

## Selected Activities for National Council for History Education Annual Conference

March 15, 2019

### Additional Resources

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

<https://voicesofhistory.org/virtues/stronghold-fortress-elizabeth-cady-stanton-womens-rights-justice/#summary>

Angelina Grimké

<https://voicesofhistory.org/virtues/angelina-grimke-self-%C2%ADevident-truth/#summary>

Votes for Women

<http://https://www.docsoffreedom.org/readings/votes-for-women>

Women in the Gilded Age

<http://https://voicesofhistory.org/gilded-age-and-progressive-era/women-gilded-age-progressive-era/#summary>

Carrie Chapman Catt: The Woman of the Hour and Purpose

<http://https://voicesofhistory.org/virtues/carrie-chapman-catt-woman-hour-purpose/#summary>

Jeannette Rankin: The First Woman in Congress

<https://billofrightsinstitute.org/elessons/jeannette-rankin-the-first-woman-in-congress/>

Voting

<http://https://www.docsoffreedom.org/readings/voting>

# VOTES *for* WOMEN

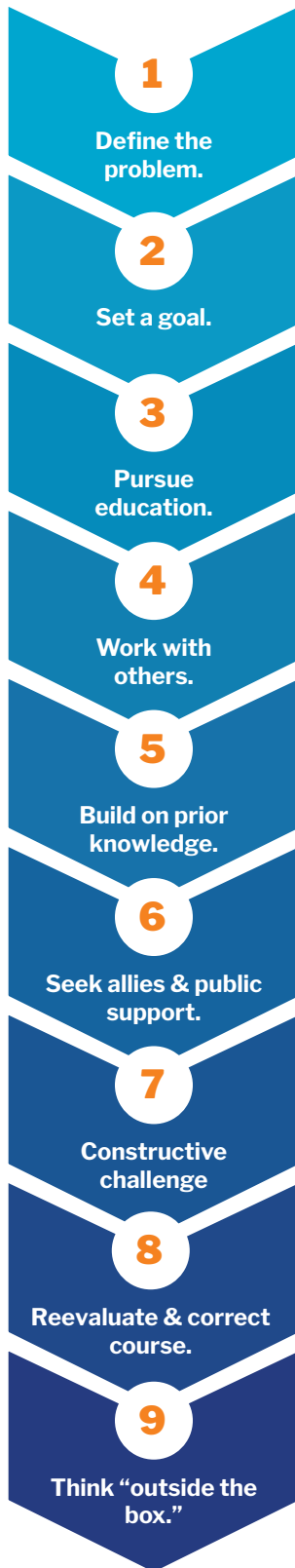
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COMING SOON

For the complete curriculum,  
please visit  
**[BillofRightsInstitute.org/  
VotesforWomen](http://BillofRightsInstitute.org/VotesforWomen)**  
in April, 2019.

# A Pathway for Change



## Driving Question

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

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

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

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

**Directions:** Trace the steps in women’s battle to win legal equality and the right to vote by filling in dates, people, and methods by which reformers carried out each of the steps below as described in *Votes for Women: the Story of the Nineteenth Amendment*.

Steps Toward Change	Women’s Suffrage Movement	Women’s Suffrage Effectiveness (+ or -) Justify your evaluation.
1. Define the problem.		
2. State a goal.		
3. Pursue education.		
4. Work with others to organize and set interim goals.		

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5. Build on prior knowledge of similar or related efforts.

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

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

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

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

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# Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? (1866-1890)

## OVERVIEW

In this lesson, students will examine the growth of the women's suffrage movement after the Civil War and analyze the ways the Constitution and the Bill of Rights empower all individuals to express their political voices.

## OBJECTIVES

- Students will describe the growth of the women's suffrage movement and its controversies following the Civil War.
- Students will analyze important primary sources in the story of the fight for women's suffrage.
- Students will assess the ways the Constitution and the Bill of Rights empower all citizens to express their political voice.

## MATERIALS

- Background Essay: Shall Women Have the Right to Vote?
- Handout A: Political Cartoon Analysis: "The Age of Brass" and "I Wonder if It's Really Becoming"
- Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet
- Handout C: A Movement Divided
- Handout D: Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?
- Handout E: Suffrage by State
- Handout F: Women's Political Voices
- Appendix A: Amending the Constitution
- Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes
- Appendix C: Timeline Cards
- Appendix G: A Pathway for Change

## VOCABULARY

- Cult of Domesticity
- republicanism
- National Woman Suffrage Association
- American Woman Suffrage Association

## STANDARDS

- **National Standards for U.S. History: Era 6 1870-1900**
  - » Standard 3: The rise of the American labor movement and how political issues reflected social and economic changes
- **National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies:**
  - » Theme 2: Time, Continuity, and Change
  - » Theme 6: Power, Authority, and Governance
  - » Theme 10: Civic Ideals and Practices

## QUOTES

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

..... –SUSAN B. ANTHONY TO CONGRESS, 1865

..... “We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women!”

..... –WYOMING LEGISLATURE TELEGRAM TO CONGRESS, 1890

# Lesson Plan

## Background/Homework » 15-30 min.

- A. If students have not done so already, have them read **Appendix A: Amending the Constitution** and answer the questions about the process the Constitution sets forth for amendments.
- B. Still using **Appendix A** as a resource, have students write a brief reflection in response to this question: The United States constitutional system is designed to respect the authority of the people in individual states to make laws that are different from state to state. How does the Constitution's amendment process illustrate the principle of federalism?
- C. Have students read **Background Essay: Shall Women Have the Right to Vote?** and answer the questions.

## Warm-up » 15 minutes

- A. Project, hand out, or post in the room copies of the pair of political cartoons: **Handout A: Political Cartoon Analysis: “The Age of Brass” and “I Wonder if it’s Really Becoming?”**
- B. Have students work in small groups of at least 4. Subdivide the groups and give half of each small group one of the cartoons along with **Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet**. Ask students to examine the cartoons closely, complete **Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet** for each of the cartoons, and then compare the two cartoons within their groups.
- C. Then reconvene the whole class and discuss the following questions:
  1. What are some of the obstacles that suffragists faced?
  2. How does the movement for women's suffrage embody the principles of equality, consent of the governed, and representative government?
  3. How are those principles portrayed differently in the two cartoons?
  4. In what ways are the cartoons alike?
  5. You may wish to clarify some of the terminology in the cartoons. For example, focusing on the titles of the cartoons, one meaning of “brass” is impertinence, audacity, shamelessness. Also, students may not be familiar with the use of “becoming” to mean “attractive.”

## Activity 1 » 15 minutes

- A. Distribute **Handout C: A Movement Divided** and have students complete the table using their Background Essays as a reference.
- B. Ask for volunteers to share their responses to the review questions from **Background Essay**, and discuss as a large group.

## Activity 2 » 15 minutes

- A. With students working in pairs or trios, distribute and have students analyze Susan B. Anthony's speech justifying her decision to vote illegally by completing **Handout D: Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?**
- B. Discuss the answers as a large group.

## Wrap-up » 15 minutes

- A. Discuss with students the concept of historical thinking. For example: Have students make a T-chart on their paper and quickly list some advantages and disadvantages of the instant communication technology available to them today. Then, on a second T-chart, have them list advantages and disadvantages that people might have experienced before the communication and transportation technologies that emerged after 1900. Then, lead a discussion of questions such as these
  1. Does it seem unusual to us that Susan B. Anthony would travel around her county in the Rochester, New York area giving speeches? To what extent is a speaking tour important for influential leaders today? What other options for informing the public and generating support are available today?
  2. What is the difference between reading a short tweet on our phones and seeing/hearing someone deliver a speech in person? What are some things you experience with the latter that you cannot with the former?
  3. How is generating support for a reform movement different today than it may have been in the post-Civil War period?
  4. How can easy access to technology benefit individuals and groups in their political rights and responsibilities?
  5. To what extent might easy access to technology cause us to take our political rights and responsibilities for granted?
- B. Use **Appendix G: A Pathway for Change** to determine where in the pathway the women's movement seems to be by 1890.

- C. Have students use **Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes** for reference while they label and shade in Wyoming, Utah, Washington, and Montana on **Handout E: Suffrage by State**. (Note: The map will be used again in the next lesson).

## Extension Options

- A. As a class, brainstorm significant accomplishments of women in U.S. history prior to 1890.  
Note: You can do this activity even if you have not done the previous lessons in this curriculum. Students can use other books, online sources, and outside knowledge to fill in the information. Distribute **Handout F: Women’s Political Voices** and have students select 2-3 additional people/ accomplishments to fill in the chart. Have them complete the chart for homework, and then debrief on ways that the rights protected in the Constitution and Bill of Rights empower all individuals to persuade their fellow citizens of their views.
- B. Play an audio version or have students read the entire speech, “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?” Anthony’s speech is available at “Civil Rights and Conflict in the United States: Selected Speeches by FCIT,” Florida Center for Instructional Technology, College of Education, University of South Florida. Students should write a brief reflection in response explaining which of Anthony’s constitutional arguments they believe was the strongest and why.
- C. Have students draw their own pro-suffrage and/or anti-suffrage cartoons.

## FOR FURTHER READING

- ⋮ Baker, Jean. *Sisters: The Lives of America’s Suffragists* (2006)
- ⋮ Flexner, Eleanor, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography*, Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, Inc. (1972)
- ⋮ Flexner, Eleanor and Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Women’s Rights Movement in the United States*, Belknap Press (1996)

# Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? (1866-1890)

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

## Discussion Questions

- How had the work of women to end slavery helped them develop skills that would ultimately be useful in the women’s suffrage struggle?
- What might be meant by the term, “the conscience of the nation,” and how did the fight against slavery help demonstrate that concept?
- What arguments might have been made against women’s suffrage?
- Why were Western states the first to grant suffrage to women?

## Introduction

After the Civil War, the nation was finally poised to extend the promise of liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence to newly-emancipated African Americans. But the women’s suffrage movement was split: should women push to be included in the Fifteenth Amendment? Should they wait for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to be adopted before turning to women’s suffrage, or should they seize the moment and demand the vote now? Not content to wait, Susan B. Anthony and other workers in the movement engaged in civil disobedience in order to wake the conscience of a nation. Meanwhile, railroads opened the West to settlement, and Western territories tried to boost population by offering votes for women.

Life for women in the mid-nineteenth century was as diverse as it is now. What was considered “socially appropriate” behavior for women varied

widely across the country, based on region, social class, and other factors. Branches of the women’s suffrage movement disagreed regarding tactics, and some women (and many men) did not even believe women’s suffrage was appropriate or necessary. Ideals of the Cult of Domesticity, in which women were believed to possess the natural virtues of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness, were still a powerful influence on culture. An important debate and split in the women’s suffrage movement between a state and national strategy emerged during this period.

## The Cult of True Womanhood

The Cult of Domesticity, also known as the Cult of True Womanhood, affirmed the idea that natural differences between the sexes meant women, especially those of the upper

and middle classes, were too delicate for work outside the home. According to this view, such women were more naturally suited to parenting, teaching, and making homes, which were their natural “sphere,” happy and peaceful for their families. In other words, it was unnatural and unladylike for women to work outside the home. Educator and political activist, Catharine Beecher, wrote in 1871, “Woman’s great mission is to train immature, weak, and ignorant creatures [children] to obey the laws of God... first in the family, then in the school, then in the neighborhood, then in the nation, then in the world.” For Beecher and other writers, the role of homemaker was held up as an honored and dignified position for women, worthy of high esteem. Their contribution to public life would include managing the home in a manner that would support their husbands. According to this conception of the roles of men and women, men were considered to be exhausted, soiled and corrupted by their participation in work and politics, and needed a peaceful, pure home life to enable them to recover their virtue.

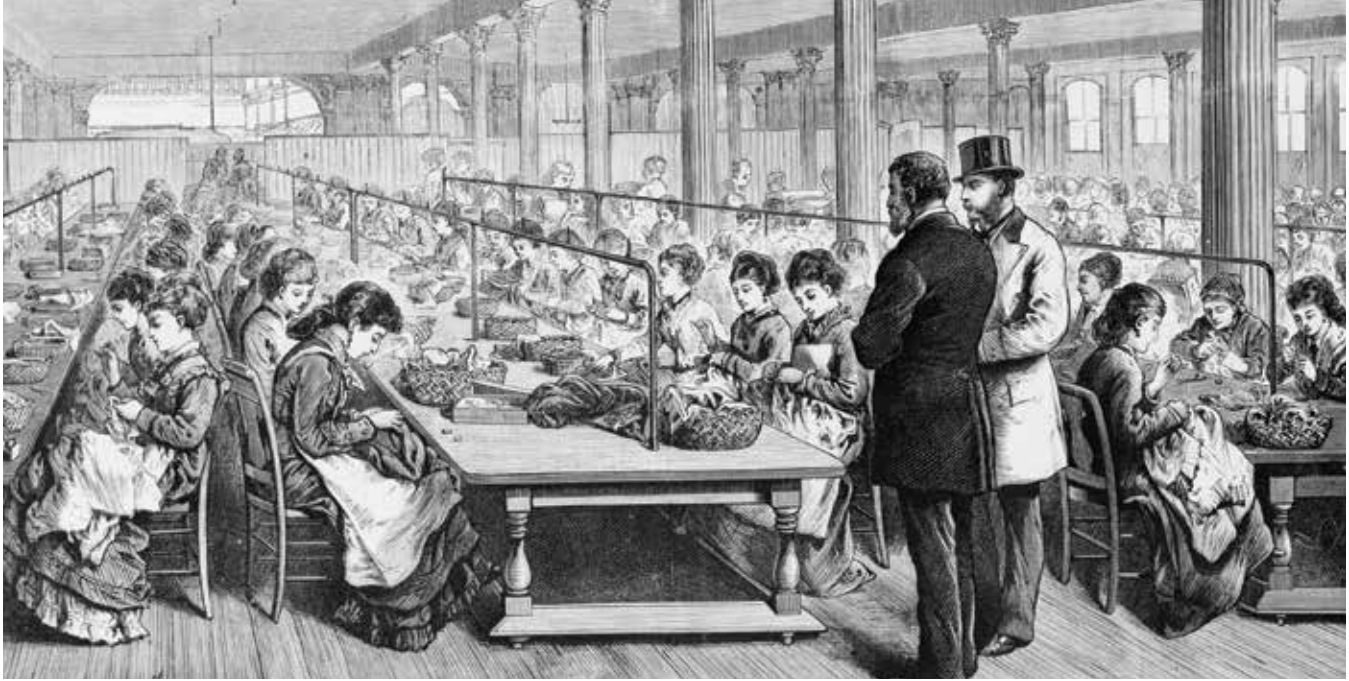
Increasingly, women found their political voice through their work in social reform movements. Jane Addams, co-founder with Helen Gates Starr of Hull House and pioneer of social work in America, wrote in 1902, “The sphere of morals is the sphere of action...It is well to remind ourselves, from time to time, that ‘Ethics’ is but another word for ‘righteousness...’” She noted that, in order to solve problems related to the needs of children, public health, and other social concerns that affected the home, women needed the vote. In keeping with the feminine ideals of piety and purity, many women continued work within the temperance movement to campaign against the excesses of drunkenness. This cause was considered a socially permissible moral effort through which women could participate in public

life, because of the damaging effects of alcohol abuse on the family. Annie Wittenmyer, a social reformer and war widow from Ohio who had reported on terrible hospital conditions during the Civil War, founded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874 to build support for the idea of abstaining from alcohol use.

According to the tradition of republican motherhood, education should prepare girls to become mothers who raised educated citizens for the republic. In a challenge to the Cult of Domesticity, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw an expansion of broader academic opportunities for upper class females of college age in the United States. In the Northeast, liberal arts schools modeled after Wesleyan in Macon, Georgia (1839) opened. In 1844, Hillsdale College opened in Michigan, one of the first American college whose charter prohibited any discrimination based on race, religion, or sex. Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, founded in 1861, and Wellesley College in Wellesley, Massachusetts, founded in 1875, also expanded educational opportunities for women. Teaching was among the first professions women entered in larger numbers. During and after the Civil War, new opportunities also developed for women to become nurses.

## The Changing Roles of Women

While these career options did not radically challenge the cultural ideal of traditional womanhood, the work landscape of America was changing. As the United States economy grew to provide more options, people began to see themselves as consumers as well as producers. Indeed, mass consumerism drove new manufacturing methods. During the second industrial revolution, the United States started to move from an agricultural economy



▲ New York City—The sewing-room at A.T. Stewart’s, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, Broadway and Fourth Avenue / Hyde, 1875, Library of Congress.

to incorporate new modes of production, manufacturing, and consumer behavior.

Young working-class women worked in the same laundries, factories, and textile mills as poor and immigrant men, often spending twelve hours a day, seven days a week, in hot, dangerous conditions. Also, women found work as store clerks in the many new department stores that opened in order to sell factory-made clothing and other mass-produced items.

### The Suffrage Movement Grows

Women continued to work to secure their right to vote. The Civil War ended in April of 1865 and the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified eight months later, banning slavery throughout the United States. A burning question remained: how would the rights of former slaves be protected? As the nation’s attention turned to civil rights and voting with the debates surrounding the

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, many women hoped to seize the opportunity to gain the vote alongside African American men.

The Civil War had forced women’s suffrage advocates to pause their efforts toward winning the vote, but in 1866 they came together at the National Women’s Rights Convention. The group voted to call itself the American Equal Rights Association and work for the rights of all Americans. Appealing to the Cult of Domesticity, they argued that giving women the vote would improve government by bringing women’s virtues of piety and purity into politics, resulting in a more civilized, “maternal commonwealth.”

### The Movement Splits

The American Equal Rights Association seemed poised for success with such well-known leaders as Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, and Frederick

Douglass. But internal divisions soon became clear. Whose rights should be secured first? Some, especially former abolitionist leaders, wanted to wait until newly-emancipated African American men had been given the vote before working to win it for women. Newspaper editor Horace Greeley urged, “This is a critical period for the Republican Party and the life of our Nation... I conjure you to remember that this is ‘the negro’s hour,’ and your first duty now is to go through the State and plead his claims.” Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe agreed.

But for Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the time for women also was now. Along with many others, they saw the move to put the cause of women’s suffrage on hold as a betrayal of the principle of equality under

the law. Frederick Douglass, who saw suffrage for African American men as a matter of life or death, challenged Anthony on this question, asking whether she believed granting women the vote would truly do anything to change the inequality under law between the sexes. Without missing a beat, Anthony responded: “It will change the nature of one thing very much, and that is the dependent condition of woman. It will place her where she can earn her own bread, so that she may go out into the world an equal competitor in the struggle for life.”

In the wake of this bitter debate, not one but two national organizations for women’s suffrage were established in 1869. Stone and Blackwell founded the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). Worried that the Fifteenth Amendment would not pass if it included votes for women, the AWSA put their energy into convincing the individual states to give women the vote in their state constitutions. Anthony and Stanton founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). They worked to win votes for women via an amendment to the U.S. Constitution at the same time as it would protect the right of former slaves to vote. Anthony and Stanton started the NWSA’s newspaper, *The Revolution* in 1868. Its motto was, “Men, their rights, and nothing more; women, their rights, and nothing less.”

The NWSA was a broad coalition that included some progressives who questioned the fitness of African Americans and immigrants to vote because of the prevailing views of Social Darwinism. The racism against black males voting was especially prevalent in the South where white women supported women’s suffrage as a means of preserving white supremacy. In addition, throughout the country strong sentiment reflected the view that any non-white or immigrant individual was racially inferior

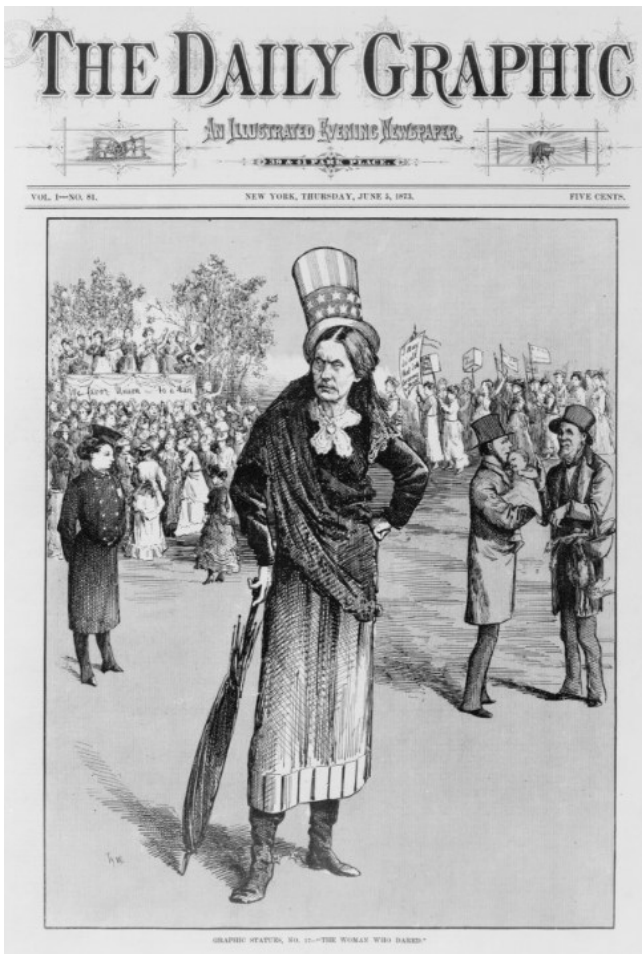


▲ Photograph of Lucy Stone between 1840 and 1860.  
Library of Congress

and too ignorant to vote. In this vein, Anthony and Stanton used racially-charged language in advocating for an educational requirement to vote. Unfortunately for many, universal suffrage challenged too many of their assumptions about the prevailing social structure.

### The New Departure: Testing the Fourteenth Amendment

But there was another amendment which interested NWSA: the Fourteenth. In keeping with NWSA's more confrontational approach, Anthony decided to test the meaning of the



▲ A caricature of Susan B. Anthony that appeared in a New York newspaper right before her trial. Thomas Wust, June 5, 1873

newly-ratified Fourteenth Amendment. The Amendment stated in part, “No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States...” Anthony thought it was clear that this language protected the right of women to vote. After all, wasn’t voting a privilege of citizens?

The Fourteenth Amendment went on to state that representation in Congress would be reduced for states which denied the vote to *male inhabitants over 21*. In other words, states could choose to deny men over 21 the vote, but they would be punished with proportionally less representation (and therefore less power) in Congress. So in the end, the Fourteenth Amendment encouraged states to give all men over 21 the vote, but did not require it. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, banned states from denying the vote based on race, color, or having been enslaved in the past.

### Susan B. Anthony on Trial

It was the Fourteenth Amendment’s protection of “privileges or immunities” that Anthony decided to test. On November 5, 1872, she and two dozen other women walked into the local polling place in Rochester, New York and cast a vote in the presidential election. (Anthony voted for Ulysses S. Grant.) She was arrested and charged with voting in a federal election “without having a lawful right to vote.”

Before her trial, 52-year-old Anthony traveled all over her home county giving a speech entitled “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?” In it, she called on all her fellow citizens, from judges to potential jurors, to support equal rights for women.

At her trial, Anthony’s lawyer pointed out the unequal treatment under the law:

“If this same act [voting] had been done by her brother, it would have been honorable. But having been done by a woman, it is said to be a crime... I believe this is the first instance in which a woman has been arraigned [accused] in a criminal court merely on account of her sex.”

The judge refused to let Anthony testify in her own defense, found her guilty of voting without the right to do so, and ordered her to pay a \$100 fine. Anthony responded,

“In your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled underfoot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights are all alike ignored....I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. And I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women.”

She concluded by quoting Thomas Jefferson: “Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.”

Anthony’s case did not make it all the way to the Supreme Court. However, the Court did rule three years later in a different case, *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) that voting was not among the privileges or immunities of citizens and the Fourteenth Amendment did not protect a woman’s right to vote.

## Suffrage in the West

While Anthony and other suffragists were agitating in the Northeast, railroads had helped open up the Great Plains and the American West to settlement. The Gold Rush of 1849 had enticed many thousands of settlers to the rugged West, and homesteading pioneers continued to push the frontier. These territories (and later states), were among the first to give women the right to vote: Wyoming Territory in 1869, followed by Utah Territory (1870), and Washington Territory (1883).

These territories had many reasons for extending suffrage to women, most related to the need to increase population. They would need to meet minimum population requirements to apply for statehood, and the free publicity they would get for giving women the vote might bring more people. And they did not just need more people, they needed women: there were six males for every female in some places. Some were motivated to give white women the vote to offset the influence of African Americans voting. And finally, there were of course those who genuinely believed that giving women the vote was the right thing to do.

Though several western legislatures had considered proposals to give women the vote



▲ *Representative Women* by L. Schamer; L. Prang & Co. publisher, 1870. Seven prominent figures of the suffrage and women’s rights movement, Clockwise from the top: Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary Livermore, Lydia Marie Child, Susan B. Anthony, Grace Greenwood, and Anna E. Dickinson (center)

since the 1850s, in 1869 Wyoming became the first territory to give women full political rights, including voting and eligibility to hold public office. In 1870, Louisa Garner Swain was the first woman in Wyoming to cast a ballot, and a life-sized statue honors her memory in Laramie. Under territorial government Wyoming's population had grown slowly and most people lived on ranches or in small towns. Territorial leaders believed Wyoming would be more attractive to newcomers once statehood was achieved, as had been the case in other western states. The territory came close to reaching the threshold of 60,000 people for statehood, but many doubted whether that number had actually been reached. Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren refused to wait for more people to move there. He set in motion the plans for a constitutional convention. Though they had the right to do so, no women ran for seats at the Wyoming constitutional convention. Borrowing passages from other state constitutions, delegates quickly drafted the constitution in September 1889. The new

element of this constitution is that it enshrined the protections of women's political rights by simply stating that equality would exist without reference to gender. Only one delegate, Louis J. Palmer, objected to women's suffrage. Wyoming voters approved the document in November, and the territory applied for statehood.

In the House of Representatives there was some opposition, mostly from Democrats, because the territory was known to lean Republican. Debate did not openly center on party affiliation, but on a combination of doubts about whether Wyoming had truly achieved the required population and on reluctance to admit a state where women had political rights. In response, Wyoming's legislature sent a telegram: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women!" Wyoming officially joined the union in 1890, becoming the 44th state. Anthony praised Wyoming for its adherence to the nation's Founding principles: "Wyoming is the first place on God's green earth which could consistently claim to be the land of the free!"

## REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS

1. What was the Cult of True Womanhood, or Cult of Domesticity?
2. How did the Industrial Revolution challenge the notion that upper and middle class women's bodies were too delicate for work outside the home?
3. Describe the events leading to the split in the women's movement in 1869.
4. What are some actions in which Susan B. Anthony worked for the cause of women's suffrage in a very personal way?
5. In your judgment, which of the following was the most significant event in this part of the story of the journey towards woman's suffrage? Explain.
  - The Fourteenth Amendment is ratified
  - Susan B. Anthony is jailed for voting

- Western territories give women the vote
  - Other (explain)
6. Using the **Principles and Virtues Glossary**, give examples of ways in which people involved in the debate over suffrage for women demonstrated any three of the constitutional principles and any three of the civic virtues listed below.
- **Principles:** equality, republican/representative government, popular sovereignty, federalism, inalienable rights, freedom of speech/press/assembly
  - **Virtues:** perseverance, contribution, moderation, resourcefulness, courage, respect, justice

Principle	Example & Explanation

Virtue	Example & Explanation

### A Pathway for Change



## Political Cartoon Analysis: “The Age of Brass” and “I Wonder if It’s Really Becoming?”

**Directions:** Use **Handout B: Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet** to study one of the two political cartoons provided. Then you will work with others to compare and contrast the two cartoons.

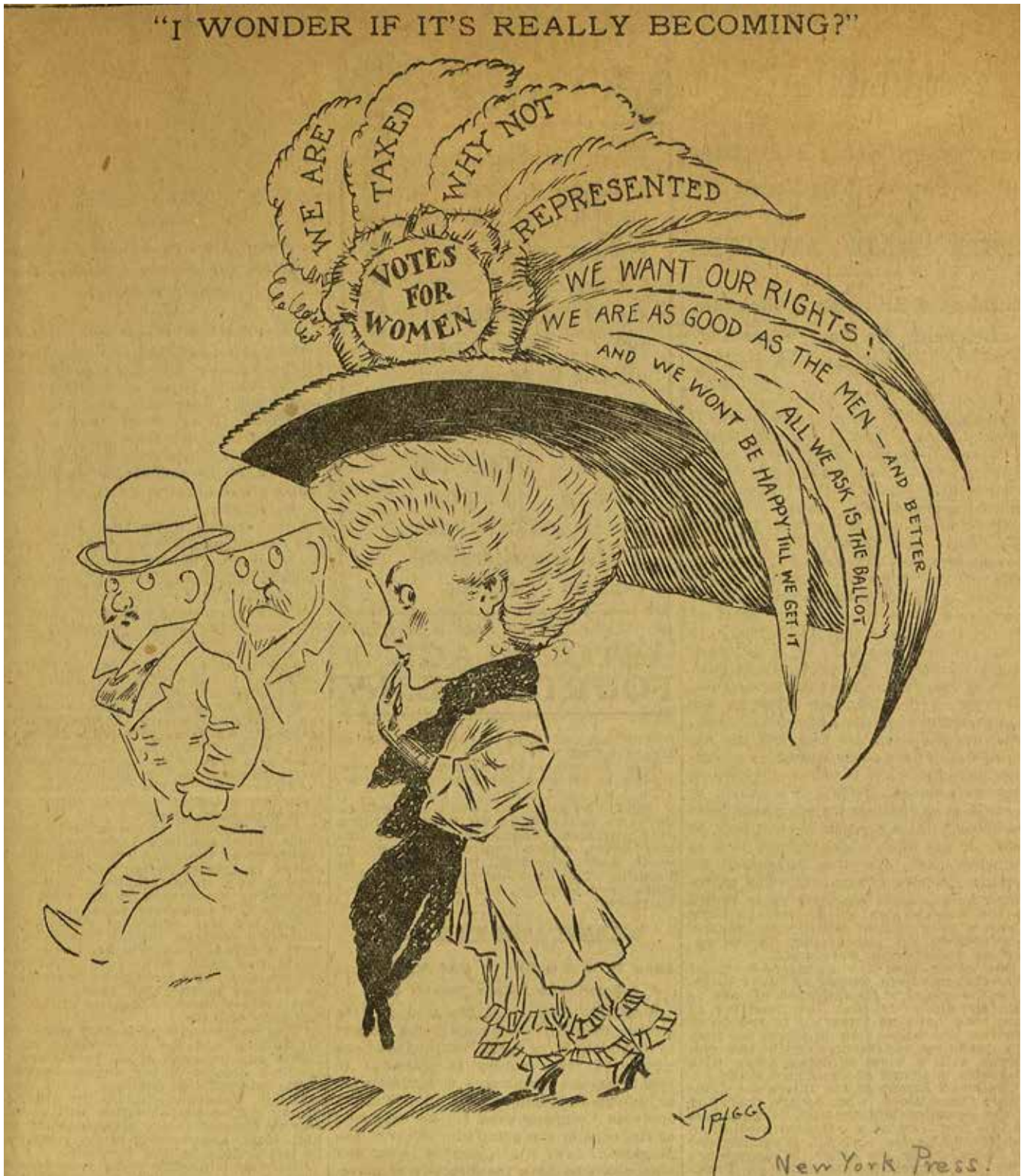
### “The Age of Brass: Or the Triumphs of Women’s Rights” Currier & Ives, 1869



THE AGE OF BRASS / OR THE TRIUMPHS OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS

▲ See Repository: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/pnp/cph.3a04616>

### “I Wonder if It’s Really Becoming?” Suffrage Cartoon



▲ New York Press, New York City, New York, n. d. Photograph. See Library of Congress Teacher Resources Washington, D.C. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbcmiller001148/>

# Analyze a Cartoon Worksheet

ADAPTED FROM NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS EDUCATION RESOURCES

## Meet the cartoon.

Quickly scan the cartoon. What do you notice first?

What is the title or caption?

## Observe its parts.

### Words

Are there labels, descriptions, thoughts, or dialogue?

### Visuals

List the people, objects, and places in the cartoon.

List the actions or activities.

## Try to make sense of it.

### Words

Which words or phrases are the most significant?

List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed.

### Visuals

Which of the visuals are symbols?

What do they stand for?

Who drew this cartoon? When is it from?

What was happening at the time in history it was created?

What is the message? List evidence from the cartoon or your knowledge about the cartoonist that led you to your conclusion.

## Use it as historical evidence.

What did you find out from this cartoon that you might not learn anywhere else?

What other documents or historical evidence are you going to use to help you understand this event or topic?

# A Movement Divided

**Directions:** Complete the table using information from the background essay.

Movement Side 1	Movement Side 2
NWSA – _____ Woman Suffrage Association	AWSA – _____ Woman Suffrage Association
Susan B. _____; Elizabeth Cady _____	Lucy _____; Henry _____
Centered in _____ (city)	Centered in _____ (city)
Goal: Win voting rights for women through _____.	Goal: Win voting rights for women through _____.
Supported giving women the vote at the same time as _____.	Supported voting rights for _____ first, then women.
Fifteenth Amendment position:	Fifteenth Amendment position:

# Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?

**Directions:** The following text is taken from a speech that Susan B. Anthony delivered in 1873 in various locations near Rochester, New York. Read the excerpt and then answer the questions.

Friends and Fellow—citizens: I stand before you tonight, under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last Presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote....

We appeal to the women everywhere to exercise their too long neglected “citizen’s right to vote.” We appeal to the inspectors of elections everywhere to receive the votes of all United States citizens as it is their duty to do. We appeal to United States commissioners and marshals to arrest the inspectors who reject the names and votes of United States citizens, as it is their duty to do, and leave those alone who, like our eighth ward inspectors, perform their duties faithfully and well.

We ask the juries to fail to return verdicts of “guilty” against honest, law-abiding, tax-paying United States citizens for offering their votes at our elections. Or against intelligent, worthy young men, inspectors of elections, for receiving and counting such citizens votes.

We ask the judges to render true and unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for a doubt to give its benefit on the side of liberty and equal rights to women...

And it is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot—all peaceably, but nevertheless persistently through to complete triumph, when all United States citizens shall be recognized as equals before the law.

## REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS

- What appeal does Anthony make to each of the following groups?
  - All American women
  - Election officials
  - Potential jurors
  - Judges
- On what founding principles does Anthony base her argument?
- Susan B. Anthony took a personal risk by voting illegally, and she was willing to accept the consequences of her action in order to bring attention to her cause. Now she calls on her fellow citizens to take risks. To what extent is personal risk sometimes necessary to challenge injustice? What virtues are necessary in order to do this?

# Suffrage by State

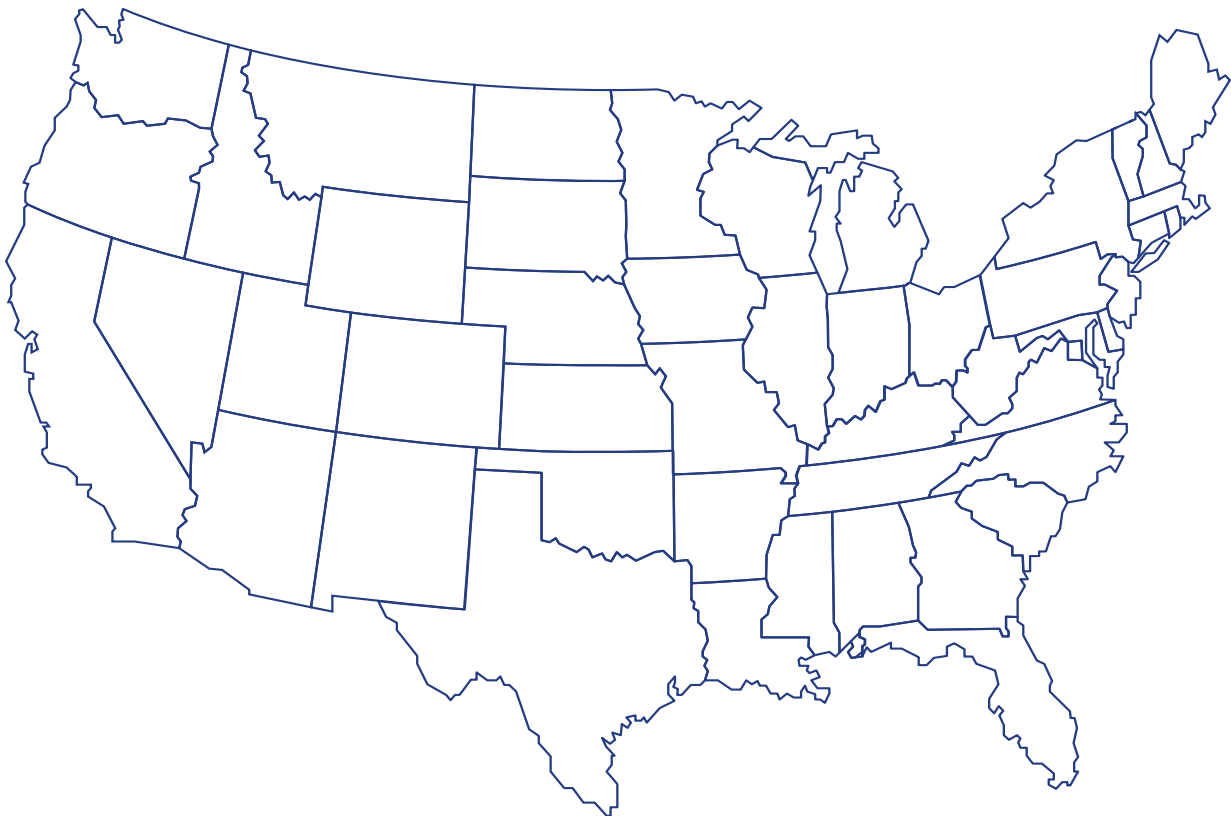
**Directions:** Refer to **Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes** as you fill in the map according to the instructions. You will use this map again in the next lesson.

The “right to vote” was not always black and white. Some states offered some women the right to vote in some elections. For example, Kentucky gave unmarried or widowed women the right to vote in school elections as early as 1838. Kansas allowed women to vote in local school elections in 1861 and in municipal elections in 1887.

By 1890, several Western states had granted full suffrage to women. What are some of the reasons they may have had for doing so?

On the map below, color the following areas green and write the territory/state name and the year when the territory or state granted women the right to vote in local or state elections.

- 1869 Territory of Wyoming / State of Wyoming 1890
- 1870 Territory of Utah
- 1883 Territory of Washington
- 1887 Territory of Montana



# Women's Political Voices

**Directions:** List significant accomplishments of women in U.S. history by 1890, and add your own examples to complete the table.

Individual/ Accomplishment	Explain in what ways might (or did) this accomplishment connect to suffrage?	How is this accomplishment related to a right protected by the Constitution or the Bill of Rights?
<p><b>The Grimké Sisters</b> spoke out against slavery in 1836-37.</p>		
<p><b>Dorothea Dix</b> changed the way Americans care for the mentally ill (1840s and beyond).</p>		
<p><b>Harriett Beecher Stowe</b> ignited the abolitionist movement with the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852).</p>		
<p>In 1848, <b>Elizabeth Cady Stanton</b> and <b>Lucretia Mott</b> organized the Seneca Falls Convention</p>		

Individual/ Accomplishment	Explain in what ways might (or did) this accomplishment connect to suffrage?	How is this accomplishment related to a right protected by the Constitution or the Bill of Rights?
<p><b>Annie Wittenmyer</b> founded the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874 to work for Prohibition.</p>		
<p><b>Jane Addams</b> founded Hull House, improving conditions for many in urban Chicago in 1889.</p>		
<p><b>Ida B. Wells</b> brought national attention to the crime of lynching in the South throughout the 1890s.</p>		

# Answer Key

## Background Essay: Shall Women Have the Right to Vote?

1. The Cult of True Womanhood and Cult of Domesticity refer to nineteenth century beliefs about the ideal upper or middle class woman: women were the heart and light of the home, which was their natural sphere, and they had the natural virtues of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness.
2. The Industrial Revolution challenged these views of women's proper role because some women took on new jobs and worked long hours in bad conditions alongside men.
3. After the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were proposed, the women's movement split into two main groups because some reformers wanted to put women's suffrage on the back burner while the rights of former slaves were secured. Others saw this as a betrayal of the principle of equality, and wanted to work for women's suffrage immediately.
4. Susan B. Anthony deliberately challenged the law in New York when she voted illegally, knowing it would mean she was arrested and jailed. She and other suffragists in Rochester interpreted the recently ratified Fourteenth Amendment to protect the right of women to vote because of the principle of equality. Out on bail, she personally traveled, giving in-person speeches. Accept additional reasoned answers.
5. Accept reasoned answers with appropriate supporting evidence. A case could be made for any of the options listed.
6. Accept reasoned responses regarding principles and virtues.

## Handout A: Political Cartoon Analysis: "The Age of Brass" and "I Wonder if it's Really Becoming?"

- With its higher concentration of visual symbolism and smaller amount of text, "The Age of Brass: Or the Triumphs of Woman's Rights" may be more challenging than "I Wonder if it's Really Becoming?" Students should note that "The Age of Brass" was (probably) the earlier of the two cartoons. "I Wonder if It's Really Becoming?" is listed in some sources as having been published in 1891, but the Library of Congress does not include that information, showing "n.d." for "no date."
- Students should understand that "The Age of Brass" is an anti-suffrage cartoon, satirizing women's suffrage by illustrating some of the potential consequences of the movement to give women the vote. The women are lined up to cast their ballots for "The Celebrated Man Tamer: Susan Sharp-Tongue" and for sheriff "Miss Hangman." Most of the women in the image are wearing caricature versions of the chignon hairstyles that were popular for women in 1869. The women are shown with harsh facial expressions, engaging in a variety of activities that were considered inappropriate for women at the time, for example smoking cigars, wearing masculine-inspired clothing, and of course, voting. The role-reversal is emphasized by the depiction of an unhappy man holding a baby at the end of the line, and the angry-looking woman shaking her fist at him.

- “I Wonder if It’s Really Becoming?” is more direct in its message, with the basic suffragist argument condensed to the text on the woman’s hat feathers. The suspicious looks on the faces of the men looking on suggest a negative answer to the woman’s question.

## Handout C: A Movement Divided

Movement Side 1	Movement Side 2
NWSA – National Woman Suffrage Association	AWSA – American Woman Suffrage Association
Susan B. Anthony; Elizabeth Cady Stanton	Lucy Stone; Henry Blackwell
Centered in NY (city)	Centered in Boston (city)
Goal: Win voting rights for women through an amendment to the Constitution.	Goal: Win voting rights for women through the individual state constitutions.
Supported giving women the vote at the same time as Blacks.	Supported voting rights for Blacks first, then women.
Fifteenth Amendment position:	Fifteenth Amendment position:

## Handout D: Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?

1. Anthony appealed to:
  - a. Women to vote.
  - b. Election officials to accept the votes of women.
  - c. Potential jurors to nullify in cases of women charged with illegal voting (i.e. to refuse to convict them on the basis of the law being unjust).
  - d. Judges to be just and to err on the side of liberty whenever there is any doubt.
2. Accept reasoned answers. Students will probably say Anthony’s argument was based on equality; however, Anthony also appealed to liberty, due process, and consent of the governed.
3. Personal risk is almost always necessary to challenge injustice. Citizens must cultivate virtues of courage, justice, honor, and others in order to stand up for what is right.

## Handout E: Suffrage by State

These territories had many reasons for extending suffrage to women, most related to the need to increase population. They would need to meet minimum requirements to apply for statehood, and the free publicity they would get for giving women the vote would probably bring more people. And they did not just need more people, they needed women: there were six males for every female in some places. And finally, there were of course those who genuinely believed that giving women the votes was the right thing to do.

**Susan B. Anthony and the Suffrage Movement: Speaking Truth to Power**  
**Gennie Westbrook, Bill of Rights Institute**

[gwestbrook@mybri.org](mailto:gwestbrook@mybri.org)

NCHE Annual Conference March 15, 2019, 8:30 a.m. Madison Room

**How did Susan B. Anthony and other Suffragists speak truth to power?**

“Cautious, careful people always casting about to preserve their reputation or social standards never can bring about reform. Those who are really in earnest are willing to be anything or nothing in the world's estimation, and publicly and privately, in season and out, avow their sympathies with despised ideas and their advocates, and bear the consequences,” Susan B. Anthony, 1860

We represent fifteen million people—one-half the entire population of the country—the Constitution classes us as “free people,” yet we are governed without our consent, compelled to pay taxes without appeal, and punished for violations of law without choice of judge or juror. You are now amending the Constitution, and . . . placing new safeguards around the individual rights of four million emancipated slaves. We ask that you extend the right of suffrage to women—the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens—and thus fulfill your constitutional obligation. Susan B. Anthony to Congress, 1865

Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton started the NWSA’s newspaper, *The Revolution* in 1868. Its motto was, “Men, their rights, and nothing more; women, their rights, and nothing less.”

Frederick Douglas asked Anthony if she really thought the vote would change women’s lives. She responded, “It will change the nature of one thing very much, and that is the dependent condition of woman. It will place her where she can earn her own bread, so that she may go out into the world an equal competitor in the struggle for life.” Susan B. Anthony, 1869

After her arrest for voting “as a person of the female sex” in the November 1872 election, Anthony traveled throughout her area of Rochester, New York, delivering a speech entitled, “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?” She said, in part, “We ask the judges to render true and unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for a doubt to give its benefit on the side of liberty and equal rights to women...And it is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot - all peaceably, but nevertheless persistently through to complete triumph, when all United States citizens shall be recognized as equals before the law.” Susan B. Anthony, March & April 1873

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In the June, 1873 trial, the judge refused to let Anthony testify in her own defense, ordered the jury of 12 men to find her guilty of voting without the right to do so, and ordered her to pay a \$100 fine. Anthony responded,

“In your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled underfoot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights are all alike ignored....I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. And I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women. [She concluded by quoting Thomas Jefferson] ‘Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.’” Susan B. Anthony 1873

A caricature of Susan B. Anthony that appeared in a New York newspaper right before her trial. Thomas Wust, June 5, 1873

When Wyoming officially joined the union and became the 44th state, Anthony praised Wyoming for its adherence to the nation’s Founding principles: “Wyoming is the first place on God’s green earth which could consistently claim to be the land of the free!” Susan B. Anthony 1890

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

## A Pathway for Change

