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Mr. Ott - U.S. History

Name: _____ **Date:** _____ **Due:** _____

THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT
TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

The right of citizens of the United States to vote
shall not be denied or abridged
by the United States
or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article
by appropriate legislation.

Neither the United
nor any state has the right
to keep a citizen from voting
because she is a woman.

Congress has the power to make laws
that will make this amendment effective.

Introduction: (from the National Women's History Project)

The idea of equal rights for women is not a new one. The feminist movement of the 1970s and '80s is actually a re-emergence of a massive social reform movement, begun in 1848, at the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention. The women's rights movement eventually focused its efforts on winning the right to vote, a campaign that reached a successful conclusion with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

The call for more legal rights and social freedoms for women grew out of the abolitionist movement prior to the Civil War. Women abolitionists found that their work on behalf of freeing the slaves was hampered by the lack of women's own freedom. For many years, the two causes were closely linked.

In 1869, two national organizations were formed to work toward the goal of expanded legal rights for women. Eventually, the leaders of the movement became convinced that winning the vote was of primary importance, and that became their focus.

In every state, thousands of women joined suffrage organizations. Public lectures, newspapers, parades, billboards, silent vigils, and every other imaginable tactic were employed by the various suffrage organizations to get their message across to the public. During the 72 years of the campaign, hundreds of individual referenda and petition campaigns were undertaken to get woman's suffrage passed in various states. Annual pilgrimages were made by hundreds of women to lobby Congress for passage of a constitutional amendment, campaigns were mounted to unseat legislators unsympathetic to the cause, and millions of dollars were raised to support these efforts.

The Nineteenth Amendment was finally passed in 1920.

I. Background and Beginning of Movement

What was life like for women in the 1800s?

When Lucy Stone, founder of the American Woman Suffrage Association, was born in 1818, her mother is quoted as saying, "Oh dear! I am sorry it is a girl. A woman's life is so hard!" Her mother, as a farmer's wife, baked and cooked over a wood stove for her family and the hired hands, washed, scrubbed, drew water from an outside well and heated it on the stove, canned, churned, made cheese and soap, plucked chickens, dipped candles, wove and dyed cloth, made the clothes, milked the cows, and cared for her children. Lucy became a teacher when she was 16, earning her board and one dollar a week. It took her nine years to save the $75 needed to enter Oberlin College in Ohio, the only college in the country that offered a degree for females.

Poor women working in the cotton and woolen mills in 1846, worked 12 to 16 hours daily. Many lived six to a room and two to a bed in company boarding houses and were paid $2 a week.

Women were not permitted to give evidence in court, nor, did they have the right to speak in public before an audience.

When a woman married, her husband legally owned all she had (including her earnings, her clothes and jewelry, and her children). If he died, she was entitled to only a third of her husband's estate.

"Out of indignation at the condition of women, the suffrage movement was born. For 70 years it played a leading part in a great struggle to raise womankind to an equality with men." (Women's Rights by Olivia Coolidge.)

Beginning of the Movement for Women's Rights

Public Speaking

Women began to speak out against slavery in the 1830's. Sarah and Angelina Grimke were sisters who were active in the abolitionist movement. They opened the way for women to speak publicly as they traveled around addressing public meetings about the evils of slavery. They became Quakers and worked with Lucretia Mott, a minister in the Quaker Church.

Petitions

During a petition campaign against slavery, southern congressmen tried to forbid the presentation of petitions coming from anti-slavery societies (some of them from female anti-slavery societies). Abigail Adams' son, John Quincy Adams (who was a former president of the United States) spoke for the right of women to sign petitions and collect signatures.

Seneca Falls Convention

Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized a Women's Rights Convention to be held at Seneca Falls, NY in 1848. A Declaration of Sentiments, modeled after the Declaration of Independence, was adopted, along with a set of resolutions calling for women's educational opportunity, equality under the law, and the right to vote. This was a declaration of woman's independence proclaiming that "all men and women are created equal." These women realized that if they had the right to vote they could change laws and customs. Of the 300 people who attended this convention, only one woman, Charlotte Woodward, lived to cast a vote in 1920. There were critics of this convention, as we see from a quote from a New York newspaper: "This bolt is the most shocking and unnatural incident ever recorded in the history of humanity. It will...prove a monstrous injury to all mankind."

Other conventions

Many conventions concerning women's rights were held throughout the country until the beginning of the Civil War. Because of the concern over the evils of slavery, this early movement for women's rights was closely allied with abolitionist concerns, and some conventions dealt with both issues.

One thousand people from 11 states attended the 1850 National Woman's Rights Convention, which was supported by liberal men and women. One newspaper denounced this convention as "a motley gathering of fanatical mongrels, or old grannies, male and female, of fugitive slaves and fugitive lunatics."

II. After the Civil War

Amendments

Widespread agitation for woman suffrage began immediately after the Civil War. After slavery was abolished by passage of the **13th Amendment**, Susan B. Anthony organized the American Equal Rights Association with the goal of attaining civil rights for all women and for black men.

The **14th Amendment** in 1868 established citizenship for all those born in the U. S., but the language included the word "male" in defining citizen. Many hoped that "citizen" would be interpreted to give women the right to vote, but the wording implied that women could be denied the right to vote.

Black men were assured the right to vote in the **15th Amendment**, but all women were still excluded.

Organizations for Women's Rights

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized **the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)** in 1869, with the goal of adding an amendment to the Constitution, which would give all women the right to vote. They were also concerned about other rights for women.

The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), organized by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, was also formed in 1869. This group worked on separate referenda campaigns in each state to get the right to vote and did not get involved with other women's issues.

After 30 years, these two organizations merged to become the **National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)** with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president and woman's suffrage as the main focus. For the next 22 years, this organization worked on the passage of a constitutional amendment and state campaigns for advocating the right to vote for women.

Action in Western States

In 1867, Kansas put a woman suffrage amendment proposal on the ballot. This is the first time the question went to a direct vote; it lost.

In 1869, the Wyoming Territory enacted the first woman suffrage legislation, and in 1890, it was the first state with woman suffrage that was admitted into the Union.

A Look at the Growth of the Woman Suffrage Movement

In the 17 years since Elizabeth Stanton's Seneca Falls meeting (1848-1865), women had conducted:

- 56 referenda campaigns
- 480 campaigns to get state legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters
- 47 campaigns to get state constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions
- 277 campaigns to induce state party conventions to include woman suffrage into state constitutions
- 270 conventions to do the same
- Campaigns in 19 successive Congresses

III. Activists

The Founders:

- Susan B. Anthony
- Lucretia Mott
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- Lucy Stone
- Victoria Woodhull

Some of the Men Behind the Women:

- Henry Blackwell, husband of Lucy Stone
- George Catt
- Frederick Douglass
- William Lloyd Garrison
- James Mott

Women Who Carried On:

- Harriet Stanton Blatch
- Carrie Chapman Catt
- Alice Paul
- Anna Howard Shaw

Organizations

The **American Equal Rights Association** formed in 1866 and, under the leadership of Susan B. Anthony, worked for civil rights for black men and all women. **The National Woman Suffrage Association** held conventions every year, introducing the woman suffrage amendment in every session of Congress from 1868 to 1890. The **American Woman Suffrage Association** worked tirelessly on passage of a constitutional amendment and state campaigns.

Activities

- conventions and campaigns
- lobbying
- letterwriting
- picketing
- petitioning: examples: In 1866, petitions with 10,000 names were sent to Congress; in 1894, petitions with 600,000 signatures were sent to the New York State Constitutional Convention.
- published material: examples: "*The Woman's Journal*" by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell; "*The Revolution*" by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
- rallies
- parades: examples: 1910, first woman suffrage parade; 1912, 20,00 marched in a New York parade; 1913, 5,000 marched in Washington D.C. in Woodrow Wilson's inaugural parade; 1913, 10,000 marched in New York
- attempts to vote: In 1868, in New Jersey, 172 women cast ballots in the presidential election; their votes were not counted. In 1872, Susan B. Anthony and 15 others tried to vote. She was arrested and fined.

Influence from Great Britain

Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns had visited Great Britain and seen suffragists there working toward woman suffrage in more militant ways than those in the U.S. Bringing back those ideas in 1910, they introduced outdoor rallies and parades. Lucy Burns and Alice Paul had been put in jail in England. Returning to this country with more aggressive plans, they formed a separate organization, the **Congressional Union**, which then formed the **National Woman's Party. NAWSA** did not approve of Alice Paul's militant tactics.



Women Who Worked for Woman Suffrage and Equal Rights

- **Jane Addams**: 1860-1935, social reformer, author, peace and suffrage leader; NAWSA first vice president, 1911-1914.
- **Susan Brownell Anthony**: 1820-1906, Quaker, teacher, temperance and abolition organizer, outstanding women's rights leader, took suffrage petitions door-to-door, published *The Revolution*, lectured, was active in state campaigns, spoke cross country for 30 years, became internationally respected symbol of woman's movement.
- **Alva Erskine Smith Vanderbilt Belmont**: 1853-1933, multimillionaire, philanthropist, socially prominent New York suffrage speaker and organizer.
- **Alice Stone Blackwell**: 1857-1950, daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, suffrage writer and journalist, helped merge the two suffrage groups.
- **Harriot Stanton Blatch**: 1818-1894, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, militant leader, fiery speaker, lobbyist, recruited working women to suffrage, organized first large suffrage parades.
- **Amelia Bloomer**: 1818-1894, edited a woman rights paper, dress reform pioneer lecturer. She wore a mode of dress designed with a shorter skirt and a pair of loose Turkish trousers gathered around the ankle. She also advertised this outfit in her magazine, *The Lily*. It became known as the Bloomer Costume.
- **Lucy Burns**: 1879-1966, organizer in England, militant suffrage organizer, lobbyist, speaker, editor, hunger striker.
- **Carrie Lane Chapman Catt**: 1859-1947, field organizer with Susan B. Anthony, reorganized NAWSA to be more political, fundraiser, administrator, opposed militants, founded League of Women Voters.
- **Anna Elizabeth Dickinson**: 1842-1932, Quaker, lecturer, championed Black rights and emancipation of women.
- **Abigail Scott Duniway**: 1834-1915, published a weekly newspaper dedicated to the cause of woman's rights, Oregon's first woman voter.
- **Angelina Emily Grimke**: 1805-1879, woman's rights pioneer, joined Quakers, led anti-slavery meetings.
- **Sarah Moore Grimke**: 1792-1873, lecturer, writer, outspoken advocate of abolition, early champion of women's rights, defender of women's right to speak when it was challenged.
- **Julia Ward Howe**: 1819-1910, author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," founder and leader of AWSA, editor of *The Woman's Journal*, lecturer.
- **Esther Morris**: 1814-1902, moved to Wyoming 1969, encouraged new territory's leaders to pass woman suffrage and property rights legislation, elected first female Justice of the Peace.
- **Lucretia Coffin Mott**: 1793-1880, Quaker minister, leading women's rights pioneer, called first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, NY 1848, president of American Equal Rights Assoc. 1866.
- **Maud Wood Park**: 1871-1955, organizer, civic leader, speaker, lobbyist for 19th Amendment.
- **Alice Stokes Paul**: 1885-1977, Quaker, chief strategist for the militant suffrage wing, founder of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and the National Woman's Party, author of the Equal Rights Amendment, international organizer.
- **Jeannette Pickering Rankin**: 1880-1973, suffrage organizer, elected first U.S. Congresswoman 1917, ran for Senate.
- **Anna Howard Shaw**: 1847-1919, from England to America 1851, first ordained Methodist woman minister 1880, Boston U. medical school 1886, outstanding suffrage orator for 30 years, close associate of Susan B. Anthony, NAWSA president - 1904-1915.

- **Elizabeth Cady Stanton**: 1815-1902, brilliant woman's rights leader, abolitionist, issued call to first women's rights convention, wrote "Declaration of Sentiments" declaring that "men and women are created equal," proposed that women should vote, political partner for 50 years with Susan B. Anthony, popular speaker, forceful writer, drafted resolutions, wrote speeches, ran for Congress 1866, edited *The Revolution*, president of NWSA for 21 years, agitated for constitutional amendment from 1878 onward.
- **Lucy Stone**: 1818-1893, spoke for abolition and women's rights, organized own lectures, married Henry Blackwell and became known for keeping own name to protest restrictive marriage laws, converted Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe to suffrage, refused to pay taxes to protest lack of representation, pressed for both black and woman suffrage, edited *The Woman's Journal* with husband, dying words to daughter were "Make the world better."
- **Sojourner Truth**: 1797-1883, born a slave, preached against prostitution 1830, encouraged brotherly love, spoke at women's rights meetings in 1850s.
- **Victoria Clafin Woodhull**: 1838-1927, declared herself candidate for President of the U.S. 1870; first woman to address Congressional committee urging woman suffrage in 1871; petitioned the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, claiming that the amendments to secure the Negro vote had confirmed it to women also.

The Men Behind the Women

- **Henry Blackwell**: a constant agitator for women's rights, helped publish *The Woman's Journal* with his wife Lucy Stone and daughter Alice Stone Blackwell.
- **George Catt**: an engineer whose support and understanding of his wife Carrie Chapman Catt freed her to devote her time to leading the national suffrage drive.
- **John Dewey**: educator
- **Max Eastman**: editor
- **David Starr Jordan**, Stanford University president

Senator Robert LaFollette

- **James Mott**: Quaker businessman, accompanied his wife Lucretia Mott to the Seneca Falls Convention, chaired the first woman's rights meeting.
- **Parker Pillsbury**: anti-slavery editor who worked on *The Revolution* with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
- Rabbi Stephen Wise
- Stephen Foster, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips: abolitionists who were early supporters of women's rights.
- **Robert Purvis, Frederick Douglass**: prominent black anti-slavery leaders who were lifelong suffrage allies.

IV. Opposition - Anti-Suffragists

- ✓ **Religion** was a factor of opposition in the beginning. Some church people said the Bible placed women under the power and authority of men.
- ✓ **Moralists** felt that women should devote themselves to the spiritual and family side of life; that children would go uncared for and that the morals of the nation would crumble if women got the vote.
- ✓ **The liquor industry** feared that women would outlaw the sale of alcohol. (Francis Willard, head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, adopted suffrage as a major goal.)
- ✓ **Heads of industry** felt that if women had the right to vote, they would work for child labor laws and to improve working conditions in mills and factories.
- ✓ **Some, men and women**, were opposed to change. They liked life the way it was. In 1911, **the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage** published a journal, "*Woman's Protest*."
- ✓ There were **those who believed that women were weaker** physically and mentally than men.
- ✓ **Anti-Suffragists**, both men and women, heckled the suffragists at their meetings and conventions. They also wrote articles and songs, and spoke out against women's right to vote.

V. Victory - The Nineteenth Amendment

The House of Representatives voted for the Anthony Amendment in January of 1918, after President Wilson finally made a public statement of his support. The vote was close. Four representatives, including one who had to be carried in on a stretcher, came from their sick beds to vote for the amendment. One other representative left the deathbed of his wife, a dedicated suffragist, to be present for a yes vote. The amendment then went to the Senate, where, ten months later, the vote for the amendment lost by two votes.

The suffragists continued to lobby, speak, and write for their cause **and in June of 1919, the amendment finally passed the Senate**. Now, the amendment had to be ratified by 36 states. This process took 14 months of more active work. Final ratification came with the vote of the Tennessee legislature, which barely passed it on August 24, 1920. State Representative, Harry Burn, gave a deciding vote. His mother was a suffragist and wrote to him, "Hurrah! And vote for suffrage and don't keep them in doubt."

On August 24, the Secretary of State signed the 19th Amendment into law.

Twenty-six million American women had won the right to vote in all public elections! "Actually, the last threat to woman suffrage was not defeated until February, 1922, when the U.S. Supreme Court handed down the second of two decisions upholding the 19th Amendment against further challenge." *Century of Struggle*, p. 337, *The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, by Eleanor Flexner.

"Women won the vote. They were not given it, granted it, or anything else. They won it as truly as any political campaign is ultimately won or lost."
Robert Cooney, *Women Win the Vote*

What Next?

The League of Women Voters was formed by NAWSA in 1919, for the purpose of educating women in the political process and the issues involved in local, state, and national elections. This organization remains active today.

In 1923, Alice Paul wrote an Equal Rights Amendment which was later introduced into Congress. Modeled after the Anthony Amendment, 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."** In 1971, the amendment was passed by the House of Representatives (354-24). It was passed by the Senate in 1972 (84-8). To become law, the amendment must be ratified by the legislatures of 38 states. By June, 1982, Ohio was one of only 35 states that had ratified it. The suffrage movement "put women back into our national history as participants. It reminds us of the necessity of progressive leaders, organizers, and visionaries in every local community. It is the origin of the yet-unpassed Equal Rights Amendment." (Robert Cooney in *Women Win the Vote*)

August 26, 1971 was first designated as Women's Equality Day, an annual commemoration of the suffrage victory and a reminder of women's continuing efforts for equality. It was 60 years after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment before women became a significant voting block in national elections, and before many women were voted into government offices.

TIME LINE - A 100-YEAR STRUGGLE

1820 Susan B. Anthony born

1830-1840 Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Lucretia Mott and many other women became active in abolitionist movement in North. As women, were criticized for speaking in public and trying to influence political process

1840 Mott was delegate from U.S. to World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Women denied seats and participation. Mott met Elizabeth Cady Stanton there

1848 Mott, Stanton and three other women organized first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York. Attended by over 300 women and a few dozen men. First call for woman suffrage

1850-1860 National women's rights conventions held every year throughout country. Discussion meetings in many small towns

1853 Anthony spoke for women's rights at a teachers' convention

1854 Anthony canvassed Rochester, New York for women's rights petitions

1861 Women's rights national convention held in Albany, New York

1862 Civil War overshadowed women's campaign

1864 Signed petitions for women's rights submitted from all over U.S. and presented to Senator Sumner

1866 American equal Rights Association formed by Anthony, Stanton and Frederick Douglass to work or civil rights for recently freed blacks and all women. Stanton declared herself first woman candidate for Congress

1867 Anthony appointed delegate to Democratic presidential convention

1868 First edition of *Revolution,* Anthony's periodical for women's rights

1869 National Women's Suffrage Association founded by Anthony and Stanton to work for suffrage amendment and other important issues for women.
American Woman Suffrage Association formed by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe for passage of extension of suffrage in various states

1870 15th Amendment granted all men right to vote. Anthony had to give up *Revolution*

1871 Anthony traveled 8000 miles and made 108 suffrage lectures

1872 Anthony and 14 other women arrested for illegally voting

1878 Senator Sargent, California, proposed first woman suffrage amendment to Senate. Defeated

1882 Mary Hall first woman admitted to bar by Connecticut Supreme Court

1883 Anthony fined $100 for voting. Never paid it. Washington Territory granted woman suffrage

1887 Washington Territory repealed woman suffrage

1888 First International Council of Women

1889 Wyoming admitted to Union as full suffrage state, first state to allow women to vote in national elections

1890 National and American Woman Suffrage Associations merged to form National American Woman Suffrage Association led by Stanton

1892 Anthony elected president of National American Woman Suffrage Association

1893 Suffrage passed in Colorado

1896 Anthony's Constitutional amendment for suffrage introduced

1900 Anthony retired from Association; Carrie Chapman Catt new president

1904 Anthory's last speech to a Senate Committee

1906 Anthony died

1908 Harriet Stanton Blatch formed Women's Political Union to increase power of movement

1913 Alice Paul and Lucy Burns formed Congressional Union in support of suffrage

1915 National Woman's Party formed by Congressional Union to campaign against President Wilson in 12 states where women had won the vote

1917 Women's suffrage parade in New York City; picketing at White House

1918 President Wilson declared support for movement
Suffrage amendment passed House of Representatives

1919 Amendment passed Senate

1920 Amendment ratified by necessary 24 states. This became the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and women of the U.S.A. were granted the right to vote.
The League of Women Voters was formed.

(from the National Women's History Project)

Initially, the LWV was created in 1919
as an auxiliary to the National American Suffrage Association.
The League became independent in 1920.

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SOME QUESTIONS TO START THE THINKING PROCESS

1. Who was allowed to vote when the Constitution was first written?
2. What was the abolitionist movement?
3. Why did women want to vote?
4. Why were women criticized for speaking in public?
5. Is suffrage important?
6. What issues besides woman suffrage were Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony concerned with?
7. What did the **American Woman Suffrage Association** and the **National Womans Suffrage Association** have in common?
8. What are the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments?
9. What territory would not come into the Union unless women had the right to vote?
10. What was the Anthony Amendment?
11. What reasons were given for opposing women's right to vote?
12. How was the British suffrage movement different from the American movement?
13. What is the Equal Rights Amendment?
14. Are there still things that need to happen in our society in order for all women to have equal rights under the law?