C. Let’s face it, our current efforts in the states and Washington D.C. are not getting us anywhere. We need to ramp things up with some attention-getting protests. We must be willing to exercise unconventional and assertive methods, including nonviolent civil disobedience. The consequences we face in any such confrontations will be worth it for the attention they bring to our cause.

D. Do none of these. Voting is a privilege, not a right, and it does not need to be extended to women. American history is full of examples of women having a great influence in American government and in society without voting. Women know this, that’s why I believe most of them don’t even want the right to vote.
Harry T. Burn Newspaper Interview

**Directions:** One or more students assigned as Newspaper Reporters should provide the background shown here in the form of an interview, as one student assigned to portray Harry T. Burn provides the responses shown below.

**Newspaper reporter**

Harry Thomas Burn was a young Tennessee lawyer first elected to his state legislature at the age of 22. He was the youngest member of the assembly, and in his first term he took a courageous stand based on his conviction that women have an inherent right to vote. His quandary was that he represented a very conservative county where anti-suffrage sentiment dominated, and he hoped to win re-election to another term as representative. Was it his duty to reflect the preference of his constituents and increase his chances of winning the next election, or was it his duty to vote his own conscience regarding the right of women to participate in their governance?

By August of 1920, thirty-five of the forty-eight state legislatures had voted to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing women’s right to vote on the same terms as men in all elections in the United States. But the Constitution requires ratification by three-fourths of the states, or 36, and Tennessee was the only state that had agreed to hold a special session to decide the question that summer. The Tennessee debate came to be called the “War of the Roses.” Pro-suffrage legislators wore yellow roses in their lapels, and anti-suffrage legislators wore red roses. Knowing the will of his constituents, Burn wore a red rose – but he had hidden a yellow rose, and a recent letter from his mother, in his suit pocket. His intention was to vote to table the question until the next term, when he hoped that pro-suffrage opinion would have had the opportunity to grow in his county. However, the vote to delay the question was tied at 48 – 48—twice. Finally, the speaker of the house called for a vote on the Amendment itself, rather than a vote to delay. The letter from his widowed mother, Febb E. Burn, gained new significance. She had written:

“Dear Son, … Hurray and vote for Suffrage and don’t keep them in doubt. I noticed Chandlers’ speech, it was very bitter. I’ve been waiting to see how you stood but have not seen anything yet…. Don’t forget to be a god boy and help Mrs. Catt with her “Rats.” Is she the one that put rat in ratification, Ha! No more from mama this time. With lots of love, Mama.”

Harry changed his vote to “Aye.” Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify, making the Nineteenth Amendment the law of the land.
Burn faced threats to his life and false charges that he had accepted a bribe to change his vote. His mother was pressured to renounce the letter and say it was a fraud. However, both stood firm and the right of women to vote was secured 72 years after the Seneca Falls Convention had demanded it.

Courageously facing the threats and intimidation leveled against him, Burn explained that his decision was based on “morality, justice, his mother, and the glory of the Republican party.”

Representative Burn, explain for our newspaper readers what you were thinking during these important events.

**Harry Burn**

*Burn’s statement in the Tennessee House Journal:*

I desire to resent in the name of honesty and justice the veiled intimidation and accusation regarding my vote on the Suffrage Amendment as indicated in certain statements, and it is my sincere belief that those responsible for their existence know that there is not a scintilla of truth in them. I want to state that I changed my vote in favor of ratification first because I believe in full suffrage as a right; second, I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify; third, I knew that a mother’s advice is always safest for a boy to follow and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification; fourth, I appreciated the fact that an opportunity such as seldom comes to a mortal man to free seventeen million women from political slavery was mine; fifth, I desired that my party in both State and nation might say that it was a republican from the East mountains of Tennessee, the purest Anglo-Saxon section in the world, who made national woman suffrage possible at this date, not for personal glory but for the glory of his party.”

(Later, Burn wrote,) “I had always believed that women had an inherent right to vote. It was a logical attitude from my standpoint. My mother was a college woman, a student of national and international affairs who took an interest in all public issues. She could not vote. Yet the tenant farmers on our farm, some of whom were illiterate, could vote. On that roll call, confronted with the fact that I was going to go on record for time and eternity on the merits of the question, I had to vote for ratification.”

*Used by permission, www.TeachTNHistory.org, an education program of East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville. The primary source itself, the journal excerpt, is found in the holdings of the Tennessee Library and Archives in Nashville. See www.teachtnhistory.org/file/Harry_T._Burn.pdf and also constitutioncenter.org/blog/the-man-and-his-mom-who-gave-women-the-votereport.*
Suffrage by State

Directions: Use Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes and the instructions below to complete the map on the next page.

It is important to remember that the “right to vote” was sometimes ambiguous. Some states offered some women the right to vote in some elections. By 1919, women had achieved full suffrage in 15 states, most of them in the West. New York was one of only two states east of the Mississippi to give women the vote prior to the Nineteenth Amendment. Can you think of any reason why women’s suffrage had more support in the West?

States in which women had won the right to vote in **local or state elections**

Label the state name and write the year that women gained the vote within the appropriate state outline. **Color the following areas green** indicating where women had won the right to vote in local or state elections prior to the 19th Amendment:

- 1869 Territory of Wyoming / State of Wyoming 1890
- 1870 Territory of Utah / State of Utah 1896
- 1883 Territory of Washington / State of Washington 1910
- 1887 Territory of Montana / State of Montana 1914
- 1893 Colorado
- 1896 Idaho
- 1911 California
- 1912 Arizona, Kansas, Oregon
- 1914 Nevada
- 1917 New York
- 1918 Michigan, Oklahoma, South Dakota

States in which women had won the right to vote **for federal offices**

Label the state name and write the year within the appropriate state outline. Then **color these states yellow**, indicating where women could vote for federal offices prior to the 19th Amendment.

- 1913 Illinois
- 1917 Nebraska, Ohio, Indiana, North Dakota, Rhode Island
- 1919 Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee, Wisconsin
States in which women **could no longer be denied** the vote after 19th Amendment

Label the state name and write the year within the appropriate state outline. Then **color these states purple**, indicating states which could no longer deny women the vote after ratification of the 19th Amendment.

- Alabama
- Arkansas
- Connecticut
- Delaware
- Florida
- Georgia
- Kentucky
- Louisiana
- Maryland
- Massachusetts
- Mississippi
- New Hampshire
- New Jersey
- New Mexico
- North Carolina
- Pennsylvania
- South Carolina
- Texas
- Vermont
- Virginia
- West Virginia
Carrie Chapman Catt Speech Excerpt

Directions: At a New York City reception to mark the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, Carrie Chapman Catt delivered the speech below. Read the excerpt and then write a short reflection in which you address the questions that follow.

The vote is the emblem of your equality, women of America, the guarantee of your liberty. That vote of yours has cost millions of dollars and the lives of thousands of women. Money to carry on this work has been given usually as a sacrifice, and thousands of women have gone without things they wanted and could have had in order that they might help get the vote for you. Women have suffered agony of soul which you can never comprehend, that you and your daughters might inherit political freedom. That vote has been costly. Prize it!

The vote is a power, a weapon of offense and defense, a prayer. Understand what it means and what it can do for your country. Use it intelligently, conscientiously, prayerfully. No soldier in the great suffrage army has labored and suffered to get a “place” for you. Their motive has been the hope that women would aim higher than their own selfish ambitions, that they would serve the common good.

The vote is won. Seventy-two years the battle for this privilege has been waged, but human affairs with their eternal change move on without pause. Progress is calling to you to make no pause. Act!


Reflection Questions

1. How would you assess your own appreciation of the right to vote?
2. To what extent do you think most of your peers take the right to vote for granted?
3. To what extent do you think most Americans exercise their right to vote “intelligently, conscientiously, and prayerfully,” as Catt calls on them to do?
4. What do you think was Catt’s most urgent call to action with this speech?
5. Catt ended her remarks with an exhortation to “Act!” What civic actions would most effectively honor the work of the suffragists?
Background Essay

1. Many were convinced that women needed a more direct influence on laws governing working conditions in factories and other workplaces.

2. Accept reasoned answers.

3. She was raised a Quaker, which likely informed her non-violent approach. Her travels to England exposed her to the more aggressive tactics of the British suffragists.

4. Catt executed a strategy to work on both the national and state levels for suffrage.

5. World War I increased the momentum of the suffrage movement as more women moved into the workforce to take the place of men who had gone off to fight the war. The contributions that women made to the war on the home front may have helped NAWSA when it resumed lobbying. Some Americans, like Paul, found the defense of “democracy” abroad when women were being denied the vote in the U.S. to be a reason to ramp up efforts.

6. Accept reasoned responses. Students might list the following principles and virtues with supporting examples from the essay:

Principles:
- equality, republican/representative government, popular sovereignty: Those supporting women's suffrage argued that it was time to implement the Founding principle of equality by guaranteeing that women had an actual voice in electing those who represented them.
- federalism: Suffragists worked for both a constitutional amendment at the national level and for state laws to guarantee equal rights of women to participate in their government.
- inalienable rights: Without suffrage, women were dependent on others to protect their inalienable rights. The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire was a tragic example of the unreliability of that approach.
- freedom of speech/press/assembly: Alice Paul's organization of a women's march for rights, as well as silent vigil outside the White House were examples of powerful, peaceful efforts to keep their cause in the public eye.

Virtues:
- perseverance, contribution resourcefulness, courage, respect, and justice: These virtues were demonstrated by all the people who worked for women's suffrage throughout the long struggle, even though they did not always agree on strategies. Students should offer specific examples and evidence.
- Moderation: Catt demonstrated moderation when she decided to curb NAWSA's petitions during WWI.
Handout B: Sorting Arguments Venn Diagram

- Work at the state level to win the vote for women: Items 4, 5, 6
- Work at the state level AND seek a constitutional amendment to win the vote for women: Item 8
- Seek a constitutional amendment to win the vote for women: Items 1, 2, 3, 7

Handout E: Carrie Chapman Catt Speech Excerpt

Accept reasoned responses.
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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</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>
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<th>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</th>
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| **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>
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<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>
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<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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## Lesson 3

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<th>Lesson 3 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</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>
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<td><strong>1848</strong> – Seneca Falls Convention was held in New York.</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>
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<td><strong>1849</strong> – Amelia Bloomer published the first female-run newspaper, The Lily.</td>
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<td><strong>1851</strong> – Anthony met Stanton at a Syracuse, New York anti-slavery convention.</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>1851</strong> – Harriet Beecher Stowe published Uncle Tom’s Cabin.</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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<td><strong>1852</strong> – Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the New York State Women’s Temperance Society.</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>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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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1861</strong> – U.S. Civil War began.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Lesson 4 Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Anthony and Stanton founded the Women’s Loyal National League, and collected nearly 400,000 signatures in a petition to abolish slavery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>U.S. Civil War ended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Fourteenth Amendment defined citizenship and prohibited states from denying due process and equal protection of the law to any person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Territory of Wyoming granted suffrage to women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>First transcontinental railroad opened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, barring states from denying the right to vote “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Utah territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Susan B. Anthony was arrested for voting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Annie Wittenmyer founded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to work for the prohibition of alcohol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Frances Willard became President of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Washington territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Quotes

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

—SUSAN B. ANTHONY TO CONGRESS, 1865
## Lesson 5 Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>U.S. Senate voted to reject proposed women’s suffrage amendment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Wyoming was admitted to the Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>National Woman Suffrage Association and American Woman Suffrage Association merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Susan B. Anthony died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Arizona, Kansas, and Alaska Territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Sixteenth Amendment was ratified, giving national government the power to tax incomes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Seventeenth Amendment was ratified, providing for direct election of U.S. senators.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Alice Paul organized a suffrage procession in Washington, DC, the day before Wilson’s Inauguration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Nevada and Montana granted suffrage to women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>U.S. Senate voted to reject the proposed amendment that would later become the Nineteenth Amendment.</td>
</tr>
</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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Lesson 5 Events</strong></th>
<th><strong>Quotes</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1916** – Alice Paul broke away from NAWSA to form the National Woman’s Party. | “It is better, as far as getting the vote is concerned I believe, to have a small, united group than an immense debating society.”  
-ALICE PAUL, 1914 |
| **1916** – Alice Paul and other suffrage demonstrators were arrested for obstructing traffic, and began a hunger strike. | |
| **1916** – Jeannette Rankin of Montana became the first woman elected to Congress. | |
| **1917** – New York granted suffrage to women. | |
| **1917** – The U.S. entered World War I. Women’s vital contribution to the war effort boosted support for a suffrage amendment. | |
| **1919** – Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, banning the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcohol in the U.S. | |
| **1919** - Oklahoma and South Dakota granted suffrage to women. | |
| **1919** – U.S. Congress approved Nineteenth Amendment, sending it to states for ratification. | |
| **1920** – Carrie Chapman Catt founded League of Women Voters to provide education for political participation. | |
| **1920** – Nineteenth Amendment was ratified. | |
## Lesson 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Alice Paul proposed an equal rights amendment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Republican Party platform included support for an equal rights amendment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s-1970s</td>
<td>Second Wave Feminism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Twenty-third Amendment provided for the appointment of presidential electors for citizens of Washington, D.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Kennedy convened the Commission on the Status of Women; their report called for a number of reforms.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Congress passed the Equal Pay Act.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Betty Friedan published <em>The Feminine Mystique.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Congress passed a Civil Rights Act.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Twenty-fourth Amendment prohibited the poll tax as a requirement for voting for federal office-holders.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Congress passed a Voting Rights Act.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1967  | President Lyndon Johnson expanded on Kennedy’s 1961 affirmative action order to include women. |“[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

“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
## 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>
<tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Twenty-sixth Amendment protected the right of people ages 18 and older to vote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Congress approved Equal Rights Amendment, which was ratified by only 35 states, rather than the required 38 states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, banning sex discrimination in higher education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Supreme Court ruled in <em>Roe v. Wade</em> that states must not restrict access to abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>In <em>Taylor v. Louisiana</em> 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>
</tr>
<tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<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
### Lesson 6 Events

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

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

**LESSONS 1 & 2**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1781 – The Articles of Confederation was adopted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1848 – Seneca Falls Convention was held in New York.

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

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

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

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

1861 – U.S. Civil War began.
LESSON 4

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

1865 – U.S. Civil War ended.

1865 – Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery.

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

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

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

**1870** – Utah territory granted suffrage to women.

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

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

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

1883 – Washington territory granted suffrage to women.
LESSON 5

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

1890 – Wyoming was admitted to the Union.

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

1900 – Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.

1902 – Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.

1906 – Susan B. Anthony died.
1912 – Arizona, Kansas, and Alaska Territory granted suffrage to women.

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

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

1917 – New York granted suffrage to women.

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

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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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.

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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

2016 – Hillary Clinton, a Democrat, became the first female presidential nominee of a major party.
2018 – 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.

2019 – As of January 2019, a record 121 women serve 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.
The story of the Nineteenth Amendment is a story of struggle, perseverance, and courage. In 1765 the British jurist William Blackstone described the legal position of married women when he wrote, “The very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage or at least incorporated or consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection, and cover she performs everything.” For most women in most parts of the world there were few opportunities to pursue education, occupation, or social standing. In general, they were regarded as inferior, subservient, and incapable of reasoning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDICES

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

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

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

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

- **Appendix E: Declaration of Independence**

- **Appendix F: United States Constitution**

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

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

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

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

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

Founding Principles

Introduction

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

The American System of Government

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Vice:** Immoral or wicked behavior.

**Virtues**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vices

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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