Short Women's Suffrage Presentation
Speaker's Notes

Slide 1: 19th Amendment Centennial logo

Slide 2: Title
From our perspective of the 21st century, it's hard to imagine the idea of women voting as controversial. Yet, when the women's suffrage movement began in the mid-19th century, that was an absolutely accepted notion. Why? How were minds changed? How long did it take? Who led the movement, and what did they do?

Slide 3: "The Law of the Thumb"
Let's go back to the mid-1800's. Our forefathers based their laws on the European tradition of church law. The historian Herbert Spencer wrote, "Our laws are based on the all-sufficiency of man's rights, and society exists today for woman only in so far as she is in the keeping of some man." In other words, women were considered property in the eyes of the law, so the law prescribed the means by which husbands could keep their wives in line. This was sometimes called the "rule of thumb" which said a husband could "chastise his wife with a whip or rattan no bigger than his thumb to enforce domestic discipline."

Slide 4: Matilda Joslyn Gage
The reality for married European-American women was a complete lack of individual rights in the eyes of the state. They had no property rights, no right to divorce, no right to their children, no control over their own bodies. But they weren't the only women in America at the time. "The women's rights movement was born in the territory of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois nation) in 1848," writes Sally Roesch Wagner in her book *Sisters in Spirit.*

Did early suffragists get some of their inspiration from Indigenous women? Wagner has documented that Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Matilda Joslyn Gage all had contact with the Iroquois. Matilda Joslyn Gage wrote extensively about them. She must have spent a great deal of time with them because she was initiated into the Iroquois Wolf Clan and admitted into its Council of Matrons. In her writing, she compared the status of Iroquois women to that of European-American women.

Slide 5:
Take a minute to compare the social situation of these two groups of women.

Slide 6: Comparison of Iroquois / European-American women's rights
And here's a comparison of the economic position among the Native American and European-American women.

Slide 7: Comparison of Iroquois / European-American women's rights
And the political rights of these two groups of women couldn't be more different.

Slide 8: Quakers – Abolitionists – Suffragists
So how did we get from those restrictive ideas toward women to where we are now? It all really started with our country's original sin: slavery. Quakers were the first to oppose slavery in America and among the most active in the abolitionist movement. Unlike other Christian sects, Quakers also believed in equality among men and women. This painting of the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London depicts the delegates debating. Do you notice who is debating? Where are the women? The women were placed behind a screen and not allowed to speak on the convention floor.

Slide 9: Lucretia Mott
Sitting behind that screen was Mrs. Lucretia Mott. She and her husband, both Progressive Quakers, were leaders in the abolitionist movement. She was an eloquent Quaker minister herself. So ardent in her beliefs, she refused to wear cotton clothing or serve sugar in her home since both were produced with slave labor.

Slide 10: Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Another woman attending that convention was the young, newly married Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Both she and her husband were abolitionists as well. Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton sat together behind that screen in London, and fumed over the constraints placed upon them by the men at that convention. Before they returned home, they had resolved to hold a women's rights convention in America.

Slide 11: Seneca Falls Convention
Eight years later, Elizabeth Cady Stanton found herself living in the small town of Seneca Falls, NY. By then she had three small boys, and would go on to have seven children. She was bored and brimming over with ideas about women's rights. She and Lucretia Mott met in Seneca Falls and along with a few other women, hastily organized the first women's rights convention to be held a week later. They placed a notice in the newspaper, not knowing what to expect. Much to their surprise, on the day of the convention in the small Methodist Wesleyan Chapel, 300 people arrived. For two days, there were spirited debates about the issues presented, the most significant of which was The Declaration of Sentiments written primarily by Stanton.

Slide 12: The Declaration of Sentiments
She was a gifted and eloquent writer in her own right, but she chose to model her document after the Declaration of Independence, written 72 years earlier. Interestingly, women's suffrage was finally achieved 72 years later in 1920.

Slide 13: The Declaration of Sentiments
Here is the most significant passage.

Slide 14: Resolutions / signature page

In addition to the Declaration of Sentiments, 11 resolutions were also presented. Only one was problematic. The idea of giving women the right to vote was so outrageous, even Lucretia Mott feared it would turn people against their cause. As a Quaker and a pacifist, she opposed voting because it meant participating in a government based on an illegitimate constitution that sanctioned slavery and engaged in war. It was one thing to say women deserved property rights and rights to their children, but quite another to give women the power to control the laws that governed men. It wasn't until the esteemed abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, rose to speak in favor of it that enough delegates were persuaded to support the idea and give it the slim margin it needed to pass.

Slide 15: Susan B. Anthony

The Seneca Falls Convention set off a wave of women's right's meetings and also considerable outrage. But the movement lacked any central organization. Although she continued to write, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, tied down with her growing young family, was unable to leave home to spread the doctrine of women's rights. In 1851, however, she was introduced to an unmarried woman four years her junior who was also an ardent supporter of the cause. Susan B. Anthony, like so many in the women's rights movement, had gotten her start as an activist working in the temperance and abolitionist movements. She was a natural politician, successfully circulating petitions and courageously speaking in public even though she was sometimes pelted by eggs and even burned in effigy.

Slide 16: Joining Forces

The partnership between Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony marked the real beginning of the women's suffrage movement. Cady Stanton said, "I forged the thunderbolts. She fired them."

Slide 17: Elizabeth Cady Stanton

They were unlikely allies. Elizabeth Cady Stanton had been born in 1815 into a family of tradition and privilege in New York state. Her strict father was a respected judge. Elizabeth was one of eleven children, only four of whom, all girls, survived to adulthood. Her father once said to her, "I wish you were a boy." She set her sights on fulfilling the destiny her deceased brothers could not. She begged her father to allow her to pursue her education at a time when no college would admit women. Her father opposed the idea, thinking an education would make her unattractive to suitors, but he finally agreed to send her to a rigorous seminary where she completed her studies in 1833. Through a cousin, she became involved with the abolitionist movement and met her future husband, Henry Stanton. When they married, she insisted on striking the word "obey" from her marriage vows.

Slide 18: Susan B. Anthony

Susan B. Anthony was born four years after Elizabeth's birth in Massachusetts and was raised a Quaker. Unlike Elizabeth's father, Susan's father supported and encouraged her education and enrolled her in a Quaker boarding school in Philadelphia. When her father's business floundered, Susan took a job as a teacher and moved up to a position as head of a female academy. Ten years later, her father had reestablished a successful business in Rochester, NY and offered to let Susan run the family farm there. She relocated to western New York state which had become a center for anti-slavery and temperance reformers. She took to it immediately, and decided activism would be her life's work. Although she had many suitors, she refused to marry and relinquish control over her life to a husband.

During the years following the Seneca Falls Convention, Stanton and Anthony continued to work together on temperance, divorce reform, coeducation, married women's property rights, dress reform, and equal pay for equal work. Elizabeth's attorney husband was frequently absent, so Susan lived at the Stanton home for a time, helping with the household and child rearing duties while Elizabeth put her reformist ideas to pen and paper.

These two women led vastly different lives and had some profound disagreements, but remained lifelong friends for the next fifty years with Cady Stanton assuming the role of the philosopher and writer, and Susan B. Anthony the activist and practical tactician.

Slide 19: The Civil War / The Women's Loyal National League

When the Civil War broke out, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony made a strategic decision: they would suspend their campaign for women's rights and focus all their efforts in support of the first great cause they had fought for: the abolition of slavery. They formed the Woman's Loyal National League which grew to 5000 members and conducted the largest petition drive in the nation's history, gathering over 400,000 signatures in support of the abolition of slavery. The Woman's Loyal League provided its leaders a blueprint for the women's rights movement that would follow. Stanton and Anthony believed that their efforts on behalf of a grateful nation would be richly rewarded by the achievement of rights for women as well as blacks. They were wrong.

Slide 20: The Reconstruction Amendments

The 14th amendment used the word "male" for the first time in the Constitution. Stanton and Anthony were outraged and refused to support it. Anthony said, "I would rather cut off my right hand than ask the ballot for the black man and not the woman." The prominent abolitionist Wendell Phillips told the women to be patient. "This hour belongs to the negro," he said. There should be one idea for a generation: first: negro suffrage, then temperance, and then, maybe, women's suffrage. The 13th and 14th amendments were ratified by 1868.

Slide 21: Equal Right Association Convention of 1869
In 1866, Stanton and Anthony formed The Equal Rights Association dedicated to universal suffrage. At the convention in 1869, they were working to get the word "sex" added to the language of the 15th amendment. That proved to be a bridge too far, and Stanton expressed her outrage on the convention floor, only to be soundly rebuked by Frederick Douglass. Many were appalled at Stanton's comments and voted overwhelmingly in favor of the 15th amendment.

Slide 22: Split in the Movement
At this point, Stanton and Anthony concluded that the cause of women's suffrage could only be accomplished by women themselves. They formed the National Woman's Suffrage Association which would focus on a broad spectrum of women's rights and a federal constitutional amendment. Men were not permitted to be officers. Lucy Stone Blackwell from Boston, a more conservative activist, formed a competing organization called the American Woman's Suffrage Association which was solely focused on women's suffrage, open to all, and worked on individual state constitutional amendments. This division set the movement back considerably.

Slide 23: The Challenge (Susan B. Anthony's arrest)
In the presidential election of 1872, the newly formed NWSA, citing a broad interpretation of the 14th amendment, decided to test the waters, and recruited about 150 women to try to vote. They fully expected to be arrested, and hoped to bring their case to the Supreme Court. Susan B. Anthony was arrested and insisted on being put in handcuffs. Just as she hoped, her trial earned widespread publicity. Her case didn't make it to the Supreme Court, but another filed on behalf of Virginia Minor from Missouri did. The court ruled in 1875 that the U.S. Constitution did not grant the right to vote if a state constitution prohibited it.

Slide 24: The West Leads the Way
In the late 19th century, many western states joined the union, granting women's suffrage in their state constitutions. It seemed the natural order of things where the rigors of frontier life didn't allow women the luxury to simply care for hearth and home. They had to work alongside their husbands to survive. Wyoming was the first state to enter the union with full women's suffrage in 1890. Colorado held a referendum on the question in 1893. Carrie Chapman Catt who would later steer the movement to final ratification of the 19th amendment, was enlisted to support the effort. She traveled over 1000 miles of the state, once riding in a railroad side car to get to a meeting on time. She lectured with her "voice like a foghorn" and the referendum passed with 55% of the vote. Colorado became the second women's suffrage state in 1893. Utah and Idaho followed in 1896. After the turn of the century and the advent of the Progressive Movement led by Teddy Roosevelt, several other states followed: Washington – 1910, California – 1911, Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon in 1912, Montana and Nevada in 1914, New York in 1917, Michigan and Oklahoma and South Dakota in 1918.

Slide 25: Reconciliation (Alice Stone Blackwell)
Toward the end of the 19th century, Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of Lucy Stone Blackwell, worked to pass a women's suffrage referendum in Boston. For the first time, organized opposition became significant. Many women believed in the "Cult of Womanhood" which espoused that women's real power came from their femininity and devotion to home and family. Dirtying their hands with politics was frowned upon. The referendum failed badly, and spurred a more organized "anti" movement nationwide, supported by women but also business leaders who feared women's votes would force changes in labor laws and cut into their profits, and liquor lobbyists who equated women with the temperance movement. To strengthen the suffragist organization, Alice Stone Blackwell worked to reconcile the two competing national women's suffrage associations into one: The National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

Slide 26: Tension (The Woman's Bible)
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, if she were alive today, would be considered a radical feminist which was all the more remarkable in her time. In the end, her religious views proved too radical for the majority in the women's suffrage movement.

In response to a new revised edition of the Bible published by the Church of England, Stanton, together with a committee of 26 women, none of whom were Bible scholars, undertook to write a commentary on the Bible to correct interpretations which they viewed as biased against women. For example, they contended that the first chapter of Genesis was the correct account of creation, in which man and woman were created equally, but the second chapter had been added to vilify the woman. Stanton said, "We say these degrading ideas emanated from the brain of man, while the church says they came from God." The first volume of the "Woman's Bible" was published in 1895 with the second following in 1898. Both were met with outrage and condemned as blasphemous, but the books were best-sellers and even translated into several other languages. This literary success, however, cost Stanton her status within the suffrage movement. The NAWSA censured "The Woman's Bible". Many feared these radical views would muddy the water and damage the movement. Susan B. Anthony, laser-focused on the singular cause of women's suffrage, shared that opinion, although she remained a steadfast friend of Elizabeth Cady Stanton until her death.

Slide 27: Exclusion

For the white middle and upper-class women who led the women's suffrage movement, black women's suffrage was a thorny problem. Most viewed black women's suffrage as a race rather than a gender issue. Some remained bitter after being cast aside in favor of black men in the reconstruction amendments. The comprehensive *History of Women's Suffrage* written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Susan B. Anthony among other founding members of the movement, scarcely mentions black women suffragists despite the fact the many African American Club Women's organizations worked tirelessly for the cause. Some white suffragists spoke out against enfranchising "murderous Indians" and "ignorant, illiterate immigrants". Some leaders even argued that enfranchising white women in the south would aid in the perpetuation of Jim Crow laws. As the time drew near to final ratification, white suffragists made the cynical political calculation to sacrifice southern black women's rights to southern segregationists' votes. (See notes at the end for more information on voting restrictions.)

Slide 28: (Sojourner Truth)

There were many notable black women suffragists, the earliest of whom was Sojourner Truth. Born a slave in 1797 in a Dutch settlement of New York State, her slave name was Isabella Baumfree. Dutch was her first language. She was sold four times, bore five children, and gained her freedom with the help of abolitionists in 1827. She never learned to read or write, but dictated books, and devoted her life to preaching and speaking out for the causes of abolition, temperance, and women's suffrage. She claimed that her new name, Sojourner Truth, came to her in a revelation which compelled her to become an itinerant preacher. In her most famous speech at an 1851 women's rights convention in Ohio she said, "That man over there says women need to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over puddles, or gives me the best place – and ain't I a woman?"

Slide 29: Ida B. Wells-Barnett

Ida B. Wells was born a slave in 1862. When her parents died of yellow fever in 1878, she was forced to drop out of school and became a teacher in order to support her siblings. Eventually, she became a journalist, and published a pamphlet, "Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases". When the Memphis office where she worked was firebombed, she moved to Chicago where she met and married the lawyer Ferdinand Barnett. It wasn't long before she imbedded herself deeply into the African American political community in Chicago and even ran, although unsuccessfully, for the U.S. Senate. She founded the black Chicago Alpha Women's Suffrage Club and traveled to Washington, D.C. to march in the 1913 suffrage parade, proudly representing her Alpha Club sisters as part of the Illinois delegation. When she arrived there, the parade organizers told her that she would have to march at the end of the parade with the "colored delegation" otherwise southern white suffragists would refuse to march. Ida waited on the sidelines until the white Illinois suffragists passed by, and defiantly jumped in to march in step with them.

Slide 30: Mary Church Terrell

Mary Church was the daughter of former slaves whose father became one of the first southern African American millionaires. She was the rare black woman to grow up in a home of privilege in the south. She earned a Master's degree from Oberlin College, became a teacher, and married Robert H. Terrell, a school principal at the M Street Colored High School in Washington, D.C. and they became a power couple in the black community there. Mary was poised, dignified, and light-skinned enough to pass for a white woman. She was propelled into activism at an early age when a close friend was lynched for competing with white businesses, and she joined in Ida B. Wells' anti-lynching campaign. But Mary always advocated for a more moderate path to equality. She believed black people would improve their lot through education, work, and activism. "Lifting as we climb" became the motto of the National Association of Colored Women she helped to found. She was also a founding member of the NAACP, and the first black woman to join the AAUW. Due to her wealth and status, she was accustomed to travel abroad, and in 1904, she was asked to deliver a speech about the lives of African American women to the International Council of Women in Berlin. She had meticulously prepared her speech in advance, but when delegates complained that all the Americans were speaking only in English, she revised her remarks overnight, and delivered her speech in flawless German which she spoke fluently along with Italian and French. Her pleas to her fellow white suffragists seemed to fall on deaf ears, however. She implored them, "My sisters of the dominant race, stand up not only for the oppressed sex, but also for the oppressed race."

Slide 31: The Torch is Passed

Neither Elizabeth Cady Stanton nor Susan B. Anthony lived to see women's suffrage become the law of the land. Stanton died at age 86 from heart failure in 1902. In her later years, she was in poor health, obese, and generally ostracized by the suffragists for her radical views. At her funeral, she requested that Susan B. Anthony's portrait be placed upon her coffin. Susan B. Anthony remained active nearly to the end of her life, and celebrated her 80th birthday at the White House at the invitation of President McKinley. She also died at age 86 of heart failure four years after Stanton in 1906, but enjoyed widespread admiration for her lifelong devotion to the cause of women's suffrage. Over 10,000 mourners attended her funeral. Both women are buried in New York state.

Slide 32: New Energy for a New Century
With the founding mothers gone, the movement was carried forward by an anointed new generation: Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anna Howard Shaw, an ordained Methodist minister and medical doctor, and Carrie Chapman Catt who had been personally chosen by Susan B. Anthony as her successor. As the twentieth century dawned, women's roles in society were rapidly changing. More and more women were working outside the home. World War I brought urgent demands for women's labor to support the military effort. Membership in labor unions was surging and becoming integrated with the women's suffrage movement. By 1910, women in 5 western states were voting, and by 1918, another 15 states would follow, now making women's votes a significant consideration for politicians. Across the pond, British suffragists were beginning to inspire the new generation of American women's rights leaders to adopt more militant tactics. Suddenly, the American women's suffragist movement went public with parades, pageants, public speeches, and picket lines. By 1910, the new leaders of the movement seemed out of patience.

Slide 33: The Radical Wing (Alice Paul)
Alice Paul was born into a progressive Quaker family in 1885. Her mother was a suffragist and brought her to meetings as a young girl. She earned a degree from Swarthmore College, a Quaker school co-founded by her grandfather, then went on to earn a Master's degree in sociology from Columbia University, and a PhD from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1907, she went to England to study sociology and got involved in the more radical tactics of the British suffragists, dubbed "suffragettes". (This once derogatory term became a badge of honor in time.)
While in England, she met Lucy Burns. Both participated in demonstrations in Britain, were sent to prison and staged hunger strikes. Together, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns would forge the new generation of young suffragists into a formidable force. Alice Paul took charge of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the NAWSA, but would soon part ways with that organization to form the National Woman's Party with Lucy Burns. They chose to adopt the more radical tactics of the British suffragist, but as a Quaker, Paul rejected violence, opting for civil disobedience instead.

Slide 34: 1913 Parade in Washington, D.C.
In just nine weeks, Alice Paul organized a Woman Suffrage Procession to be staged in Washington, D.C. on the eve of Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. Headed by "the most beautiful suffragette" Inez Millholland, clad in flowing white robes and mounted on a white horse, the parade was rich with majestic symbolism. It attracted 10,000 marchers and half a million spectators. It was supposed to be a dignified affair, but the crowd became unruly, and the police stood by and did nothing. The cavalry had to be called in to keep order. As a result, when Woodrow Wilson arrived at the train station that afternoon, the capital city of the country he would soon govern was otherwise engaged, and there were scant crowds there to greet him. A few days later when Paul met with Wilson to urge his support for a women's suffrage amendment, she was rebuffed. He would support states granting suffrage individually, but not a federal constitutional amendment.

Slide 35: The Silent Sentinels

In January, 1917, Paul organized the "silent sentinels" who picketed in front of the White House. "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" read one banner. On another, the President was referred to as "Kaiser Wilson". Paul also staged demonstrations called "Watchfires of Freedom" in which Wilson's speeches were publicly burned. With American boys fighting "over there" in World War I, public sentiment turned against the women protesters who were branded as unpatriotic, even treasonous.

Slide 36: Night of Terror

The Silent Sentinels endured verbal and physical attacks. To keep the peace, Wilson ordered arrests on the trumped-up charge of "obstructing traffic". The women were hauled off to the Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia. They endured deplorable living conditions there. On the night of November 14, 1917, 33 women prisoners were subjected to torture and beatings. Alice Paul led her fellow prisoners in a hunger strike which resulted in violent force-feedings. Paul was hauled off in a strait jacket to an insane asylum and examined by a psychiatrist. He could find nothing wrong with her sanity.

When the picketing ended, about 500 women had participated and 170 had been sent to prison. As word of the mistreatment of the women prisoners got out, it sparked an outcry of sympathy, and public sentiment began to turn in favor of the suffragists' cause. The following year, Wilson finally offered his support of the constitutional amendment, although his change of heart was primarily due to the relentless persuasion that came from Carrie Chapman Catt and his respect for the NAWSA.

Slide 37: The General: Carrie Chapman Catt

The tactics used by Alice Paul's organization rattled the more moderate leaders of the NAWSA who feared the fragile political coalition of support they were building would be jeopardized. The NAWSA was headed by Carrie Chapman Catt. Born in Ripon, Wisconsin, she grew up in Iowa where she financed her education by washing dishes and teaching during school breaks. In short order, she became a Superintendent of Schools in Mason City, Iowa. She married Leo Chapman in 1885, but he died a year later of typhoid fever. Her second husband, George Catt, was a wealthy engineer who encouraged her suffrage work, and her marriage afforded her the time and money she needed to devote herself to the cause. She quickly rose through the ranks of the Iowa Woman's Suffrage Association, recognized as a powerful speaker and by age 30, the movement's greatest organizer. She took the reins of the NAWSA from Susan B. Anthony in 1900, but resigned in 1904 to care for her ailing husband. She returned to steer the organization as president on the home stretch from 1915 until 1920.

Slide 38: The "Winning Plan"
Catt's "winning plan" was unveiled in 1916. It called for simultaneously working for suffrage in state legislatures as well as at the federal level. The logic was that once a critical mass of enfranchised women was achieved by the states, a federal amendment was inevitable. The plan worked just as Catt had envisioned. In 1917, the state of New York finally adopted women's suffrage. This seemed to break the log jam of opposition to a federal amendment. Both the NAWSA and Alice Paul's National Women's Party then poured their efforts into moving the Congress. Carrie Chapman Catt hired Maud Wood Park as chief lobbyist for the NAWSA. Alice Paul's NWP instructed its lobbyists on the "care and feeding" of congressmen and senators. (It should be noted that by this time there was ONE Congresswoman, Jeannette Rankin, elected in 1916 from Montana.) But still, President Wilson would not publicly declare his support.

Slide 39: The Susan B. Anthony Amendment
The fight to pass the federal amendment in Congress was a dramatic, 18-month long effort. The first vote was taken in the House on June 10, 1918. The margin was so close that some representatives had to be summoned from their sickbeds, one was carried in on a stretcher, and one left his wife's deathbed (at her urging) to cast their votes. The bill was passed. The Senate proved a much tougher fight. The vote did not achieve the necessary 2/3 support. At that point, Catt put in motion a "plan for making trouble". The NWASA would cast aside its non-partisan mantle, and actively work to unseat Senators who opposed women's suffrage. Meanwhile Alice Paul's National Women's Party shifted its public protests into high gear culminating with a nationwide campaign to sway public opinion called "The Prison Special". Women who had been jailed for protesting traveled across the country by train, speaking to over 50,000 people. The result was an avalanche of letters of support sent to Congress from constituents. All of this was taking place against the backdrop of delicate peace negotiations in Europe at the end of World War I and the deadly Spanish flu pandemic.

By the time the 66th Congress took up the question again in June of 1919, public support was overwhelming, and it easily passed the House. Carrie Catt finally persuaded Wilson to encourage support for the bill, but she thought the statement he drafted wasn't strong enough, so she wrote another, he signed it, and delivered it before the Senate where it finally passed.

Such a simple, straightforward statement, yet it had taken 144 years since the nation's founding to gain acceptance.

Slide 40: Victory at Last
As state ratifications progressed, Alice Paul began sewing her "victory banner" adding another star for each new state. Wisconsin was the first. Delaware was supposed to be the final state to ratify, but unexpectedly, the effort failed there. The next target was Tennessee.

By the summer of 1920, the 19th amendment was one state short, and the entire political apparatus of the country, the "suffs", the "antis", the special interest lobbyists, the Republicans and the Democrats in the midst of a presidential election campaign, all descended on Nashville, Tennessee for the final push. When the fateful day arrived for the vote, the red rose of the "antis" dominated in the lapels of the state assemblymen. It looked as if the suffragists were one vote short. As the roll call proceeded, a freshman legislator named Harry Burn switched his vote at the last minute, following the admonition of his mother: "Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt put the RAT in ratification." That one vote on August 18, 1920 changed the lives of half the population of the United States, and Alice Paul was able to add the 36th and final star to her victory banner. The amendment was certified on August 26, 1920, Women's Equality Day. Despite the fact that Alice Paul and Carrie Chapman Catt had devoted their lives to the cause of women's suffrage, they were never able to see eye-to-eye about how to achieve it, so in order to avoid a public spectacle, neither was invited to the final signing ceremony on that day. All fifty states did eventually ratify, but, unbelievably, it took until 1984 for the last one: Mississippi.

Slide 41: Susan B. Anthony
As soon as the 19th amendment was certified on August 26, 1920, Alice Paul turned her attention to an Equal Rights Amendment. It was first proposed in 1923. In 1943, it was renamed "The Alice Paul Amendment." It was introduced every year in Congress until it finally passed in 1972.

It still remains one state short of final ratification. Alice Paul advocated for a national women's political party to focus its efforts on furthering women's rights.

Six months before the 19th amendment was certified, Carrie Chapman Catt founded The League of Women Voters in 1920. The new organization was established as a "mighty political experiment" designed to help the newly enfranchised women carry out their civic responsibilities. Maud Wood Park was elected its first president. Today, the League has grown to over 700 chapters and 400,000 members. Catt always opposed a women's party arguing that women could achieve more by becoming part of the two existing political parties.

Slide 42: The "Jailed for Freedom" pin

The final struggle for women's suffrage was characterized by two distinct and often antagonistic approaches. Alice Paul's National Women's Party took the more confrontational path. She proudly presented this pin to the women who were "jailed for freedom" in the course of their service to the cause. Paul continued her tireless efforts for women's rights throughout her long life. She lived to see the Equal Rights Amendment passed by Congress in 1972. Alice Paul died in 1977 at age 92 at a Quaker nursing home in her native New Jersey.

Carrie Chapman Catt continued her activist work, turning her attention to the cause of peace and disarmament. She had suffered cardiac problems for many years, and died of a heart attack in 1947 at her home in New Rochelle, New York. She is buried next to fellow suffragist Mary (Mollie) Garrett Hay with whom she lived for twenty years.

Which approach was more effective in achieving women's suffrage: the radical or the moderate? Historian Judith Wellman argues, "You need a united movement. A movement that loses its radicalism loses its vision and its future. A movement that is only radical loses its mass base."

Slide 43: (Women's March 2017)

Let's conclude with Carrie Chapman Catt's words to the newly enfranchised women voters of America in 1920:

"The vote is the emblem of your equality, women of America, the guaranty of your liberty. That vote of yours has cost millions of dollars and the lives of thousands of women. Women have suffered agony of soul which you can never comprehend, that you and your daughters might inherit political freedom. That vote has been costly. *Prize it!*

The vote is a power, a weapon of offense and defense, a prayer. Use it intelligently, conscientiously, prayerfully. Progress is calling to you to make no pause. *Act!*"

The suffragists were disappointed with the numbers of women who voted in that first 1920 election: only 1 in 3. It took until the 1960's and the "second wave of feminism" for the number of women voting to equal the number of men. Not until 1980 did the percentage of women voters surpass men. In the 2018 midterm elections, women voted in greater numbers than ever recorded. Are we now living in the midst of the next wave of feminism?

For reference regarding voting restrictions:
Quoted from Elaine Weiss: "Native Americans finally succeeded in convincing Congress to grant them citizenship and suffrage in 1924, yet many Native Americans continued to be barred from voting by state laws until 1957. Asian Americans, even native born, were not permitted to become citizens or vote until the mid-twentieth century; Chinese Americans were not allowed citizenship until 1943; for those of Asian Indian descent, these rights were withheld until 1946; and Japanese Americans were forced to wait until 1952. African Americans in southern states, while possessing suffrage on paper, could not freely exercise their franchise until 1965 and still face obstacles."

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was substantially weakened in 2013 by a Supreme Court decision which overturned Section 5, the provision that required states with a history of racial discrimination to seek federal approval before making changes to voting rules. Since that time, many states have passed legislation to make voting more difficult for many people such as voter ID laws, limiting early voting, requiring certain address requirements for voting eligibility, and purging voter rolls.

Sources:
Sisters in Spirit by Sally Roesch Wagner
Why They Marched by Susan Ware
The Woman's Hour by Elaine Weiss
Winning the Vote by Robert P.J. Conney, Jr.
Women's Suffrage Centennial Celebration by the Wisconsin Historical Society
One Woman, One Vote PBS documentary film
Not for Ourselves Alone PBS documentary film
Iron Jawed Angels feature film starring Hillary Swank as Alice Paul