

**Women Win the Right to Vote**



*Woman Suffrage Headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio, 1912 (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)*

THE GILDER LEHRMAN  
INSTITUTE of AMERICAN HISTORY

TL TEACHING LITERACY  
TH THROUGH HISTORY

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## Women Win the Right to Vote

BY STEVE SCHWARTZ

### UNIT OVERVIEW

This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's Teaching Literacy through History™ resources, designed to align to the Common Core State Standards. These units were developed to enable students to understand, summarize, and evaluate original materials of historical significance. Through a step-by-step process, students will acquire the skills to analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned viewpoints on primary sources.

Over the course of two lessons, students will analyze primary source documents in order to examine the factors that contributed to the exclusion of American women from the right to vote and the battle for full enfranchisement. They will read and interpret complex documents, engage in discussions, and, in order to demonstrate comprehension, answer critical thinking questions.

### UNIT OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to

- Read, view, examine, discuss, and analyze complex documents
- Demonstrate an understanding of the literal and subtler messages in primary source documents
- Compare viewpoints in favor of and against legislation
- Employ information from charts, maps, and images to create a mock editorial

**NUMBER OF CLASS PERIODS:** 2

**GRADE LEVEL(S):** 11–12

### COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7: Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.3: Evaluate a speaker's point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and rhetoric, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.W.11-12.1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

## LESSON 1

### OVERVIEW

In this lesson, students will use written and photographic evidence to examine and explain social, political, and legal opposition to suffrage for women from the colonial period through the early twentieth century.

### OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to

- Read, analyze, and discuss the meaning and importance of passages from primary sources
- Develop answers to critical thinking questions based on primary source texts
- Assess the effectiveness of a pamphlet and photograph in addressing the essential question

### ESSENTIAL QUESTION

What obstacles did women who sought to vote encounter?

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In colonial America, the right to vote was given to property-owning white male adults who were considered to have a stake in society. Historian Steven Mintz, writing in the Gilder Lehrman Institute’s online magazine *History Now*, has noted that “leading colonists associated democracy with disorder and mob rule, and believed that the vote should be restricted to those who owned property or paid taxes.”<sup>1</sup> This qualification excluded most women. Racial and religious qualifications also excluded many others. When a man cast a vote in any sort of election, the vote was cast on behalf of his family. Under the English common law doctrine of coverture, the husband covered his wife’s legal identity under the authority of marriage. Marylynn Salmon, in *History Now*, has written that “the reasoning behind this discrimination rested on the assumption that married women were liable to coercion by their husbands; if a wife voted, legislators argued, it meant that a man cast two ballots. As one man put it, ‘How can a fair one refuse her lover?’ Yet single women were also denied suffrage, a clear sign that more was at stake than the power of a husband to influence his wife’s choice at the polls.”<sup>2</sup>

Voting qualifications were not universally applied throughout the colonies. By 1701 a woman had the right to vote in New York as long as a man permitted it. By the end of the seventeenth century, women who owned property in their own names were given permission to vote in Massachusetts. In 1756, Lydia Taft, a wealthy Massachusetts widow, was allowed to vote in town meetings on at least three occasions in her town of Uxbridge.<sup>3</sup> In 1724 Vermont included the names of women landowners on its polling lists. Women’s names appeared on polling lists in Massachusetts and Connecticut as late as 1775.

At the time of the American Revolution each state drafted its own constitution. While the country won its independence, women did not. Most states incorporated language that excluded women from having the right to vote. Various phrases were used enfranchising “freemen,” “free white men,” “male person,” and “man.” By 1777 women lost the right to vote in New York, by 1780 in Massachusetts, and by 1784 in New Hampshire. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 placed voting qualifications in the hands of each state. In 1776, New Jersey gave the right to vote to “all inhabitants of this colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds . . . and have resided within the county . . . for twelve months.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, large numbers of New Jersey women regularly participated in elections and spoke out on political issues. But they lost this right by 1807.

1 Steven Mintz, “Winning the Vote: A History of Voting Rights,” *History Now* 1 (Fall 2004), <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-now/winning-vote-history-voting-rights>.

2 Marylynn Salmon, “The Legal Status of Women, 1776–1830,” *History Now* 7 (Spring 2006), <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-now/legal-status-women-1776-1830>.

3 “Lydia Chapin Taft—New England’s First Woman Voter,” New England Historical Society, <http://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/lydia-chapin-taft-new-englands-first-woman-voter/>.

4 Constitution of New Jersey, 1776, *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/nj15.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/nj15.asp).

## MATERIALS

- Historical Background (optional)
- “Voting Rights during the Founding Era” activity sheet
- “Critical Thinking Questions: *Some of the Reasons against Woman Suffrage*” activity sheet. Passages from Francis Parkman, *Some of the Reasons against Woman Suffrage*, Boston: Massachusetts Man Suffrage Association, [1905], pp. 2–3, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC06064.
- “Vote NO on Woman Suffrage,” *Household Hints* (New York and Washington DC: National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, post-1911), Equal Suffrage Amendment Collection, Private Collections, State Archives of North Carolina, digital.ncdcr.gov.
- Headquarters, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, photograph by Harris and Ewing, ca. 1911, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, loc.gov/pictures.

## PROCEDURE

1. You may choose to share the Historical Background with the class to provide them with a general overview of women’s suffrage. Do not discuss the content further with the students to allow them to develop an understanding of the topic on their own. You may read the Historical Background out loud, distribute it and have the students read it to themselves, or “share read” the text with the class. This is done by having the students follow along silently while you begin to read aloud, modeling prosody, inflection, and punctuation. Then ask the class to join in with the reading after a few sentences while you continue to read aloud, still serving as the model for the class. This technique will support struggling readers as well as English language learners (ELL).
2. Distribute the “Voting Rights during the Founding Era” activity sheet. This provides three passages from documents addressing voting rights written in the eighteenth century. Read aloud the selection by Blackstone. Model how to answer this question. The students may answer the following two questions individually or in small groups. Bring the class together to discuss answers and select the most appropriate response for each question. All students should record the answer developed by the class.
3. Distribute the “Critical Thinking Questions: *Some of the Reasons against Woman Suffrage*” activity sheet. You may model this activity using the first quotation. The class may work individually, in small groups or with partners.
4. If the students are in partners or groups, have them discuss among themselves what each passage means to them. After giving them discussion time, have the students share their ideas with the class. It is important that the students support their conclusions by referring directly to evidence in the text. If a student says that the quote “Everybody knows that the physical and mental constitution of woman is more delicate than in the other sex” means “women’s brains and strength are weaker than men’s,” ask the student to go back to the quote and underline the parts of the text that support the answer. This will involve the students in discussion and negotiation. The purpose of this activity is for students to put the answers into their own words and demonstrate understanding of the writer’s point of view.
5. Distribute copies of “Vote NO on Woman Suffrage” from *Household Hints*. Ask students or student groups to select one of the “Because” statements.
  - Tell students to place themselves in the position of explaining and defending the “Because” statement they selected, then
  - Make an argument, as a supporter of women’s suffrage, to debunk that argument.
  - Have volunteers report out their arguments.
  - Ask: How does this activity help us understand why it took until 1920 to grant women the right to vote?

6. Distribute or display the photograph of the Headquarters of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Ask the students to carefully examine all aspects of the photograph. Then ask:
  - What might have been the point of view (POV) of the photographer? Have responding students explain their answers.
  - Why is it important to consider the POV before using a primary source such as this photograph?
7. Initiate a discussion of the Essential Question, “What obstacles did women who sought to vote encounter?” Encourage the students to use evidence from the primary sources to support their answers.

## LESSON 2

## OVERVIEW

In this lesson, students will use written documents, charts, broadsides, and maps to examine and explain the arguments, strategies, and objectives of those in favor of female suffrage.

## OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to

- Read, analyze, and evaluate the historical importance of legal documents, photographs, timelines, and broadsides
- Compare information from a map and charts
- Discuss and debate arguments found in the primary sources
- Create an editorial based on the historical points of view expressed in primary sources

## ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How did the women's suffrage movement achieve its goal?

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

*From Steven Mintz, "Winning the Vote: A History of Voting Rights," History Now 1 (Fall 2004), [gilderlehrman.org/history-now/2004-09/elections](http://gilderlehrman.org/history-now/2004-09/elections).*

In 1848, at the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, delegates adopted a resolution calling for women's suffrage. But it would take seventy-two years before most American women could vote. Why did it take so long? Why did significant numbers of women oppose women's suffrage?

The Constitution speaks of "persons"; only rarely does the document use the word "he." The Constitution did not explicitly exclude women from Congress or from the presidency or from juries or from voting. The Fourteenth Amendment includes a clause that says, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

In the presidential election of 1872, supporters of woman suffrage, including Susan B. Anthony, appeared at the polls, arguing that if all citizens had the right to the privileges of citizenship, they could certainly exercise the right to vote. In *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) the US Supreme Court ruled that women could only receive the vote as a result of explicit legislation or constitutional amendment, rather than through interpretation of the implications of the Constitution. In a unanimous opinion, the Court observed that it was "too late" to claim the right of suffrage by implication. It also ruled that suffrage was a matter for the states, not the federal government, to decide.

One group of women, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, sought a constitutional amendment. Another group, led by Lucy Stone, favored a state-by-state approach. In 1890, the two groups merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Rather than arguing in favor of equal rights, the NAWSA initially argued that women would serve to uplift politics and counterbalance the votes of immigrants. Meanwhile, opponents of women's suffrage argued that it would increase family strife, erode the boundaries between masculinity and femininity, and degrade women by exposing them to the corrupt world of politics.

Women succeeded in getting the vote slowly. Wyoming Territory, eager to increase its population, enfranchised women in 1869, followed by Utah, which wanted to counter the increase in non-Mormon voters. Idaho and Colorado also extended the vote to women in the mid-1890s. A number of states, counties, and cities allowed women to vote in municipal elections, for school boards or for other educational issues, and on liquor licenses.

During the early twentieth century, the suffrage movement became better financed and more militant. It attracted growing support from women who favored reforms to help children (such as increased spending on education) and prohibit alcohol. It also attracted growing numbers of working-class women, who viewed politics as the way to improve their wages and working conditions.

World War I helped to fuel support for the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, extending the vote to women. Most suffragists strongly supported the war effort by selling war bonds and making clothing for the troops. In addition, women's suffrage seemed an effective way to demonstrate that the war truly was a war for democracy.

At first, politicians responded to the Nineteenth Amendment by increasingly favoring issues believed to be of interest to women, such as education and disarmament. But as it became clear that women did not vote as a bloc, politicians became less interested in addressing issues of particular interest to them. It would not be until the late twentieth century that a gender gap in voting would become a major issue in American politics.

## MATERIALS

- Historical Background (optional): Steven Mintz, “Winning the Vote: A History of Voting Rights,” Elections, *History Now* 1 (Fall 2004), [gilderlehrman.org/history-now/2004-09/elections](http://gilderlehrman.org/history-now/2004-09/elections).
- Timeline: “One Hundred Years toward Suffrage: An Overview,” compiled by E. Susan Barber, for *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Women’s Suffrage: Selected Images from the Collections of the Library of Congress*, [www.loc.gov](http://www.loc.gov).
- “Analyzing the Declaration of Sentiments” activity sheet
- Teacher’s Resource: “The Declaration of Sentiments,” *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1, edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester, NY: Charles Mann, 1887), 70–71.
- Photograph (optional): Susan B. Anthony, ca. 1880s, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC05150.
- Map: “States Grant Women the Right to Vote,” based on *Centuries of Citizenship: A Constitutional Timeline*, National Constitution Center, [constitutioncenter.org](http://constitutioncenter.org).
- Chart: Voting Rights Dates in States and Territories, *Centuries of Citizenship: A Constitutional Timeline*, National Constitution Center, [constitutioncenter.org](http://constitutioncenter.org).
- Documents:
  - o Broadside: “Women in the Home,” Woman Suffrage Party of the City of New York, New York, NY, ca. 1915, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC08964.
  - o Broadside: “Lincoln Said,” Seattle, Washington, 1910, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09103.
  - o Broadside: “Votes for Women! The Woman’s Reason,” Woman Suffrage Party of New York, New York, NY, ca. 1915, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC08963.
  - o Broadside: “How to Vote for Woman Suffrage Amendment,” 1917, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC08961.
- Document: “Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution,” 1920, *Our Documents*, National Archives, [ourdocuments.gov](http://ourdocuments.gov).

## PROCEDURE

1. Present the following quotation to the class. Either ask a volunteer to read it aloud or read it yourself:

“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 to John Adams, 1776

2. Ask the students to consider the following question: Based on what you have learned about women and the right to vote, what actions to win suffrage for women would be suggested by those following the ideas of Abigail Adams? Lead a short discussion. This may be helpful in eliciting the Essential Question for this lesson: How did the women’s suffrage movement achieve its goal?
3. You may read the Historical Background out loud, distribute it and have the students read it to themselves, or share read the text as described in Lesson 1. Do not discuss the content further with the students as you want them to develop an understanding of the topic on their own. If the students have a sufficient preliminary understanding of the topic, reading the Historical Background may be skipped.
4. Distribute or display copies of the timeline, “One Hundred Years toward Suffrage: An Overview.” Ask students: What progress was made toward women’s suffrage before 1848? Responses may be recorded for later reference.
5. Distribute the “Analyzing the Declaration of Sentiments” activity sheet, which provides passages from the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Sentiments. You may also choose to display the photograph of Susan B. Anthony, who read the Declaration of Sentiments to the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. Depending on the ability of the students, have them read the worksheet silently, ask for volunteers to read sections aloud, or, to assist struggling readers or ELL students, share read the document as described in Lesson 1.
6. Lead the students through the completion of the first box on the right-hand side of the activity sheet comparing the two documents. The students then complete the remaining questions on their own or with partners. Set aside time for discussion and recording of appropriate answers.
7. Divide the class into groups of five or six students, making certain to distribute the students according to varying ability and willingness to participate. Give each group a copy of the map, “States Grant Women the Vote,” and “Voting Rights Dates in States and Territories.” Tell the students that they must work with their group to explain the connections between the map and the chart. Allow sufficient time for examination of the two documents, and then have each group report out. Discuss and then negotiate an acceptable answer.
8. Distribute a copy of one document, “Women in the Home;” “Lincoln Said;” “Votes for Women! The Woman’s Reason;” or “How to Vote for Woman Suffrage Amendment” to each group. Have sufficient copies prepared for later distribution of all the documents to the whole class. Each group should select a recorder and a reader.
9. Ask the students to carefully study the document their group received and together write an explanation of the relationship of the document to the movement for women’s suffrage. Although one student is the recorder, this is a group activity where each student is expected to contribute to the answer. Circulate to ensure participation by each student.
10. Now distribute copies of each document to every student. Ask the reader in each group to report the group’s answer. The class can discuss the effectiveness of the message and format of each document.
11. Distribute or display the Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution and refer to the Essential Question, “How did the women’s suffrage movement achieve its goal?” For a concluding activity a homework assignment, have students imagine they were assigned to write a newspaper editorial in 1920 either supporting or opposing the proposed Nineteenth Amendment. They may take either side, but must remember to base their answer on evidence from the documents.



## Historical Background

In colonial America, the right to vote was given to property-owning white male adults who were considered to have a stake in society. Historian Steven Mintz, writing in the Gilder Lehrman Institute's online magazine *History Now*, has noted that "leading colonists associated democracy with disorder and mob rule, and believed that the vote should be restricted to those who owned property or paid taxes."<sup>1</sup> This qualification excluded most women. Racial and religious qualifications also excluded many others. When a man cast a vote in any sort of election, the vote was cast on behalf of his family. Under the English common law doctrine of coverture, the husband covered his wife's legal identity under the authority of marriage. Marylynn Salmon, in *History Now*, has written that "the reasoning behind this discrimination rested on the assumption that married women were liable to coercion by their husbands; if a wife voted, legislators argued, it meant that a man cast two ballots. As one man put it, 'How can a fair one refuse her lover?' Yet single women were also denied suffrage, a clear sign that more was at stake than the power of a husband to influence his wife's choice at the polls."<sup>2</sup>

Voting qualifications were not universally applied throughout the colonies. By 1701 a woman had the right to vote in New York as long as a man permitted it. By the end of the seventeenth century, women who owned property in their own names were given permission to vote in Massachusetts. In 1756, Lydia Taft, a wealthy Massachusetts widow, was allowed to vote in town meetings on at least three occasions in her town of Uxbridge.<sup>3</sup> In 1724 Vermont included the names of women landowners on its polling lists. Women's names appeared on polling lists in Massachusetts and Connecticut as late as 1775.

At the time of the American Revolution each state drafted its own constitution. While the country won its independence, women did not. Most states incorporated language that excluded women from having the right to vote. Various phrases were used enfranchising "freemen," "free white men," "male person," and "man." By 1777 women lost the right to vote in New York, by 1780 in Massachusetts, and by 1784 in New Hampshire. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 placed voting qualifications in the hands of each state. In 1776, New Jersey gave the right to vote to "all inhabitants of this colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds . . . and have resided within the county . . . for twelve months."<sup>4</sup> Thus, large numbers of New Jersey women regularly participated in elections and spoke out on political issues. But they lost this right by 1807.

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4 Constitution of New Jersey, 1776, *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/nj15.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/nj15.asp).



## ANALYZING THE TEXT

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

## Voting Rights during the Founding Era

“By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs every thing.”

—William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769)

Explain Blackstone’s statement in your own words. \_\_\_\_\_

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“It is dangerous to . . . alter the qualifications of voters; there will be no end of it. New claims will arise; women will demand a vote; . . . every man who has not a farthing, will demand an equal voice with any other, in all acts of state. It tends to confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks to one common level.”

—John Adams to James Sullivan, May 26, 1776  
*Works of John Adams* 9 (Boston, 1854)

Explain the problem Adams envisioned if voter qualifications were changed. \_\_\_\_\_

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One New Jersey opponent of woman suffrage wrote in the 1790s, “It is evident, that women, generally, are neither, by nature, nor habit, nor education, nor by their necessary condition in society, fitted to perform this duty [of voting] with credit to themselves, or advantage to the public.”

—William Griffith, *Eumenes: Being a Collection of Papers* . . .  
(Trenton, NJ: G. Craft, 1799)

How does this comment support the arguments of Blackstone and Adams? \_\_\_\_\_

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### Critical Thinking Questions: *Some of the Reasons against Woman Suffrage*, [1905]

Answer the questions in the boxes on the right side citing evidence from the primary source on the left.

“. . . everybody knows that the physical and mental constitution of woman is more delicate than in the other sex; and, we may add, the relations between mind and body are more intimate and subtle.”

How does the author depict women in this passage?

“It is these and other inherent conditions, joined to the engrossing nature of a woman’s special functions, that have determined through all time her relative position.”

What do you think is meant by the phrase “the engrossing nature of a woman’s special functions”?

“What we have just said . . . is meant as a reminder that her greatest limitations are not of human origin. Men did not make them, and they cannot unmake them. . . . God and Nature have ordained that those subject to them shall not be forced to join in the harsh conflicts of the world militant.”

Why can women expect their role(s) to remain the same?

“To hold the man responsible and yet deprive him of power is neither just nor rational. The man is the natural head of the family, and is responsible for its maintenance and order.”

Is this family system patriarchal or matriarchal?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

## ANALYZING THE TEXT

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

“Woman suffrage must have one of two effects. If, as many of its advocates complain, women are subservient to men, and do nothing but what they desire, then woman suffrage will have no other result than to increase the power of the other sex; if, on the other hand, women vote as they see fit, without regarding their husbands, then unhappy marriages will be multiplied and divorces redoubled. We cannot afford to add to the elements of domestic unhappiness.”

Explain the threat that is posed to the family if women challenge the status quo.

## Vote NO on Woman Suffrage

### *Vote NO on Woman Suffrage*

**BECAUSE** 90% of the women either do not want it, or *do not care*.

**BECAUSE** it means *competition* of women with men instead of *co-operation*.

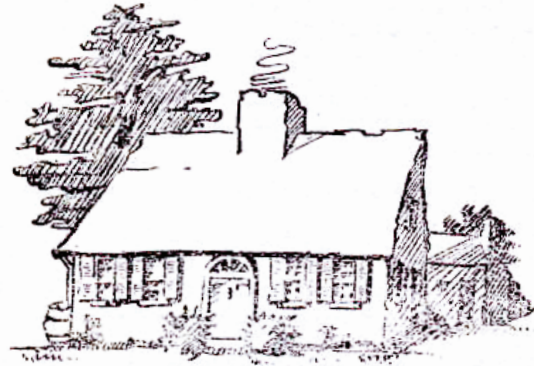
**BECAUSE** 80% of the women eligible to vote are married and can only double or annul their husbands' votes.

**BECAUSE** it can be of no benefit commensurate with the additional expense involved.

**BECAUSE** in some States more voting women than voting men will place the Government under petticoat rule.

**BECAUSE** it is unwise to risk the good we already have for the evil which may occur.

### *Household Hints*



#### **National Association OPPOSED to Woman Suffrage**

Headquarters  
268 Madison Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

Branch  
726 Fourteenth Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

**Votes of Women can accomplish no more  
than votes of Men. Why waste time,  
energy and money, without result?**

National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, New York and Washington DC, post-1911  
(Equal Suffrage Amendment Collection, Private Collections, State Archives of North Carolina)

## Headquarters, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, post 1911



Photograph by Harris and Ewing, ca. 1911 (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

## Historical Background

From Steven Mintz, “Winning the Vote: A History of Voting Rights,” *History Now 1 (Fall 2004)*, [gilderlehrman.org/history-now/2004-09/elections](http://gilderlehrman.org/history-now/2004-09/elections).

In 1848, at the first women’s rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, delegates adopted a resolution calling for women’s suffrage. But it would take seventy-two years before most American women could vote. Why did it take so long? Why did significant numbers of women oppose women’s suffrage?

The Constitution speaks of “persons”; only rarely does the document use the word “he.” The Constitution did not explicitly exclude women from Congress or from the presidency or from juries or from voting. The Fourteenth Amendment includes a clause that says, “No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.”

In the presidential election of 1872, supporters of woman suffrage, including Susan B. Anthony, appeared at the polls, arguing that if all citizens had the right to the privileges of citizenship, they could certainly exercise the right to vote. In *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) the US Supreme Court ruled that women could only receive the vote as a result of explicit legislation or constitutional amendment, rather than through interpretation of the implications of the Constitution. In a unanimous opinion, the Court observed that it was “too late” to claim the right of suffrage by implication. It also ruled that suffrage was a matter for the states, not the federal government, to decide.

One group of women, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, sought a constitutional amendment. Another group, led by Lucy Stone, favored a state-by-state approach. In 1890, the two groups merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Rather than arguing in favor of equal rights, the NAWSA initially argued that women would serve to uplift politics and counterbalance the votes of immigrants. Meanwhile, opponents of women’s suffrage argued that it would increase family strife, erode the boundaries between masculinity and femininity, and degrade women by exposing them to the corrupt world of politics.

Women succeeded in getting the vote slowly. Wyoming Territory, eager to increase its population, enfranchised women in 1869, followed by Utah, which wanted to counter the increase in non-Mormon voters. Idaho and Colorado also extended the vote to women in the mid-1890s. A number of states, counties, and cities allowed women to vote in municipal elections, for school boards or for other educational issues, and on liquor licenses.

During the early twentieth century, the suffrage movement became better financed and more militant. It attracted growing support from women who favored reforms to help children (such as increased spending on education) and prohibit alcohol. It also attracted growing numbers of working-class women, who viewed politics as the way to improve their wages and working conditions.

World War I helped to fuel support for the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, extending the vote to women. Most suffragists strongly supported the war effort by selling war bonds and making clothing for the troops. In addition, women’s suffrage seemed an effective way to demonstrate that the war truly was a war for democracy.

At first, politicians responded to the Nineteenth Amendment by increasingly favoring issues believed to be of interest to women, such as education and disarmament. But as it became clear that women did not vote as a bloc, politicians became less interested in addressing issues of particular interest to them. It would not be until the late twentieth century that a gender gap in voting would become a major issue in American politics.



## One Hundred Years toward Suffrage: An Overview

*Timeline created to accompany Votes for Women: The Struggle for Women's Suffrage: Selected Images from the Collections of the Library of Congress, 1997, compiled by E. Susan Barber with Barbara Orbach Natanson, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.*

1776

Abigail Adams writes to her husband, John, who is attending the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, asking that he and the other men—who were at work on the Declaration of Independence—“Remember the Ladies.” John responds with humor. The Declaration’s wording specifies that “all men are created equal.”

1820 to 1880

Evidence from a variety of printed sources published during this period—advice manuals, poetry and literature, sermons, medical texts—reveals that Americans, in general, held highly stereotypical notions about women’s and men’s roles in society. Historians would later term this phenomenon “The Cult of Domesticity.”

1821

Emma Hart Willard founds the Troy Female Seminary in New York—the first endowed school for girls.

1833

Oberlin College becomes the first coeducational college in the United States. In 1841, Oberlin awards the first academic degrees to three women. Early graduates include Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown.

1836

Sarah Grimké begins her speaking career as an abolitionist and a women’s rights advocate. She is eventually silenced by male abolitionists who consider her public speaking a liability.

1837

The first National Female Anti-Slavery Society convention meets in New York City. Eighty-one delegates from twelve states attend.

1837

Mary Lyon founds Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts, eventually the first four-year college exclusively for women in the United States. Mt. Holyoke was followed by Vassar in 1861, and Wellesley and Smith Colleges, both in 1875. In 1873, the School Sisters of Notre Dame found a school in Baltimore, Maryland, which would eventually become the nation’s first college for Catholic women.

1839

Mississippi passes the first Married Woman’s Property Act.

1844

Female textile workers in Massachusetts organize the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association (LFLRA) and demand a 10-hour workday. This was one of the first permanent labor associations for working women in the United States.

1848

The first women’s rights convention in the United States is held in Seneca Falls, New York. Many participants sign a “Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions” that outlines the main issues and goals for the emerging women’s movement. Thereafter, women’s rights meetings are held on a regular basis.

1849

Harriet Tubman escapes from slavery. Over the next ten years she leads many slaves to freedom by the Underground Railroad.

- 1850  
Amelia Jenks Bloomer launches the dress reform movement with a costume bearing her name. The Bloomer costume was later abandoned by many suffragists who feared it detracted attention from more serious women's rights issues.
- 1851  
Former slave Sojourner Truth delivers her "Ain't I a Woman?" speech before a spellbound audience at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio.
- 1852  
Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which rapidly becomes a bestseller.
- 1859  
The successful vulcanization of rubber provides women with reliable condoms for the first time. The birth rate in the United States continues its downward, century-long spiral. By the late 1900s, women will raise an average of only two to three children, in contrast to the five or six children they raised at the beginning of the century.
- 1861 to 1865  
The American Civil War disrupts suffrage activity as women, North and South, divert their energies to war work. The war itself, however, serves as a training ground, as women gain important organizational and occupational skills they will later use in postbellum organizational activity.
- 1865 to 1880  
Southern white women create Confederate memorial societies to help preserve the memory of the Lost Cause. This activity propels many white southern women into the public sphere for the first time. During this same period, newly emancipated black southern women form thousands of organizations aimed at "uplifting the race."
- 1866  
Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony form the American Equal Rights Association, an organization for white and black women and men dedicated to the goal of universal suffrage.
- 1868  
The Fourteenth Amendment is ratified, which extends to all citizens the protections of the Constitution against unjust state laws. This Amendment was the first to define "citizens" and "voters" as "male."
- 1869  
The women's rights movement splits into two factions as a result of disagreements over the Fourteenth and soon-to-be-passed Fifteenth Amendments. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony form the more radical, New York-based National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe organize the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which is centered in Boston. In this same year, the Wyoming territory is organized with a woman suffrage provision. In 1890, Wyoming was admitted to the Union with its suffrage provision intact.
- 1870  
The Fifteenth Amendment enfranchises black men. NWSA refuses to work for its ratification, arguing, instead, that it be "scrapped" in favor of a Sixteenth Amendment providing universal suffrage. Frederick Douglass breaks with Stanton and Anthony over NWSA's position.
- 1870 to 1875  
Several women—including Virginia Louisa Minor, Victoria Woodhull, and Myra Bradwell—attempt to use the Fourteenth Amendment in the courts to secure the vote (Minor and Woodhull) or the right to practice law (Bradwell). They all are unsuccessful.
- 1872  
Susan B. Anthony is arrested and brought to trial in Rochester, New York, for attempting to vote for Ulysses S. Grant in the presidential election. At the same time, Sojourner Truth appears at a polling booth in Battle Creek, Michigan, demanding a ballot; she is turned away.

- 1874 The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is founded by Annie Wittenmyer. With Frances Willard at its head (1876), the WCTU became an important force in the fight for woman suffrage. Not surprisingly, one of the most vehement opponents to women's enfranchisement was the liquor lobby, which feared women might use the franchise to prohibit the sale of liquor.
- 1878 A Woman Suffrage Amendment is introduced in the US Congress. The wording is unchanged in 1919, when the amendment finally passes both houses.
- 1890 The NWSA and the AWSA are reunited as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. During this same year, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr found Hull House, a settlement house project in Chicago's 19th Ward. Within one year, there are more than a hundred settlement houses—largely operated by women—throughout the United States. The settlement house movement and the Progressive campaign of which it was a part propelled thousands of college-educated white women and a number of women of color into lifetime careers in social work. It also made women an important voice to be reckoned with in American politics.
- 1891 Ida B. Wells launches her nation-wide anti-lynching campaign after the murder of three black businessmen in Memphis, Tennessee.
- 1893 Hannah Greenbaum Solomon founds the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) after a meeting of the Jewish Women's Congress at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois. In that same year, Colorado becomes the first state to adopt a state amendment enfranchising women.
- 1895 Elizabeth Cady Stanton publishes *The Woman's Bible*. After its publication, NAWSA moves to distance itself from this venerable suffrage pioneer because many conservative suffragists considered her to be too radical and, thus, potentially damaging to the suffrage campaign. From this time, Stanton—who had resigned as NAWSA president in 1892—was no longer invited to sit on the stage at NAWSA conventions.
- 1896 Mary Church Terrell, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Margaret Murray Washington, Fanny Jackson Coppin, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Charlotte Forten Grimké, and former slave Harriet Tubman meet in Washington DC to form the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).
- 1903 Mary Dreier, Rheta Childe Dorr, Leonora O'Reilly, and others form the Women's Trade Union League of New York, an organization of middle- and working-class women dedicated to unionization for working women and to woman suffrage. This group later became a nucleus of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).
- 1911 The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) is organized. Led by Mrs. Arthur Dodge, its members included wealthy, influential women and some Catholic clergymen—including Cardinal Gibbons who, in 1916, sent an address to NAOWS's convention in Washington DC. In addition to the distillers and brewers, who worked largely behind the scenes, the "antis" also drew support from urban political machines, southern congressmen, and corporate capitalists—like railroad magnates and meatpackers—who supported the antis by contributing to their war chests.

- 1912**  
Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive (Bull Moose/Republican) Party becomes the first national political party to adopt a woman suffrage plank.
- 1913**  
Alice Paul and Lucy Burns organize the Congressional Union, later known as the National Women's Party (1916). Borrowing the tactics of the radical, militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in England, members of the Woman's Party participate in hunger strikes, picket the White House, and engage in other forms of civil disobedience to publicize the suffrage cause.
- 1914**  
The National Federation of Women's Clubs—which by this time included more than two million white women and women of color throughout the United States—formally endorses the suffrage campaign.
- 1916**  
NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt unveils her “winning plan” for suffrage victory at a convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Catt's plan required the coordination of activities by a vast cadre of suffrage workers in both state and local associations.
- 1916**  
Jeannette Rankin of Montana becomes the first American woman elected to represent her state in the US House of Representatives.
- 1918 to 1920**  
The Great War (World War I) intervenes to slow down the suffrage campaign as some—but not all—suffragists decide to shelve their suffrage activism in favor of war work. In the long run, however, this decision proves to be a prudent one as it adds yet another reason why women deserved the vote.
- June 1919**  
Congress passes the Nineteenth Amendment and sends it out to the states for ratification.
- August 26, 1920**  
The Nineteenth Amendment is ratified. Its victory accomplished, NAWSA ceases to exist, but its organization becomes the nucleus of the League of Women Voters.
- 1923**  
The National Woman's Party first proposes the Equal Rights Amendment to eliminate discrimination on the basis of gender. It has never been ratified.



## ANALYZING THE TEXT

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PERIOD \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

### Analyzing the Declaration of Sentiments

Declaration of Independence	Declaration of Sentiments	Critical Thinking Questions
<p>“ . . . When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.</p> <p>We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. —That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, —That 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.”</p>	<p>“ . . . When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.</p> <p>We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a 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.”</p>	<p>Compare the paragraphs from the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Sentiments.</p> <p>Identify the similarities and differences in the two documents.</p>

Declaration of Independence	Declaration of Sentiments	Critical Thinking Questions
<p>“Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. —Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.”</p>	<p>“Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.</p> <p>The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.”</p>	<p>Compare these two paragraphs of the Declaration of Sentiments and the Declaration of Independence.</p> <p>What is the core argument being made in this section of the two documents? (Cite evidence from the documents to support your answer.)</p>

Declaration of Independence	Declaration of Sentiments	Critical Thinking Questions
<p>“He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good . . .</p> <p>He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people . . .</p> <p>He has obstructed the Administration of Justice . . .</p> <p>He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us . . .”</p>	<p>“He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.</p> <p>He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.</p> <p>He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.</p> <p>Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.</p> <p>He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead . . .</p> <p>He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration . . .”</p>	<p>In this section of both the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Sentiments, the words “He has” are used repeatedly.</p> <p>Which of these arguments in the Declaration of Sentiments do you find the most persuasive and why?</p> <p>Which of the accusations in this section of the Declaration of Sentiments are most directly related to the issue of suffrage for women? Explain your selection(s).</p>

Declaration of Independence	Declaration of Sentiments	Critical Thinking Questions
<p>In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury . . . We have warned them from time to time of attempts . . . to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us . . . We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity . . . They too have been deaf to the voice of justice . . .</p> <p>We, therefore, . . . publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States.</p>	<p>He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her . . .</p> <p>He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.</p> <p>Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.</p>	<p>Why did the authors of the Declaration of Sentiments use the following words in this section: <i>degradation, aggrieved, oppressed, fraudulently deprived</i>?</p> <p>How do the demands in the final paragraphs compare? (Cite evidence from the documents to support your answer.)</p>



## The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Convention (July 1848)

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a 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. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

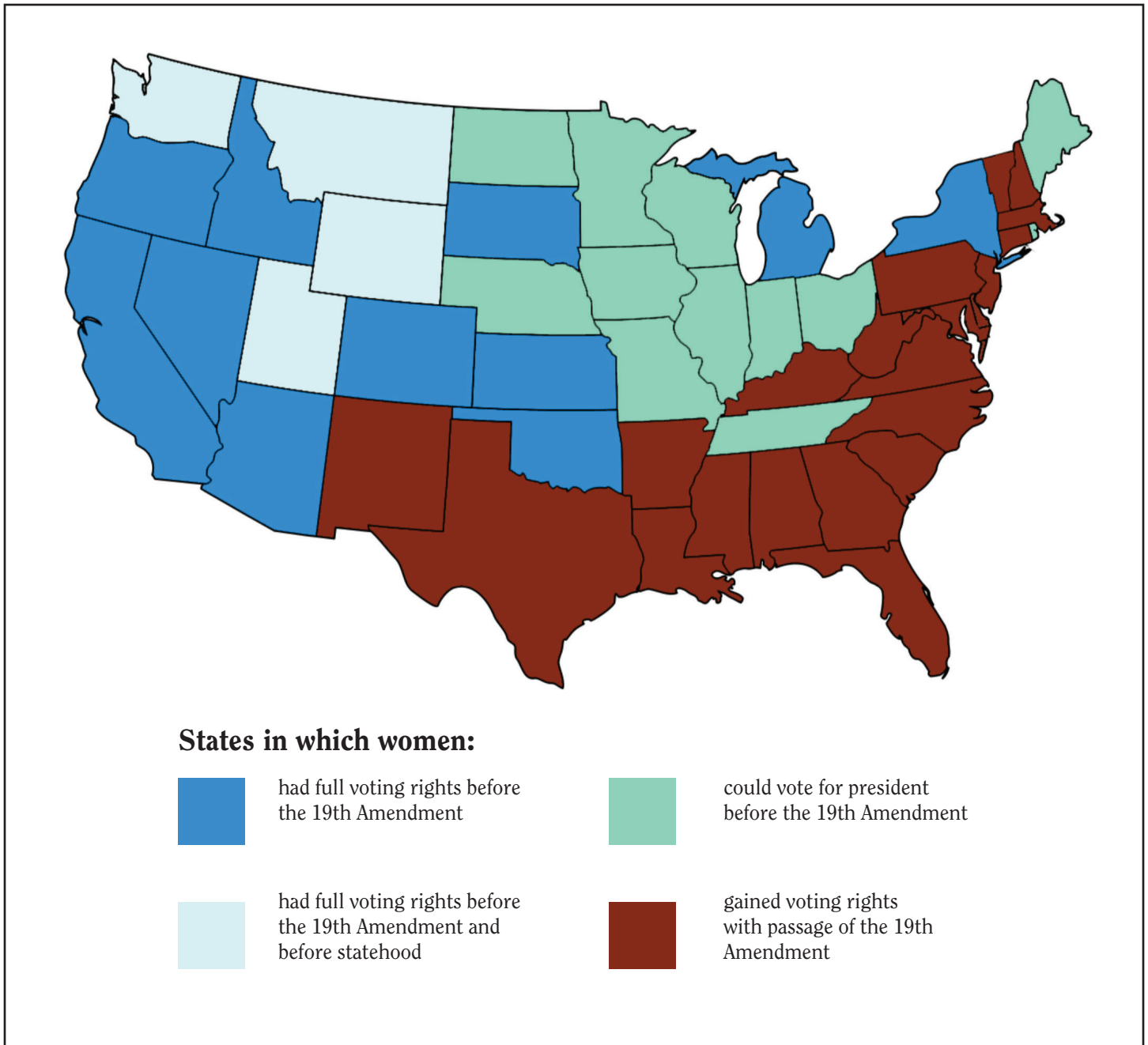
Source: *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester, NY: Charles Mann, 1887), 70–71.

Susan B. Anthony, ca. 1880s



The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC05150

### States Grant Women the Right to Vote



*Centuries of Citizenship: A Constitutional Timeline*, National Constitution Center

## Voting Rights Dates in States and Territories

While fighting for an amendment to the US Constitution, the women's suffrage movement also waged a state-by-state campaign.

Type of Voting Authorized	Territories and States in Order of Adoption
Territories granting women full voting rights before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment and before they received statehood	Territory of Wyoming, 1869 Territory of Utah, 1870 Territory of Washington, 1883 Territory of Montana, 1887 Territory of Alaska, 1913
States granting women the right to vote before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment	Wyoming, 1890 Colorado, 1893 Utah, 1896 Idaho, 1896 Washington, 1910 California, 1911 Arizona, 1912 Kansas, 1912 Oregon, 1912 Montana, 1914 Nevada, 1914 New York, 1917 Michigan, 1918 Oklahoma, 1918 South Dakota, 1918
States where women could vote for president before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment	Illinois, 1913 Nebraska, 1917 Ohio, 1917 Indiana, 1917 North Dakota, 1917 Rhode Island, 1917 Iowa, 1919 Maine, 1919 Minnesota, 1919 Missouri, 1919 Tennessee, 1919 Wisconsin, 1919

States where women gained the right to vote through the Nineteenth Amendment	Vermont New Hampshire Massachusetts Connecticut Pennsylvania New Jersey Delaware Maryland West Virginia Virginia North Carolina South Carolina Georgia Alabama Florida Mississippi Louisiana Arkansas Texas New Mexico Kentucky
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## Women in the Home, ca. 1915

### WOMEN IN THE HOME

We are forever being told that the place for women is in the HOME. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she does certain things for the home. She must make the home minister, as far as her means allow, to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.

SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

SHE is responsible for the children's health.

SHE, above all, is responsible for their morals, for their sense of truth, of honesty and decency, for what they turn out to be.

#### How Far Can the Mother Control These Things?

She can clean her own rooms, BUT if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad air and smells, or from being infested with vermin.

She can cook her food well, BUT if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and the refuse of her own home, BUT if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection that these conditions bring.

She can take every care to avoid fire, BUT if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are insufficient or not fire-proof, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, BUT if the air is laden with infection, with tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, BUT if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot protect them from these dangers.

ALONE, she CANNOT make these things right. WHO or WHAT can? THE CITY can do it—the CITY GOVERNMENT that is elected BY THE PEOPLE, to take care of the interest of THE PEOPLE.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

FIRST, the officials of that government; and,

SECOND, those who elect them.

DO THE WOMEN ELECT THEM? NO, the men do. So it is the MEN and NOT THE WOMEN that are really responsible for the

UNCLEAN HOUSES

UNWHOLESOME FOOD

RISK OF TUBERCULOSIS AND OTHER DISEASES

IMMORAL INFLUENCES OF THE STREET.

BAD PLUMBING

DANGER OF FIRE

In fact, MEN are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold WOMEN responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one simple way of doing this. Give them the same means that men have. LET THEM VOTE.

Women are, by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Headquarters: 30 East 34th Street, Southwest cor. Madison Avenue



## Lincoln Said, ca. 1910

# LINCOLN SAID

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Seventy-five years ago Abraham Lincoln said: "I go for all sharing the privileges of government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women."

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# WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

POSTER SUPPLEMENT TO *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 495-496 ARCADE, SEATTLE, U.S.A.

WHITE & DAVIS  
PRINTING CO.  SEATTLE

*The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09103*



## Votes for Women! The Woman's Reason, ca. 1915

# VOTES FOR WOMEN! THE WOMAN'S REASON. BECAUSE

- BECAUSE** women must obey the laws just as men do,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** women pay taxes just as men do, thus supporting the government,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** women suffer from bad government just as men do,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** mothers want to make their children's surroundings better,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** over 8,000,000 women in the United States are wage workers and their health and that of our future citizens are often endangered by evil working conditions that can only be remedied by legislation,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** women of leisure who attempt to serve the public welfare should be able to support their advice by their votes,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** busy housemothers and professional women cannot give such public service, and can only serve the state by the same means used by the busy man—namely, by casting a ballot,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** women need to be trained to a higher sense of social and civic responsibility, and such sense develops by use,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** women are consumers, and consumers need fuller representation in politics,  
They should vote **equally with men.**
- BECAUSE** women are citizens of a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and women are people.  
They should vote **equally with men.**

**EQUAL SUFFRAGE FOR MEN AND WOMEN.**

**WOMEN** Need It.  
**MEN** Need It.  
The **STATE** Needs It.

## WHY?

**BECAUSE**

**Women Ought To GIVE Their Help.**  
**Men Ought To HAVE Their Help.**  
**The State Ought To USE Their Help.**

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### WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Headquarters: 30 East 34th Street, Southwest cor. Madison Avenue



*The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC08963*

## How to Vote for Woman Suffrage, 1917

# How To Vote For Woman Suffrage Amendment, Election Day, November 6th, 1917

THE FORM OF BALLOT WILL BE AS FOLLOWS

<b>YES</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<b>AMENDMENT No. 1</b>
		Shall the proposed amendment to section
		one of article two of the Constitution, confer-
		ring equal suffrage upon women, be ap-
<b>NO</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	proved?

<b>YES</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>AMENDMENT No. 2</b>
		Shall the proposed amendment to section
		ten of article eight of the Constitution, etc.
<b>NO</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

**Vote "YES" on Amendment No. 1**  
as marked above

**N. Y. State Woman Suffrage Party**

109 STATE STREET, ALBANY, N. Y.



## Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, 1920

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.