OVERVIEW
In this lesson, students will discuss the impact of the Nineteenth Amendment on American Society and understand the variety of issues of concern for women today. Students will evaluate trends in reform movements towards equality in the twentieth century.

OBJECTIVES
- Students will discuss the impact of the Nineteenth Amendment on American society and public discourse.
- Students will understand the variety of issues of concern to women today, acknowledging that women are not a homogeneous group.
- Students will trace trends in reform movements toward equality in the twentieth century.
MATERIALS

- Teacher Resource: To Be Continued Cards
- Background Essay: Women in the Political World Today
- Handout A: To Be Continued Notes
- Handout B: Organizations
- Appendix A: Amending the Constitution
- Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
- Appendix C: Timeline Cards

STANDARDS

  » Standard 4: The struggle for racial and gender equality and the extension of civil liberties
- National Standards for U.S. History: Era 10 1968 to the present
  » Standard 2: Economic, social, and cultural developments in contemporary United States
- National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies
  » Theme 2: Time, Continuity, and Change
  » Theme 6: Power, Authority, and Governance

QUOTES

“[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

“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

Lesson Plan

**Background/Homework » 25 minutes the night before**

Have students read Background Essay: Women in the Political World Today, and answer the review questions.

Additionally, assign each student a group from the list on Handout B: Organizations (including any others you add). Students should research their organization and create a rough draft for a brochure advertising the group and its goals. Stress that this brochure does not need to be perfect or copy-ready; students should spend no more than 10-15 minutes developing their brochure. (Assure them that this is just an exercise and they are not required to agree personally with the group’s goals.)

Prior to the lesson, copy the eight To Be Continued Cards on cardstock and laminate if possible. Decide on eight strong readers in each class whom you will ask to read one of these cards aloud.

**Warm-Up » 15 minutes**

A. As students enter, have them post the brochure they created for the group they researched somewhere in the room.

B. Give students some time to view them all.

C. If you have completed the previous lessons in Votes for Women: The Story of the Nineteenth Amendment, you might now ask the class:
   a. How have women’s roles in the U.S. changed since colonial times?
   b. How has women’s suffrage affected politics? (Students should recognize that since women are voters, candidates must make attempts to appeal to them, and craft policies with their concerns in mind.)

D. Then move to the question that naturally follows: What are “women’s concerns”?

E. Ask the class what they observed from the diversity of organizations.
   a. To what extent can women be seen as a single homogeneous group?
   b. To what extent can any group truly claim to speak for all women?
   c. Is it reasonable to assume that a person will believe certain things or vote a certain way simply because she is female?
Activity » 25 minutes

A. Distribute the cards on Teacher Resource: To Be Continued Cards to students who are strong readers.

B. Call on one of those students to read their card aloud, and then discuss the information and the question as a class.

C. Keep a set of notes on the board for each one as you proceed. Students should record the information, including new insights gained from class discussion, in the Teacher Resource: To Be Continued Cards section on their Handout A: To Be Continued Notes.

D. Have students individually write their responses to the review questions on the Background Essay.

E. Encourage students to share their responses with a partner or two for brief discussion.

Wrap-up » 15 minutes

A. Reflection: The Constitution has 25 amendments that are in force today (the 18th enabled Prohibition, and the 21st repealed it). Which do you think did the most to fundamentally change the Constitution? Was the change for the better, or for the worse?

B. As a class, place each of the Timeline Cards on your class timeline.

C. You may conclude that it is impossible to be sure how women’s suffrage has affected American politics; however, making students aware of some historical trends will help them understand current events more effectively.

Extension Options

A. For homework, assign each student to research the current status of one of the topics from the Teacher Resource: To Be Continued Cards to report back during the next class.

B. Assign students to skim one or more of the following document-based questions from the Bill of Rights Institute Curriculum, Supreme Court DBQs: Exploring the Cases that Changed History. Students should be able to explain how each case was related to the women’s rights movement.

- Griswold v. Connecticut (1965): The right to privacy within marriage was older than the Bill of Rights and the state could not intrude on that privacy by banning the sale of contraceptives.

- Roe v. Wade (1973): The right to privacy, protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, “is broad enough to encompass a woman’s decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy.” However, the Court acknowledged an increasing state interest in preserving life following the first trimester.
- *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978): The use of racial quotas in public university admissions was unconstitutional, but affirmative action, which takes account of race along with various other relevant factors, was constitutional.

- *Grutter v. Bollinger and Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003): A diverse student body is a compelling state interest that permits universities to use race as one of many factors in admissions. Public universities may consider race but must also consider applicants as individuals; racial quotas are still prohibited.

C. Research the context of the 1974 Barbara Jordan quote: “‘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.’” Have students report on Barbara Jordan’s life, political contributions, and influence.

**RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER READING**


Women in the Political World Today

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
- Skim the quotes shown in Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes and select for discussion a few that most powerfully express the pathway toward legal equality for women.
- Regarding the principle of equality, have we achieved the promise of the Declaration of Independence? Are we there yet?

Overview
Before and after they won the right to vote, women have played an active role in American politics and public life. In the 1920s, the newly enfranchised women did not agree how to take the next steps towards legal equality. From the beginning of American history to the present, women of all backgrounds and political persuasions have exercised their First Amendment rights, voicing concerns that reflect their understandings of what constitutes the best way of life for a free people.

What historians call First Wave Feminism encompassed the period from the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention to 1920 when the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteed the right of American women to vote. The focus during this period was on removing legal barriers to women’s participation in political life. Even before the Nineteenth Amendment had been ratified, NAWSA President Carrie Chapman Catt founded the League of Women Voters, whose initial purpose was to provide non-partisan education for women’s new civic responsibility of voting. Just as they had advocated several different approaches to win the vote, the newly enfranchised women did not all agree on the next steps they should take in pursuit of full legal equality. State laws limiting women’s property rights, opportunity to serve on juries, education and job prospects, and other roles in society continued to be barriers to women’s civil, economic, and social goals.

Equal Rights Amendment Proposed 1923
The National Woman’s Party advocated an equal rights amendment to the Constitution, requiring that men and women would be treated exactly the same under all U.S. laws. In 1923, Alice Paul proposed an amendment stating, “Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.” The amendment had many prominent supporters among professional women.
But many others did not support this idea. In particular, many “labor feminists” disagreed, arguing for “specific bills for specific ills.” In other words, these women argued that not all laws that treated men and women differently were bad. Discriminatory laws that hurt women should be repealed, of course, but they believed others, such as laws aimed at protecting women from especially long work hours, or laws requiring maternity leave should remain. About fifty years later, another equal rights amendment proposal would again fail to gain sufficient traction and fall in defeat.

As large numbers of women entered the work force during World War II, some in Congress spoke up to ensure equal pay for equal work. Republican Representative Winifred C. Stanley proposed a bill banning wage discrimination based on sex in 1942, but the bill failed. The 1944 Republican Party platform included support for an equal rights amendment.

By the end of World War II, a generation had passed since the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Many women of child-bearing age who worked outside the home during the war returned home, but others remained in the workforce. According to Department of Labor statistics, the labor force participation rate of women ages 16 – 24 declined slightly and leveled off through the 1950s, but labor force participation rates of women older than that have continued to rise throughout the succeeding decades.

The President’s Commission on the Status of Women 1963

Just as the suffrage movement had gained strength alongside other social and legal reforms, the women’s movement of the 1960s developed alongside a Civil Rights Movement. In 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.” This gave rise to what came to be called “affirmative action,” or taking steps to ensure greater numbers of minorities (and, later, women) were provided opportunities and access to various settings like college and the workplace.

President Kennedy was concerned about protecting equal rights for women. However, the proposed equal rights amendment stirred up fears of threats to women’s traditional roles among some conservatives across the country, and he needed to walk carefully in order to avoid angering those tradition-minded Democrats. Kennedy’s solution was the President’s Commission on the Status of Women, whose goal was to make recommendations for, “services
which will enable women to continue their role as wives and mothers while making a maximum contribution to the world around them.”

Run by Esther Peterson, Assistant Secretary of Labor, and chaired by former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, the committee of 20 lawmakers and philanthropists examined employment practices, labor laws, tax regulations, and other factors that they believed contributed to inequality. The commission issued its report in 1963, calling for a number of reforms including:

- Equality of jury service
- Reform of property and family laws that disadvantaged women
- State laws guaranteeing equal pay for equal work
- Tax deductions for child care for working parents
- Expansion of widow’s benefits under Social Security
- Expanded adult education
- Taxpayer-funded maternity leave
- Taxpayer-funded universal day-care

One immediate response to the commission report was that Congress passed the Equal Pay Act (1963), prohibiting wage discrimination based on gender within the same jobs. The commission also likely heightened the sense among Americans that the national government should play an active role in promoting women’s equality.

**The Feminine Mystique and Second Wave Feminism**

The express goal of the president’s commission had been to safeguard the important role of wives and mothers in the home, while expanding their opportunity to pursue additional roles and responsibilities in society. As did most of the earlier advocates for women’s equality, the commission valued the work of homemakers and wished to protect mothers’ vital role in the family. A new, “second wave” of feminism was about to gain strength and it challenged the assumption that this was necessarily the most vital role of women.

The same year that the commission released its report, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, a critique of the middle-class nuclear family structure. Friedan pointed to what she called “the problem that has no name,” or the pervasive, below-the-surface dissatisfaction of middle-class housewives that she herself had experienced. Friedan argued these homemakers whose husbands provided a comfortable living for their families had been lulled into a false
consciousness, believing themselves happy when they were actually bored and unfulfilled. This delusion was the “mystique.” If Friedan believed there was a cultural “myth” of a happy housewife, she created a new, competing narrative alongside it of frustrated wives held captive in what she called “a comfortable concentration camp.” While not every woman agreed that housewives were being fooled into believing themselves happy, this landmark book drew many white, middle-class women to what was called Second Wave Feminism.

Second Wave Feminists rejected the idea that gender roles or morality flowed out of natural law. They believed gender roles were purely social constructs, and that morality, especially as it related to sexual conduct, was subjective. In their view, it was generally the consent or lack of consent between adults that made an act right or wrong.

Second Wave Feminists went beyond the legal equality as defined by earlier reformers to advocate also for measures intended to bring about equality of outcome. Groups such as the National Organization for Women, which Friedan helped found, lobbied for taxpayer-funded day care, no-fault divorce, legalized abortion (including taxpayer-funded abortions through Medicaid), and other reforms.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965

The momentum for civil rights and women’s rights would converge again a year later. President Kennedy had asked Congress to pass legislation “giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public—hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, and similar establishments.” Congress began claiming authority under the Interstate Commerce Clause to regulate private businesses, reasoning that discriminatory practices by “public accommodations” such as restaurants and hotels affected citizens’ abilities to travel between states.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited racial segregation in private businesses that served the public, and banned discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin. It also banned discrimination in places receiving federal funds such as public universities.

Congress passed the Voting Rights Act the next year banning racial discrimination in voting. This federal law helped protect the rights of African American men and women in places where legal barriers such as literacy tests had been erected to prevent them from voting.
The Story Continues

Social scientists debate the effects of the cultural changes brought about by Second Wave Feminism. Many point to the numerous objective measures showing women today enjoy greater autonomy than at any time in U.S. history, and perhaps that of the world: high standards of living, educational attainment, and broad career choices. Yet, the National Bureau of Economic Research found in 2009 that subjective assessments of happiness were not keeping up:

“By many objective measures, the lives of women in the United States have improved over the past 35 years, yet we show that measures of subjective well-being indicate that women’s happiness has declined both absolutely and relative to men. [Women] in the 1970s typically reported higher subjective well-being than did men.”

Second Wave Feminism was followed in the 1990s by Third Wave Feminism, which focused on layers of oppression caused by interactions between gender, race and class. And as has happened with all social movements fought in the name of women, many women rejected the movement and held more conservative views.

What effect has women’s suffrage had on politics?

It should be noted that, just as there are class, ethnic, and racial divisions among males, as well as other specific issue positions that influence an individual’s political choices, the same divisions exist among women. Women do not generally vote as a block. However, given that important caution, there are some identifiable differences between the voting trends of women compared to those of men. The Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers University tracks those trends. Beginning in the 1920s, women were a little more likely than men to favor the Republican Party, but that trend began to reverse by 1980, and women since then have continued to be more likely to favor the Democratic Party. In presidential elections since that time, women have preferred the Democratic candidate over other parties by four to ten percentage points. Since 1980, women’s turnout rate has been a little higher than that of men. Further, women are more likely than men to favor a more active role for the federal government in expanding health care and basic social services, to advocate restrictions on guns, to support same-sex marriage, and to favor legal abortion without restrictions.

In addition to making their mark as voters, women have gradually made their mark as
successful candidates. In 1916, the first female member of Congress, Jeannette Rankin, won her bid to represent her district in Montana. In 1968, Shirley Chisholm of New York became the first African American congresswoman (though it should be noted that she did not want to be remembered by that description, but as a person who “had guts.”) According to CAWP data, in 1971 women made up three percent of people elected to U.S. Congress, seven percent of statewide elective offices, and 0 in state legislatures. In 2016, Democrat Hillary Clinton became the first female presidential candidate of a major party. 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. As of January 2019, a record 121 women serve in the 116th United States Congress, 102 years after Jeannette Rankin was elected. Following the midterm election, women comprised 23.6 % in U.S. Congress, 27.6 % in statewide elective offices, 28.6 % in state legislatures.

Horace Greeley wrote in 1848, “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.” Frederick Douglass in 1869 asked Susan B. Anthony whether she believed granting women the vote would truly do anything to change the inequality under the law between the sexes. She replied, “It will change the nature of one thing very much, and that is the dependent condition of woman. It will place her where she can earn her own bread, so that she may go out into the world an equal competitor in the struggle for life.” The political environment has changed considerably since the early days of women’s struggle for suffrage and equality. The participation of women in the public sphere has helped make the American republic more representative, and has removed many of the restrictions that formerly stood between individuals and the enjoyment of their natural rights.

Women of all backgrounds and political persuasions act on their understandings of what constitutes the best way of life for a free people, and suffrage is one of many important ways that they participate in public life. The principle of freedom of speech, press, and assembly, enshrined in the First Amendment, ensures the legal right to express one’s opinions freely, orally or in writing, alone or through peaceable assembly, no matter how offensive their point of view may seem to others. These First Amendment guarantees have been and will continue to be integral to the efforts of those seeking social and legal reforms in America.

**REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS**

1. What action did Alice Paul’s National Woman’s Party advocate after women won the right to vote?

2. What was the goal of the President’s Commission on the Status of Women?
3. The President’s Commission recommended eight reforms:

- Equality of jury service
- Reform of property and family laws that disadvantaged women
- State laws guaranteeing equal pay for equal work
- Tax deductions for child care for working parents
- Expansion of widow’s benefits under Social Security
- Expanded adult education
- Taxpayer-funded maternity leave
- Taxpayer-funded universal day-care

List each of these reforms on the table below to indicate whether they are natural and inalienable rights or rights granted by civil society.

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4. In the years leading up to the Commission, most women were married in their early 20s. Families had more children during this time than any other in American history (known as the Baby Boom), but they spaced their children more closely together so mothers were finished having babies at a younger age than other generations. What effect might this have had on women’s concerns at the time?

5. What is Betty Friedan’s connection to Second Wave Feminism?

6. Betty Friedan wrote, “The feminist revolution had to be fought because women quite simply were stopped at a state of evolution far short of their human capacity.” How does this view compare to that of early advocates for equality and suffrage such as Abigail Adams, Angelina Grimké, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, or Carrie Chapman Catt?

7. In what ways did the principle of freedom of speech, press, and assembly empower Second Wave Feminists, as well as their opponents?

8. Consider the “official” and “unofficial” methods of change. Direct action aimed at winning the vote had an impact, but so did opportunity to participate more fully in the workforce. How might expanding opportunities for work outside the home have reinforced – or hindered- the movement to win the vote?
9. Use the Principles and Virtues Glossary as needed and give examples of ways the varying approaches to post-1920s efforts to expand rights for women reflected any three of the constitutional principles below. Further, give examples of how such reform efforts require individuals to demonstrate any three of the civic virtues listed below.

**Principles:** equality, republican/representative government, popular sovereignty, federalism, inalienable rights

**Virtues:** perseverance, contribution, moderation, resourcefulness, courage, respect, justice

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**A Pathway for Change**

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Women and Affirmative Action

- In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson expanded on Kennedy’s 1961 affirmative action order to include women. According to the National Women’s Law Center, affirmative action requirements by the federal government worked: “Female employment rose 15.2% at federal contractors, and only 2.2% elsewhere. The same study showed that federal contractors employed women at higher levels and in better paying jobs than other firms.”

- In the first 20 years of Affirmative Action, women benefitted more than any other group. Columbia University law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw studied the effects of these policies and concluded, “The primary beneficiaries of affirmative action have been Euro-American women.”

The Equal Rights Amendment

- Almost 50 years after she proposed it, a version of Alice Paul’s Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was ratified by Congress in 1972 and sent to the states for ratification. It read, “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” The arguments for and against the amendment in the 1970s were somewhat similar to those in the 1920s. In general, professional women supported the amendment while working class women did not.

- Opposition was led by conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly, who predicted that the ERA would mean the end of protective laws for women: for example, divorced women would no longer be able to count on alimony payments, or being favored as the default custodial parent. Schlafly argued especially persuasively that the ERA would lead to women being drafted into the military. Ultimately, the amendment was approved by only 35 of the 38 states required for ratification, and failed.
Equal Jury Service

- A 1974 Supreme Court case recalls the 1963 Presidential Commission’s recommendation for equal jury service, as well as the disagreement about whether all discriminatory laws are bad.

- A Louisiana law excused women from being called for jury service unless they opted in. This law was meant to protect women from having to leave their children in order to serve on juries. It was discriminatory in that it treated men and women differently, but for what many believed was to benefit, rather than disadvantage, women. The Court struck down this law in Taylor v. Louisiana (1974). Interestingly, the case was not argued on the grounds that women had a right to be called to serve on juries. Rather, it was argued 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.

Voting and Education

- In 1972 Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, banning sex discrimination in higher education. In 1981, women began earning more bachelor’s degrees than men. In 1987 women began earning more master’s degrees. By 2013, the Department of Education estimated that 61.6% of associate’s degrees, 56.7% of bachelor’s degrees, 59.9% of all master’s degrees, and 51.6% of doctorates were earned by women. The American Association of University Women reported that between 1970 and 2001, the percentage of doctors who are women tripled, going from 7.6 percent to 25.2 percent. In 2017, more women than men were enrolled in medical school.

- A University of Florida analysis of Census Bureau statistics showed that, from 1984-2016, the higher one’s educational attainment, the more likely one was to vote. Close to 90% of people with graduate degrees turned out to vote; that rate was less than 50% of people with a high school diploma or less.

- According to the Center for American Women in Politics, women have voted in greater numbers than men in elections since the 1980’s. The Center reported this trend was true across all races with the exception of Asians/Pacific Islanders.
Economic Equality and the Wage-Gap

- Women make up about 47% of the workforce today. Some believe there is a wage gap in the labor force and that women are paid $.75 for every dollar earned by men. This statistic contains a bit of truth but is largely a misrepresentation. It is true that if one adds up the wages earned by all women and divides by the number of working women, and then does the same for men, the result is that women overall earn about 75% of what men do. But this disparity is in large part due to the educational, family, and career choices made by individuals.

- Free to choose their own educational paths, women have not chosen fields like engineering, computer science, and other lucrative STEM careers at the same rates as men, but have preferred to enter the social sciences, education, or other fields which tend to pay less. Men also typically work full-time until retirement, whereas women more often choose to take time off to raise children, and work part-time more often than men.

- Studies that have looked at women and men who followed the same educational and career paths have found that men’s and women’s pay differs by only 2%, with women earning 98% of what men do.

- The wage gap may continue to shrink as women now make up the majority of students preparing for well-paying careers in law, medicine, pharmacy, and accounting. It remains to be seen whether women will attain partnerships and leadership positions, which can take decades of work to attain, in these areas at rates near or equal to men.

Women and Public Office

- Before and since gaining the vote, women have played an active role in American public life.

- As far as roles in government go, men still vastly outnumber women: As of 2019, women held six or 26%, of cabinet-level positions, and comprised 23.6 % in U.S. Congress, 27.6 % in statewide elective offices, 28.6% in state legislatures. More than 1800 women served on state legislatures, and nine states had female governors. Three women sat on the U.S. Supreme Court.

- Both parties have run female candidates for Vice President, and in 2016 former First Lady, U.S. Senator, and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton became the first female presidential candidate from a major party.
Women and the Family

- In the 1950s, 95% of women married, three-fourths of them by age 24. In 2019, about half of U.S. women are married, and the median age at first marriage is 27. Married women are less likely than single women to live in poverty.

- In the 1950s, virtually all (more than 90%) of children lived with their biological, married parents. Today, fewer than half do. One-third of children live with a parent (usually their mother) and the parent’s live-in boy/girlfriend. Eighteen percent of children in the U.S. live with a single parent, and 81% of single custodial parents are women.

- More than 27% of single parents and their children live in poverty, versus 16% of cohabitating parents, and 9.8% of married parents. Further, compared to children who live with their married biological parents, children who live in single-parent, cohabitating, or step-parent families are more likely to experience family instability, sexual abuse, and mental health problems.

- As explained in a Princeton study, “The Evolving Role of Marriage: 1950–2010” one team of social scientists links these statistics to equality of opportunity for young people. “Parents who are able to adopt a high-investment strategy are those most likely to get married and stay married, using marriage as a commitment device to support joint investments in their children. If our analysis is correct, equality of opportunity will be a major challenge in the 21st century.”

Abortion

- The National Organization for Women lobbied for the repeal of laws outlawing abortion. Citing the right to privacy that it had recognized in Griswold v. Connecticut (1965), the Supreme Court held in Roe v. Wade (1973) that states could not restrict abortion during the first trimester. There were, however, increasing levels of government interest in protecting the unborn baby during the second and third trimesters. This decision overturned or affected laws in 46 states.

- The ruling in Roe v. Wade remains one of the most divisive Supreme Court rulings in U.S. history. It is supported by groups including the National Organization for Women and opposed by groups such as Feminists for Life.
To Be Continued Notes

Directions: Use what you learn from student reports for Teacher Resource: To Be Continued Cards and class discussion to record key information and insights on the topics below.

TO BE CONTINUED....

Women and Affirmative Action through 2001 (record key information here):

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- 

Question for Discussion and further research: Do you believe Affirmative Action in higher education is needed for white women today? For women of color? For men?

Homework Question: What else is important for understanding the status of women and Affirmative Action today?

The Equal Rights Amendment through 1979 (record key information here):

- 
- 

Question for Discussion and further research: What similarities in arguments for/against an ERA do you see between 1923 and 1973?
Homework Question: What else is important for understanding the status of the Equal Rights Amendment today?

Equal Jury Service through 1974 *(record key information here)*:

- 
- 

Question for discussion and further research: Should women’s rights advocates always oppose laws that treat men and women differently?

Homework Question: Do women serve equally on juries today?

Voting and Education *(record key information here)*:

- 
- 

Question for discussion and further research: What examples can you think of from your study of American history to show a connection between education and political engagement?
**Homework Question:** Did the Education Amendments of 1972, and specifically Title IX, have any unintended consequences? What are some reasons this law remains controversial today?

**Economic Equality and the “Wage-Gap”** *(record key information here):*

- 
- 

**Question for discussion and further research:** To what extent should it be assumed that all differences in educational, career, or economic outcomes are due to discrimination? What other causes, if any, might be involved?

**Homework Question:** What else is important for understanding the connection today between women’s equality and wages/salaries earned?

**Women in public office** *(record key information here):*

- 
- 

**Question for discussion and further research:** Why do you think women still make up such a small percentage of government officials?
Homework Question: What else is important for understanding the status of women in public office today?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
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Women and the Family (record key information here):

- 
- 

Question for discussion and further research: Is there a lesson for women’s rights advocates in the relationship between marital status and education, and between education and voting?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

Homework Question: What else is important for understanding the status of the family today?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

Abortion (record key information here):

- 
- 

Question for discussion and further research: In what ways is abortion different or similar from other rights claimed by advocates of women’s equality?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

Homework Question: Why do you think the ruling in Roe v. Wade remains controversial almost a half-century later?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
Organizations

Directions: Create a rough draft for a brochure that advertises your assigned group or initiative below. This is simply an informative exercise. You are not expected to advocate this group’s goals. Be sure to include the following:

Discussion Questions
- Who founded this group?
- When was it founded?
- What are its goals?
- Name 1 or 2 of its current activities.

Circle your assigned group:

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
American Association of University Women
Center for American Women in Politics
Concerned Women for America
Daughters of Isabella
Emily’s List
Feminists for Life
Feminist Majority Foundation
Independent Women’s Forum
League of Women Voters
National Organization for Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Federation of Republican Women
National Panhellenic Conference
National Women’s Political Caucus
Susan B. Anthony’s List
U.S. Women’s Chamber of Commerce
Women’s Christian Temperance Union
The March for Life (annual, beginning 1973)
Women’s March on Washington (2017)
Other:
Other:
Other:
Other:
Answer Key

Background Essay: Women in the Political World Today

1. The National Women’s Party advocated an equal rights amendment to the Constitution.

2. The Commission had the goal of making recommendations for “services which will enable women to continue their role as wives and mothers while making a maximum contribution to the world around them.”

3. See answers in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural and inalienable rights</th>
<th>Rights granted by civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equality of jury service</td>
<td>Tax deductions for child care for working parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform of property and family laws that disadvantaged women</td>
<td>Expansion of widow’s benefits under Social Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State laws guaranteeing equal pay for equal work</td>
<td>Expanded adult education</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taxpayer-funded maternity leave</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taxpayer-funded universal day-care</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Accept reasoned answers. In addition to the importance of homemaking and raising children, women could look forward to a long period when they could be involved in pursuits outside the home.

5. Friedan is the author of The Feminine Mystique, which attracted many white, middle class women to Second Wave Feminism.

6. Accept reasoned answers.

7. All people were able to freely express their views through speaking, writing, and assembling freely with like-minded individuals.

8. Accept reasoned answers.
Sources:

Voter Statistics

Education Data:

Affirmation Action Data
Economic Equality and the Wage Gap


15. Institute for Humane Studies: “Do Women Earn Less than Men? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=list=PL-erRSWG3IoBWhkCd1ZSmULQSNBD3_R84W&v=EwogDPPh-Sow


The Family


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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1648 – Margaret Brent appealed to Maryland’s colonial assembly, unsuccessfully demanding a voice and two votes in the assembly’s proceedings.</td>
<td>“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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690 – John Locke published Two Treatises on Civil Government.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768 – Hannah Griffitts published “The Female Patriots.”</td>
<td>“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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1773 – Mercy Otis Warren began publishing dramas advocating American independence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1773 – Phyllis Wheatley was the first enslaved person to publish a book, Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</td>
<td>Quotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **1776** – Abigail Adams wrote to her husband on the hypocrisy of slavery, and asked him to “remember the ladies” in the new government. | “Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”
   - **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776** |
| **1776** – Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. | |
| **1776** – New Jersey constitution provided for “all inhabitants” to vote if they were at least 21 years of age, property owners, and county residents for at least one year. Therefore, single women with property could vote. In 1807 the state’s legislature clarified that only free white men who met the property requirement were eligible to vote. | “The one is taught to aspire, and the other is early confined and limited. As their years increase, the sister must be wholly domesticated, while the brother is led by the hand through all the flowery paths of science.”
   - **JUDITH SARGENT MURRAY: WRITTEN 1779, PUBLISHED 1790** |
| **1777** – Vermont constitution became the first to provide for universal male suffrage. | |
| **1779** – Judith Sargent Murray published *On the Equality of the Sexes.* | “We the people...ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America...”
   - **PREAMBLE TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION, 1789** |
<p>| <strong>1781</strong> – The Articles of Confederation was adopted. | |
| <strong>1789</strong> – The United States Constitution was adopted, leaving the power to set voting qualifications to the states. | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lessons 1 &amp; 2 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1791** – U.S. Bill of Rights was ratified. | “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 |
| **1792** – Mary Wollstonecraft published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.* | “I do not wish [women] to have power over men; but over themselves.”
| | –MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, 1792 |
| **1807** – New Jersey revoked the right of women to vote. | “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 |
| **1807** – United States Congress banned the international slave trade. | |

Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
### LESSON 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 3 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<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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<tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1849</strong> – Amelia Bloomer published the first female-run newspaper, <em>The Lily</em>.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1851</strong> – Harriet Beecher Stowe published <em>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</em>.</td>
<td>“If women want any rights more than they’s got, why don’t they just take them, and not be talking about it?” — SOJOURNER TRUTH, 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1860</strong> – Stanton and Anthony worked successfully to amend Married Woman’s Property Law in New York, allowing women to own property, bring suits in court, share child custody, and keep their own earnings and inheritance.</td>
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<td><strong>1861</strong> – U.S. Civil War began.</td>
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</table>
## LESSON 4

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson 5 Events</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1887</strong> – U.S. Senate voted to reject proposed women’s suffrage amendment.</td>
<td>“We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women!” – Wyoming Legislature Telegram to Congress, 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1890</strong> – Wyoming was admitted to the Union.</td>
<td>“There never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers.” – Susan B. Anthony, 1897</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1890</strong> – National Woman Suffrage Association and American Woman Suffrage Association merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).</td>
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<td><strong>1900</strong> – Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.</td>
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<td><strong>1902</strong> – Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.</td>
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<td><strong>1906</strong> – Susan B. Anthony died.</td>
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<td><strong>1912</strong> – Arizona, Kansas, and Alaska Territory granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td><strong>1912</strong> – Theodore Roosevelt ran for President as nominee of the Progressive Party, whose platform included equal suffrage for men and women. Jane Addams seconded his nomination at the party’s convention.</td>
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<td><strong>1913</strong> – Sixteenth Amendment was ratified, giving national government the power to tax incomes.</td>
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<td><strong>1913</strong> – Seventeenth Amendment was ratified, providing for direct election of U.S. senators.</td>
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<td><strong>1913</strong> – Alice Paul organized a suffrage procession in Washington, DC, the day before Wilson’s Inauguration.</td>
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<td><strong>1914</strong> – Nevada and Montana granted suffrage to women.</td>
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<td><strong>1914</strong> – U.S. Senate voted to reject the proposed amendment that would later become the Nineteenth Amendment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lesson 5 Events</td>
<td>Quotes</td>
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</tbody>
</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.”
| **1916** – Alice Paul and other suffrage demonstrators were arrested for obstructing traffic, and began a hunger strike. | – Alice Paul, 1914                                                                               |
| **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>
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<th>Lesson 6 Events</th>
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<td>1923 – Alice Paul proposed an equal rights amendment.</td>
<td>“[To recommend] services which will enable women to continue their role as wives and mothers while making a maximum contribution to the world around them.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942 – Large numbers of women entered the workforce during World War II; Representative Winifred C. Stanley proposed a bill banning wage discrimination based on sex.</td>
<td>– TASK OF THE PRESIDENT’S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944 – Republican Party platform included support for an equal rights amendment.</td>
<td>“Why should anyone raise an eyebrow because a latter-day Einstein’s wife expects her husband to put aside that lifeless theory of relativity and help her with the work that is supposed to be the essence of life itself: diaper the baby and don’t forget to rinse the soiled diaper in the toilet before putting it in the diaper pail, and then wax the kitchen floor.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.”</td>
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<td>1961 – Twenty-third Amendment provided for the appointment of presidential electors for citizens of Washington, D.C.</td>
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<td>1963 – Kennedy convened the Commission on the Status of Women; their report called for a number of reforms.</td>
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### Lesson 6 Events

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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</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>1972</td>
<td>Twenty-sixth Amendment protected the right of people ages 18 and older to vote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Congress approved Equal Rights Amendment, which was ratified by only 35 states, rather than the required 38 states.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, banning sex discrimination in higher education.</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>Supreme Court ruled in <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>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>Women began earning more bachelor’s degrees than men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>Third Wave Feminism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Quotes

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

  - BARBARA JORDAN, 1974

- **“I’d like them to say that Shirley Chisholm had guts. That’s how I’d like to be remembered.”**

  - SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, 1983
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<td><strong>2016</strong> – Hillary Clinton, a Democrat, became the first female presidential nominee of a major party.</td>
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<td><strong>2018</strong> – In November 2018, women comprised 20% in U.S. Congress, 23.4 % in statewide elective offices, and 25.5 % in state legislatures. In the November 6 midterm elections, voter turnout across the nation was the highest in any midterm election in 100 years, with 50.1% of the voting-eligible population casting their ballots.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2019</strong> – As of January 2019, a record 121 women served in the 116th United States Congress, 102 years after Jeannette Rankin, the first female member of Congress, was elected in 1916. Following the midterm election, women comprised 23.6 % in U.S. Congress, 27.6 % in statewide elective offices, 28.6 % in state legislatures.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Timeline Cards

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

LESSONS 1 & 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**1779** – Judith Sargent Murray published *On the Equality of the Sexes*. 
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.
LESSON 3 (CONTINUED)

1851 – Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

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

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

1861 – U.S. Civil War began.
LESSON 4

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

1865 – U.S. Civil War ended.

1865 – Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery.

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

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

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

1870 – Utah territory granted suffrage to women.

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

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

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

1883 – Washington territory granted suffrage to women.
LESSON 5

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

1890 – Wyoming was admitted to the Union.

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

1900 – Carrie Chapman Catt was elected president of NAWSA.

1902 – Elizabeth Cady Stanton died.

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

1912 – Theodore Roosevelt ran for United States President as nominee of the Progressive Party, whose platform included equal suffrage for men and women. Jane Addams seconded his nomination at the party’s convention.

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

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

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

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

1916 – Alice Paul and other suffrage demonstrators were arrested for obstructing traffic, and began a hunger strike to protest their treatment in jail.
LENSO 5 (CONTINUED)

1916 – Jeannette Rankin of Montana became the first woman elected to Congress.

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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.
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## Lesson 6

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Facilitation Notes for Using the Curriculum

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDICES

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

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

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

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

- **Appendix E: Declaration of Independence**

- **Appendix F: United States Constitution**

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

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

One of our hopes for the use of this curriculum is that the student will grasp the costs and benefits of change within a constitutional order. One increasingly common characteristic of modern life is the expectation of immediate results. People use online apps for immediate answers, rapid food delivery, prompt appointments, extemporaneous conversation and instant outrage. Good and speedy ways exist to solve some of our problems, but others require long-term commitment and a willingness to 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.
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.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Examples/Explanation</th>
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