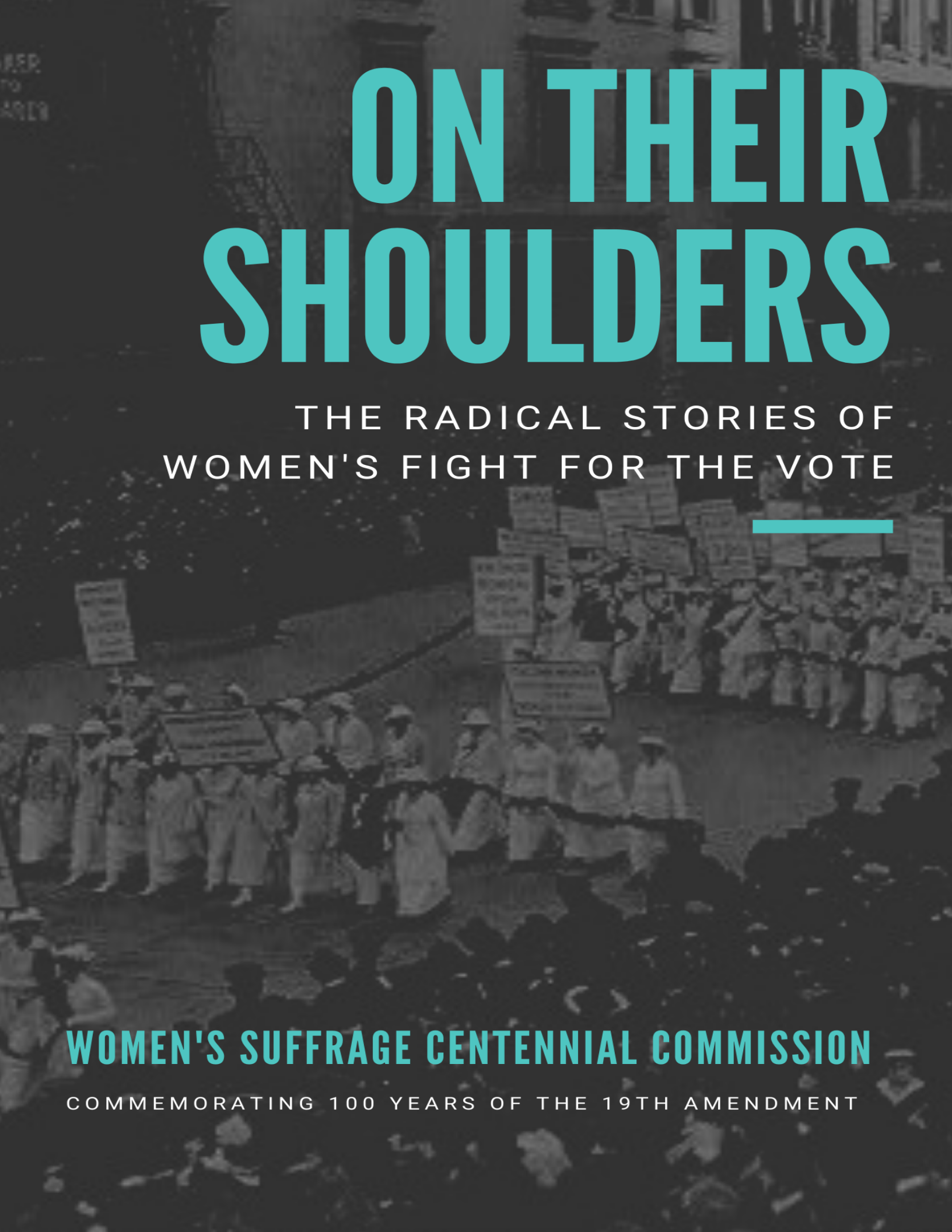

ON THEIR SHOULDERS

THE RADICAL STORIES OF WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR THE VOTE

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

COMMEMORATING 100 YEARS OF THE 19TH AMENDMENT

On Their Shoulders

The Radical Stories of Women's Fight for the Vote

Edited by the Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission

About the Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission

The Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission (WSCC) was created by Congress to coordinate the nationwide commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the 19th Amendment, which was officially signed into the U.S. Constitution on August 26, 1920. The amendment prohibits the United States or any state from denying the right to vote based on sex, protecting women's access to the ballot in the Constitution. Led by a bipartisan group of 14 women leaders, the WSCC has a nonpartisan mission to ensure that Americans across the country find inspiration in this important but often overlooked history.

This book is dedicated to the radical suffragists who demanded equality...

And to the next generation of changemakers who stand on their shoulders.

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Foreword

By Susan Combs and Dr. Colleen Shogan, Chair and Vice Chair
of the Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission

In April 2017, the United States Congress created the Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission to commemorate a major milestone in American history in 2020 – the 100th anniversary of women's constitutional right to vote. With this centennial came an unparalleled opportunity to amplify women's stories and to recognize women's fight for the vote for what it was – one of the longest social movements in United States history that culminated in a massive extension of democracy, individual rights, and justice.

American women faced inequality from the founding of the country. They could not own property, could not vote, and had unequal access to education and occupations, among other constraints. In 1776, Abigail Adams had written to her husband urging him to "remember the ladies" as men gathered for the Continental Congress to establish America's independence. She warned that if they formed a government that did not provide women with equal rights to men, then women would "foment a rebellion."

And foment a rebellion, they did.

Women leaders and their allies began the organized movement for the vote in 1848, holding the first official women's rights convention in Seneca Falls. For the next 72 years, women lobbied, marched, and picketed for the right to vote. The suffragists set precedents in protest, civic organization, and civil disobedience that inspired generations to come. Congress finally passed the Nineteenth Amendment on June 4, 1919. After the necessary 36 states voted to ratify, the amendment was officially certified on August 26, 1920, marking the largest single expansion of voting rights in American history.

In history books and popular culture, the story of the women's suffrage movement is often neglected. When told, the details often merely scratch the surface of a complex history. Did you know that suffragists were the first to picket the White House, for which they were imprisoned, ridiculed, and beaten? That the suffrage movement grew out of the abolition movement? That the power and equality that Native American women wielded in their tribes influenced the suffragists? That the fight to expand voting rights for half of the population came down to one single vote in Tennessee? There are so many lessons to learn from this history – lessons from the past that help us understand the challenges our world faces today. But we must know these stories to learn from them. In the words of the unwavering suffragist, journalist, and anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells, "The way to right wrongs is to turn the light of truth upon them."

To shed light on this multifaceted and important history, the Commission brought together the country's leading suffrage historians to compile this anthology of new scholarship on the

women's suffrage movement. *On Their Shoulders: The Radical Stories of Women's Fight for the Vote* explores the extraordinary, dramatic, inspiring, complicated, and too-little-known stories of the diverse activists who waged and won the battle for the ballot, leading to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

While 2020 marks the centennial of the pivotal success of the Nineteenth Amendment, the struggle for voting rights did not end 100 years ago. After ratification of the amendment, many women in the United States, particularly women of color, were still prevented from exercising the right to vote. Throughout the suffrage movement, women of color ensured that race remained a critical part of the conversation. Otherwise, they knew that many women would be left behind even with a victory such as a federal suffrage amendment. But segregation and racism in the movement created significant roadblocks. Political expediency, such as the need for some southern states to ratify the amendment after defeats were registered elsewhere, contributed to the problem.

And so, the fight continued throughout the twentieth century. Native Americans gained citizenship with the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, but still faced obstacles to casting their ballots for decades thereafter. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act prevented Chinese immigrants from becoming citizens and voters until 1943. Due to Jim Crow laws and other exclusionary practices, many Black women and men could not exercise their right to vote before the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Hispanic Americans were also impacted by obstacles and threats of violence at the polls.

In this long fight for voting rights equality, the Nineteenth Amendment stands as a critical victory. The story of the decades of efforts by generations of activists that led to the passage of the amendment is layered, intricate, and powerful. We are grateful to the United States Congress for recognizing the importance of the centennial and creating the Commission to ensure this history would reach Americans far and wide throughout 2020 and beyond. The Commission hopes that *On Their Shoulders* will not only provide valuable insights into the history but will also spark curiosity to continue discovering the many untold stories of the remarkable suffragists who fought for democracy.

Suffragists did more than secure passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. They broke barriers and changed perceptions of women's role in public life. By speaking out and succeeding in their decades-long grassroots movement, the suffragists opened up new opportunities for women in all fields and inspired future generations to fight for progress. Women have ascended to the highest positions in the federal government and stood as candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. One day, a woman will occupy the Oval Office, the last hurdle to overcome. However, right now, more than 68 million American women vote in elections because of the courageous suffragists who never gave up the fight for equality. We stand on their shoulders, and we must never forget them.

Introduction

By Michelle Duster

During my lifetime Black people were deeply entrenched in the struggle for voting rights. As a child of the 1960s I heard a constant emphasis on how important it was to vote. To make our voices heard. I went with my parents to polling places when they voted, where I was surrounded by adults who grew up in the Jim Crow South and knew that voting was not something to take for granted. At my predominantly Black elementary school on the South Side of Chicago we took part in mock elections. To this day, most African Americans are frequently reminded about how "people died for you to have this right" when referring to the racial violence experienced in the movement—experienced by both women and men. But I rarely hear the same emphasis expressed in recounting the singularly gender-based struggles that were also faced in order to gain those rights.

The messaging that I grew up hearing illustrates the dual fight that most women of color faced in the suffrage movement. Yes, they were fighting for their rights as women, but were also fighting against oppression from a Euro-focused social structure where many times white women were not on their side. Given a choice of focus, many women of color lived through and were taught that the fight for racial equality was the priority and gaining the right to vote was a tool that could effect change in oppressive laws that relegated them to second-class citizenship.

My childhood was full of discussions about social issues, racial struggles, and the historical realities of oppression and inequality. The adults in my world were educated and politically astute and I always knew that Ida B. Wells was my father's grandmother, my great-grandmother. Her involvement in the suffrage movement was one of the many things she did in life—from founding the Alpha Suffrage Club in Chicago, to participating in the March 1913 suffrage march in Washington, D.C., to canvassing for Oscar De Priest, who ultimately became the first African American alderman in Chicago in 1915. She also ran in a primary election for a state senate seat in 1930. Ida was active, vocal, and impactful. Despite her great contributions to the fight for women to become full citizens and participants in our democracy, this information was not taught to me in school—all the way through college.

The fact that the complex story of the women's suffrage movement was either missing or mentioned in a cursory way in the school curriculum is indicative of how women's contributions to society have been regarded as minimally important. It demonstrates how women's fight for equality is not treated as central in the history of this country. The history I learned in school focused on white men who were framed in noble ways. Generations of Americans have been undereducated about the long struggle that women fought in order to have the right to vote.

When it is taught, the story of the suffrage movement has most often been told through a very simplified and Euro-American lens—from watering down the story so it highlights only a few privileged women, to the myth that the idea for gender equality was conceived with no influence from Native American culture. In general, there is a lack of acknowledgement that Black, Asian, Native, Latinx, and Hispanic American women had different experiences, concerns, and obstacles. There is more to it than Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott. The struggle for equality started with abolitionists and women in the church before the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention. The involvement of women of color in the struggle for the vote, and the information about the different experiences and realities that each group of women faced and the contributions they made has been minimized, erased, or told separately—until now.

In addition, the story of the influence of other countries is an important aspect that is rarely mentioned. Women outside of the United States were fighting for their right to participate in their government. British women fought for their rights and American women, such as Alice Paul, learned some strategies for fighting during her years in England. Voting rights were attained by women in the U.S. through a complex and chaotic system with individual states and territories giving full or partial suffrage, starting in 1869 with Wyoming. In 1916 the first woman to hold federal elective office, Jeannette Rankin of Montana, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Her achievement was not possible to strive for in the many states that did not grant even partial suffrage to women until 1919—one year before the passage of the 19th Amendment.

In 2020 we celebrate the achievement of amending the constitution which theoretically gave all women access to the vote. However, we must acknowledge the unvarnished part of the story that also needs to be told. It took up to an additional forty-five years for women across racial, ethnic, and class lines to have the ability to participate fully in our democracy.

The story of struggle for these rights involved multiple generations over several decades and is more complex than a handful of women's stories. It took collaboration and inspiration from various cultures and countries in order to push the power structure dominated by wealthy white men to finally buckle under pressure. Women were not given the right to vote—they waged a battle against a deeply entrenched patriarchy and earned that right.

The women used tactics that encompassed petitioning, letter writing, holding meetings and conventions, speaking in public, marching, organizing, lobbying, and influencing the men in their lives to vote certain ways. Suffragists endured being criticized, ostracized, jailed, tortured, force fed, and beaten in the fight for half the population to become enfranchised. The bravery and determination of the women who dared to step outside of societal expectations and norms is a powerful and inspirational story.

Suffragists did not always agree on strategy. There were regional differences. Racism within the movement caused women of color to organize and operate for the most part separately from white women. Black women formed their own suffrage groups and campaigned with a slightly different focus. The story of the suffrage movement consists of triumphs and disappointments. Setbacks and progress. Division and alliances. Betrayals and coalitions. It's messy. It's drama-filled. It's reality.

Through true grit, determination and myriad strategies, the 19th Amendment became law on August 26, 1920. Seventy-three years after that watershed moment, Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois was elected in 1993 to the U.S. Senate as the first African American woman senator. Twenty-seven years later, in the centennial year, 2020, there are 26 female senators serving 20 states, and four are women of color: Kamala Harris, Tammy Duckworth, Mazie Hirono, and Catherine Cortez Masto. To date, 57 women have served in the United States Senate. There are 127 women in the 116th Congress, making up almost twenty-four percent of the body.

Women serve in other appointed and elected positions of power. Three of the nine Supreme Court justices are women. Women are the mayors of several major cities including Chicago, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Forty-four women have served or are currently serving as governors. Today nine states have women as governors—New Mexico, Alabama, Michigan, Kansas, South Dakota, Maine, Iowa, Oregon, and Rhode Island. In addition, governors of two U.S. territories are women—Lourdes ("Lou") Leon Guerrero of Guam and Wanda Vázquez Garced of Puerto Rico.

This might seem normal and no big deal for some women who have grown up always having the right to vote and participate in politics, but women fought from the early 1830s through 1965 to legally gain the opportunity to vote. Within the past century, women have not only gained the right to vote and hold elected positions, but in 2016 Hillary Clinton, a former U. S. Senator from New York, became the first woman to run for president as the representative of a major party. Her run for office, and loss in the electoral college despite winning the popular vote, is something that will be studied for years to come.

The United States of America has yet to see a woman take the final accession to the ultimate level of power—becoming head of state. But we can find inspiration around the world. Twenty-one countries, including Germany, New Zealand, Barbados, Slovakia, Greece, Taiwan, Bolivia, and Ethiopia currently have female heads of state. By continuing the fight that our foremothers started, women in this country will soon break through to this next frontier.

This important collection of essays by the amazing assemblage of scholars brings into focus the complexity and multi-pronged struggles that various groups of women experienced in their fight for suffrage and political inclusion. It is an incredible gift to current and future generations to

have a resource that chronicles the long, complicated, tension and drama-filled journey, peppered with hope and progress. There were different strategies and ideologies. Different barriers, obstacles, and setbacks. Their stories demonstrate that not all women think alike. Not all women are allies. Solidarity is sometimes elusive. Yet, ultimately through this tangled web, women have triumphed and made huge progress toward a more fair and just world.

Chapter 1

"Failure is Impossible!:" The Battle for the Ballot

By Winifred Conkling

Harry T. Burn had a secret. Everyone assumed he was an "anti," meaning he would vote against ratification of the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote. After all, the 24-year-old first-term member of the Tennessee House of Representatives was from a conservative district, and he was running for reelection in the fall.

All eyes were on Tennessee. In 1919, the U.S. Congress had passed the suffrage amendment, but before it could become law, three-fourths of the forty-eight states needed to ratify it. By summer 1920, thirty-five states had voted to support it; one more was needed. The Tennessee Senate had approved the measure, so it was up to the Tennessee House of Representatives to make the historic vote.

The legislators gathered on August 18, 1920, a stiflingly hot day, even by Nashville standards. The second-floor galleries of the statehouse were crowded with women and men on both sides of the issue, eager to witness history being made. It appeared that the vote was evenly divided, 48 to 48.

After discussion and debate, the roll-call vote began. In the end, the battle for women's suffrage – a battle that had been going on since a group of women and men first demanded the vote in 1848 – came down to a single man, a single vote, a single syllable – "Aye."

Defying expectations, Burn voted in favor of women's suffrage. What he had not shared with anyone was that earlier that morning, he had received a letter from his mother urging him to support ratification.[1] He had the letter in his pocket when he cast his decisive vote, changing the United States Constitution and franchising women across the country.

Women had been fighting for suffrage for 72 years. The battle began at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton pushed to get the issue included at the first women's rights convention. At the time, women – even free white women -- had few legal rights. When they were young and single, females had to do what their fathers said. When they married, they had to obey their husbands. Legally, a married woman had no identity separate from her husband. She and her husband became one person – and that person was the husband. Some single, adult, free women lived alone, but they were far from the norm.

In the mid-19th century, free married women did not have the right to own property in most states. They could not sign legal documents. They had limited opportunities for paid work, and if a woman had a job, her wages often belonged to her husband or her father. Women could not serve on juries or testify in court. They could not attend most colleges. They could not have custody of their children if they divorced their husbands, no matter the reason. They were expected to remain quiet in public. Most of these strictures on free women's lives were slowly but progressively being loosened as the nineteenth century progressed. By mid-century, many states had begun to pass married women's property laws with gradually increasing legal rights granted to women. With the rise of the industrial revolution, particularly in the Northeast, many factory jobs were open to young women and they were explicitly recruited for these jobs. More than 20 post-secondary institutions of learning for women existed by 1850 and that number continued to climb in the second half of the century. And, of course, women's primary role was still seen as domestic and private by most; however, women preachers were not unheard of in mid-century America, and women's collective organizations were everywhere by then, often meeting (separately from men) in public spaces such as hotels. However, there remained one essential marker of free women's second-class citizenship in mid-century America -- they did not have the right to vote. Of all the injustices suffered by women, Stanton considered suffrage the most important. If women had the right to vote, they would have the power to change the multitude of remaining laws that kept them unequal to men.

The Seneca Falls Convention led to other women's rights conventions in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. The women's rights movement gained momentum in May 1851, when Stanton met Susan B. Anthony. These two famous feminists perfectly balanced one another, with Stanton, the thinker, and Anthony, the organizer. They made a dynamic team: "I forged the thunderbolts, she fired them," Stanton said.[2]

The suffragists, many of whom were also abolitionists, voluntarily suspended their efforts during the Civil War, tacitly acknowledging the precedence of the battle to free enslaved people. The campaign for equal rights for formerly enslaved people restarted after the war, led by the American Equal Rights Association, a group of former abolitionists that included supporters of women's rights. The group debated their support of the 14th and 15th Amendments, questioning whether suffrage should be universal or focus first on voting rights for African-American men.

Stanton and Anthony were tired of being told to be patient. At first, they favored universal suffrage, establishing voting rights for all women *and* African-American men. When the discussions focused on choosing between groups, they continued their work on female suffrage; in fact, they campaigned *against* the Fifteenth Amendment, which established voting rights for formerly enslaved men. They opposed the amendment, "Not for what it is, but for what it is not," Stanton wrote. "Not because it enfranchises black men, but because it does not enfranchise all women, black and white."[3] This issue ultimately split the suffrage movement into two groups,

one that continued to work for voting rights for women and another that supported African-American male suffrage, with the promise that female suffrage would follow.

Stanton and Anthony wanted women's suffrage nationwide. Unsurprisingly, after dedicating most of their adult lives to women's rights, universal women's suffrage was their priority. On January 10, 1878, Sen. Arlen A. Sargent of California proposed the 16th Amendment to the Constitution, written by Stanton and Anthony, which read: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex."[4] The amendment was defeated. Instead of a constitutional amendment, the first laws providing for women's right to vote were passed at the territorial and state levels. At the end of the 19th century, there were only four states – Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), and Idaho (1896) – in which women had won full enfranchisement.

Weary after more than fifty years of women's rights and suffrage work, Stanton died in 1902. Four years later, Anthony traveled to Washington, D.C. to attend a celebration of her 86th birthday. Anthony walked to the podium to address the crowd of suffrage supporters. She concluded her remarks, which became her last formal statement about suffrage, with the words: "Failure is impossible!"[5] Anthony became sick on her way home to Rochester, New York. As she was dying she said, "I have been striving for over sixty years for a little bit of justice no bigger than that, and yet I must die without obtaining it… It seems so cruel."[6] She died in 1906.

In the early twentieth century, a new wave of activists inherited the leadership of the suffrage movement. These women came up with spirited campaigns, including parades and public protests. On January 10, 1917, twelve women conducted the first pickets outside the White House. They stood silently in front of the White House gates holding banners asking: "MR. PRESIDENT, HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY?"

At first, President Woodrow Wilson found these Silent Sentinels a curiosity. He invited them inside for tea; they declined and remained at their posts. The women returned day after day, and Wilson soon found them an annoyance and embarrassment. In April 1917, the United States entered the Great War. The Silent Sentinels continued their protests, and their words became sharper and more provocative. In June, the first group of women were arrested, charged with obstructing traffic. Rather than backing down, the women became more defiant. When one woman was jailed, another took her place.

As the months passed, the jail sentences became longer and the treatment of the women became harsher. By October, Alice Paul and a group of other incarcerated women began a hunger strike. In response, the women were violently force-fed. Paul was moved to a psychiatric ward and denied access to a lawyer.

Still, the women continued their protest. The situation was a public relations nightmare for the White House. By late November, the suffrage prisoners had been released. In January 1918, Wilson changed his position and urged Congress to support suffrage as a war measure. The next day -- exactly one year after the first picketers took their posts outside the gates of the White House -- the House of Representatives passed the suffrage amendment, but it failed to pass in the Senate. The protests continued for another year. Finally, on June 4, 1919, the 19th Amendment passed both houses of Congress. It was then up to three-fourths of the states to ratify it.

By the following spring, thirty-five of the required thirty-six states had ratified the amendment. That's when the attention shifted to Tennessee. On August 18, 1920 – one hundred years ago -- the members of the Tennessee House of Representative gathered for the vote. When Burn voted for suffrage, he was called a "traitor to manhood's honor."[7] (Wheeler, 347). He responded by explaining that he voted in favor of the 19th Amendment because he considered suffrage a right, and he thought he had a moral obligation to support it. He said he had a rare opportunity "to free seventeen million women from political slavery"[8] and he was honored that his party would have the privilege of making national suffrage possible. On a more lighthearted note, he offered one more reason: "I knew that a mother's advice is always safest for a boy to follow, and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification."[8]

Chapter 2

The Prequel: Women's Suffrage Before 1848

By Johanna Neuman

Most suffrage histories begin in 1848, the year Elizabeth Cady Stanton convened a women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. There, she unfurled a Declaration of Rights and Sentiments, seeking religious, educational and property rights for women – and the right to vote. While Seneca Falls remains an important marker in women's suffrage history, in fact women had been agitating for this basic right of citizenship even before the first stirrings of revolutionary fervor in the colonies. Some, like Lydia Chapin Taft, had even voted.

On Josiah Taft's death in 1756 at the age of 47, his wife became a wealthy widow with three minor children still at home – and the largest taxpayer in Uxbridge, Massachusetts. As the town was about to vote for a local militia to fight the French and Indian Wars, civic leaders asked Lydia to cast a vote in her husband's place, as her funds would be critical to the war effort. Her affirmative vote on funding the local militia in 1756 was the first of three she cast as a widow. Two years later, in 1758, she voted on tax issues. In 1765, she again appeared at a town meeting to vote on school districts. Two decades before the colonies declared their independence from Britain, thirty years before the U.S. constitution was ratified, she became, according to Uxbridge Town records, America's first recorded female voter.

Women who expressed interest in politics were rare, as it was considered unnatural. Exceptions were made, however, for some upper-class women, such as Mercy Otis Warren, who during the war years published anonymously and then used the pseudonym A Columbian Patriot in 1788 to call for a Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution. She later penned a lengthy history of the Revolution under her own name. But once appeals for resistance spread through the colonies, many women asked their husbands or fathers for updates on the war. "Nothing else is talked of," Sarah Franklin wrote her father Benjamin Franklin. "The Dutch talk of the stamp tack, the Negroes of the tamp, in short, everyone has something to say."[1]

As her husband John Adams set off for the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia in 1776, Abigail Adams wrote him for details of the latest battles. She also urged him, in helping to craft the colonies' Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, to "Remember the Ladies," warning that women would foment a rebellion "if attention is not paid" to their interests, that they would "not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."[2] Her husband replied, "To your extraordinary Code of Laws, I cannot but laugh … Depend upon it, we know better than to repeal our Masculine systems."[3]

More than any other founder, John Adams may have foreseen the waves of changes likely in the country's electorate. "There will be no end of it," he wrote to a Massachusetts attorney. "New claims will arise; women will demand a vote; lads from twelve to twenty-one will think their rights not enough attended to; and every man who has not a farthing [one-fourth a penny in British coin], will demand a equal voice with any other, in all acts of state."[4]

Before the war, most women were absent from the political scene, constrained by their duties to the home. The work was difficult –and included backbreaking duties in the fields, repeated childbirths, taxing meal preparation, and daily efforts to keep dust and dirt from invading primitive homes. Indentured servants, black and white, suffered from broken bones and pulled muscles from lugging 20-gallon containers of water from well to home, for bathing and cooking. For enslaved African-Americans, one-fifth of the nation, exhausting duties were tinged with the threat of whippings and separation from loved ones on the auction block. But once the war began, women heard the call. All over the colonies, effective boycotts against British products required a buy-in from women. And buy in they did. Women founded anti-tea leagues, meeting to brew concoctions of raspberry, sage, and birch to substitute their herbal mixes for well-regarded English teas. Others shared camaraderie in collective gatherings to weave material from local products. Hundreds of spectators came to watch. Young women reveled in the task, feeling they were making a contribution to the nation's future. One girl at the spinning parties wrote that she "felt Nationaly [sic]," part of "a fighting army of amazones [sic] ... armed with spinning wheels."[5]

In New Jersey, lawmakers heard the call too, and adopted a state constitution on July 2, 1776 that offered the vote to "all inhabitants of this colony of full age, who are worth £50."[6] The new vote for women applied to only a small proportion of the female population. Coverture laws meant women could not own property unless they were single or widowed, like Lydia Taft. Married women gave up rights to own property, which transferred to their husbands. No one knows how many single or widowed women of 21 years or older in New Jersey had amassed £50 worth in holdings by 1776. Pamphleteer William Griffith, who said he found it "perfectly disgusting" to watch women cast ballots, estimated the number at 10,000 or more.[7]

For more than thirty years, women in New Jersey attended rallies, lobbied for patronage jobs for their male relatives and family friends, raised money for political causes, actively campaigned for candidates, and were invited to public political events. Politicians sought to endear themselves to these new voters, offering carriages to transport them to the polls.

Despite all these early, significant steps towards women's enfranchisement, the guiding rule of suffrage history is that male politicians never cede power unless it advantages them. John Condict, a Republican congressman angered by the votes of 75 Federalist women against him, launched a successful campaign to rescind women's rights in 1807. Legislators did not rewrite

the Constitution, they merely passed a new election law limiting the vote to white male taxpayers. What historian Rosemary Zagarri dubbed "a revolutionary backlash," when men reclaimed the power of politics, had begun.[8]

If women lost voting rights after the Revolution, one new role was added – what historian Linda Kerber called the Republican Motherhood.[9] Asked to educate the next generation of patriots in the new republic, they pressed this advantage to win new opportunities in education. Advertisements soon appeared for female academies that would, like the one opened by Judith Sargent Murray in Dorchester, Massachusetts, teach "Reading, English, Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, the French language, Geography, including the use of Globes, needle work in all its branches, painting and hair work upon ivory."[10] And once armed with knowledge, women in great numbers entered the political sphere even before they won the vote. In petitions often sent through stealth networks of like-minded women, many women fought against President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Policy. They lost, and Native Americans were banished from their homelands to Oklahoma in a naked land grab, which killed many in what historians now call the Long Trail of Tears. In the 1830s, many women demanded an end to slavery and aided the Underground Railroad that helped thousands escape slavery. These nascent acts of politics, cast amid the Second Great Awakening, an evangelical movement that urged Christians to atone for their own sins and that of their nation, set the stage for a wider appeal for the vote in the 1840s.

The first to make the case for abolition were the Grimke sisters. Born into a slave-owning family in Charleston, South Carolina, Angelina Grimke and her older sister Sarah were eager to give witness to the daily humiliations of slavery. They had fled the South to testify to its cruelties. In a letter to abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison published in his newspaper, Liberator, Angelina wrote, "It is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction that this is a cause worth dying for."[11] In speaking for the slave, the Grimke sisters were regularly assailed for speaking in public at all, as this was a privilege restricted to men. In her *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* in 1836, Angelina urged women to lobby their legislators on the issue, "as a matter of morals and religion, not of expedience or politics."[12]

Perhaps the greatest spur to female advocacy against slavery and for women's suffrage was Lucy Stone, one of the first female graduates of Oberlin College. In the summer of 1847, Stone began lecturing for the Anti-Slavery Society. The sight of a woman speaking in public provoked much anger by men in the audience, who pelted the stage with prayer books, rotten fruit and sometimes on a winter's day, cold water. Once in Cape Cod, an angry crowd stormed the stage. Stone asked one of the attackers to escort her outside. The man not only ushered her to safety, he stood guard as she climbed a tree stump and continued to lecture. In a report, the Anti-Slavery Society said she had been "of very high value," attributing her popularity to the "thoroughness of preparation … and the gentleness of demeanor."[13]

Samuel May, secretary for the society, soon protested her mingling of the two causes. "The people came to hear anti-slavery, and not woman's rights; and it isn't right," he said. To this Stone replied, "I was a woman before I was an abolitionist."[14] They agreed that she would receive a reduced fee – from $6 to $4 a week – for lectures on Saturdays and Sundays to advance the cause of the slave. On weekdays, when fewer came to hear lectures, she would speak about equality for women, the first to make a living as a lecturer for women's rights. Frederick Douglass, the famed abolitionist orator, was also a lifelong suffragist. Late in life he commented on the mingling of the two causes. "When I ran away from slavery, it was for myself; when I advocated emancipation, it was for my people; but when I stood up for the rights of women, self was out of the question, and I found a little nobility in the act."[15]

After the Civil War, the two sides would come to blows over their shared priorities – Douglass, Lucy Stone and other abolitionists supporting the 14th and 15th Amendments that granted voting rights to black adult men, while Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony campaigned actively against them, arguing that African American men should not win the vote if women couldn't also claim their rights to citizenship. This schism would splinter the women's suffrage cause for several decades. Even today, historians still debate whether this untethering of women's suffrage from abolitionism set back the cause of women's rights or propelled it forward in an autonomous path of its own. But first, in this prequel to activism, women fought to acquire skills of the public sphere, to gain knowledge of the rules that guided politics. As Lucy Stone put it, first they had to learn "to stand and speak." They would showcase that knowledge in the conference in Seneca Falls, where Stanton's declaration that women should be eligible to vote was so controversial that her co-sponsor, Quaker Lucretia Mott, told her, "Why Lizzie, thee will make us ridiculous."[16]

Chapter 3

"All Men and Women Are Created Equal:" The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton

By Lori D. Ginzberg

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) was the leading activist-intellectual of the nineteenth-century movement that demanded women's rights, including the right to education, property, and a voice in public life. Among those rights was the right to vote, which Americans of her era increasingly understood as an important mark of citizenship. To those who were beginning to demand an end to women's subordinate status, gaining suffrage came to be seen as an essential step to establishing their equality with men.

Elizabeth Cady was born in Johnstown, New York, to a conservative, slave-owning family that held conventional ideas about women's place; that experience – of both privilege and exclusion – shaped her thinking. Decades later she recalled that when, at age eleven, she sought to comfort her father for the loss of his son, Judge Daniel Cady sighed that he wished she had been a boy.[1] And although she received the best education available to girls at Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary, she fumed that she had been consigned to something merely "fashionable."[2] The young Elizabeth turned those resentments into a broad and sweeping battle against women's exclusion from the educational, legal, and political rights of men.

The personal and the political came together when Elizabeth Cady met the antislavery lecturer Henry Brewster Stanton at her radical abolitionist cousin Gerrit Smith's home. The two married in 1840 and set sail for London, where Henry was a delegate to the World Antislavery Convention. There Elizabeth witnessed female abolitionists, including Lucretia Mott, being rejected as delegates, and a few men, notably William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Lenox Remond, joining them in protest. Eight years later, now a mother of three small boys in the village of Seneca Falls, eager to use her intellectual powers and focus her discontent, she, Mott, and several other friends convened a convention in Seneca Falls, New York.

None of the three hundred or so people who piled into the Wesleyan Church in July 1848 were hearing about woman's rights for the first time. These were abolitionists, people who advocated for the immediate end to slavery and were accustomed to being considered the radical fringe of American society; talk about woman's rights had been circulating in their community for years.

Still, the "Declaration of Sentiments" that Stanton and her friend Elizabeth McClintock wrote and presented and the convention subsequently adopted is extraordinary. Adopting the pattern of the Declaration of Independence, it asserted that "All men and women are created equal" and held "mankind" responsible for women's exclusion from the nation's revolutionary promise. While the vote has come to be seen as the convention's central demand, the Declaration of Sentiments listed numerous "repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward

woman": the laws of marriage that "compelled [wives] to promise obedience to her husband," denied her the right to inherit or control property and, in cases of divorce, her children; the restrictions against women entering "all the profitable employments;" religious teachings that silenced her; social norms that created a double standard of morality; and a society that sought to "destroy her confidence in her own powers." Stanton's mission was to change all that and to ensure that women would be considered equal and independent citizens alongside men.

For the next half century, alongside Susan B. Anthony (whom she met in 1851), Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote, spoke and agitated on behalf of woman's rights including, but never limited to, the vote. In many ways she lived a conventional life. She was a married woman and the mother of seven children, whose public work was made possible by a housekeeper, Amelia Willard. But if her life could seem sedentary, she was always in intellectual motion, and she longed for a larger sphere of action. "Men and angels give me patience!" she wrote a friend in 1852. "I am at the boiling point! If I do not find some day the use of my tongue on this question, I shall die of an intellectual repression, a woman's rights convulsion!"[3]

Find her tongue she did. Under the pseudonym "Sunflower," she wrote a stream of articles in *The Lily* about the constraints on women's freedoms, published *The Revolution* with Anthony, and spoke on the lecture circuit throughout the Northern and Western states. Weighed down by the day's fashions, Stanton advocated for dress reform – boldly wearing the "Bloomer costume" for two years of "incredible freedom."[4] Utterly confident in her own expertise as a wife and mother, she spoke to audiences of women about child-raising, marriage, and, most radically, divorce. A skeptic about organized religion, she wrote the controversial *Women's Bible*, for which she faced censure by the suffrage organization she helped found and lead.[5] And although she, along with Anthony, headed both the wartime Women's Loyal National League and, after the Civil War, the National Woman Suffrage Association, she hated conventions, and resisted Anthony's pleas that she attend. As white, middle-class women gradually gained legal property rights and access to higher education over the course of the 19th century, Anthony increasingly focused on winning a constitutional amendment guaranteeing women the vote. In contrast, Stanton preferred to launch new ideas, to exult that she had "thrown our bombshell into the center of woman's degradation and of course we have raised a rumpus."[6]

Stanton's demand for the vote was based on the simple idea that individuals should not be denied the rights of citizens simply on the basis of sex. Still, her appeals to universal justice were infused with racism and class prejudice. As early as 1848, when the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments protested that women were denied rights that were given to "the most ignorant and degraded men – both natives and foreigners," Stanton's sense of entitlement as an educated, white, native-born woman shaped her priorities.

Stanton's prejudices became especially visible – and divisive – immediately after the Civil War. In the late 1860s, many abolitionists, among them Lucy Stone and Frederick Douglass, who had

long advocated for women's rights, joined Radical Republicans in arguing that there was greater urgency in gaining the vote for African-American men than for women. Stanton and Anthony were outraged. Declaring themselves the defenders of universal liberty, they nevertheless resorted to the view that some people were better suited to exercise political rights than others. If suffrage is to be extended gradually, Stanton insisted, "it would be wiser and safer to enfranchise the higher orders of womanhood than the lower orders of black and white, washed and unwashed, lettered and unlettered manhood."[7] With the end of the abolitionist and women's rights coalition after the Civil War, an independent women's suffrage movement emerged in 1869 that was made up of two competing organizations; Stanton and Anthony led the National Woman Suffrage Association for much of the rest of their lives.

Stanton never did focus on any one demand, nor did she slow down. "My feeling," she declared as she approached her seventy-fifth birthday, "is to tone up rather than down."[8] Through the 1880s, she, Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage set to work gathering nearly a half century of documents and editing the first several volumes of *The History of Woman Suffrage*, in part to shape a legacy of their own leadership. Stanton further cemented her historical reputation by writing her autobiography *Eighty Years and More*, published in 1898.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was an absolutist, for better or worse, and she remains a controversial figure, larger than life, brilliant, charismatic, and confident. Many in her own time considered her a dangerous radical, whose insistence on women's complete legal, political, and religious equality with men threatened to turn the world upside down. Others, including thousands of women who heard her speak, thought Stanton a thrilling lecturer, someone who turned their frustrations as daughters, wives, and mothers, and their exclusion from the full rights of Americans, into a platform for action. And while Susan B. Anthony came to be most closely associated with the vote, Stanton would come to embody the idea that the "personal is political" to many feminists of the 1970s. This analysis, which moved beyond claims to political and legal equality to include critiques of marriage, motherhood, and domestic violence, and to insist upon women's full emancipation from the constraints society imposed on their sex.

Historians too have found Stanton complex and often contradictory. Although virtually all scholars acknowledge, and regret, Stanton's bigoted rhetoric, they differ about how much her elitism and racism reflect a deep vein in her thought. Some consider Stanton's elitism common to her era and class, which it surely was; some believe that Stanton's bigotry represented a strategic decision made under difficult political circumstances. But many argue that Stanton's priorities narrowed her very definition of women's rights to those that white, middle-class women most fervently sought, and, to a large extent, gained. To Stanton, gaining the vote would establish women such as herself – educated, native born, and white – as independent citizens alongside men. In contrast, African American, working-class, and immigrant women often viewed the vote less as a symbol than as a tool, one their communities needed desperately to advance economically, to demand protection from violence, and to assert their right to be heard. Unable

to recognize this perspective as a legitimate challenge to the ideals of liberal individualism, Stanton's racism reflected a serious failure of her radical imagination. All, however, would likely agree with Stanton who, having promoted educational, economic, marital, and political rights for women, declared, "This sounds like a very radical proposition now, but be sure that someday in the future Americans will ask how these things could ever have been done otherwise."[9]

Chapter 4

How Susan B. Anthony Became the Most Recognizable Suffragist

By Allison K. Lange

When I ask my college students to name a suffragist, most of them name Susan B. Anthony. Over a century after her death, many even recognize her picture. In 1979, she became the first woman whose portrait appeared on a circulating coin in the United States. A recent study by the National Women's History Museum reveals that many states require students to learn about her. Soon, the first statue of historical women in Central Park will feature Anthony and fellow reformers Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Sojourner Truth.

How did Anthony's face become so visible? Anthony was one of many women's rights activists, but she was one of the few who dedicated her time to distributing portraits of reformers like herself. Anthony spent significant effort and money to mold the public image of the women's rights movement.

Anthony borrowed visual strategies from the antislavery reformers, especially from Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth. Douglass and Truth sold their portraits to provide a model of black leadership that countered racist and sexist cartoons. Similarly, Anthony wanted to challenge cartoons that mocked female reformers. She distributed portraits to define the leaders of the movement and emphasize that women—especially well-off white women—could be public leaders, perhaps even president. Anthony's portraits established a model for female leadership and defined which suffragists we most often remember today.

In early America, the public encountered very few printed portraits of women. Women were supposed to prefer the privacy of their homes to public life. While their painted portraits often hung in the homes of wealthy families, engravers rarely copied them to sell to the public. Portraits of George Washington sold, but few women were well-known so their portraits were less desirable.

Additionally, cartoons mocked women who participated in politics. During the American Revolution, artist Philip Dawe satirized women who boycotted tea. This print from 1775, called "A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton, in North Carolina," depicts women ignoring a child to focus on their protest. These women are not idealized beauties. One drinks alcohol from a punch bowl. On the right, a black woman—probably an enslaved person—looks like she hopes to sign too. The cartoon demonstrates that women in politics threatened gender norms as well as an economy based on slavery and white supremacy. Printed in London and distributed to the colonies, buyers purchased expensive mezzotints like this one at print shops and from other merchants. They could have posted it in their home or in a gathering place like a tavern.

In 1851, nearly a century later, another print called "Bloomerism in Practice" features a similar critique. The picture was published three years after the Seneca Falls Convention, amidst a wave of similar cartoons that illustrated a backlash against women's rights activism. In the center of the room, a woman smokes while her husband hunches over to mend clothes. A child cries out for attention, but the mother ignores the child. In the background, a white woman wearing bloomers carries a banner that says "no more basement & kitchen." Next to her, a black woman's banner declares "no more massa & missus." The critique is clear: if women gain rights, society—including gender norms, slavery, class hierarchy, and white supremacy—will be disrupted.

Throughout the 19th century, prints like these were very popular. Americans hung them on their walls, encountered them in cheap newspapers, and discussed them with friends. Reformers like Anthony wanted to prove that these stereotypes of women in politics were wrong, but activists could do little about these pictures. They had weak organizations, very little money, and no control over the popular press.

Fortunately, Anthony could look to her reformer colleagues: Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth. They distributed pictures on their own to raise money. Douglass was one of the most photographed 19th-century Americans. He was born in 1818 and escaped slavery at the age of 20. Soon, he began distributing his portrait, starting with his autobiography. In 1861, the prominent lecturer told audiences in Boston and Syracuse that images could advance racial equality. He said: "the picture plays an important part in our politics and often explodes political shams more effectively, than any other agency."[1] Although cartoons mocked black people as inferior, Douglass believed that portraits like his—of a refined, elegant black man—challenged stereotypes.

Sojourner Truth must have agreed with Douglass's strategy. Born in New York in the late 1790s, she also grew up enslaved. She escaped slavery in 1826, a year before the state ended slavery. Truth lectured against slavery, in support of civil rights, and to promote women's rights.

In the 1860s, Truth started selling a new, popular type of portrait: a carte de visite photograph. These photographs were similar in size to baseball cards, cheap, and everyone wanted them. Americans bought them, exchanged them with friends, and assembled them in photo albums. Truth chose similar poses and clothing each time she sat for her portrait. In this one, she sits in a parlor-like setting with flowers on a table and an open book. Then in her late 60s, Truth looks directly at the viewer. She wears plain, Quaker clothing, a white head wrap, and glasses.

Truth's portraits challenged racist cartoons, but they also needed to counter sexist ones. She appears respectable. Truth is not interested in frivolous fashions or the controversial bloomer pants. Her right hand grips the tail of her yarn as though she is knitting. Knitting implied that she embraced feminine domestic tasks, but the public portrait revealed that her home was not her

sole focus. Poor women and women of color almost always worked to support their families. Truth sold these portraits to make a living.

Anthony thought the portraits of Douglass and Truth were effective. In 1865, she spoke to the Women's Loyal National League, an organization that Anthony founded to abolish slavery and support the United States during the Civil War. She showed Truth's portrait to the audience to raise money to support newly freed peoples. She recorded that it was successful.

Anthony sold portraits of herself and her favored female leaders through her newspaper, *The Revolution*, and her organizations. In 1876, as the nation reflected on its century of history, suffragists decided to write their own. Anthony knew their history needed portraits. She worked with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage to produce the *History of Woman Suffrage*, a series that eventually included six volumes with about 1,000 pages in each.

Anthony managed the portraits. She wrote to suffragists and specified what type of photograph she wanted from them. In an 1882 letter to Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, for example, she clarified that she wanted a portrait that showed "just the head shoulders [sic]" in "about three quarters profile—not a full front—nor yet an entire profile—about halfway between."[2] Anthony also told Amelia Bloomer, famous for wearing bloomers, to specify which photograph had the "best eyes," "best hair," and "best mouth" in order to make the engraving "the best possible."[3] Anthony hired an expensive engraver to combine all of these best features into a portrait.

The portraits defined the movement's leaders as middle- and upper-class white women, a stereotype that persists today. Anthony modeled the portraits after those of leading political men, like presidential candidates. She could have included Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass, but she and other white suffragists distanced themselves from suffragists of color. They thought that if they fought for black women's voting rights, fewer Americans would support their cause. Many Americans, even reformers, viewed people of color as inferior. For example, in 1869 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anthony's co-editor, referred to black men using the derogatory term "Sambo."[4] She believed she deserved the vote before they did. Anthony also could have featured white colleagues like Henry Ward Beecher, but she wanted the portraits to make a case for women's leadership.

As suffragists like Anthony became recognizable, cartoonists started to mock specific women. In 1873, *The Daily Graphic*, a magazine published in New York, printed this cartoon on its front page. The caption labels Anthony as "The Woman Who Dared." The editor assumed that viewers would identify her from her popular 1870 portrait that the artist clearly copied. She holds an umbrella the way a general might hold a sword. On the left, a policewoman surveys an all-female rally. On the right, a man holds an upset child, while the other carries a basket with food. Almost a century after the 1775 "A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton, in North Carolina" cartoon, the artist anticipated that Americans would be entertained enough by the picture to purchase it.

In 1900, Anthony sat for a new portrait. At 80 years old, she is surrounded by her accomplishments. She worked for decades to commission many of the portraits that cover the wall and her desk. Many of them remain familiar today, such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She highlighted numerous important women whose faces might have otherwise been lost. We can thank her for the many copies of these portraits in libraries, archives, and museums today.

After Anthony's death in 1906, suffragists turned her into a suffrage saint. Starting in the 1890s, suffragists established national press committees, hired publicity professionals, and founded their own publishing company. They continued to distribute Anthony's portrait, but they also promoted more traditional ideals of female domesticity. Anti-suffragists still argued that women should not vote because they needed to focus on their homes, so suffragists responded that women needed the vote to improve family life and protect their children. Propaganda distributed by the leading suffrage group, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, often emphasized white women's roles as mothers. Although leading women of color like Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Mary Church Terrell distributed their portraits, they lacked the resources and support to reach a broad audience.

During the 2020 centennial, we will see many new documentaries, exhibitions, and statues about the history of women's suffrage. Anthony and the portraits of her favored leaders will probably remain the most familiar. But, now that we know the history behind the movement's most famous faces, we should highlight less familiar figures too. Susan B. Anthony promoted a vital vision of public female leadership, and we should continue to refine it.

Chapter 5

How Native American Women Inspired the Women's Rights Movement

By Sally Roesch Wagner, Ph.D.

"Never was justice more perfect; never was civilization higher," suffrage leader Matilda Joslyn Gage wrote about the Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois Confederacy, whose territory extended throughout New York State.[1]

Matilda Joslyn Gage led the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the three women trading executive positions over the 20 years of the organization's existence. According to Gloria Steinem, Gage was "the woman who was AHEAD of the women who were AHEAD of their time." When the women's suffrage leadership grew conservative, Gage dropped out of the movement. Suffragists stopped remembering her progressive contributions, like her 1893 revelation of the sex trafficking of women and girls in the United States. Gage, and to a lesser extent Stanton, were largely dropped from the history. With their exclusion, we also lost this story of how they saw women's rights in action in the native culture of the Haudenosaunee, and realized they could create the conditions for it in their own society.

Having worked for women's rights for forty years, Gage and Stanton became increasingly frustrated with their inability to make major gains in their social, economic, or political positions as women by the 1880's. In their disappointment, they looked beyond the Euro-American culture that was already known intimately to them and gained a vision of a world of equality from their nearby neighbors. Stanton and Gage grew up in the land of the Haudenosaunee, the six nations of the Iroquois Confederacy: the Onondaga, Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida and Tuscarora who had social, religious, economic, and political positions far superior to their own, they wrote.

The Six Nation Haudenosaunee Confederacy had, and still have today, a family/governmental structure based on female authority. Haudenosaunee women controlled the economy in their nations through their responsibilities for growing and distributing the food. They had the final authority over land transfers and decisions about engaging in war. Children came through the mother's line, not the father's, and if the parents separated, the children stayed with their mother, and if she died, with her clan family. Women controlled their own property and belongings, as did the children. Political power was shared equally among everyone in the Nation, with decisions made by consensus in this pure democracy, the oldest continuing one in the world.

Still today, the chief and clan mother share leadership responsibilities. The clan mother chooses and advises the chief, placing and holding him in office. These men, appointed by the women, carry out the business of government. The clan mother also has the responsibility of removing a chief who doesn't listen to the people and make good decisions, giving due consideration to

seven generations in the future. To be chosen as a chief, the man cannot be a warrior (since it is a confederacy based on peace), nor can he have ever stolen anything or abused a woman. Women live free of fearing violence from men. The spiritual belief in the sacredness of women and the earth—the mutual creators of life—make rape or beating almost unthinkable. If it occurs, the offender is punished severely by the men of the victim's clan family – sometimes by death or banishment.

Euro-American women of Gage and Stanton's time lived under conditions that were the mirror opposite. United States common law of the period followed the British Blackstone code that read: "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 everything."[2] Considered effectively dead, or at least invisible in the law, married women had no legal existence in the United States. They had no right to their property or their bodies; husbands had the legal right to rape and beat their wives, as long as they didn't inflict permanent injury. When a woman married, everything she owned became her husband's property, to do with as he wished. If she worked, he got her wages. If she inherited property, it became his. Children belonged to their father who, upon dying, could even will away his unborn child to someone other than the mother to raise.

At mid-nineteenth century, the majority of women living in the United States -- that is to say, single and married white women, as well as all enslaved women -- had no say in family or government decisions. It was illegal in every state for women to vote. They could not serve on a jury, sue or be sued, write a will or in any way act as a legal entity. Haudenosaunee women, on the other hand, maintained their own identity and all their rights to their body, property, political voice, and children whether married or unmarried before colonization.

Alice Fletcher, an ethnographer studying Native American cultures and a suffragist, addressed the 1888 International Council of Women, the first United States meeting of women's rights advocates from throughout the Western world. "Will your husband like to have you give the horse away?" Fletcher recounts asking an Omaha Nation woman she was visiting. This Native American had just given away a "fine quality horse" and, hearing Fletcher's question, she broke "into a peal of laughter, and she hastened to tell the story to the others gathered in her tent, and I became the target of many merry eyes," Fletcher continued. "Laughter and contempt met my explanation of the white man's hold upon his wife's property."[3]

Married and single women in their own culture, these suffragists at the International Council of Women knew, had no legal right to their own possessions or property in most states. Everything she brought into the marriage, earned or inherited, became the property of her husband. Still, with most jobs closed to women and the few available paying half (or less) of men's wages, marriage was the only viable option open to most women. What an amazing revelation to know

that the oppressed condition of women was not universal; Indigenous women had rights to their property. If these Euro-American women, gathered from around the Western world, didn't know the stark difference between their conditions, Native women did. They resisted losing their rights under Indigenous law as the U. S. government, through a "christianize and civilize" policy, enforced through the boarding schools and assimilation laws, were trying to force them to become U.S. citizens. Fletcher explained to the International Council, "As I have tried to explain our statutes to Indian women, I have met with but one response. They have said: 'As an Indian woman I was free. I owned my home, my person, the work of my own hands, and my children could never forget me. I was better as an Indian woman than under white law.'"[4]

This model of Native women's rights gave suffragists the ammunition they needed, and the vision of something better. For years, they had been told by their ministers that the position of women was decreed by God as the eternal punishment women would suffer because of Eve's sin. Clergy quoted the Bible: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee" (*Genesis* 3:16), the command declared all the way through the Bible to the Ephesians, Stanton pointed out. To work for your rights meant going against the will of God. You also were defying biology, since science of the time maintained that women had smaller brains, with less intelligence and physical strength than men. Hence, it was natural that they should be under the authority of men. Seeing Native women who farmed with strong bodies, had total authority over their lives, and lived in equality with men put the lie to religion and science's teachings of women's subordination and inferiority.

Gage and Stanton were among the suffragists, like Fletcher, who read about Haudenosaunee women in newspapers and books and also had some personal contact with Native women. They shared what they knew about Native women's superior rights with other suffragists and the general public. In a series of admiring articles for the *New York Evening Post* Gage accurately described the Haudenosaunee social and legal structure in which the "division of power between the sexes in this Indian republic was nearly equal" while the family relation "demonstrated woman's superiority in power." "In the home the wife was absolute," Gage wrote. "If for any cause the Iroquois husband and wife separated, the wife took with her all the property she had brought into the wigwam. The children also accompanied the mother, whose right to them was recognized as supreme."[5]

Marriage was considered a covenant with God by white, Christian Americans, not a commitment between two people. State laws either outlawed divorce or made it nearly impossible to obtain. Stanton faced criticism from clergy and some other suffragists for promoting divorce in the case of a loveless marriage or one in which the wife was in danger from a violent husband. She celebrated divorce – Haudenosaunee style, pointing to it as a model. "Usually the females ruled the house," she told the National Council of Women in 1891, and "woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing…he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such an order it would not be healthful for him to

attempt to disobey. The house would be too hot for him; and unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother he must retreat to his own clan, or go and start a new matrimonial alliance in some other."[6]

Rape and other acts of violence against women by most accounts were rare in Indigenous societies prior to European contact and dealt with harshly in the rare event they occurred. White women who spent time on Native American reservations routinely commented on the degree of safety they felt and the freedom to move at their own will and discretion. A mail carrier in the late 1800's told A *New York Herald* reporter visiting the Seneca nation, "A white woman can go around alone among them or on the most desolate roads with perfect safety. I'd rather have my wife or daughter go around alone at night in this reservation than in the town I live in." A schoolteacher concurred: "It is the only place at which I ever taught in which I never was insulted, . . . I've heard the same from every woman teacher I know on the reservation."[7]

The suffragists also learned about Haudenosaunee women's political authority. Stanton told the 1891 National Council of Women that Haudenosaunee women "were the great power among the clan, as everywhere else, . . . The original nomination of the chiefs also always rested with the women," she told the audience. "They did not hesitate, when occasion required, 'to knock off the horns,' as it was technically called, from the head of a chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors."[8]

Gage described in her major work, *Woman, Church and State*, how "The line of descent, feminine, was especially notable in all tribal relations such as the election of Chiefs, and the Council of Matrons, to which all disputed questions were referred for final adjudication."[9] A well-published and appreciative reporter of the Haudenosaunee social, economic, spiritual, and governmental systems, and supporter of treaty rights and Native sovereignty, Gage was given an honorary adoption into the Wolf Clan of the Mohawk Nation in 1893. She also obtained a clan name: "I received the name of Ka-ron-ien-ha-wi, or 'Sky Carrier,' or as Mrs. Converse said the Senecas would express it 'She who holds the sky.'" Her Mohawk sister said, "this name would admit me to the Council of Matrons, where a vote would be taken, as to my having a voice in the Chieftainship," Gage wrote. How amazing this must have been to a woman who went to trial the same year for voting in a state school election. Considered for full voting rights in her adopted nation, she was arrested in her own nation for voting.[10]

Indigenous women of numerous Native Nations had rights, sovereignty, and integrity long before European settlers arrived on these shores. They had complete control of their lives, maintained economic independence in marriage, and lived in a culture free from gender-based violence. While women in the United States are recognizing that 100 years ago the Constitution finally recognized the right of U.S. women to vote, Native Nation women have had political voice on this land since the founding of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) confederacy over 1000 years ago. And today, the Six Nations clan mothers continue to have the responsibility to nominate, hold in

office, and remove their chiefs. Just as our suffrage foremothers before us, we non-native women have much to learn from Native women and their centuries of experience.

Chapter 6

Fraught Friendship: Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass

By Ann D. Gordon

News of the death of Frederick Douglass reached Metzerott's Music Hall in Washington, D.C., in the early evening of February 20, 1895. There, at a session of the National Council of Women's triennial meeting, sat Susan B. Anthony. A reporter observed that "she was very much affected" by the news. After remarking on her usual "wonderful control over feeling," the reporter continued, "last night she could not conceal her emotion."[1] Just hours before his death, Anthony and Douglass had been in the same room. He had dropped into a morning business meeting of the National Council and stayed all day. In the days that followed until his funeral, Susan B. Anthony took steps to honor the memory of her friend in ways that reflected their shared values and dreams, things both personal and public.

Conflicts between Anthony and Douglass stand out in historical memory. There was drama in a meeting in 1869, for example, when Anthony told Douglass that wronged as he was as a black man, he would never "exchange his sex & color" to be a white woman. Douglass rose to interrupt her: "Will you allow me a question?" "Yes;" she replied, "anything for a fight today."[2] Friendships, historical or otherwise, are rarely static over decades. At the time of his death, Douglass and Anthony had known each other for about forty-five years, having met in Rochester, N.Y., when Anthony settled there in the summer of 1849. She knew *of* Douglass before they met; the former slave was already famous as an orator, newspaper publisher, and participant in the woman's rights conventions of Seneca Falls and Rochester in 1848. He was also a friend of her father.

Throughout the tumultuous second half of the nineteenth century, these friends, nearly the same age, butted heads more than once. Because they were people of strong convictions, their pursuits sometimes overlapped and sometimes collided. Most famously, they clashed after the Civil War, while the Fifteenth Amendment was debated in Congress and awaited ratification in the states. Immediately after the war, they played on the same team as officers of the American Equal Rights Association, founded, as its name indicates, to press for equal rights for all citizens, black and white, men and women. To audiences in 1866 and 1867, Douglass proclaimed: "I am here to advocate a genuine democratic republic; keep no man from the ballot box or the jury box or the cartridge box, because of his color–exclude no woman from the ballot box because of her sex."[3] It was an ideal on which Douglass and Anthony could agree.

Douglass changed his tune late in 1867, persuaded that extending suffrage only to black men had a realistic chance of passage in Congress; universal suffrage did not. Through 1869, he acted as the Republican Party's point man to rally woman suffragists to fight for manhood suffrage. At a meeting of the American Equal Rights Association in May 1868, he tried to make women's

dependence a virtue. "You women," he began, meaning white women, "have representatives. Your brothers, and your husbands, and your fathers vote for you, but the black wife has no husband who can vote for her."[4] Speaking to the New England Woman Suffrage Association later that year, he argued that real danger–indeed, death–threatened freemen if they were not recognized in the fullness of their citizenship and given the right protective of other rights. And in the course of that argument, he stopped talking about black women altogether: "If the elective franchise is not extended to the negro, he dies–he is exterminated."[5]

It was not an argument that could win over Susan B. Anthony. She would not campaign for a federal amendment that enlarged the male electorate and left all women outside the body politic. Speaking to an audience of African-American men in New York City in June 1868, she opined, if voting "be an inalienable right, it is as much the right of the black woman as it is of the white. And you can't ask it for any class of men, without asking it for all the women who are deprived of it."[6] That was not an argument that could win over Frederick Douglass.

There were smaller disagreements to come, but as soon as the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, Douglass returned to the fight for woman suffrage. In January 1871, he was back on the platform at a suffrage meeting in Washington with Susan B. Anthony. He told the assembled suffragists, as reported in the press, "Having himself at last reached the position of citizen, he could not but do his best to extend the same right to every individual, whether male or female."[7] From that point forward, he was a regular presence at meetings of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Off the platform, a quiet friendship resumed too. He dined at Anthony's house in Rochester when in town, and she paid calls on him when she was in Washington.[8]

No one knows why Frederick Douglass decided to visit the National Council of Women on that fateful day in 1895. There is a strong possibility that he appeared not to greet old friends but to visit the record number of African-American women participating in the meeting. In a decade when the racial integration of white women's national organizations produced conflicts, the National Council at this meeting scheduled African-American women to make presentations and listed sixteen delegates from the National Colored Women's League in attendance.[9] This integrated gathering of women was primed to honor Douglass's memory. Susan B. Anthony was an author of a resolution adopted unanimously by Council delegates, circulated to the press, and read aloud at Douglass's funeral, proclaiming that "[t]he woman movement found in him a friend and champion," while Douglass "made their cause his own."[10] Anthony reached out to Elizabeth Cady Stanton in New York and implored her to write a tribute to Douglass. In the days after Douglass's death, newspapers published preliminary plans for the funeral, including lists of speakers–all men.[11] That plan changed. When May Wright Sewall, president of the National Council, rose to speak at the funeral, she explained that she did so at the invitation of the family.[12] When Susan B. Anthony had paid a condolence call on Helen Douglass, Sewall had accompanied her.[13] After that, a place for white women had been found at the end of a lengthy funeral program. Anthony said very little in her own words but read the tribute that she had

insisted Elizabeth Cady Stanton send for the occasion. And then the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw delivered a closing prayer. Ties that bound Frederick Douglass to the history of women's rights and woman suffrage were on display.

As things turned out, Susan B. Anthony's embrace of the memory of Douglass in death exposed tensions in American society that marred the reform movement she led. Carrie Chapman Catt, then rising in the ranks of the national suffrage association, complained that organizing for woman suffrage in southern states had been badly damaged by "the relation of our leaders to the colored question at the Douglass funeral. . . They were a little suspicious of us all along, but now they know we are abolitionists in disguise, with no other thought than to set the negro in dominance over them."[14] The white journalist Kate Field attended Douglass's funeral and described it in detail. "I could not but ask why no colored woman sat on the platform and why no colored women spoke for her sex? It was a mistake, but most obsequies are full of mistakes."[15] Both reactions highlighted the fractured world that Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass navigated.

Chapter 7

Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Mormonism and the Women's Suffrage Movement

By Susan Ware

"Do you know of any place on the face of the earth, where woman has more liberty, and where she enjoys such high and glorious privileges as she does here, as a Latter-day Saint?"[1] So spoke Eliza R. Snow in 1870, the year when women in territorial Utah became among the tiny minority of nineteenth-century American women to win the right to exercise the franchise. Mormon women were proud of their status as voters, and they took their rights of citizenship seriously, but they also strongly supported their religion's practice of "celestial" or plural marriage, known more widely as polygamy, which the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) had formally endorsed in 1852. Mormon women's status as polygamous female voters thus thrust the national women's suffrage movement into the center of one of the most far-reaching political and legal questions of its day.

In 1869 the national suffrage movement split over whether to support the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, specifically whether the rights of freed African American men should take precedence over those of women, white and black. That split replicated itself over the question of Mormon women's roles in the movement. Lucy Stone and the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), supporters of the Reconstruction amendments, emphatically distanced themselves from LDS women because of their marked distaste for the practice of polygamy. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony and their more radical National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) took a different approach, however, welcoming Mormon women into the movement regardless of their status as plural wives. If they supported women's suffrage, that was all that mattered.

Mormon suffragists had good reasons to welcome this alliance with the NWSA. Affiliation with the national movement could help build political support for eventual statehood in Utah, a major long-term goal for most Utahn voters. Another incentive for the suffragists was challenging the unflattering stereotypes that many American citizens held of Mormon women, especially that they must have been duped or coerced to become plural wives in the first place. While it is clear that individual Mormon women often struggled with the daily challenges of living with sister-wives, most were far from ashamed of the practice and instead publicly spoke in its favor, especially its guarantee that all women would have the opportunity to marry and enjoy secure homes and respectable social positions. "Hand in hand with Celestial Marriage is the elevation of women," asserted Dr. Romania Pratt in 1886.[2] "We are accused of being down-trodden and oppressed," said Dr. Ellis R. Shipp, another path-breaking female physician, at the same public meeting. "*We deny the charge!*"[3] Any hope held by non-Mormons that Mormon women would use their votes to outlaw polygamy were quickly disabused.

One notable Mormon woman who saw no conflict between her religion and her support for women's rights was Emmeline Wells. Born Emmeline Blanchard Woodward in Petersham, Massachusetts, in 1828, she converted to Mormonism at the age of fourteen after her mother joined the church. Soon after, she married the son of a local Mormon leader who deserted her after the death of their own son. In 1845 she became the plural wife of Bishop Newel Whitney, with whom she had two daughters before his death in 1850, by which time she was living in Salt Lake City. In 1852 she entered into another plural marriage with Daniel H. Wells, whose stature as a counselor to LDS leader Brigham Young gave her enhanced social standing in the community. Her first public role was as the secretary to Eliza R. Snow, president of the Relief Society, the most respected and influential women's organization in the Mormon community. Soon after this initial foray into public life, Wells found herself drawn into suffrage politics.

In 1877, Wells became editor of the influential *Woman's Exponent*, a semi-monthly periodical founded in 1872, which for many years was one of the few women's publications west of the Mississippi River and became one of the longest-running women's newspapers. Wells had expansive goals for the newspaper, not least of which was that Mormon women "should be the best-informed of any women on the face of the earth, not only upon our own principles and doctrines but on all general subjects."[4] Not only did her lofty goals promote her visibility on the world stage, her editorship also enhanced her national stature and provided an important credential when dealing with East Coast suffragists. The same year she took over as editor, Wells also took the lead in collecting thousands of petition signatures in support of a proposed sixteenth (or women's suffrage) amendment to the Constitution. In return for her work, she was named a representative of Utah on the NWSA board, the first Mormon so recognized. In 1879 she and Zina Young Williams, the daughter of Brigham Young, journeyed to Washington, D.C., where Wells addressed the NWSA national convention.

Unfortunately, this moment of prominence for Mormon women on the national stage was short-lived, as the political and legal climate turned sharply against Mormons and the practice of polygamy in the 1880s. The "Mormon Question" had been a hot-button political issue since the 1850s, and after the Civil War the practice of polygamy was seen by many as the one remaining "act of barbarism" from the Western territories after the abolition of slavery. In 1879 the Supreme Court determined that LDS church members did not have a constitutional right to practice an alternative form of marriage as part of their protected religious freedom. Then in 1887 Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which stripped the right to vote from all Utah women, whether they practiced polygamy or not.

Notwithstanding these significant political and legal setbacks to the practice of polygamy, the question of Mormonism and national women's suffrage continued to play out in interesting ways. Recognized as legitimate political actors who had been among the first to demonstrate the feasibility of female enfranchisement, Mormon women continued to contribute their considerable organizational clout to the fight. By the time the LDS Church officially renounced

the practice of polygamy in 1890, the two leading organizations of the NWSA and AWSA were in the process of merging into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). The controversial issue of polygamy had not fully disappeared, but it became much less of a dividing wedge within the movement. When Utah successfully won statehood in 1896, it entered the union with the franchise restored for all its women and Utah women were warmly welcomed at the NAWSA convention that year. All except, unfortunately, Emmeline Wells who could not raise the necessary funds to pay her way that year.

Despite this temporary setback, the suffrage career of Emmeline Wells was far from over. Just a few years later, in 1899, Wells delivered a speech on "The History and Purposes of the Mormon Relief Society" to the International Council of Women in London. The next year she and other Mormon suffragists presented Susan B. Anthony with a bolt of black brocade silk proudly made in Utah for Anthony's eightieth birthday, and Wells remained as editor of the influential *Woman's Exponent* until it ceased publication in 1914. When Utah suffragists finally were able to celebrate the passage of the 19th Amendment in August 1920, 92-year-old Emmeline Wells proudly sat on the platform. She died the next year, with a remarkable record of voting regularly (except for one short interval of disenfranchisement) for almost fifty years.

In retrospect, participation in the national suffrage movement in the 1880s and 1890s represented a high point of political activism for Mormon women on the national scene. The centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment offers a chance to write these Mormon women back into history. Mormon suffragists were highly politicized actors. They knew how to organize mass meetings, gather petitions, raise money, and lobby politicians and church leaders. Far from the popular image of downtrodden women degraded by polygamy, these committed suffragists saw no conflict between their religious beliefs and their actions on behalf of women. In fact, they felt privileged to be part of a community which took its women so seriously. Mormon women deserve to be part of suffrage history both on their own merits and also because their story helps explain some of the divisions that kept the national movement from reuniting until 1890.

Chapter 8

A Noble Endeavor: Ida B. Wells- Barnett and Suffrage

By Paula J. Giddings

"With no sacredness of the ballot there can be no sacredness of human life itself."
Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931)

On March 3, 1913, the eve of Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, Ida B. Wells-Barnett was in a Washington, D.C, drill rehearsal hall with sixty-four other Illinois suffragists. She was there representing the Alpha Suffrage Club (ASC)-- which she had founded as the first black suffrage club in Chicago just two months before. Ida planned to march with the women in what promised to be a parade of unprecedented scale and significance. Organized by the young suffragist Alice Paul and the National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA), thousands of suffragists from across the country would descend on the Capitol along with nine bands, four mounted brigades, twenty floats and an allegorical enactment on the steps of the Treasury Department.[1]

Ida had been working closely with a number of the Illinois women for nearly two decades. Before settling in Chicago, she was an exile from her home of Memphis, Tennessee, where she had launched the nation's first antilynching campaign. After her tour across the U.S. and the British Isles, she had come to Chicago where she was welcomed by a throng of two-thousand persons—including members of the women's clubs. Soon after, Ida married Ferdinand L. Barnett—the first black assistant state's attorney in Illinois—and threw herself into a number of campaigns for both black and white candidates.

In 1894 she worked on the iconic campaign of Lucy Flower, who was elected a university trustee and the first Illinois woman to hold a statewide position. In the election year of 1896, the Republican Women's State Central Committee asked her to canvass the state for William McKinley, who had spoken against lynching as Ohio Governor. Ida had a six-month-old baby at the time and traveled under the condition that a nurse be provided at every stop. "I honestly believe that I am the only woman in the United States who ever traveled throughout the country with a nursing baby to make political speeches," she later boasted. Wells-Barnett was also active in the National Association of Colored (NACW) which she helped found, with its Suffrage Department and 100,000- membership in Illinois and across the country.[2]

For African Americans, women's suffrage also meant black suffrage and few were more passionate than Wells-Barnett about the role women could play at a time of mob-rule, rape with impunity, and Supreme Court-sanctioned segregation. Women's organizations were the "new power, the new molder of public sentiment, to accomplish the reforms that the pulpit and the law have failed to do," she believed.[3] Born in Mississippi in 1862, Ida had grown up with African

Americans—like her formerly enslaved father—exercising the power of the vote to protect and provide for family and community. By the time she was thirty, Blacks were disenfranchised and at the mercy of a vengeful South. It was the 1892 lynching of one of her closest friends in Memphis, Thomas Moss, that marked the beginning of her anti-lynching career.

Wells-Barnett estimated that nearly 3500 men, women, and children had been lynched between 1885 and 1912; moreover, as attested to by the vicious Springfield, Illinois, riot in 1908, mob-violence was no longer limited to the South. As Ida would write in her 1910 essay, "How Enfranchisement Stops Lynching," the alarming development made even more urgent anti-lynching laws, like that in Illinois, and the election of legislators who would make them. As the black Alabama suffragist, Adella Hunt Logan, member of both NAWSA and the NACW, pointed out, "If white American women with all their natural and acquired advantages need the ballot… how much more do black Americans, male and female, need the strong defense of the vote?"[4]

In 1913, with the recent granting of the franchise by California, Nevada, and Arizona, women's suffrage was gaining unmistakable momentum. Illinois had its own prospects. The stars were aligned for the passage of the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill which Ida and others had been working toward for decades. It would allow women to vote for presidential electors, mayors, aldermen, judges, and other municipal offices. If the partial suffrage legislation passed, Illinois would be the first state east of the Mississippi to have such a law and it would make its activists influential actors not only in Illinois but in the national campaign for full suffrage. In anticipation of the bill, Wells-Barnett—with the help of the white suffragist Belle Squire—created the Alpha Suffrage Club at the beginning of the year.

Ida's immediate goal was to make African-American women a force in electoral politics—beginning with Chicago's deteriorating Second Ward where she and a burgeoning black population resided. Ruled by the Republican machine which maintained white leadership through graft, patronage, and corruption, it would take women, Wells-Barnett believed, to break the machine's stranglehold and improve the quality of life of the ward's more than 60,000 citizens. The initial step would be one of self-determination: the election of the first black alderman to preside over the Second Ward.

Wells-Barnett might have known about the reports of a debate among the protest organizers regarding the segregation of black marchers in Washington.[5] She certainly knew that over the decade, NAWSA, in its strategy to gain support in the South, had appeared to capitulate to its white southern members and legislators like South Carolina Senator Ben Tillman who complained that the enfranchisement of black women would reinvigorate the resistance against white supremacy.[6] In 1894, Ida, a guest in Susan B. Anthony's Rochester home, had debated the pioneer suffragist about keeping African-American women at bay in the name of "expediency." Ida's retort that the strategy would only "confirm white women's segregationist views" was

borne out nine years later when black NAWSA members were banned from the organization's national meeting in New Orleans. Ominously, some NAWSA leaders were now assuring white Southerners that the way to *sustain* white supremacy was to enfranchise educated white women—raising the specter of NAWSA's willingness to pursue suffrage for white women only.[7]

Moreover, Ida knew, such prejudice was not only found in the South. Just the year before, three leading black club women were refused admittance into the influential—if ironically named—Chicago Political Equality League (CPEL). Nine years earlier, Wells-Barnett had addressed the organization, exhorting them "to be emancipated from the prejudice which fetters their noblest endeavor and renders inconsistent their most sacred professions."[8]

While the women were rehearsing in Washington on the eve of the march in 1913, they got word that the national organizers advised them that their contingent was to be "entirely white;" black women were to march at the tail-end of the parade. In light of the past, this moment could be a historic inflection point. If segregation were allowed to stand in a march of this national—and symbolic—significance, it would signal that women's suffrage would be more a boon to white supremacy than black empowerment. If "women got the vote in America," warned the *Chicago Defender*, the nation's leading black newspaper, "the colored race will suffer further ills in legislation."[9] Such an idea, unchallenged, would undermine black community support, squeezing black suffragists from both ends.

With her voice trembling, a tearful Wells-Barnett told the delegation that "if they did not take a stand now in this great democratic parade then the colored women are lost." When Grace Trout, the leader of the contingent, sided with the segregation order, Wells-Barnett, vowing to march with them or not at all, left the room.[10]

When the women began marching, Ida was nowhere to be seen—but then suddenly appeared out of the crowd to "calmly" take her place with the Illinois delegation. Two white suffragists, Belle Squire and Virginia Brooks, took positions on each side of her. Wells-Barnett "proudly marched with the … head Ladies of the Illinois delegation showing that no Color line existed in … the first national parade of the noble women who are in favor of equal suffrage …" remarked the *Chicago Broad Ax*, another black paper.[11]

Indeed, black women at large were reported to have ignored the segregation order and marched with their respective delegations. The *Broad Ax* gave special commendation to black Howard University student members of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, led by Mary Church Terrell, another leading black suffragist, who marched in the Education Section of the parade.[12]

That spring, Illinois legislators were awed by the sight of several hundred ASC women lobbying for partial suffrage and against three discriminatory bills. The women succeeded on both counts. In 1915, the women's vote was the determining factor in the election of Oscar DePriest to

become Chicago's first black alderman.[13] The Club subsequently applied its canvassing and registration techniques to other wards and men and women candidates in the city.

Fifteen years later, a year before her death, Wells-Barnett became the first black woman to seek a state senate seat in Illinois. The election was lost, but a legacy was gained: black women would be a force, even a decisive one, in politics.

Chapter 9

"To the Wrongs That Need Resistance:" Carrie Chapman Catt's Lifelong Fight for Women's Suffrage

By Laurel Bower and Kathleen Grathwol

"To the wrongs that need resistance. To the right that needs assistance. To the future in the distance. Give yourselves." -- Carrie Chapman Catt (1859 – 1947)

When Carrie Lane Chapman Catt was 13-years-old and living in rural Charles City, Iowa, she witnessed something that would help to decide the course of her life. Her family was politically active and on Election Day in 1872, Carrie's father and some of the male hired help were getting ready to head into town to vote. She asked her mother why she wasn't getting dressed to go too. Her parents laughingly explained to their daughter that women couldn't vote. Young Carrie didn't think it was funny at all, and was appalled by the unfairness that men could cast ballots but women could not. Nearly 50 years later, Catt would celebrate the ratification of the 19th Amendment, guaranteeing women's constitutional right to vote. Furthermore, she would be one of the leading suffragists whose lifelong work, especially her skillfully crafted "Winning Plan," helped to make it happen.

After graduating from Iowa State Agricultural College, now Iowa State University, in 1880 – the only woman in her graduating class – Catt became a teacher, and soon after a schools' superintendent in Mason City, Iowa. She was one of the very few women at the time to hold such a position. She married her first husband Leo Chapman, a newspaper editor of the *Mason City Republican*, in 1885, but their marriage was short-lived as Chapman died in 1886 of typhoid fever. Carrie married her second husband George Catt in 1890. George Catt was a liberated man of the age and encouraged his wife to work for women's suffrage, which she happily continued to do, moving her work onto a national level with his backing and support.

Through the Iowa Woman's Suffrage Association, Catt threw herself into speaking for the cause, traveling throughout the western United States during the 1880's and 1890's, working for state-level voting rights. Her first goal was to win suffrage for women in South Dakota but despite high hopes the 1890 referendum failed, much to Catt's dismay.[1] While deeply disappointed, Catt learned an important lesson – never again would she launch a campaign unprepared. She realized the suffrage movement needed both organization and zealous energy. She worked hard and soon blossomed as a charismatic speaker and organizational dynamo, honing her skills in reinvigorating stagnant suffrage campaigns.

In 1892, Carrie and George Catt moved to Boston for his job. George Catt was a mechanical engineer whose ground-breaking work in dredging methods had led to his landing a much sought-after contract to dredge the Boston Harbor. In the process, George invented a more efficient dredging process that made him wealthy, extended his reach nationwide, and provided financial stability for the couple. For Carrie Catt, the move marked her permanent transplantation from the Midwest to the East Coast and her ever-increasing involvement with the national women's suffrage movement.

With her husband's enthusiastic monetary and moral support, Carrie Chapman Catt's work for women's suffrage really took off. In 1890, she attended the National American Woman Suffrage Association's (NAWSA) national convention in Washington, D.C., where she met its president Susan B. Anthony. Impressed with the young woman from Iowa, Anthony took Catt under her wing. Catt's first mission was to help pass women's suffrage in Colorado. She stayed for two months, covering over 1,000 miles and visiting 29 of the state's 63 counties. Catt's work, and that of her sister suffragists, paid off! Colorado voters approved the referendum in 1893. Catt spent the next several years traveling across the U.S. as one of the leading forces for women's suffrage.

In 1900, Susan B. Anthony retired as President of NAWSA and selected Catt to take her place. Catt not only became a leader in the U.S., but she also expanded the fight for women's equality world-wide. She helped create the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), traveling the globe for the cause for a number of years. Around 1905, she had to take a step back from her duties for personal reasons. Her husband George died in 1905, followed by the deaths of Catt's younger brother William and mother Maria in 1907. Added to these personal losses was the death of Susan B. Anthony in 1906. Catt needed time to mourn the overwhelming loss of so many of her loved ones, but she couldn't leave the cause of women's suffrage for long. Over the next several years, Catt once again took up the mantle, raising her strong voice and lending her enviable organizational skills to lead the long slog of state-by-state efforts to pass women's suffrage slowly across the nation. By 1912, women had won full voting rights in nine states.

In December 1915, Catt, with some reluctance, again assumed the leadership of NAWSA. At the time, NAWSA and the Congressional Union (CU) led by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns were engaged in an on-going struggle over strategy, tactics, and goals. Catt took over NAWSA from Anna Howard Shaw, who did not seem up to this major challenge. By August 1916, in the NAWSA newsletter, Catt had declared the woman suffrage movement "in crisis" and at a crossroads;[2] and at the NAWSA Convention the next month she unveiled her "Winning Plan." In essence, the plan was a two-pronged approach that would strive for a federal constitutional amendment while continuing an aggressive state-by-state strategy to build support for future ratification. By this time, Catt was a familiar figure in the women's suffrage movement, known for her political savvy, soaring oratory, and effective organizational skills.

Catt's second term as president of NAWSA coincided with a split in the national leadership of the women's suffrage movement over strategies and tactics. Since 1912, Alice Paul had led a subcommittee of NAWSA, the Congressional Committee, focused solely on seeking a federal constitutional amendment. Eventually, the committee broke off from NAWSA entirely, becoming the Congressional Union (CU), and then the more militant National Woman's Party (NWP). The NWP's smaller membership tended to be drawn from the younger generation, most of whom were impatient with the slow progress of the decades-long struggle for women's suffrage. Paul designed bold campaigns intended to gain publicity and provoke discussion.

Catt and the NAWSA leadership held the more pragmatic belief that there were better ways to influence both public opinion and President Wilson, judging Paul and the NWP leaders misguided in their tactics, particularly once the U.S. entered the Great War. Catt clashed publicly with Paul when she resumed the leadership of NAWSA. She even stormed out of one unsuccessful meeting with Paul, delivering a famous parting shot, "I will fight you to the last ditch!"[3] Amidst these on-going struggles within the movement, Catt's proven leadership methods eventually contributed to a highly significant victory in the East. In 1917, after multiple failed attempts, New York voters finally approved a suffrage referendum -- a huge win for the cause as New York was the most populated and the first Eastern state to approve women's suffrage. The campaign for the New York referendum had been outlined by Catt as a key step in her "Winning Plan," and she used the win to propel the federal amendment forward.

At this point, the United States had entered World War I. As national priorities shifted, suffragists feared that wartime mobilization would derail the already internally conflicted suffrage movement. In a controversial move, Catt, who was a pacifist, encouraged NAWSA members to support the war effort and, by extension, President Wilson. Her hope was to showcase NAWSA suffragists' patriotism; indeed, NAWSA's wartime commitment to "suffrage and service" won Catt the support of many politicians. Although she advocated for many causes, none was more important to her than getting women the right to vote. Her single-mindedness of purpose led to another, even more controversial move on Catt's part in the final, desperate years of the struggle for suffrage – her apparent betrayal of black suffragists during the campaigns to get the 19th Amendment through Congress and then ratified by the necessary 36 states.

Since the 1890s, NAWSA had been cutting the suffrage movement's historical ties, first to the abolitionist movement and then to the struggle for African Americans' voting rights. As the fight for a federal amendment became increasingly desperate, white suffrage leaders demonstrated a chilling willingness to employ racially inflammatory arguments and rhetoric. At one point, while lobbying Southern senators for their votes in Congress, Catt famously claimed, "White supremacy will be strengthened, not weakened, by women's suffrage."[4] Historians debate whether her comments were strategically made in an attempt to win votes in the Senate or were indicative of a personal, deep-seated racism. During Catt's long suffrage career, she spoke in African-American churches and clubs, contributed to *The Crisis* (the magazine of the NAACP),

and received encomiums from both W.E.B. DuBois and Mary Church Terrell (first president of the National Association of Colored Women) for her lack of racial prejudice. Historians also point to public comments reflecting an inclusive vision of women's voting rights: "Just as the world war is no white man's war, but every man's war, so is the struggle for woman suffrage no white woman's struggle, but every woman's struggle."[5] Whatever her personal views, Catt undoubtedly used racist arguments in the final push to win passage of the 19th Amendment.

Historians acknowledge such inconsistencies; they are part of later generations' struggle to tell an honest, inclusive history of the movement. As historian Margaret Bilkert Andolsen put it, white suffrage leaders "did not passively condone Southern segregation practices and actively manipulate racist ideology solely, or even primarily, because of personal bad intentions. [They] made their strategic choices …within the context of a racist society that put intense political pressure upon them. In a racist society these women had severely limited choices. They did, however, have the option of actively resisting racism, although at the likely cost of a significant delay in obtaining woman suffrage."[6] The choice to "actively resist racism," is one Catt failed to make in the final years of the suffrage campaign. One might imagine she struggled with the dilemma of whether it is ever ethical to go against one's personal beliefs in order to achieve a greater good. As she wrote in her short speech on the day of the ratification of the 19th Amendment: "Women have undergone agony of soul which you may never comprehend, in order that you and your daughters might inherit political freedom."[7]

In the end, Wilson threw his support behind women's suffrage and called on Congress to pass the federal amendment. Proving the wisdom of Catt's wartime strategy, Wilson tied his support of the proposed suffrage amendment to America's involvement in World War I and women's contributions to the war effort. As reported in *The New York Times* on October 1, 1918, Wilson said, "I regard the extension of suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged."[8] The U.S. House passed the amendment twice, first in 1918, then again in 1919. Only in 1919 did the U.S. Senate concur. Finally, on June 4, 1919, the Senate, by the required two-thirds majority, approved the 19th Amendment, sending it to the states for ratification. It was now up to suffrage leaders like Catt to build enough support to ratify the amendment in the necessary three-quarters of the states.

After close to a century of struggle and with the end finally in sight, Catt and her allied suffragists pushed ratification forward, state-by-state. By March of 1920, 35 states had ratified the amendment. They only needed one more. For a number of reasons, it came down to Tennessee. Catt would later describe the fight in Tennessee as the toughest and most volatile of her suffrage career. She spent several weeks in Tennessee, where pro- and anti-suffrage groups were in full force. The fight was fierce, but in the end, the state ratified the suffrage amendment on August 18, 1920. Twenty-four-year-old Republican State Representative Harry T. Burn, who had initially opposed the amendment, cast the deciding vote. He had a letter in his pocket from

his mother which included the admonition: "Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Thomas Catts (sic) with her 'Rats.' Is she the one who put 'rat' in ratification? Ha!"[9]

As the 19th Amendment was wending its way through the constitutional process, Catt and NAWSA founded the League of Women Voters to foster education in citizenship and especially to ensure that women were prepared to vote in the first election in which many were newly eligible to do so. She devoted the rest of her life to working on citizenship issues, fighting for women's suffrage around the globe, and promoting the cause of world peace.

Carrie Chapman Catt died on March 9, 1947, at her home in New Rochelle, New York. In accordance with her wishes, she was buried alongside her longtime companion and friend Mary Garrett Hay at Woodlawn Cemetery in The Bronx, New York City. The two women met in 1895 and became fast friends and companions. Hay, who never married, left her home state of Indiana that same year to follow Catt to New York City and to work alongside her in the movement. After George Catt's death, the women lived together for over 20 years at Juniper Ledge, their shared home in Briarcliff Manor, New York, until Hay's death in 1928 at the age of 71. They worked together for the cause of women's rights for nearly 40 years. In this final significant relationship of Catt's life, she demonstrated her unwavering commitment to a woman's right to live a life of her choice and to women's equality. Catt's and Hay's shared headstone reads, "Here lie two, united in friendship for 38 years through constant service to a great cause."[10]

Carrie Lane Chapman Catt was not alone in fighting for women's suffrage, but she was a fierce force behind its success. Catt was not perfect, and she was undoubtedly a product of her time, her race, and her class status. She was a wealthy, white woman of privilege and education who could have spent her life focused exclusively on self-gratification and self-centered pursuits that benefited no one. But she recognized a gross injustice early in her life and she chose to fight against it in the best ways she knew how. She, with countless other little-known heroines of this epic struggle for human rights, gave her life to that fight and should be remembered for this extraordinary achievement as the nation commemorates the 100th Anniversary of the 19th Amendment. With her steadfast dedication, her sharp intellect, her political savvy, and her strong voice, the indignant little girl from Iowa helped to change the world.

Chapter 10

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša): Advocate for the "Indian Vote"

By Cathleen D. Cahill

When suffragist and voting rights activist Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša) passed away in Virginia in 1938, she and her husband, Raymond Bonnin, both of the Yankton Sioux (or Dakota)[1] Nation, chose as their final resting place Arlington National Cemetery. She was eligible for burial there as a veteran's spouse due to Raymond's US Army service in the Great War, and he later joined her. Her tombstone reads: "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, 'Zitkala-Ša of the Sioux' 1876-1938" with the carving of a plains-style tepee on the reverse. This bold statement left an enduring message, which was one she had spent much of her life explaining to non-Native Americans: she could be both a citizen of the United States and a citizen of the Yankton Sioux Nation, she did not have to choose. Her political activism, including her suffrage advocacy, has to be understood from that perspective. The story of Indigenous women's participation in the struggle for women's suffrage is highly complex, and Zitkala-Ša's story provides an illuminating example.

Zitkala-Ša was born in South Dakota in 1876 -- the year that the Sioux defeated Custer, she liked to remind people. But that was only one battle of the many the federal government fought to conquer the Native nations in the American West after the Civil War. Years of intense military violence enacted on the part of the federal government gradually forced those nations to cede much of their territory to the United States, eventually leaving them on much smaller reservation lands. For example, Zitkala-Ša also noted that 1876 was the year the federal government forced the Sioux to cede their sacred Black Hills "under duress."[2] Although the treaties and agreements that ended those wars recognized the sovereignty and some land rights of Native nations, the federal government increasingly tried to dismantle those political and territorial rights in the following decades. Over the course of Zitkala-Ša's childhood, the federal government instituted a number of policies meant to eliminate Indigenous nations and assimilate their people into the United States as individual US citizens disconnected from their Native cultures. Those policies included: outlawing Native governments and placing Native people under legal federal wardship; dividing communally-held land into private holdings; forcibly sending Native children to white-run boarding schools; and outlawing cultural and religious traditions. Those policies led directly to the social crises, poverty, and despair faced by Native people at the turn of the twentieth century. They also left Indigenous people without a political voice to address those problems, as their own nations were unrecognized and they did not have US citizenship but were instead legally classified as "wards" of the federal government.

Zitkala-Ša was raised by her mother and aunts after her father, a man of French descent, abandoned the family. When she was eight-years-old, she was sent to a boarding school run by Quakers in Indiana. Although she learned many skills that would serve her well in the future, she

later wrote of the terror experienced by Native children removed from their families and sent to live among strangers. She went on to graduate from another Quaker institution, Earlham College. Her ideas about women's equality were influenced both by her mother and the Dakota women who raised her, as well as by the Quakers, who were known for their ideas of spiritual equality of the sexes.

As a college graduate, Zitkala-Ša was a modern "New Woman," who also celebrated her Dakota heritage; these were two things many white Americans thought were incompatible. They could not imagine Indigenous people as modern; instead, they believed that Native communities were disappearing because they could not survive in the contemporary world. Federal assimilation policies might help some survive, according to widely-held beliefs of the time, but only if they abandoned all of their traditions and culture. In part, because of this belief in "the vanishing Indian," many white Americans, including suffragists, began to romanticize traditional Native cultures.

White suffragists celebrated the matriarchal traditions in Native societies, especially the Haudenosaunee (formerly Iroquois), holding them up as examples of women with significant power. Early suffragists like Matilda Joselyn Gage and Lucretia Mott learned about those societies directly from Native women in upstate New York. Mott, for example, had been visiting the Haudenosaunee community at Cattaraugus just before she attended the women's rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848.[3] That strand of white feminist thought remained compelling into the early twentieth century. Learn more about the impact of the Haudenosaunee on the suffragists in this article in The Suff Buffs blog series.

However, for Zitkala-Ša, the challenges faced by Indigenous communities were not romantic, they were devastating. After graduating from college, she tried to address those challenges while also finding her own path in the world. Moving to Boston to study violin, she earned some fame as a writer of short stories addressing Native experiences. She later took a teaching job at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the flagship federal boarding school in Pennsylvania, before moving to Utah with her husband, Raymond, who was superintendent of the Uintah and Ouray reservation agency. Her time in the Indian Service sharpened her critique of federal Indian policies as she encountered white employees who were prejudiced against the Indian people they worked for and saw first-hand the way that bureaucracy was designed to separate Native people from their resources. It was, she would later write, a "sham protection" that left Indians "without voice in their own affairs or expenditure of their moneys."[4]

Zitkala-Ša was not the only Indigenous activist to recognize that the system in which Indians were considered wards of the federal government was failing them. She joined other Native women and men in the Society of American Indians (SAI), an organization founded by and for Native people in 1911. A group of highly-educated Native people, many of whom worked for the federal government, they gathered to address Native people's wardship status and lack of US

citizenship. They were dedicated to countering stereotypes about Native people and advocating on their behalf. In particular, they wanted to demonstrate that rather than disappearing, Natives were modern people who could contribute to the nation's future. As the invitation to their first conference read: "Dear Fellow Indian, What is to be the Future of the American Indian?"[5]

Zitkala-Ša was one of several women in the SAI who advocated for women's right to vote, including Laura Cornelius Kellogg, a poet and a citizen of the Wisconsin Oneida nation, and Marie Bottineau Baldwin, who was a member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa and one of the first Native woman to graduate from law school in the US. Zitkala-Ša's suffrage activism became most visible when she moved to Washington, D.C. in 1917 to become the secretary of the SAI, and when she became most active with the mainstream white suffrage movement. Her earlier writings and her visibility from testifying before Congress on Indian appropriation bills made her known to women's groups in the capital. She spoke at the National Woman's Party headquarters in June 1918 and certainly saw their pickets of the White House that intensified over the summer as she lived just three blocks away from Lafayette Park.[6] She was also known to other groups like the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anthony League, and the Congressional Club, a group made up of the wives of Congressmen, who also invited her to speak and were often seeking presentations about traditional Indian life. Taking advantage of their interest, she deliberately wore what she called her "drawing card," a buckskin dress with Indigenous accessories, but then used her presentations to emphasize the concerns of "the Indian woman of today."

She educated her audiences, informing them the reservation superintendents "tyrannical powers" over a "voiceless people" who had no say in how their land or money was managed. There were many other "trials [and] dangers" around the poor education imposed on Native children at government schools, as well as Indians' lack of citizenship, which kept them from being able to address those very issues.[7] She emphasized the irony that the "First Americans" lacked the rights all other Americans had. She also drew their attention to the thousands of Native men, including her husband, who were fighting for the country during the Great War, but were still legally classified as wards of the government, not citizens. Calling on white Americans to help change this state of affairs, Zitkala-Ša argued that US citizenship and the enfranchisement of Indians -- both women and men -- was the solution.[8]

Indian Country was and is diverse,[9] so it is important to note that not all Indigenous people agreed with Zitkala-Ša and the other Native people advocating for citizenship and suffrage. Many tribal leaders, like those of Zuni Pueblo, believed (and indeed had been explicitly told by US government officials) that if they agreed to US citizenship and participated in elections, they were giving up their rights as sovereign nations, especially their rights to tribal land and resources. Many members of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy rejected US citizenship and emphasized their belonging in their own nations that predated the United States. In 1923, members of the Mohawk Nation traveled to Europe hoping to convince the League of Nations to

recognize them as a sovereign nation. Though they were unsuccessful, they have continued to insist on their sovereignty.[10] Also, rather than engage in conversation with white women, many Native women chose to work within their communities, helping women by serving as midwives, maintaining their languages, and carrying on cultural traditions.[11]

Zitkala-Ša and other Indigenous suffragists like Kellogg and Bottineau Baldwin used their speeches and writings to propose something like dual citizenship. They wanted Native people to be members of their own self-governing nations, as well as citizens of the United States. Each woman argued that economic self-support rested on communally-held property, and political self-determination depended on self-governance. They noted their unfree status as wards under the Bureau of Indian Affairs and argued for a new democratic community. They wanted Native people to govern themselves and vote for their own representatives, and for the US federal government to honor its treaties. They each used their own communities to offer examples of how this might work. Kellogg offered a vision based on a corporate model for the Wisconsin Oneida in her book, *Our Democracy and the American Indian*, while Zitkala-Ša pointed to her Dakota communities. Zitkala-Ša advocated for tribal self-government that liaised with the federal government, the establishment of communally-held tribal property, especially cattle herds, and education systems with competent teachers and curriculum that included law, comparative government, and treaties.

In August 1920, Tennessee became the final state needed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Nineteenth Amendment, however, did not apply to many Native women as at least one third of Native adults lacked US citizenship and were instead considered wards of the government. In the face of this, Zitkala-Ša continued her fight for citizenship and suffrage. At the National Woman's Party (NWP) conference a few months after the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, she hoped that Native people would be enfranchised "through the help of the women of America." She urged them to support an Indian citizenship bill. Determined to keep a narrow focus on sex equality, however, the NWP chose to focus on the Equal Rights Amendment. Zitkala-Ša found more success in appealing to the almost three million members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), which at Zitkala-Ša's urging created a Department of Indian Welfare that year. They also hired her as a speaker and investigator. For three years, she travelled the country addressing women's clubs and calling on white women to use their newly won votes to enfranchise Native people. She called their attention to the corruption and inefficiency in Indian policy, especially through her investigation of guardianship cases in Oklahoma, which she pursued under the auspices of the GFWC.[12]

In 1924, advocacy by Native people like Zitkala-Ša and members of the Society of American Indians, along with complex political currents such as gratitude for Native veterans and increasing nativism, convinced Congress to pass the Snyder Act or the Indian Citizenship Act that endowed full US citizenship rights on all Native people born in the country. However, the law upheld US government oversight of Native lands.

Zitkala-Ša was thrilled by the possibility of the vote. For many years she had been developing her ideas of capacious citizenship for Native people that could encompass membership in a Native nation as well as US citizenship. She also believed that by voting together, Native people could form a powerful bloc in certain states, especially those with large Native populations, that could help change federal policies. She urged Native people to take advantage of their new citizenship status to vote. In 1926, she and her husband formed the National Council of American Indians to coordinate the political actions of Native people across the nation. For three summers they travelled to Native communities learning of their concerns, discussing recent legislation, and registering voters. Initially, this seemed like a promising strategy. Many Native people began to vote and some Native men ran for and were elected to office, including Senator Charles Curtis a citizen of the Kaw Nation who served as Herbert Hoover's vice president (1928-1932).[13]

However, many non-Natives, especially in states that had significant populations of Indigenous people like Arizona, Montana, and New Mexico, used a variety of strategies to disenfranchise Native people. Some of those strategies mirrored Southern Jim Crow laws, such as literacy tests, at-large elections, or poll taxes. Arizona and New Mexico argued that despite the Citizenship Act, anyone living on land that remained under government trust oversight in a wardship status could not vote. In this way, states used the relationship between Native people and the federal government to suppress voting. Zitkala-Ša was outraged. She continued her advocacy for Native rights and especially for self-governance of her nation, the Yankton Sioux, until her death in 1938. Even then, as we saw in the opening anecdote, she made a powerful final statement about her identity as both an American and a citizen of an Indigenous nation.

Chapter 11

Alice Paul's Crusade: How A Young Quaker from New Jersey Changed the National Conversation and Got the Vote

By Mary Walton

On March 2, 1918, a news item appeared on the front page of the Alaskan newspaper *The Seward Gateway*. Under the headline, "Alice Paul Has Measles," was a report that the "militant suffrage leader" was confined to her room, but carrying on her campaign through the door's keyhole. Paul was largely unknown five years earlier when she arrived in Washington to work for an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting voter discrimination based on sex. That a paper in a remote U.S. territory would now find her measles newsworthy, albeit embellished with a keyhole, suggested how she had captured the attention of the nation.

Seldom out of the news, Paul had orchestrated the first organized social protest parade in the nation's capital. She and her followers were the first ever to picket the White House. They also staged auto parades, rallies, petition drives, and news-making publicity stunts. And that was the point of it all: to keep suffrage constantly in front of the public, even to the nation's farthest frozen frontiers. Between 1913 and 1918, she had proved to be a master tactician, a pioneer in non-violent resistance, a talented fundraiser, a charismatic organizer and a public relations genius.

Born January 11, 1885, in Mt. Laurel, New Jersey, the oldest of four, Paul was the daughter of strict Quakers, raised in a home where music was forbidden. She attended Quaker schools before enrolling in Swarthmore College, founded by her grandfather and other Quakers, on the outskirts of Philadelphia. It remains a mystery how such a sheltered young woman could burst so suddenly into the wider world, driven by a fierce craving to transform society.

After college graduation in 1905, Paul flirted with a career in social work, studying for a year in New York while living and working in a settlement house on the Lower East Side. It was not for her. Social workers, she said, "were not doing much good in the world. . . . You couldn't change the situation by social work."[1] In 1909, during studies abroad, she joined the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), the militant wing of the British suffrage movement. It became her training ground.

Her first assignment was selling the WSPU newspaper in the streets of London. Shy by nature, Paul forced herself to hawk papers, standing in the refuse-strewn gutters to which prostitutes and "newsies" were relegated. Though fearful of public speaking, she did it nevertheless, so impressing the leadership that she was recruited for demonstrations. She was arrested seven times and jailed thrice. Male political prisoners were allowed to send and receive mail, read newspapers, have visitors. Denied similar treatment, WSPU offenders went on hunger strikes.

Authorities responded with forced feedings. The women were held down, and eggs and milk funneled through a tube to their nostrils. “I never went through it without the tears streaming down my face,” Paul wrote her mother.[2]

In 1910, Paul returned to the States determined to become an academic. Before leaving for Europe, she had earned her master’s degree at the University of Pennsylvania. Now she would complete her doctorate in economics. Still, suffrage called. In 1911, she led Philadelphia’s first street-corner campaign for the right to vote. Night after night for two months, speaking from a horse-drawn cart, Paul and other suffragists made their case to crowds that sometimes numbered in the hundreds. At her side was Lucy Burns, a fiery Scotch-Irish Catholic from Brooklyn, whom she had met in a London police station. But the pair quickly became disenchanted with the state-by-state approach taken by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1912, after more than 60 years of this approach, women could vote in just nine states, all in the thinly populated West.

Paul and Burns offered to take over the National’s moribund Congressional Committee in Washington, DC, which was tasked with promoting a constitutional amendment. Paul topped her action list with a plan for a parade, a spectacle of a sort never seen in Washington. On March 3, 1913, the day before Woodrow Wilson’s presidential inauguration, a procession of some 8,000 mostly female marchers, wearing white or clad in colorful caps and capes, interspersed with mounted brigades and decorated floats, unspooled on Pennsylvania Avenue. The first float proclaimed: “We demand an amendment to the Constitution of the United States enfranchising the women of the country.”[3] “Demand” was an incendiary word, something nice women didn’t do. They were putting an unsympathetic Wilson on notice that they expected action.

No sooner was Paul’s parade underway than thousands of onlookers spilled into its path, blocking its progress. Men spit at the marchers, threw lighted cigarettes and hurled insults, while police stood calmly by. To the surprise of many, Paul was pleased by this chaos. The parade made news coast to coast.

In the ensuing months, Paul was ejected from the National American Woman Suffrage Association by a leadership troubled by both her boldness and her refusal to turn over the funds she raised. With Lucy Burns she founded her own organization, a forerunner to the National Woman’s Party. In England, the radical suffragettes were burning cherished landmarks and committing other acts of violence. Paul established her own brand of protest, which combined provocative demonstrations, innovations in lobbying and public relations, and strict non-violence even in the face of extreme hostility. She never lost sight of her target, the first Democratic president from the South since 1848, whose support could be the key to swaying a powerful block of anti-suffrage southerners in Congress. In 1916 Paul sent young volunteers out west to work against Wilson’s reelection in states where women could vote. But nothing budged the President.

By 1917, with little progress to show, a fresh approach gained traction. On January 10, 1917, Paul led twelve women to the White House gates, bearing huge banners that challenged Wilson: "Mr. President, How long must women wait for liberty?"[4] Another asked: "Mr. President, What will you do for woman suffrage?"[5] The women called themselves "Silent Sentinels," because they did not speak a word. The *New York Times* labeled them, "Silent, silly and offensive."[6] Day after day, the women reported for duty, through rain and snow.

By spring, the United States could no longer resist the turmoil engulfing Europe. Wilson unwittingly gave the pickets new ammunition with his April, 1917, speech to Congress seeking a declaration of war: "We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts -- for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments."[7]

Paul's demonstrators immediately seized on Wilson's words. New banners asked how America could claim to be a democracy when 20 million women couldn't vote. The President was scorned as "Kaiser Wilson." The scene at the White House gates turned ugly. Counter-protesters, fired by patriotic zeal, called the women traitors. They seized their banners and shredded them, sometimes injuring women in the process.

The pickets were arrested and spent days, then weeks in jail, on trumped-up charges of obstructing traffic. Paul drew a sentence of seven months. Denied status as a political prisoner, she began a hunger strike. Others followed suit, prompting authorities to begin force-feeding.

On November 14, 1917, thirty-one pickets were dispatched to a Maryland workhouse, hurled into cold cells plagued with rats and flies, forced into hard labor, and fed a starvation diet. Eventually, news of their mistreatment leaked to the papers. Pressure mounted on Wilson. When New York voters approved suffrage that month, members of Congress saw the handwriting on the wall. They, too, called on the president to drop his opposition. But Wilson's final acquiescence did not bring the Senate around. Paul blamed the President for his failure to persuade his fellow Democrats. The future held more protests and more punishment.

Paul's followers mounted the statue of the Marquis de Lafayette, a Revolutionary War leader, in Lafayette Park and torched papers inscribed with Wilson's fine words about democracy. They were convicted of "climbing a statue" and housed in a derelict jail with air and water so foul it made them sick. Taking charge, the city commissioner, a Wilson appointee, devised a novel torture for hunger strikers: The tangy odor of grilled ham prepared on two strategically located gas stoves, which he called "the greatest stimulus to appetite known to man."[8]

Time ran out on the 65th Congress. When the 66th assembled in early 1919, the Nineteenth Amendment passed both houses. Suffragists rejoiced. But Paul was apprehensive. If women were to vote in the 1920 election, they had just 14 months to convince 36 legislatures, representing three-quarters of the states, to ratify the amendment.

Some states approved it quickly. In others, governors refused to call a special session. The South was united in opposition. By June 1920, however, 35 states had ratified. Suffragists thought that Delaware would surely be the 36th. But no. "Suffrage Dead at Dover,"[9] intoned the *New York Times*.

The battle over the amendment shifted to Tennessee. Paul sent nine organizers but stayed in Washington, raising money for their support. So she didn't get to see Harry Burn, the legislature's youngest member, cast the deciding vote. (In his pocket was a note from his mother. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage and don't keep them in doubt."[10]) Soon after that, Paul's mother, Tacie, penned a brief entry in her scrapbook. "During the summer Suffrage was granted to women . . . . Alice at last saw her dream realized."[11]

Paul would not be satisfied with less than full equality for women. To that end, she wrote the Equal Rights Amendment and campaigned for it all her long life. She lived to see it pass Congress, but died on July 9, 1977. It would fail ratification by three votes.

"She had the secret of all great leaders," said one of Paul's supporters, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan, at her memorial service. "Within her spirit was a flame forcing her to make right what she thought to be wrong to her sex, and she communicated this in full strength to others. After a talk with Alice Paul about what had to be done, one left her presence twice one's size and ready to do anything for a cause she made you feel so deeply."[12]

Chapter 12

Suffrage in Spanish: Hispanic Women and the Fight for the 19th Amendment in New Mexico

By Cathleen D. Cahill

At three o'clock on an October afternoon in 1915, the suffragists of Santa Fe, New Mexico, took to the streets of the capital city to make "a public act of faith in the cause of woman suffrage."[1] One hundred and fifty women joined the parade, Anglos (the term New Mexicans used to refer to whites) and Hispanics (which referred to the Spanish-speaking citizens of the state). Some marched; others rode in gaily decorated automobiles. Mrs. Trinidad Cabeza de Baca, whose family owned one of the first autos in the city, lent hers to the cause. She was joined by a number of other Hispanic women, including Dolores "Lola" Armijo, Mrs. James Chavez, Aurora Lucero, Anita (Mrs. Secundino) Romero, Arabella (Mrs. Cleofas) Romero and her daughter, Marie.[2]

These women were all members of powerful Hispanic families in the state; many of their fathers and husbands were well-connected politicians. Most spoke Spanish as well as English. Some of them described themselves as housewives, others were professionals. Lola Armijo was the first female member of the state government, having been appointed as state librarian in 1912. Though the governor tried to replace her with a man, arguing that under the state constitution women could not be elected to office, a court upheld her appointment. Although she was not reported as present at the parade that day, Adelina "Nina" Otero-Warren, the first female superintendent of schools in Santa Fe was also a well-known Hispanic suffragist in the state.

The story of these New Mexicans reminds us of the diversity of suffrage activism in the United States. Their advocacy for the vote grew out of their insistence that Spanish-Americans, as they called themselves, were equal citizens. At a moment when the land rights, religion, and language of Hispanics were under attack, they asserted that the suffrage movement needed to include them and their concerns. Spanish-speakers constituted more than half of the population of the state and held political power as voters. Their position as economically secure and politically-connected Hispanic women made them a force to be reckoned with. White suffragists therefore listened to them and incorporated their ideas, offering a model of cooperation for today's multicultural society (though it is vital to note that Native American women in New Mexico were not included in this cooperation).

The suffrage marchers in Santa Fe deliberately took up space as they traced the political geography of New Mexico's capital city. They began just off the plaza in the center of town, bounded by the old Palace of the Governors, the former site of Spanish and then Mexican power. They then marched south, circling the state capital building before heading back towards the center of town, across the plaza and north around the federal building. Hundreds of people turned out to watch them make their statement in support of women's voting rights.[3]

The parade coincided with a visit from Mrs. Ella St. Clair Thompson, an organizer from the National Women's Party (NWP, known until 1916 as the Congressional Union). The NWP had been founded by Alice Paul and focused on securing an amendment that prohibited voting discrimination based on sex. Unlike women in the rest of the American West, suffragists in New Mexico focused on a national amendment, rather than a state law. Although they had fought for full suffrage to be included in the constitution when New Mexico became a state in 1912, they had been unsuccessful. Also, in order to protect the Spanish language provisions and religious freedoms for Catholics written into the document, the members of the constitutional convention had deliberately made the constitution extremely hard to amend. Any changes required the votes of two-thirds of the legislators, followed by three-fourths voter approval in each county. While the men of the convention had included women's voting rights in school elections in the constitution, women could not vote in other elections.

The NWP organizers who came to New Mexico recognized the importance of working with Spanish-speaking women, whose communities held a great deal of political power. They listened to leaders like Aurora Lucero, daughter of the first secretary of state and a well-known author and advocate of bilingualism, and educator Nina Otero-Warren, who told them that the suffrage campaign also needed to address Spanish-speaking women. They insisted that the campaign include bilingual publications and speeches, often helping with the translations. As Lucero once stated, "I speak for the Spanish American women who, while conservative, want the best possible laws where their home life is the question at issue."[4] Indeed, like many Anglo women, Hispanic suffragists argued that the Spanish-speaking women of the state wanted the vote to advocate for policies that would help women and children, including education, health, and welfare policies. They also insisted on the value of the Spanish language at a time when many Anglos wanted to do away with it because they believed it was "un-American." It was precisely those ethnocentric attitudes that had resulted in Hispanic politicians insisting that language and religious rights be protected in the state constitution. Hispanic suffragists were proud advocates of their language and culture. They also knew that without their help, suffrage could not be successful in their state.

The 1915 Santa Fe suffrage parade is a good example of American women's cooperation across ethnic lines. They concluded the march at the house of U.S. Senator Thomas Catron (R-NM), a notorious anti-suffragist. They had designated four women – two Anglos and two Hispanic women, the latter Aurora Lucero and Arabella Romero – to give speeches formally asking the Senator to support the federal amendment when he returned to Washington. He declined, and lectured the women at great length on why they were wrong to demand the vote, nevertheless their cause gained great visibility in the capital and in the press coverage.[5]

The next year, New Mexican women formed an official state branch of the NWP and elected Nina Otero-Warren as state vice-chair. When the first chair stepped down, Otero-Warren took her place at Alice Paul's request. Otero-Warren was politically well-connected and respected

throughout the state for her educational work. Her father had been an influential local leader before he had been murdered by Anglo squatters on his land grant. Her stepfather's later political appointment brought her family to live in Santa Fe where her maternal uncle was a major politician who had played a key role during the state constitutional convention. She used those connections in her fight for suffrage, and also played a key role in ensuring that the state legislature ratified the Nineteenth Amendment in February 1920. Although it had seemed like certain victory, there was a last-minute difficulty with wavering legislators. Otero-Warren fiercely lobbied, using her new position as chair of the GOP state women's committee to caucus with legislators and discipline their votes.

It is important to note that the Nineteenth Amendment enfranchised both Anglo and Hispanic women in New Mexico, but not the Native women of the state. Native women and men were citizens of their own Indigenous nations, but the United States considered most legally wards of the federal government and therefore not U.S. citizens. Moreover, even after the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, which made all Native people U.S. citizens, New Mexican courts ruled that Indians living on reservation land remained under guardianship and were thus ineligible to vote. This did not change until 1948 when a Miguel Trujillo, Jr., of Isleta Pueblo, a veteran of World War II sued for his right to vote and won.

After ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, the Democrat and Republican parties in New Mexico appealed to newly enfranchised female voters by nominating women to run for office. Otero-Warren's experience as a suffrage campaigner and her family's strong political connections prompted the Republican party to nominate her as their Congressional candidate in 1922. Her campaign made national headlines, beginning when she beat the male incumbent in the primary, though she narrowly lost in the main election. That same year the Democrats also nominated two women, one Anglo and one Hispanic for state office. Their candidate for secretary of state, Soledad Chávez de Chacón, won, becoming the first woman in the nation to win election for that office.

The experience of New Mexican Hispanic women was unusual. The demographics of New Mexico gave Spanish-speakers a political advantage they did not have in other states. The result has been that New Mexico has a long tradition of electing Hispanic women, including the first two Hispanic governors: Republican Susana Martinez (2011-2019) and Democrat Michelle Lujan Grisham (Incumbent). In contrast, Mexican-Americans in Texas did not have the same political clout. Moreover, most of them were poor sharecroppers who were disenfranchised by Jim Crow laws, like the poll tax as well as extra-legal threats of violence.

New Mexico's Hispanic's advocacy of suffrage and their work with the National Woman's Party reminds us that Spanish was also a language of suffrage. Armed with economic security and the political clout of long-established, Spanish-speaking families, New Mexico’s Hispanic women represented a formidable political force. Without New Mexico as one of the thirty-six states that

ratified the Amendment it may well not have passed. And the state's vote to ratify would not have happened without the support of the Hispanic community or the advocacy work of Hispanic suffragists.

Chapter 13

Mary McLeod Bethune, True Democracy, and the Fight for Universal Suffrage

By Ida E. Jones

Mary McLeod Bethune -- educator, club woman, and stateswoman -- asserted the universality of equality in and through all things. Her contributions to the women's suffrage movement were evident in her rhetoric challenging American society to become a true democracy, as well as in her utilization of institutional spaces to plan, strategize, and allocate resources. Although her early life was shielded from the caustic ugliness of racism and gender discrimination, she was keenly aware of Jim Crow's vertical relationships between white and black, male and female, rich and poor, northern and southern, urban and rural. Her unique worldview informed her advocacy on behalf of Negro women and children throughout her life. Initially, she wanted to be a missionary for the Presbyterians in West Africa. Ultimately, she was rejected by the church in part due to her race, gender, and unmarried status.

When she undertook to redefine her career goal, she encountered Lucy Craft Laney (1854-1933). Like Bethune, Laney was a daughter of the South, a Presbyterian, and the child of formerly enslaved parents. Laney encouraged Bethune to make educating the youth her mission field. The damage caused by enslavement and widespread poverty in the post-emancipation South created the need for community institutions and structure. Laney believed that education paved the way to citizenship, stronger families, and better communities, thus elevating all Americans. Laney's Haines Normal and Industrial Institute in Augusta, Georgia, provided a model for Bethune.

Through the work of eventually founding her own school in Florida, Bethune encountered the power of the ballot box. Despite being faced with the inequity of the state of Florida spending $11.50/year for white children and a mere $2.64/year for black children, she successfully opened the Daytona Literary and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls in 1904, with six students – five girls and her son Albert. Bethune recognized that these apportionments of state funding were regulated by elected officials who catered to their constituencies, which did not include African Americans, thus ignoring their needs. Through her school, she determined to begin to address those needs, especially for African-American girls. The school, soon re-named Daytona Educational and Industrial School, was serving 30 female students within the first year. It went on to thrive as an institution that not only taught girls to be self-sufficient and instructed them in more traditional domestic skills, but also had a rigorous, high school level academic curriculum in math, science, English, business, and foreign language courses. It eventually merged with the boys' Cookman Institute, forming the Bethune-Cookman College, a coeducational junior college that still exists as a four-year university today.

Bethune selected northern Florida for her school's location because there were increasing numbers of African Americans migrating there, and others already prospering in the Daytona

Beach area. Despite this growing African-American population or perhaps because of it, Bethune, arriving in 1900, encountered a racially hostile state. Florida had the highest lynching rate in the country, where over 260 black Floridians were lynched between 1882 and 1930. Nevertheless, black Floridians persisted in attempting to vote and to defend themselves and their communities from white terrorism when exercising the franchise. The black community linked political power with economic justice principally for the working class. As early as the 1880s, black women engaged in the political process through encouraging their men to register, vote, and form interracial alliances to better the opportunities for the laboring class. White conservatives ferociously beat back every effort; one important strategy used was to establish a one-party rule of state government. Florida's 1885 Constitutional Convention also instituted a poll tax. However, in the first season of women's suffrage, women were exempt from paying the poll tax but racial tensions remained high. It was in this atmosphere that Bethune followed Laney's early advice to make educating the youth her mission field, and she worked tirelessly as an educator to prepare her students for life and the responsibility of the vote.

Concurrently with Bethune's work as an educator, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW), founded in 1896, were spreading across America, unifying independent clubs and facilitating connections among African-American women. The NACW waged war against the multiple forms of injustice visited upon African-American women in general and the poor in particular. Their work, along with her own personal experience in founding her school, drew Bethune to them. Bethune's initial contact with the NACW was through Elizabeth Carter Brooks, fourth national president (1908 – 1912). As a hallmark of her presidency, Brooks canvassed the country to inspect NACW programs and was responsible for establishing a scholarship at Bethune's school. The women of the NACW impressed Bethune in part with their demeanor, decorum, and determination. In the membership were women such as Janie Porter Barrett, Mary B. Talbert, Margaret Murray Washington, Mary Church Terrell, and Ida B. Wells. These women were organized and impelled by their vision for the race. Their passion resonated deeply with Bethune. She became increasingly active in these important civic organizations, eventually emerging as a national leader.

Following her initial affiliation with the NACW and still living and running her school in Florida, Bethune also joined other African-American women such as Eartha M.M. White in the Florida State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. White, an activist in the established tradition of Floridian women, worked through the black women's clubs to organize and educate African-American voters. Bethune joined the campaign and added a second prong to her mission field – universal suffrage -- stating:

> Eat your bread without butter but pay your poll tax! Nobody ever told me to pay my poll tax. My dollar is always there on time. Do not be afraid of the Klan. Quit running. Hold your head up high. Look every man straight in the eye and make no apology to anyone

> because of race or color. When you see a burning cross remember the Son of God who bore the heaviest.[1]

In 1912 Bethune attended the NACW meeting in Hampton, Virginia. At this meeting she delivered an address which was part biography and part a fundraising endeavor for her school. Throughout the meeting, the agenda addressed all aspects of discrimination African Americans encountered regularly, ranging from police harassment to lack of reliable employment opportunities. However, at the forefront of everyone's mind was one of the hottest issues of the day – women's suffrage. In 1912 only nine states allowed women to vote; and it wasn't until 1919 that the 19th Amendment, nicknamed the "Anthony Amendment" would extend the franchise to women through passage of a federal amendment to the Constitution to be ratified by the states.

Having a political voice would enable African-American women to ameliorate the poor conditions of public schools, housing, and other social services. Politicians naturally catered to their constituency, and therefore, African Americans needed access to the vote in order to elect representatives who would acknowledge *their* needs for the community to thrive. The NACW had local and regional clubs throughout the country, along with smaller neighborhood groups to support the cause; however, their contributions were systematically stymied as many national suffrage organizations attempted to placate white supremacist southern suffragists. This did not impede the progress of Bethune in her pursuit of her own form of women's suffrage. Keenly aware of her geographic location and the need for white patronage, she and others navigated a volatile minefield – successfully.

Dr. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, a leader in suffrage scholarship and the author of *Mary McLeod Bethune & Black Women's Political Activism* (2003), argues that there were three generations of African-American suffragists. Bethune is in the third generation: 1900-1920. The third generation sought to build interracial coalitions in all regions of the country. However, the proliferation of African-American suffrage activity followed a different arc than that followed by white women. The ever-present threat in Florida to the African-American community fused all matters of access and equality into the larger pursuit of full citizenship, with the aims and intentions of lifting their community out of imposed ignorance and lack of equitable state funding into civic literacy and better wages:

> By the first decade of the twentieth century, the politicization intensified as a critical mass of African American women's organizations developed to push for the enfranchisement of all Black women as a means to protect Black communities, and for the re-enfranchisement of Black men whose votes had been stolen from them.[2]

Thus, Bethune's activism through her school's sprawling social engagement also provided interracial space for secret meetings and suffrage work. In 1920, she and Laney created the Southeastern Federation of Women's Clubs which galvanized African-American women in all

southeastern states. This important work continued to prove necessary even after the ratification of the 19th Amendment as the political climate throughout Florida and most of the southeastern region precluded scores of African Americans from voting. For African Americans in central and southern Florida, their hopes were virtually extinguished for the next four decades. In the face of this, Bethune continued her civic work in the NACW, becoming national president in 1924. Bethune's vision for the NACW was one of true unity, bridging all prejudice from regional origin, and economic class differences.

Shortly after the passage of the 19th amendment Bethune encouraged African-American Daytonians to vote in the county elections. An alarming threat of terrorism against her campus from the Ku Klux Klan sought to silence Bethune. When she met the Klan marchers at the front of campus "with arms folded and head held high," they left without incident. The following day Bethune led a group of African Americans to the polls where they were forced to wait the entire day before being allowed to cast their ballots. Bethune remarked "but we voted." Dr. Audrey McCluskey dubbed Bethune as "politically ambidextrous,"[3] contributing to the women's suffrage movement what she could in full understanding that her school and the lives of countless African Americans hung in the balance throughout the south where wanton violence, abrogation of federal laws, and cultural norms often won out over reason. Bethune implemented a strategy that used the black press, local and regional vigilance, along with a national organization headquartered in Washington, DC, as steps in the direction of becoming a national clearinghouse for African-American women. In her mind, disunity and factionalism bred contempt and hampered racial progress.

More than 30 years later, on September 6, 1952, Bethune penned an article "Women Should Vote in Tribute to Those Who Fought for the Ballot." She was still arguing for unity, the end of prejudice, and economic equity among all citizens, all supported by universal franchise. In this article she extolled the tenacity of pioneering women who fought long and hard to "bring full citizenship to all the people." African Americans still had decades of struggle ahead with the Civil Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and beyond to come close to the promise of the 19th Amendment, and Bethune recalled their suffragist history to inspire them. Once again following her lead, African-American women did persist and continue to make strides in political agency through voter education, protests, and direct-action campaigns. Bethune insisted it was incumbent upon modern women to ensure that the franchise "promot[ed] security at home, and mutual respect and peace among the peoples of the world."[4]

Mary McLeod Bethune did not wield a picket sign or participate in the 1913 suffrage parade. She was crafting and modeling behavior for future women voters. On November 19, 1949, Mrs. Bethune was asked, "If you could live your life over what would you do?" Bethune responded, "Head straight to New York and run for Congress [or maybe a stint] in the diplomatic service."[5] Profoundly aware of the impact voting and political office had within the country, she believed that principled voices -- be they female or male -- could bring about the victory of democracy

over dictatorship. “The free ballot…universal adult suffrage [would allow African Americans the ability] to vote out all the advocates of racism and vote in those whose records show that they actually practice democracy.”[6] Her brand of gendered universal suffrage challenged “Negro women” on all levels and classes to march forward toward peace, justice, and democracy for all at the ballot box.

Chapter 14

Mabel Ping-Hua Lee: How Chinese-American Women Helped Shape the Suffrage Movement

By Cathleen D. Cahill

Mabel Ping-Hua Lee was a feminist pioneer. She was the first Chinese woman in the United States to earn her doctorate and an advocate for the rights of women and the Chinese community in America. However, due to discriminatory immigration laws, she was unable to become a citizen of the United States. Despite this injustice, she played an important part in the fight for voting rights both in the United States and in China.

In 1912, suffrage leaders in New York invited sixteen-year-old Mabel to ride in the honor guard that would lead their massive suffrage parade up Fifth Avenue. In order to understand why they asked and why Mabel agreed, we have to enlarge the scope of our vision and realize that conversations about women's rights and suffrage were happening all over the world. Suffragists in the United States were part of these transnational discussions.

Mabel Lee was one of the very few Chinese women who lived in the United States in the early twentieth century. This was because Congress had passed harsh laws aimed at keeping Chinese immigrants out of the United States. In the mid-nineteenth century, men from China came to work in the mines and to build the railroads. White Americans held many negative stereotypes about the "Oriental" Chinese fueled by the prevalent bias of the period, assuming the Chinese had inherently “passive” or “servile” natures that made them unable to participate in democratic governments. Immigration laws codified these racist ideas about who could be an American citizen. Specifically, Congress passed two laws to exclude Chinese people from entering the United States. The first law, the Page Act of 1875, was aimed at Chinese women, though it used the language of excluding prostitutes (most Americans believed any Chinese woman who was immigrating was coming to the United States for the purpose of serving as a prostitute). The second law, the 1882 Exclusion Act, dramatically shrunk the number of Chinese immigrants (men and women) admitted into the United States and denied that they could become naturalized citizens. This made the Chinese the only people in the world who were ineligible to become US citizens. This law was renewed every ten years and extended to other Asian countries in 1924. As a result, most of the Chinese people in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century were men, and the vast majority lived on the West Coast or in Hawaii Territory.

Mabel Lee immigrated to the United States from Canton (now Guangzhou), China, around 1900 when she was roughly five-years-old. Her family lived in New York City, where her father served as the Baptist minister of the Morningside Mission in Chinatown. Her parents, Lee Towe and Lee Lai Beck (their names were spelled the Chinese way with surnames first) were able to immigrate under one of the very few exceptions to the Exclusion Act, because they were teachers

working for the Baptist Church. As a teacher in China, Mabel's mother was aware of the conversations feminists in that country were having about women's rights. Both she and Mabel's father raised their only child as a modern woman. For example, they chose not to bind Mabel's feet (though Lai Beck's mother had bound hers) and encouraged her education. Her father taught her Chinese classics, but they also sent her to public school in New York. She was the only Chinese student in her graduating class.

Under the terms of the Exclusion Act, the Lee family and the few other Chinese people who immigrated to the United States in this period could not become citizens. As a result, they paid close attention to events back home in China and maintained a vibrant dialogue between the two countries. Many of the Chinese in the US were supporters of the republican revolutionary, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and shared his goal of modernizing China. His vision included women's rights, such as equal education and political participation, and in the United States some Chinese women actively supported him by giving speeches at his fundraisers. Chinese women in the United States were also active in their local communities in a variety of ways. For example, along with their work at the Morningside Mission, Mabel Lee and her mother raised money for Chinese famine victims, worked with the YWCA, and participated in Chinatown parades. They closely followed the events in China, especially in 1911 when the Chinese Revolution overthrew Chinese imperial rule, eventually leading to the establishment of the Republic of China (1912-1949).

White suffrage leaders were also interested in the Chinese Revolution. News spread that the Chinese government had enfranchised women (it was actually more complicated; each province was initially free to determine their own rules on the issue). White suffragists were "glad, but irritated, too,"[1] that women in China had won the vote before them. They also wanted to hear more. They turned to local Chinese communities to teach them. Leading Chinese women from cities like Portland, Oregon, Cincinnati, Ohio, Boston, Massachusetts, and New York City, were invited to speak at white suffrage meetings in the spring of 1912. Eager for an audience, Chinese women seized the opportunity to share the news of women's contributions to the founding of their new nation. They told of the women's brigade that fought side-by-side with men in the revolution and celebrated the enfranchisement of Chinese women. At the same time, they appealed to the white women in the audience to help address the needs of Chinese communities in the United States, especially the demeaning immigration laws that they faced.

In New York City in 1912, not too long before the parade, Mabel Lee and several other members of the Chinatown community joined national and state suffrage leaders for a meeting at the Peking Restaurant at the corner of Seventh Avenue and Forty-Seventh Street. The white suffragists were well-known and included Harriet Laidlow, chairman of the Manhattan branch of the Women's Suffrage Party, Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), and wealthy patron of the cause, Alva Belmont. The representatives of the Chinese community were Mabel Lee and her parents; Grace Yip Typond,

wife of a powerful merchant, Yip Typond; and Pearl Mark Loo (Mai Zhouyi), a teacher and missionary. It is worth noting that the latter all were immigrants to the US from China, and therefore none were eligible to become US citizens. Nonetheless, they cared about women's rights. They also hoped that by working with white suffragists, they could convince white Americans that their biased stereotypes about China and Chinese people were wrong and they should all work together to change the situation of Chinese people in the United States.

When she spoke to these famous suffrage leaders, Mabel Lee was only sixteen-years-old and still a high school student, but she had recently been accepted to Barnard College. She reminded her audience that Chinese women in the United States suffered under the burden of not only sexism, but also racial prejudice. She especially urged more equitable educational opportunities for Chinese girls and boys in New York City, as did Grace Typond. Their colleague from Chinatown, Pearl Mark Loo (Mai Zhouyi), called for US citizenship for Chinese women, likely regaling the audience with her own harrowing tale. Before coming to the United States, she had lived in Canton (Guangzhou) and worked as a teacher. She had been involved in the woman's movement there and had edited the *Lingnan Women's Journal*. Despite her advanced education, she had been detained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Francisco for months. She, too, believed education was the key to both women's rights and the strength of a nation, be it China or the United States.

Mabel Lee impressed suffrage leaders so much that they asked her to help lead the parade they were planning later that spring. She agreed. Newspapers across the nation reported on her participation and printed her picture, suggesting great interest from the American audience. Nor was she the only Chinese suffragist in the parade. Her mother and the other women from Chinatown also participated in another section. They proudly carried the striped flag of their new nation as well as a sign stating "Light from China." Though Americans widely believed their cultural values were superior and needed to be shared with China, this slogan reversed that idea. Chinese suffragists hoped their participation would refute racist stereotypes and help change US policies towards Chinese immigrants.

White suffragists also emphasized the reversal of roles. Anna Howard Shaw, the president of NAWSA, marched directly in front of the Chinatown contingent. She carried a banner that read: "NAWSA Catching Up with China." This slogan was directed primarily at shaming American men into supporting women's suffrage. Although Americans considered themselves modern and China backwards, the enfranchisement of Chinese women suggested otherwise. Shaw's banner suggested that the US was behind China in this arena. This idea remained one that white suffragists periodically invoked over the next few years.

That fall, Mabel Lee matriculated to Barnard College in New York City; she also remained in the midst of conversations about women's rights in both countries. While she was often asked to talk to white suffrage audiences and give them updates on women's rights in China -- which

she happily did -- she also exerted a great deal of energy advocating for those rights among Chinese students studying in America. For example, in 1915, Mabel Lee herself was invited by the Women's Political Union to give a speech at one of their Suffrage Shops. Her speech "The Submerged Half," covered by *The New York Times*, urged the Chinese community to promote girls' education and women's civic participation. The US had created a college scholarship program, the Boxer Indemnity Program, to train future Chinese political and business leaders in US institutions. Mabel Lee became heavily involved in the Chinese Students' Alliance, a national organization for those students that published a journal for its members. She urged the future leaders of China to incorporate women's rights into their new republic, writing articles for *The Chinese Students' Monthly*.

In one such article, titled "The Meaning of Woman Suffrage," she focused on the importance of women's rights to the new nation. "Are we going to build a solid structure" by including women's rights from the beginning, she asked readers. Not doing so would "leave every other beam loose for later readjustment," as she had learned from her experiences in the American suffrage movement. After all, she concluded, "the feministic movement" was not advocating for "privileges to women," instead it was "the requirement of women to be worthy citizens and contribute their share to the steady progress of our country."[2]

When New York state enfranchised women in 1917, Mabel Lee, still not a US citizen, was unable to vote. However, she vowed to become a feminist "pioneer" by entering a Ph.D. program in Columbia University's Department of Political Science, Science, and Philosophy. She earned her doctoral degree in Economics from Columbia in 1921, the first Chinese woman in the United States to do so. Although Chinese suffragists hoped that their actions would help to change US immigration policy, they were disappointed. In fact, in 1924 Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act that further restricted Chinese immigration and expanded those restrictions to all the countries of Asia. Some American-born Chinese women were able to exercise the right to vote (especially in California), but their numbers were small and remained so until immigration policy changes after World War II, when China fought as an ally with the United States.

After earning her degree, Mabel Lee found that there were few opportunities for highly educated Chinese women in the United States. Many of her peers -- both US and Chinese-born -- moved back to China, where they had more options in the new republic. Indeed, she was offered a teaching position at a Chinese university, but ultimately chose to remain in the United States. When her father died, she took over the administration of his mission, which later became the First Chinese Baptist Church in New York. Mabel Lee continued to work with the Chinatown community in that position until her own death in 1965. Members of her church and community fondly remember her and recently dedicated the local post office to her. But for the most part, the role of Chinese suffragists in the United States were overlooked for the majority of the past century. Centennial celebrations are bringing more and more stories like Mabel Lee's to light. To

be sure, the numbers of Chinese and Chinese-American suffragists in the United States were small, but they played a visible and important role in the suffrage struggle. They advocated for a movement that fought for equality of sex *and* race; they taught white suffrage leaders about the global scope of the fight for women's rights; and they advocated for women's rights in the new Chinese Republic.

Chapter 15

Mary Church Terrell: Black Suffragist and Civil Rights Activist

By Alison M. Parker

Born a slave in Memphis, Tennessee in 1863 during the Civil War, Mary Church Terrell became a civil rights activist and suffragist leader. Coming of age during and after Reconstruction, she understood through her own lived experiences that African-American women of all classes faced similar problems, including sexual and physical violence, inadequate access to health care, limited opportunities for meaningful and fairly compensated work, and no constitutional right to vote. To rectify these inequalities, Terrell participated in campaigns for racial and gender justice.

Mary Terrell formally entered the women's suffrage movement in February 1891 at the first National Council of Women convention in Washington, D.C. She approached her public support for women's voting rights with some trepidation: "[T]he presiding officer requested all those to rise who believed that women should have the franchise. Although the theater was well filled at the time, comparatively few rose.… I forced myself to stand up." As Terrell explained, "In the early 1890s it required a great deal of courage for a woman publicly to acknowledge…she believed in suffrage for her sex when she knew the majority did not."[1]

Attending a convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in the early 1890s, Terrell later recalled: "When the members of the Association were registering their protest against a certain injustice, I arose and said, 'As a colored woman, I hope this Association will include in the resolution the injustices of various kinds of which colored people are the victims.'" From the platform, Susan B. Anthony asked if she was a NAWSA member. Terrell replied, "No, I am not…but I thought you might be willing to listen to a plea for justice by an outsider." Happily, she reported, "Miss Anthony invited me to come forward, write out the resolution which I wished incorporated with the others, and hand it to the Committee on Resolutions. And thus began a delightful, helpful friendship."[2] Although she appreciated the personal warmth, Terrell regretted that as time went on, Anthony narrowed NAWSA's focus from a broader women's rights platform toward the sole goal of gaining woman suffrage at the national level, even if it meant accepting restrictions on voting, from poll taxes to literacy tests, that could be used to keep African-American women from the polls, thereby encouraging southern white women to join the suffrage movement.

The African-American women's club movement came of age on the national scene when segregation became entrenched and disfranchisement of African-American men spread throughout the South. In 1896, Mary Church Terrell became the first president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), arguing that voting rights for black women were inseparable from questions of black men's disfranchisement and the broader freedom struggle.[3]

African-American women's club leaders created their own brand of suffragism that prioritized racial justice. At the NACW's 1904 convention, the delegates formally resolved to support women's suffrage. African-American clubwomen, identifying themselves as "members of The Equal Suffrage League, representing the National Association of Colored Women," petitioned Congress in 1908 for a constitutional amendment. They also demanded a federal suffrage bill to protect the voting rights of black men.[4]

Impressed by the radical protest tactics of the British suffrage movement, Terrell hoped to participate in direct action in the United States.[5] The opportunity came on March 3, 1913, when she proudly marched with other African-American suffragists in the first women's suffrage parade held in the nation's capital. Planned for the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, the 1913 march was a seminal event in the history of the campaign for women's voting rights. It is also well known for being marred by the attempts of white suffrage leaders to block African-American women's equal participation.

Alice Paul, the young, white, college-educated Quaker, who organized the march for NAWSA, hoped to carry the favor and participation of white southern women. Paul first planned on excluding black suffragists and then hoped to segregate them at the very end of the parade. Several African-American suffragists, including Terrell, defiantly marched throughout the parade.[6]

Admiring Alice Paul's use of militant direct action, Terrell did not give up on Paul and her militant National Woman's Party (NWP). Instead, she persistently called on Paul to advocate for voting rights for all African Americans, as well as white women. During World War I, Terrell and her teenage daughter, Phyllis, joined the NWP's *Silent Sentinels*, willingly risking arrest and violent attacks. In her memoir, Terrell wrote: "The National Woman's Party, led by Alice Paul, used to picket the White House in the afternoon…. On a bitter cold day, the phone would ring and a voice from Headquarters…would inquire, 'Will you come to picket the White House this afternoon?' As a rule, I complied with the request and several times Phyllis would come with me to swell the number. Sometimes it was necessary to stand on hot bricks supplied by a colored man employed expressly for that purpose to keep our feet from freezing." Terrell was proud of her daring picketing, noting one particularly close call: "several women were arrested for picketing and sent to Occoquan, the workhouse, when I was absent from my post."[7]

In August of 1920, Tennessee voted for the 19th Amendment, becoming the last state needed to ratify it. Yet the passage of the 19th Amendment did not diminish the gulf between white and black suffragists. Alice Paul continued to ignore black women's demands that the NWP work to secure African Americans' voting rights, particularly in the South. When Paul initiated a new campaign for women's equality in 1921, she denied the vital intersections of gender and race. Paul claimed the NACW was not a feminist group but a "racial one," and so banned it from

formal participation, although a few African-American NWP members were later told they could attend the convention as individuals.[8]

In the weeks before the National Women's Party's 1921 national convention, African-American women suffragists tried to bring their concerns to the attention of Paul and the NWP. Imploring them to try to understand women's voting rights from a broader perspective, Terrell pointed to racist actions and laws, including lynching, segregation, poll taxes, literacy tests, and the convict lease system that kept African-American men terrorized and disfranchised, especially in the South.[9]

Terrell and her compatriots hoped that her direct participation in picketing would give her more influence when speaking with Paul. With the help of a white NWP ally, Ella Reed Murray, they planned to introduce a resolution from the convention floor, "urging Congress to appoint a committee to investigate the disfranchisement of colored women." But Murray confirmed their suspicion that, even after having achieved ratification of the 19th Amendment, "Miss Paul did not want to inject the race problem into her suffrage work." In order not to be "double-crossed by Miss Paul" during the convention, the women decided to ask her in advance to endorse their resolution demanding a congressional investigation into violations of African-American women's voting rights.[10]

Representing the NAACP and the NACW, Mollie Terrell and her friend Addie Hunton, joined other black suffragists at NWP headquarters, where Terrell read their statement. Despite the clarity of their request, Paul asked "What do you women want me to do?" Terrell replied, "I want you to tell us whether you endorse the enforcement of the 19th Amendment for all women." To the women's disgust, Paul refused to say she did. Terrell reflected, "Alice Paul had displayed the most painful lack of tact I had ever seen."[11]

As one of the few African-American women allowed to participate in the NWP convention as an individual who could speak from the floor, Terrell "addressed the Resolutions Committee asking for a Congressional Investigation. I said colored women need the ballot to protect themselves because their men cannot protect them since the 14th and 15th Amendments are null and void. They are lynched and are victims of the Jim Crow Car Laws, the Convict Lease System, and other evils."[12]

Trying to make the interconnected issues of black women's disfranchisement and the violence against them appear real to the disinterested and distant NWP members, Terrell described the terrifying gendered brutality experienced by African-American women. She gave the specific example of the pregnant woman, Mary Turner, who was lynched in Valdosta, Georgia, in 1918 for protesting the lynching of her husband: "A colored woman, two months before she was to become a mother, had her baby torn from her body." Terrell's heart sank upon hearing white feminists' cruel and insensitive comments about the brutal murder: "'What did she do?' one asked. Another said, 'She did something, of course.'" Terrell was profoundly disappointed that

her white female audience did not empathize as women, and find the gendered violence as deeply disturbing as she did. NWP members' interest in protecting women's equality and their bodily integrity did not extend to African-American women.[13]

Terrell later admitted that her feelings had been "lacerated" and her "heart so wounded" by racism. She suffered not only from racism in daily life but also from what she encountered on the front lines of her work for equality. She had to face the cruel remarks of white women who did not value black lives. She also faced the truth that their resolution had no chance. Nonetheless, Murray presented it on the convention floor, where it was voted down by the white NWP delegates. Yet, in the midst of this difficult confrontation, Terrell and her daughter proudly asserted their rightful place in suffrage movement history. With the white NWP picketers, they "went to the Hotel Washington to get our Distinguished Service medals for picketing the White House. We all carried banners and marched in. The pins are in the shape of banners."[14] However disheartened and frustrated, African-American women persisted in advocating their own goals and agendas while continuing their attempts at interracial dialogue with white women, in order to achieve those goals.[15]

Chapter 16

The Very Queer History of the Suffrage Movement

By Wendy Rouse

When lawyer and suffragist Gail Laughlin (1868-1952) discovered that her evening gown had no pockets in it, she refused to wear it until the pockets were sewn on. Objecting to the restrictive nature of women's clothing was just one of the ways that suffragists sought to upend the status quo in the early twentieth century. The women's suffrage movement allowed women to re-examine, question, and begin to systematically rebel against the many restrictions they had lived under for centuries – including oppressive gender and sexual norms. There are, of course, more serious examples, besides Laughlin's demand for pockets, of how suffragists defied the gendered conventions of their day.

When Belle Squire joined the fight for suffrage, she not only wanted the vote, she wanted to smash what we now call "the patriarchy." In 1910, she led the "No Vote, No Tax League," inspiring at least 5,000 women in Cook County, Illinois, to refuse to pay their taxes until women were granted the right to vote. Squire also made a bold statement against the oppression of women by publicly declaring her refusal to marry. She explained that she would rather have a vote than a husband because "with a vote a woman's wages, dignity and position are raised; with a husband they may be lowered."[1] Squire insisted that what women really want from men is to be recognized as "an individual, an equal, maybe, a human being even, as they themselves are."[2] She declared that as an unmarried woman she deserved the same respect that married women enjoyed and insisted on being referred to with the honorific title of "Mrs. Squire" rather than "Miss Squire," because she believed that single women should be afforded the same respect as married women.[3]

Laughlin and Squire's demands may seem humorous to us today, but in their own unique ways they were challenging gendered norms. "Queering the suffrage movement" can allow us to disrupt the traditional narrative of suffrage history by considering it from different perspectives, including the perspective of LGBTQ+ history. Scholars have already begun this process by deconstructing the dominant narrative that has focused on the stories of elite, white, upper-class suffragists. Queering the suffrage movement can also help us move beyond a framework that privileges only the stories of heterosexual, gender-conforming suffragists to also consider the various ways suffragists transgressed normative boundaries of gender and sexuality. In the early twentieth century, modern terms such as LGBTQ+ did not exist, but LGBTQ+ people have always existed. I use the term "queer" here as an umbrella term to describe suffragists who challenged gender and sexual norms in their everyday lives and, if they were alive today, might identify as LGBTQ+.

One such suffragist, New York philanthropist Annie Tinker (1884-1924), refused to conform to gendered notions of how a woman should act and dress. In the present day, Tinker might have described herself as non-binary, gender fluid, or butch. But in the 1910s, those words were not in general usage. Instead, people labeled women like Tinker as "mannish." Tinker proudly formed a "cavalry of suffragists" to ride on horseback in New York City suffrage parades. In the 1913 parade, Tinker dressed in riding boots, breeches, a man's coat, and silk top hat that elicited much comment from parade-goers and the press. The *New York Times* described her "mannish garb" as "distinctive."[4] A gossip columnist for the society tabloid *Town Topics* was less kind, snidely remarking on her "oddities" and expressing his intense dislike for "the masculine fashion in which she handled her hat."[5] But Tinker was determined to be who she wanted to be and fight for others who desired the same right.

A decade later and on the opposite coast of the country in San Francisco, Dr. Margaret Chung (1889-1959) advocated for the voting rights of Chinese and American women through her activism in the Woman's Auxiliary of the Chinese American League of Justice, the Chinese Protective Association, and the Chinese Women's Reform Club. Chung with her slicked-back hair, black tailored suit, hat, and cane, attracted much attention in early twentieth-century California. Chung, or "Mike" as she preferred to be called by friends, not only broke down barriers as a pioneering Chinese-American woman physician (the first in the country), but also brazenly knocked down gender norms through her clothing and affinity for behaviors that were considered "unladylike" at the time, such as drinking, gambling, and swearing.

Anti-suffrage critics used terms like "mannish" and "abnormal" to denigrate suffragists like Tinker and Chung. Gender-defying suffragists faced pressure to conform to heteronormative standards of beauty and behavior not only from their critics, but also from inside the suffrage movement. Leaders of major suffrage organizations recommended that the women in their ranks wear fashionable feminine dresses and hats. They were exhorted to present themselves "as attractive, as charming and as lovable" as possible in order to win men's support for suffrage.[6] By adhering to the expectations of proper feminine appearance and behavior of the early twentieth century, suffrage leaders hoped to create at least a public front of "respectability." But many suffragists didn't conform to the gendered rules of the day and frequently defied the mainstream movement's gendered expectations.

In addition to transgressing gendered boundaries, many suffragists also challenged the view that heterosexual marriage between one man and one woman was the only acceptable form of relationship. Alice Dunbar-Nelson (1875-1935) was an African-American writer and activist who worked as an organizer for the Congressional Union (which would become the National Woman's Party after 1916). The CU focused on lobbying for a federal women's suffrage amendment and sent field organizers out to rally support, forming local branches in cities throughout the nation. Dunbar-Nelson toured Pennsylvania and New Jersey, appealing to black and white audiences to support women's right to vote. As a member of the National Association

of Colored Women, she advocated for women's rights while also fighting against racial discrimination and violence against the Black community. Publicly, she cultivated a respectable image as "Mrs. Paul Laurence Dunbar, widow of the famous poet." Even after she was remarried to Robert Nelson in 1916, she retained Dunbar's name for the status it afforded her and was thereafter known as Alice Dunbar-Nelson. Although she maintained this public face of respectable heterosexuality, privately, she engaged in romantic and sexual relationships with men and women throughout her single and married life. She wrote about the details of some of these relationships in her diary, revealing a thriving lesbian and bisexual subculture among Black suffragists and clubwomen.

Some suffragists also formed committed, intimate relationships with other women in what was referred to at the time as "Boston marriages."[7] These co-habiting relationships were friendships, professional partnerships, creative collaborations and often, lesbian romances. Scholars have documented the Boston marriages of many well-known women whom we might describe as "power couples" in modern parlance. These included Lucy Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt and Mary Garrett Hay, Lucy Diggs Slowe and Mary Burrill, Frances Willard and Anna Adams Gordon, Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith, Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, and M. Carey Thomas and Mary Elizabeth Garret.

Boston marriages were also common among lesser-known women in the movement. Leona Huntzinger and Elizabeth Hopkinson were working-class women who met at a lace curtain factory in Philadelphia. In 1917, they left their jobs hoping to "get out and see the world"[8] by traveling west toward Chicago. They stopped for a week or two in each town to work before moving on to the next one. Along the way, they purchased a Ford and accepted a job traveling through New York State stumping for women's suffrage. They drove throughout the Northeast on a six-month tour, camping out of the car and delivering stirring suffrage speeches standing in the backseat. These "pals," as they dubbed themselves, were inseparable.[9] After the campaign was over, the two women settled down together on a small farm in Pennsylvania where they lived out their lives in a committed loving relationship.

Gail Laughlin and Dr. Mary Austin Sperry were yet another inseparable suffrage couple. They met while working on the California campaign for the vote. The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) hired Laughlin to work as an organizer for the state in 1903. Sperry met Laughlin through her mother, Mary Simpson Sperry, who was the president of the California Women's Suffrage Association and directed Laughlin's work. Laughlin and the younger Sperry soon became romantic partners, moving to Colorado together and then back again to California. They enjoyed a fourteen-year Boston marriage until it ended suddenly with Sperry's tragic death in 1919 during the Spanish influenza pandemic. Sperry's will requested that all of her property and her remains be passed on to Laughlin. Despite the significance of Sperry to Laughlin's life, a biography of Gail Laughlin written in 1979 by Laughlin's niece relegated Sperry to a passing reference, noting simply that the two women formed a "close friendship" and

lived together in the Sperry family home.[10] Other biographical articles written about Laughlin neglect to mention Sperry altogether, essentially erasing her and her significance in Laughlin's life from history.

But Laughlin did not forget Sperry. She kept her partner's ashes with her for life and when she died in 1952, she requested that their remains be interred together in the same grave with both of their names etched on a single marker. This simple brass marker continues to commemorate their life together and their commitment to each other in this world and beyond.

Why should we "queer the suffrage movement" and reconsider the traditional narrative of suffrage history? First, it is important simply to acknowledge that queer suffragists existed. This may seem obvious. But, there has been a concerted effort by descendants, biographers, historians, and archivists to explain away or conceal gender-defying and non-heterosexual suffragists. Suffragists who didn't conform to the gendered norms of their day were sometimes described as simply "eccentric" in an attempt to minimize the significance of their gender expression or identity. Partners of suffragists were often relegated to the status of "close friend" or, worse yet, entirely written out of the biographies all together. This has led to an erasure of queer history. But these suffragists were important. They made significant contributions and were, in fact, often the very leaders of the suffrage movement. They helped push the movement in more radical directions. They lived and loved deeply, navigating the complexities of their personal and public lives. Their stories deserve to be told.

Queer suffragists thus were fighting for much more than the right to vote. They were fighting for a world where they could be free to be who they were and love who they wanted to love.

Oh, and pockets. They really wanted pockets too.

Glossary

Deconstructing | To examine (something, such as a work of literature) using the methods of deconstruction.

Dominant narrative | Traditional way of telling the story.

Gendered | Reflecting the experience, prejudices, or orientations of one sex more than the other.

Gender fluid | Of, relating to, or being a person whose gender identity is not fixed.

Heteronormative | Of, relating to, or based on the attitude that heterosexuality is the only normal and natural expression of sexuality.

LGBTQ+ | Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer/questioning (one's sexual or gender identity).

Non-binary | Relating to or being a person who identifies with or expresses a gender identity that is neither entirely male nor entirely female.

Normative | Of, relating to, or determining norms or standards.

Queering | To consider or interpret (something) from a perspective that rejects traditional categories of gender and sexuality **:** to apply ideas from queer theory to (something).

Chapter 17

Should We Care What the Men Did?

By Brooke Kroeger

"Who cares what the men did?" That was all the book editor's rejection note said.

It came in response to my proposal to recover the lost history of the legions of prominent men whom the women of the suffrage movement engaged in the 1910s to boost their aging, floundering campaign. Given the modest attention all the centennial activity of the past several years has paid to the men, that editor, and several others, may have had a point. Women's suffrage was a women's victory, after all.

Yet in real time, during the 1910s, women cared deeply about the men in their fight. That all-important decade brought the campaign new momentum as state pro-suffrage referenda passed in California in 1911; Kansas and Oregon in 1912; Montana and Nevada in 1914; New York in 1917; and Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota in 1918. All of these state votes came before the congressional vote of June 14, 1919, to amend the US Constitution. By August 18, 1920, three-quarters of the states had ratified the vote, making it law.

Imagine what it must have meant for "the thinking men of our country, the brains of our colleges, of commerce and literature," in suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt's phrase, to involve themselves with such gusto in a campaign designed to dilute their preeminence at the ballot box.[1] For prominent men to back women's rights was not new at this point. Illustrious figures such as Thomas Paine, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, and Frederick Douglass preceded the elites of the 1910s in outspoken support, but they did so as individuals, never as an organized state and national force. The Men's League for Woman Suffrage became that and more. Chapters were said to have formed in thirty-five states with known activity strongest in New York, Illinois (where prominent Chicagoans formed the first US League chapter), Massachusetts, Connecticut, and California, known as John Hyde Braly's California Political Equality League. Beyond his family, Braly considered his work for suffrage his proudest of many accomplishments.

From the start in 1909 and until the vote was won, the Leagues worked under the direction of the women of NAWSA, the National American Woman Suffrage Association. "A blessing to us," was how Catt described the men's efforts to Theodora Bean of the *New York Telegraph* in 1912, a mere two years after the League's founding. "We cannot overestimate its value."[2] The men even handled their own scut, previously understood as "women's work." Witness the signature on a dollar receipt for League annual dues of assistant treasurer Ward Melville, who eventually became a philanthropist and CEO of Thom McAnn Shoes.

The fact is, thousands of progressive men of position and prominence, of every profession and political stripe, did far more than is generally known to help secure suffrage victories at the state and national levels. The League's national president, James Lees Laidlaw, offered this simple explanation of the organization's purpose: to provide moral support to men and political support to women. The League, he said, sought to court "the many men who inwardly feel the justice of equal suffrage, but who are not ready to acknowledge it publicly," and to entice those who "are not even ready to give the subject consideration until they see that a large number of men are willing to be counted in favor of it."[3]

Why was this male support crucial? "Legislators are mainly responsible to voters and voters only," Laidlaw wrote. "In the majority of states in this country, determined women are besieging the Legislatures, endeavoring to bring about the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the people. How long and burdensome is this effort on the part of non-voters, everyone knows."[4]

How could victory have happened without influential support from noteworthy members of the country's overwhelmingly dominant voting bloc, its men? By 1910, after sixty years of campaigning, support for passage of women's suffrage legislation was still weak. Only Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Washington had granted women the franchise, and among all forty-eight states, only Colorado, Idaho, and Utah had elected women representatives to their legislatures, and never more than three. At the federal level, no woman served in either US house until Montana sent Jeanette Rankin to Congress in 1917. The Senate did not follow until the 1932 election of Hattie Caraway in Arkansas (following Rebecca Latimer Felton's one day of appointed representation from Georgia a decade before that.) Laidlaw offered up another reason for the League that everyone understood. "If a well-organized minority of men voters demand equal suffrage legislation from the Legislatures," he wrote, "they will get it."[5]

In 1911 and in every New York and Washington, DC suffrage parade thereafter, the men marched together under Men's League banners, at first braving catcalls and brickbats from the sidelines, as well as the sneers and eye-rolls of their peers out the windows of a Fifth Avenue clubhouse. Gradually their presence among the women became commonplace. They served on the movement's finance and political action committees, used their political clout with governors and legislators, provided meeting space, testified before congressional committees, and ran interference with the police and in the courts. They joined their suffragist wives on state and cross-country recruitment trips. They orchestrated effective publicity campaigns, buoyed by the many writers, editors, and publishers in their leadership and ranks. They organized or attended mass meetings, banquets, a torchlight parade and a pageant, and state, national, and international suffrage conventions. They tallied votes on election nights and worked the streets. They even performed in movie shorts and one regrettable vaudeville sketch.

They opened their homes and gave money, too, lots of it; either through the suffragist women in their lives or on their own, like the bachelor philanthropist George Foster Peabody, the nominal

president and financial mainstay of New York's chapter. From pulpits and podiums, clergymen and orators presented persuasive fresh arguments. Among the most sought-after speakers were two of the League's four founders, its first secretary-treasurer, Max Eastman, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Oswald Garrison Villard recruited them both; Eastman, with the help of the fourth member of their group, the philosopher John Dewey, his professor at Columbia. Villard, the editor and publisher of both the *Nation* magazine and the *New York Evening Post*, came by his suffragism naturally as the son of the suffragist Fanny Garrison Villard and the grandson of Garrison, the abolitionist and suffragist. In 1908, Villard presented his vision for the League to NAWSA and then recruited the others to help get it going once NAWSA signed off on the plan.

In September 1917, just weeks before the second New York referendum vote — a 1915 effort had failed — many of the Men's Leaguers joined their wives in Saratoga Springs for an eleventh-hour strategy session. The *New York Tribune* reporter, Sarah Addington, couldn't help but notice the envy directed at the state suffrage leaders Harriet Burton Laidlaw and Narcissa Cox Vanderlip because of their suffragist husbands. In his speech, Frank Vanderlip, then president of what is now Citibank, playfully referred to himself as a "victim of indirect influence." That caused one wag to blurt, "If that is indirect influence, I want some." Another suffragist told Addington that James Lees made Harriet Laidlaw "the luckiest woman in the world."[6] In 1932, after Laidlaw's death, a condolence note from a fellow suffragist acknowledged the enormous contributions Harriet and other movement leaders had made, but the woman felt compelled to add of "Mr. Jimmie": "We somehow owe him much more than we do all the women put together."[7]

A victory celebration at Cooper Union followed the New York State referendum's passage on November 6, 1917. The crowd erupted in cheers as Laidlaw rose to say a few words, invited to speak by Gertrude Brown of the state party, who introduced the investment banker as the "head of those men who have given their lives, their efforts, and their fortunes to this cause." Laidlaw deflected credit. "The women did it," he said. "Not by any heroic action, but by hard, steady grinding and good organization. […] We men, too, have learned something," he continued. "We who have been auxiliaries to the great woman's suffrage party. We have learned to be auxiliaries."[8]

In 1919, after the federal suffrage amendment passed in Congress, Catt again praised all the men engaged in the suffrage movement, not just the League's members, in an essay for the *New York Times Magazine*. She extolled their contributions and sacrifices and most pointedly that they "dared to espouse a despised cause."[9] After the victory, what credit was due the men did not take. The League does not appear by name in their memoirs or obituaries, save Laidlaw's, which Harriet surely wrote, and Max Eastman's, whose 1948 memoir includes his re-purposed 1912 early history of the League, published in *The Woman Voter*.

In this period, beyond the League itself, individuals like W.E. B. Du Bois and Dudley Field Malone played equally crucial movement roles. Neither of their names appears in either the 1910 or 1912 League membership rosters, nor do contemporaneous press reports identify them as League members, per se. Committed suffragists, however, they were. Du Bois, through the pages of the NAACP's *The Crisis*, published two special suffrage symposia issues and wrote repeated editorials, urging African Americans to participate in the fight for women's right to vote. The largely white, middle-class suffrage movement had repeatedly proved unwelcoming and insulting to black women suffragists. Du Bois argued that women's suffrage served the black community in two significant ways: by doubling the potential number of black voters with the addition of women, and by keeping the right of all citizens to vote a paramount goal of those who had once been denied it. His reference was to the African-American men excluded from the nation's polity until the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1870.

Like DuBois, the importance of Malone to the movement should not be undervalued. In September 1917, he took the extraordinary step of resigning one of the plumiest of presidential patronage posts to protest Woodrow Wilson's prolonged foot-dragging on federal action. No significant legislation had passed Congress in five years, Malone said, without Wilson's backing, so his withholding of support for a federal suffrage amendment was significant. Then Malone summoned the sacrifice being asked of women since April, when US soldiers went to Europe to join the fight. "How," he asked Wilson in his resignation letter, "can the Government ask millions of American women educated in our schools and colleges, and millions of American women in our homes, or toiling for economic independence in every line of industry, to give up by conscription their men and happiness to a war for Democracy in Europe, while these women citizens are denied the right to vote on the policies of the Government which demands of them such sacrifice?"[10]

Suffragists of all factions lavished Malone with praise. (Malone eventually allied with Alice Paul's National Woman's Party, which had broken with NAWSA to pursue more militant strategies.) The suffragist columnist and poet, Alice Duer Miller, even wrote him an ode, chiding the long line of politicians and presidents who, like Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, found it politically inexpedient to commit to federal action, until it wasn't. Roosevelt made the turn to garner women's votes in his unsuccessful run for president as a third-party candidate in 1912, but Wilson did not do so until his State of the Union address of December 2, 1918, three weeks after the Allies signed the Armistice with Germany that ended the fighting and six months before the congressional vote.

> Duer's poem*:*
> *Some men believe in suffrage*
> *In a peculiar way,*
> *They think that it is coming fast*
> *But should not come to-day.*

And others work and speak for it,
And yet you'll sometimes find
Behind their little suffrage speech
A little axe to grind.
They put their Party interests first,
And suffrage well behind.
Of men who care supremely
That justice should be shown,
Who do not balk at sacrifice,
And make the cause their own,
I know, I think, of only one,
That's Dudley Field Malone.[11]

As to my own proposal to write about the "suffragents," another house published the book in September 2017, just before the centennial of the New York State suffrage vote. It turns out that publisher might have tapped a vein after all. The book and others like it that acknowledge the men have generated dozens of appearances, reviews, and articles, prompted creation of the suffrage centennial media database, *suffrageandthemedia.org*, a special April 2019 suffrage centennial issue of the academic journal, *American Journalism*, and this past March, a book of new essays by journalism historians, *Front Pages, Front Lines: Media and the Fight for Woman Suffrage*. As many have noted, for women to share the spotlight with "the gents" also provides a detailed, century-old blueprint for men today who decide to engage as full-fledged allies in the on-going movement for women's full equality.

Chapter 18

Suffragette and Suffragist: The Influence of the British Suffrage Movement

By Susan Philpott

"I am what you call a hooligan," Emmeline Pankhurst announced to the standing-room only crowd of women packed into Carnegie Hall in October 1909. Hundreds more gathered outside, hoping to hear the famous "suffragette" speak. The American suffrage and labor activists in attendance cheered as Mrs. Pankhurst regaled the audience with stories about the fight to win the vote for British women. Although the tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), led by Pankhurst and her daughters, were often discredited in the United States as too militant, on that night, her testimony met with approval.[1] While the crowd at the New York City event applauded and sang suffrage anthems, across the Atlantic a young American named Alice Paul was gaining national attention for her participation in the WSPU's confrontational demonstrations.

Alice Paul was first inspired to join the suffrage cause while in graduate school in England. In November 1907, when she was a student at Birmingham University, she attended a rousing lecture by Christabel Pankhurst, daughter of Emmeline, in support of women's enfranchisement. Paul was particularly inspired by Christabel's grace and poise in response to the taunts of male students.[2] Alice then enrolled at the London School of Economics; she participated in two suffrage marches that summer. The first was planned by the more reserved National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) led by Millicent Fawcett. Although Alice enjoyed the pageantry of the NUWSS procession, it was the larger WSPU march a week later that made her a recruit. She was thrilled by the military precision of the event. Battalions of marchers wearing white and carrying banners, flags, and pennants of purple and green set out from points around the city and converged at Hyde Park. Presenters stationed around the park electrified the crowds of more than 30,000. At the sound of triumphant bugles, the participants all joined together in a final cry of "Votes for Women! Votes for Women!" Even the anti-suffrage *New York Times* praised the "genius for organization" on display.[3] Alice Paul was in; she became a suffragette.

Over the next several months, Alice participated in increasingly risky activities in support of women's suffrage in Britain. She started by selling the WSPU's newspaper *Votes for Women* on street corners, which often meant enduring verbal abuse. She moved on to giving speeches at outdoor meetings. Speakers were regularly assaulted and pelted with stones for transgressing social norms governing women's behavior in public.[4] As her confidence as a speaker increased, so did her willingness to face greater danger. She was arrested for the first time during a massive WSPU protest on June 29, 1909, in which thousands of women in multiple deputations approached Parliament Square. As police halted each group and arrested the women, the next deputation stepped up with the same demands to be heard.[5] Alice continued to plan and

participate in demonstrations across England and Scotland, enduring five more arrests that year and three prison terms.[6]

Although the American press mistakenly credited Alice with the innovation of the hunger strike, suffragette Marion Dunlop was the first to refuse food after demanding political prisoner status.[7] Alice and her fellow suffrage prisoners followed suit during their incarcerations, refusing to eat or to wear prison clothes. Alice spent at least one 5-day sentence in solitary confinement, naked except for a blanket. Initially, British officials released the hunger strikers as their health began to fail. By the time of her final U.K. imprisonment in November 1909, however, Alice and her comrades faced a new terror: forcible feeding.[8]

While Emmeline Pankhurst toured the United States in the fall of 1909, American newspapers carried stories about the horrors that Alice Paul was facing in London's Holloway prison. Women who had been incarcerated with her shared harrowing stories of Alice's cries echoing through the prison as she was force-fed more than fifty times.[9] Upon her release, Alice gave her own account to reporters. "Twice a day for the month that I spent in Holloway prison in London I was strapped and bound round with sheets until I could not move a muscle," she reported. "Then another sheet was bound round my throat to keep my neck rigid and the torture began. A long glass tube, bent at the end and as thick as my thumb, was forced through my nostrils and the liquid food poured in. The pain was intense, but I would not give in."[10]

When Alice Paul returned to the United States in 1910, she used her experiences as a British suffragette to re-energize the American suffrage movement. She began by recreating the sense of pageantry she had experienced during the 1909 WSPU march. The 1913 Woman Suffrage Procession down Pennsylvania Avenue on the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration announced a new focus on a federal amendment to win the vote. Alice Paul used the organizational skills she developed while planning similar events for the WSPU to bring thousands of women from around the country to participate.[11] Through the years, she continued to design campaigns and publicity stunts with the same kind of political savvy that the Pankhursts had mastered.

After Alice Paul returned to the United States, the WSPU tactics in Britain grew more violent. Suffragettes set fires, slashed paintings, broke windows, and committed other acts of property destruction. Alice Paul and her suffrage organization, the National Woman's Party (NWP), were considered militant and radical although they never engaged in that level of violence. Alice was willing to confront power, violate social expectations of proper womanly behavior, and face arrest, just as she had during her time with the WSPU. Although many scholars attribute Alice's reluctance to use more destructive tactics to her religious upbringing as a Quaker, Alice credited her strategy to political calculations. "Here men do not throw stones through windows to accomplish their purpose. They organize and form a machine. And that is what we must do to accomplish the establishment of equal suffrage," she told her fellow suffragists. When a reporter

pressed her about her history in the U.K., she declared “If it becomes necessary to fight to win, I believe in fighting.”[12]

Alice Paul also drew upon the example of the less-violent Women’s Franchise League (WFL) when designing strategies to win the vote. The 1917 Silent Sentinel picket campaign of the White House resembled the WFL’s “Siege of Westminster” in 1909. During the Siege, women stood peacefully outside Parliament and 10 Downing Street and were arrested for blocking the entrance.[13] When the NWP continued the 1917 protest at the White House after the U.S. entered World War I, the pickets, including Alice Paul, were arrested for “obstructing the sidewalk.”[14]

Like the suffragettes in the U.K., NWP prisoners also demanded political prisoner status and went on hunger strikes to protest their conditions. The hunger strikers, including Alice Paul, endured forced feedings. The NWP organized a protest of Alice Paul’s imprisonment on November 10, 1917, using a similar playbook as the 1909 WSPU petition of Parliament. A delegation of 41 demonstrators, organized by state into five divisions, marched to the White House carrying banners demanding the President’s support for the Constitutional amendment. The first group approached the east gate and were ordered by the police to "move on." The women refused and were arrested. A second group advanced to the west gate and were also detained. The march continued, alternating between the two gates, until all 41 were taken into custody. The publicity surrounding the demonstration, as well as reports of the brutality the suffragists endured in prison, kept the issue of women’s suffrage on the front pages even during wartime.[15]

When Woodrow Wilson began to support passage of the federal women’s suffrage amendment in 1918, he denied that the NWP campaigns had influenced his decision.[16] Whether or not she was responsible for his change of heart, Alice Paul had successfully adapted the militant strategies of the British suffragettes to convince Americans of the urgency of “Votes for Women!”

Chapter 19

The Great Suffrage Parade of 1913

By Rebecca Boggs Roberts

On the afternoon of March 3, 1913, the day before the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as the nation's 28th president, thousands of suffragists gathered near the Garfield monument in front of the U.S. Capitol. Grand Marshal Jane Burleson stood ready to lead them out onto Pennsylvania Avenue at exactly 3:00 p.m., in what became the first civil rights march on Washington, DC. It also proved to be a turning point in the fight for the vote. By the early twentieth century, over 50 years after Seneca Falls, suffragist Harriot Stanton Blatch said the cause "bored its adherents and repelled its opponents."[1] The 1913 parade, however, reversed that disturbing trend, introducing new activism, energy, tactics, and leadership to the languishing movement. It also garnered huge national attention, both planned for and unexpected.

The carefully wrought plan for the day included two major events. Once the procession embarked on Pennsylvania Avenue and was underway, a fantastic allegorical pageant was to begin on the plaza in front of the Treasury Department, fourteen blocks away. A pageant craze swept the United States at the beginning of the 20th century and the suffrage movement cannily took advantage of this widespread enthusiasm in planning their parade. Part of its impact came from its unprecedented scale; thousands of women from all regions of the country, all walks of life, all races and all social classes marched together demanding their rights. In so doing, they "challenged conventional standards of feminine behavior and propriety while negotiating new definitions and boundaries of women's roles in society."[2] By the time the head of the parade reached the Treasury steps, the pageant would be coming to its glorious dramatic finale, and everyone would proceed to Continental Hall. There, the pageant cast would give an encore performance of the final tableau for the triumphant crowd.

No detail had been overlooked. Alice Paul made sure of it. This whole spectacle was her brainchild, and she had begun making plans and assigning tasks even before the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) had endorsed the idea or given her an official title. She badgered DC police chief Richard Sylvester into granting her a permit to use Pennsylvania Avenue. She used her connections in William Taft's White House to make sure there was a cavalry unit standing by at Fort Myer, in case the DC police provided inadequate crowd control. She negotiated with the inaugural committee to use the grandstand constructed at 14th Street, so distinguished guests could watch the pageant in some comfort. Her public relations machine was relentless, making sure the march had been in the news so often and so thoroughly, Washingtonians almost considered it one of the formal celebrations of Wilson's presidential inauguration.

Not all of the planning went smoothly. Paul faced a dilemma about how to handle African-American marchers, including anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells and Delta Sigma Theta, a black sorority from nearby Howard University. Paul worried southern suffragists would refuse to participate in an integrated parade. After much dithering, Paul announced black women were allowed to join, but they were not listed in the official program and were encouraged to march at the back of the procession. Wells, for one, chose to wait on the sidelines till the Illinois delegation passed by, and she marched with her white peers.[3]

Paul ensured that the parade would be elaborate. After Jane Burleson and her attendants, the striking figure of Inez Milholland, routinely described as "the most beautiful suffragist," would follow in flowing white robes and a golden crown atop a glamorous white horse. Behind her followed a wagon with a massive banner reading: "We demand an amendment to the Constitution of the United States enfranchising the women of this country."[4] And after that, no fewer than *seven* sections of marchers swelled the parade route. Representatives of nations with full suffrage each designed a float ridden by costumed participants. Another series of floats represented the changing status of American women since the movement began in the 1840s. Professional women, all in matching thematic dress, were organized by occupation. The parade featured golden chariots, women's marching bands, college women grouped by alma mater, and a massive reproduction of the Liberty Bell. "General" Rosalie Jones and her army of pilgrims had hiked all the way from New York. Everything was designed to be visually striking for the live show, and to look great in newspaper photographs. Further, the sheer number and variety of marchers would impress the crowd on the day and those who read about it later with the breadth and depth of women's desire for the franchise.

On the day of the parade, Burleson was able to start the procession a little after 3:00 in the afternoon. At the Treasury Department, the allegorical pageant began, loudly and enthusiastically admired by a packed grandstand. A woman who represented Columbia, dressed in armor, called forth each of the virtues. The allegorical character of Justice and her attendants were all dressed in purple, while Charity arrived surrounded by adorable children and rose petals. Liberty struck a gallant figure that would feature prominently in news photographs. Peace released a live dove. Plenty and her attendants rushed down the steps to the plaza. Finally, Hope joined the tableau, and the magnificent picture was complete. The thousands of folks on the street and the VIPs in the grandstand, including outgoing First Lady Helen Taft, all agreed they were very impressed. At the end of the pageant, the entire cast moved forward in formation to watch for the head of the parade, which was timed to pass at any moment. They waited. The crowd grew bored. They waited some more. The first lady left. Finally, after almost an hour, Columbia and the virtues could no longer stand the cold marble on their bare feet and retreated inside the Treasury building to wait.

Ten blocks up Pennsylvania Avenue, the parade was stalled. Angry spectators at 5th Street had spilled into the road, and there was no way for the marchers to proceed. From atop her horse,

Burleson had a pretty good view down the Avenue, and what she saw was a "horrible, howling mob."[5] Thousands of spectators blocked the road, and not all were friendly. Most were men in town for Wilson's inauguration the next day; the suffrage parade was just a sideshow for them and many were looking for trouble. The women marched gamely on, stopping and starting, narrowing the march formation to single file where the spectators crowded the Avenue. The crowd got less orderly and more hostile, and the women felt increasingly threatened.

As the marchers proceeded, the large crowd jeered, grabbed them, spat, shouted, and even tripped them. Many policemen did nothing to control the crowd, and some even joined in their taunts. Inevitably, they even injured some. At least a hundred people were taken to the local emergency hospital. Finally, DC officials literally called in the cavalry, reaching out to the troops standing by at Fort Myer, whom Paul had wisely foreseen needing. Mounted soldiers met the head of the parade at 14th Street, and rode back up the parade route towards the Capitol, pushing the crowd back. As the *Washington Post* reported, "Their horses were driven into the throngs and whirled and wheeled until hooting men and women were forced to retreat."[6]

Most of the marchers eventually made their way to Continental Hall. But, instead of a triumphant capstone to a perfect day, the rally became a meeting of indignation and protest. Every woman in the hall was some combination of filthy, battered, exhausted, unnerved, insulted, weepy, furious, and freezing. Still in her academic robes, Alice Paul realized it was the best thing that ever could have happened. A perfect parade would have been in the news for one day, but a near-riot kept the suffrage cause in the headlines for weeks, as editorials denounced the behavior of the crowd and a Congressional Committee held hearings on what went wrong.

In many ways, the 1913 parade signaled the beginning of the final round in the long fight for the vote. In addition to earning the movement sympathetic press, the march served as Alice Paul's debut as a leader more than willing to push the bounds of convention. It energized a new generation of activists to join the cause. It sowed the seeds for many more visible, aggressive tactics over the next seven years.[7] And it announced, with a huge banner on a prominent wagon, a renewed push for a federal amendment, rather than the incremental state-by-state strategy the movement had previously cultivated.

Beyond the suffrage movement, the 1913 parade set the stage for thousands of political marches to follow. Every civil rights group that has marched on Washington, every activist who has paraded through the corridors of federal power to gain attention for their cause, every energetic citizen who has rallied in the shadow of the Capitol, has literally followed in the footsteps of Alice Paul and the suffragists.

Chapter 20

Jeannette Rankin: One Woman, One Vote

By Winifred Conkling

Only one woman in American history – Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin – ever cast a ballot in support of the 19th Amendment. In 1916, Rankin represented the citizens of Montana in the U.S. House of Representatives, and she wanted American women nationwide to enjoy the benefits of suffrage. "If I am remembered for no other act, I want to be remembered as the only woman who ever voted to give women the right to vote," Rankin said.[1] But Rankin's contributions go far beyond that single vote.

Rankin was feisty all her life. She was born in the Montana Territory in 1880, before it became a state. Unlike most women of her day, she attended college, studying biology as a member of the first class of students at the University of Montana. She started her career as a teacher but changed her focus after visiting her brother Wellington Rankin in Boston and seeing urban slums for the first time. When she returned to the west, she got a job at a settlement house for poor women and children.

To improve her skills, she went to New York City, where she studied social work at the New York School of Philanthropy (which later became Columbia University's School of Social Work). In 1909, she moved to Washington State and began work at an orphanage. The work didn't suit her; she felt she could never do enough to address the needs of the poor by dealing with one case at a time. Recognizing the need for systemic change, she once again returned to school, this time enrolling at the University of Washington to study finance, public speaking, and government.

That's where she discovered suffrage. While at school in Seattle in 1910, Rankin saw an ad in the school newspaper soliciting volunteers to work for women's suffrage in the state of Washington. During the afternoon she spent putting up suffrage posters around town, and learning more than she had ever known before about suffrage, Rankin thought about the link between suffrage and social reform. If women could vote, it followed that they could support laws to improve the lives of children and families. From then on, Rankin became an outspoken advocate for suffrage. That fall, Washington became the fifth state in the nation to give women the right to vote.

Rankin soon returned to Montana and began to work for suffrage there. Before long, the Equal Franchise Society asked her to address the Montana legislature. Because Rankin was the first woman to address the state legislature, her speech created quite a stir. In honor of her arrival at the State Capitol in Helena, the legislators were banned from smoking and spittoons were

removed from the room. Legislators were warned not to swear, and they chipped in to buy Rankin a bouquet of violets to welcome her.

"I was born in Montana,"[2] Rankin said when she began her remarks. This gave her credibility; most people were born out of state and moved to Montana. She addressed the need for the vote in a non-threatening way. "It's beautiful and right that a woman should nurse her sick children through typhoid fever, but it's also beautiful and right that she should vote for sanitary measures to prevent that typhoid from spreading," she said.[3] She argued that suffrage would not disrupt the social order; it would allow women to be better caretakers of children and families.

The suffrage bill failed that year. Undeterred, Rankin continued her efforts, traveling thousands of miles across Montana, working with the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and becoming one of the leading voices about suffrage in America. Three years later – in 1914 – Montana became the tenth state to grant women the right to vote. After the vote in Montana, Rankin traveled and assessed her next steps. She decided to run for the U.S. Congress. "The primal motive for my seeking a seat in the national Congress is to further the suffrage work and to aid in every possible way the movement for nationwide suffrage, which will not cease until it is won," she said.[4]

She wasn't concerned that there had never been a woman in Congress. She believed that women needed a voice in government to speak out against war and in favor of children's issues. "There are hundreds of men [in Congress] to care for the nation's tariff and foreign policy and irrigation projects. But there isn't a single woman to look after the nation's greatest asset: its children."[5] Rankin's brother Wellington offered to help. "I'll manage your campaign," he said. "And you'll be elected."[6]

In addition to suffrage, Rankin supported an 8-hour work day for women and legal protections for children, especially orphans. When her critics argued that "A woman's place is in the home," she responded, "The way to protect the home is to have a say in the government."[7] In 1916, when she was thirty-six years old, Rankin became the first woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

On April 2, 1917, suffragists honored Rankin at a breakfast before her first day on Capitol Hill. The war in Europe had been intensifying, and Rankin's suffragist friends feared that the country might be drawn into the war. They reminded her that the cause of suffrage would be compromised if she voted against the war because women would be seen as weak and unfit for politics. Rankin listened but made no promises about what she would do.

The same day, President Woodrow Wilson called an emergency session of Congress and asked them to vote to "make the world safe for democracy" by entering the war. No matter what she did, Rankin knew she would disappoint a lot of people. In her campaign, Rankin had promised to do everything she could to keep the country out of war. Although not a Quaker, Rankin had

developed her pacifist beliefs in her childhood and thus had held them most of her life. Her brother Wellington urged Rankin to save her political career and "Vote a man's vote"[8] by standing with the president. After only six days in Congress, Rankin cast her first vote. At three o'clock in the morning, her name was called and she said, "I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war. I vote 'no.'"[9]

The war measure passed without her support or that of fifty other Congressmen. "You know, you are not going to be re-elected," Wellington said. "I'm not interested in that," Rankin said. "All I am interested in is what they will say fifty years from now."[10] Rankin did not regret her decision. "Never for one second could I face the idea that I would send your men to be killed for no other reason than to save my seat in Congress," she later said.[11]

Rankin tried to make the most of her time in Congress. As promised, she championed the suffrage amendment and pushed President Wilson and Congress to support the measure. On January 10, 1918, Rankin addressed Congress on the suffrage question. "How shall we explain… the meaning of democracy if the same Congress that voted for war to make the world safe for democracy refuses to give this small measure of democracy to the women of our country?" she asked.[12] The resolution for women's suffrage passed in the House by 274 to 136. Though it did not pass in the Senate, momentum was building.

As expected, Rankin did not win reelection. The following year, after Rankin left office, Congress passed the 19th Amendment, which gave women in all states the right to vote after its ratification in 1920. The suffrage issue had been settled, but Rankin continued her career in public service. After leaving Congress, she moved to a farm in Georgia and worked with the Georgia Peace Society. Almost twenty years after she left Congress, she decided to return to Montana and run for the U.S. House of Representatives again. In 1940 she ran on the promise that she would keep America out of war. She won a second chance to represent her home state.

On December 7, 1941, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor; the following day, 60-year-old Rankin once again voted *against* entering the war. This time she was the sole vote against entering the fight, making her the only person to have voted against American involvement in World War I *and* World War II. Again, her political career lasted only a single term, but for Rankin, that was not the point. As she later told a friend, "I have nothing left except my integrity."[13]

Chapter 21

Alice Paul, Woodrow Wilson, and the Battles for Liberty

By Tina Cassidy

President-elect Woodrow Wilson's train pulled into Washington's Union Station on March 3, 1913, the day before his inauguration. A relatively thin crowd greeted him and his family before a motorcade took them to a hotel. They drove a roundabout route down an eerily deserted, unadorned Massachusetts Avenue, to H Street and then Fifteenth Street.[1] Few people even noticed them along the way.

"Where are all the people?" Wilson asked as he peered out the car window.

"On the Avenue, watching the suffrage parade."[2]

Across town, Alice Paul was in the thick of that suffrage procession, an event she created, planned and executed over the course of about two months. She was a Quaker from New Jersey whose religious beliefs included human equality. As a young child, she had attended suffrage meetings with her mother and had recently returned from England, where she studied social work and was imprisoned for participating in woman suffrage protests. Now 28-years-old and back home in the U.S., she was impatient. Only a handful of states allowed women to vote, decades after the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls called for suffrage in 1848.

Paul's idea behind the suffrage procession was to demand a federal amendment granting all American women access to the ballot box. She created floats and banners expressing the ways women contributed to society, as mothers, teachers, nurses, farmers, factory workers, and more. The date Paul chose was no accident: taking over Washington during the inaugural weekend put Wilson on notice that women were rising up in ways never seen before.

By the time Wilson arrived, inaugural crowds -- comprised mostly of males -- had violently disrupted Paul's carefully and strategically planned peaceful event.

All around Paul men cursed at, shoved, pushed, slapped, hooted and jeered the marchers while the police generally did nothing to stop it. The procession, the largest of its kind in American history, advanced only ten blocks in the first hour before a melee erupted. Although the procession did not go as Paul had planned, the disruptions actually worked in her favor as she and the revitalized suffrage movement were front-page news across America.

It was a day that launched an epic eight-year, David-and-Goliath struggle between Paul and Wilson over the very definition of democracy and American values. Wilson was from a Confederate, slave-owning family and was the first President elected from the South since the Civil War. One of his first acts in office was to racially segregate the Civil Service. Although

Wilson considered himself a Progressive Democrat, he was conservative on social issues and a big believer in states' rights.

What Wilson could not know in those hours before he took the oath of office was that suffrage would be a defining issue of his presidency, and that 18 months later, the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand would suck the world into a vortex of violence. World War I and suffrage would be inextricably linked during Wilson's administration – both were battles involving liberty and democracy -- and the former would push the nation toward the latter.

At first, Wilson thought he could ignore Paul. But she was not easily deterred. During his first month as President, she met with him twice in the Oval Office. Each time, he essentially told her that he had more important things to do, including currency and tariff reform.

"But Mr. President," Paul said during one of these meetings, "do you not understand that the administration has no right to legislate for currency, tariff and any other reform without first getting the consent of women?"[3]

By January of 1917, with Wilson re-elected, Paul had mapped out a broader political strategy that involved a daily picket line of suffragists in front of the White House. Calling themselves The Silent Sentinels, these women took their positions outside 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.[4] They stood there quietly and held their signs, which begged for answers to tired questions:

> MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE?
>
> HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY?

The sentinels were standing outside for only 40 minutes on the first day of protesting when Wilson returned home from golf in a car that zipped through the gates. The President must have been shocked by what he saw. Never before in the history of America had anything like this ever happened in front of the White House. The range of reactions from passersby was as varied as the people themselves. Some showed respect or admiration, others laughed at the spectacle. And yet the Silent Sentinels persisted, standing at their posts, six days a week, eight hours a day, regardless of the weather and in the face of harassment.

Wilson could not ignore them, even if he tried. The same was true with the war in Europe. Despite his best efforts to broker peace, by April of 1917 Wilson committed to send troops abroad. Most assumed the Silent Sentinels would do their patriotic duty and go home. Some did hang up their sashes; the burdens of war that women would carry went far beyond producing food and knitting sweaters for soldiers, to include working in factories and on the farm, and losing their sons, brothers, and husbands to the fight. The weight of it all engendered sympathy and within weeks, Michigan, Rhode Island, and Nebraska granted women the vote.

Wilson had framed America's entry into the war around the intangible ideals of liberty. And so, the Silent Sentinels changed the wording on their banners to reflect what they saw as hypocrisy.

On one occasion, as Russian envoys visited the White House to discuss the war, the women held a banner that read: "WE, THE WOMEN OF AMERICA, TELL YOU THAT AMERICA IS NOT A DEMOCRACY. TWENTY-MILLION AMERICAN WOMEN ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE. PRESIDENT WILSON IS THE CHIEF OPPONENT OF THEIR NATIONAL ENFRANCHISEMENT. HELP US MAKE THIS NATION REALLY FREE." Bystanders, outraged by what they saw as an unpatriotic protest that embarrassed the U.S. on the world stage, attacked the women and shredded the banner. The women returned the next day with a duplicate only to have the same outcome.

The picketing went on for months. Ultimately, Paul, along with many other women, was arrested and sentenced to prison. They went on hunger strikes to protest the harsh treatment behind bars. Paul was also singled out and locked without merit in a psychiatric ward as foes tried to argue that she was obsessed with Wilson. But the war and the arrests of suffragists only generated more sympathy for a federal amendment, even if the protests turned off a minority of earlier supporters. And Paul and her followers intensified their protests to persuade Wilson and Congress in their favor. As Wilson toured Europe in December of 1918, the suffragists wrote down on slips of paper quotes from the President's own speeches there, and burned his words in Lafayette Park, in front of the White House, before relocating the protest outside 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

At a speech in Manchester, England, Wilson said: "We will enter into no combinations of power which are not combinations of all of us." One suffragist, Dora Lewis, put that sentence into the flames in an urn outside the White House. In a toast at Buckingham Palace, the President said: "We have used great words, all of us. We have used the words 'right' and 'justice,' and now we are to prove whether or not we understand these words." Lewis burned that sentiment, too. Wilson's next speech, from Brest, France, declared that "public opinion strongly sustains all proposals for co-operation of self-governing peoples." Again, Lewis turned his phrase to ash.

For three consecutive days, as the protesters tracked Wilson's movement across the continent, a pattern emerged. They burned his words, police arrested them, and replacement suffragists lit more fires.[5] Their tactic generated more publicity and support.

Germany surrendered on Nov. 11, 1918, and in many ways Wilson also surrendered to the suffrage cause. Over the course of his presidency, he saw public opinion change in favor of the 19th Amendment, and he realized that to oppose it any longer would damage his political party in the next election. Despite that realization, he refused to acknowledge that his change of heart was due to Paul's tactics; he continued to ignore (at least publicly) Paul and her disciples while embracing suffragists considered to be more well-behaved and patriotic. In June of 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was signed, officially ending the war. That same month, Congress passed

the 19th Amendment, sending the legislation to the states for ratification, which was finally completed in August of 1920. The suffragists likely viewed the passage of the 19th Amendment the way General Pershing viewed the end of the bloody Battle of the Argonne Forest: grateful for the win, and bitter there had to be a fight at all.

Chapter 22

Nemesis: The South and the Nineteenth Amendment

By Marjorie J. Spruill

The South was the nemesis of the woman suffrage movement, the long-term, impassioned adversary that, in 1920, almost kept the Nineteenth Amendment from being ratified. Regional hostility to the women's rights movement long delayed the development of a southern suffrage movement and precluded state suffrage victories. Powerful resistance from white southern Congressmen and Senators for many years precluded Congressional approval of a federal woman suffrage amendment. When the Nineteenth Amendment was finally sent to the states for ratification, nine of the ten states that refused to ratify, or worse, adopted "rejection resolutions" denouncing the amendment as "unwarranted," "unnecessary," "undemocratic," and "dangerous," were south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Only four southern states, Arkansas, Texas, Kentucky, and the glorious thirty-sixth state, Tennessee—whose vote to ratify gave the amendment the last state needed for ratification—broke ranks with an otherwise "Solid South."[1]

Why was the South so hostile to woman suffrage? As is often the case when southern institutions and practices are distinctive in comparison to the rest of the nation, the answer has to do largely with race and racism. The suffrage movement confronted and exhibited racism elsewhere: but nowhere else did it play such a crucial role in the story of woman suffrage.

From the end of the Civil War until the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, white southern conservative legislators sought first to restore, and then to preserve, white supremacy in politics. Well aware of the historic connection between the women's rights movement and abolitionism, they saw the women's rights movement—which began in the Northeast as an offshoot of the antislavery movement—as a major threat to that goal.

Two of the earliest women's rights advocates, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, were white women from an elite, slaveholding family in South Carolina who moved north because of their opposition to slavery. Soon the Grimké Sisters began speaking and writing against slavery and for women's rights. In 1836 Angelina published a book, *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*, calling on them to use their influence against slavery. In 1839, with Angelina's abolitionist husband, Theodore Weld, they published *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*, a book depicting the horrors of slavery that was said to have inspired and informed Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The sisters were warned never to return to the South.[2]

During the Civil War, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton suspended work for women's rights and founded the Women's National Loyal League which petitioned for a constitutional amendment to end slavery, thus helping build public support for what became the

Thirteenth Amendment. This also served to link the women's movement with the hated antislavery movement in the minds of white southern conservatives. After the war, when women's rights advocates began to focus on the vote, their goal was not woman suffrage but universal suffrage for all Americans regardless of gender or race. It appeared to white southern conservatives, eager to re-create the world they had lost to the extent possible, that northern suffragists shared the abolitionists' dangerous belief in racial equality.[3]

During Reconstruction, most white southern conservative politicians were enraged when Congress adopted the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution declaring that African Americans, including the previously enslaved, were citizens, and any state that denied voting rights to "male" African Americans would be punished by a reduction in its representation in Congress. In their view, it was outrageous that the Fourteenth Amendment, underscored by the Fifteenth Amendment which addressed voting rights specifically, not only usurped the states' constitutional right to determine voter qualifications, but gave Congress the right to enforce the amendment by "appropriate legislation." Following the Civil War, Southern states had to accept these reforms before being fully readmitted to the Union. Later some southerners would insist their agreement had been coerced while the southern states were under military rule and go on to challenge the legitimacy of the Reconstruction Amendments.[4]

Of course, suffragists were also disturbed by these Reconstruction amendments but for an entirely different reason: they protected the voting rights of formerly enslaved men, but enfranchised no women, black or white.[5] In 1869 the controversy over whether or not to support the Fifteenth Amendment divided suffragists into two rival organizations, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) led by Stanton and Anthony, who opposed it, and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) led by Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell, who supported it.[6]

In 1878, suffrage supporters introduced another similarly-worded federal suffrage amendment that they hoped would become the Sixteenth Amendment. But, because success would require many more decades of work, it became the Nineteenth Amendment. White southern conservatives were again outraged, continuing to insist that the Fifteenth Amendment was illegitimate and that the power to determine qualifications for voting should reside with the states without Congressional interference.

During Reconstruction a few southern women, white and black, began working for women's rights. In Virginia, in 1870, a white woman named Anna Whitehead Bodeker, a native of New Jersey, took the lead in creating the Virginia State Woman Suffrage Association which affiliated with the NWSA. For the next few years, she tried to gain support by writing articles for the local press and inviting national suffrage leaders to lecture in Richmond. Susan B. Anthony was one of them, and Anthony attempted to win over white southerners by insisting it was wrong for the government to enfranchise black men while allowing no women to vote. However, because

Elizabeth Van Lew, a white woman notorious for having been a Union spy during the Civil War, was one of the suffrage association's officers, any possible advantage Anthony may have gained for the Virginia State Woman Suffrage Association was immediately undermined.[7]

In South Carolina, a family of activists, the Rollin Sisters—Frances, Charlotte "Lottie," Kate, and Louisa—African American women with powerful ties to legislators in the only state where there was a black majority during Reconstruction, held a Women's Rights Convention in Columbia in 1870. A year later, with Lucy Stone's encouragement, they founded a state suffrage organization affiliated with the AWSA.[8] However, that these earliest suffrage groups in the region were the work of white "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags" in Virginia, and black women active in Reconstruction-era politics in South Carolina, however, only strengthened white conservative southerners' disdain for the suffrage movement and reinforced their idea that advocacy of women's rights and the rights of African Americans were connected.[9]

Though a few southern women supported the suffrage movement in the 1870s and 1880s, there was no organized suffrage movement in the region until the1890s. These late nineteenth century southern suffrage associations were composed solely of white women and excluded African American women. White suffragists in the South as well as in the North were indignant that black men had the vote when they did not: they either opposed black suffrage or did not wish to sabotage their own efforts by supporting it. Doing so would have doomed efforts of any southern woman to gain enfranchisement in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the nadir of race relations, when most white southern conservatives were intent on suppressing the black vote and used fraud and violence to do so.[10]

There were African American women who worked for woman suffrage while remaining in the South, but within the region, public advocacy of voting rights for black people, female or male, was dangerous. The most prominent southern-born black suffragists, including Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Mary Church Terrell, supported the cause while living in the North. Wells-Barnett, a courageous journalist who became known as a crusader against lynching as well as an advocate for woman suffrage, settled in Chicago after her exposé of a lynching in Memphis led a mob to destroy her newspaper office and warn her never to return.[11]

Mary Church Terrell, a native of Memphis who lived in Washington, D.C., was also a nationally prominent suffragist. Educated and affluent, she was one of the few African American women in this era invited to address NAWSA conferences. In her speeches and writings, she challenged African American men and women to support woman suffrage and white suffragists to support the struggles of African Americans.[12]

Terrell was a founder and first president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), established in 1896. In this era, the rise in the number of educated, middle-class black women and the growing crisis in race relations made black women all the more determined to organize for collective self-help and resistance. African American suffragists were numerous and

played a vital role in the suffrage movement. But rather than work in biracial suffrage organizations, in all parts of the United States they increasingly combined suffrage work with work for racial uplift and justice through African American women's clubs, many affiliated with the NACW.[13] After the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1909, Mary Church Terrell and Ida B. Wells-Barnett—both among the founders of the NAACP—also promoted woman suffrage and equal suffrage for all Americans through the organization and its magazine, *The Crisis*.

Adella Hunt Logan, a faculty member at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, was one of the beleaguered African American women supporting woman suffrage while remaining in the South, actively promoting it to her students and through the Tuskegee Woman's Club. She spoke frequently at conventions of African American women's clubs, including the NACW, and for years served as head of its department of suffrage. Barred from participation in the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association and from NAWSA conferences held in the South, Logan nonetheless became a life member of the NAWSA and wrote articles about NACW activities for the NAWSA newspaper. She published extensively on behalf of the suffrage cause, including in *The Crisis*. A frequent theme was that, if white women needed the vote to protect their rights, then black women—victims of racism as well as sexism—needed the ballot even more.[14] Still, most white suffrage leaders, who either shared the racism endemic in turn-of-the-century America or were convinced they must cater to it in order to succeed, continued to discriminate against black suffragists.

The woman suffrage movement in the South was led almost exclusively by well-connected white women of means who could safely weather the storm of opposition generated by their taking up this cause. Northern suffragists saw them as brave: southern critics saw them as dangerously naïve: as an Alabama state senator stated in a widely circulated pamphlet, "Politics and Patriotism," these southern women allowed themselves "to be misled by bold women who are the product of the peculiar social conditions of our Northern cities into advocating a political innovation the realization of which would be the undoing of the South….These misguided daughters of the South are endorsing the principles for which Thad Stevens, Fred Douglass, Susan B. Anthony and other bitter enemies of the South contended, and if they succeed then indeed was the blood of their fathers shed in vain." These women understood what they were doing, but saw woman suffrage as perfectly compatible with the ideas dominant among southerners of their race and class including white supremacy and state's rights. They wanted the vote in part to support reforms such as abolition of child labor, prohibition of alcohol, improvement of schools and expansion of public health programs. But in regard to voting rights, their major complaint was that women like themselves—affluent, white, and educated—were excluded from the franchise.[15]

In the 1890s, leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)--formed when the NWSA and AWSA united in 1890--worked with these white southern women in a

major drive to win the South for woman suffrage. Laura Clay of Kentucky, a key intermediary between northern and southern suffragists, pressed for this, reminding national leaders that they would have to win the support of two-thirds of each house of Congress and three-fourths of the states for a federal amendment to succeed. Here again race and racism play a major role in the southern suffrage story, helping determine the timing and strategy of this campaign and convincing suffragists they had a chance at success—even in the inhospitable South.[16]

Suffragists were aware that in the 1890s many white southern leaders were amending or replacing their state constitutions in order to permanently establish white supremacy in politics. Their goal was to prevent black men from voting by "legal" means rather than the fraud and violence they had used in the 1870s and 1880s to regain control of southern state governments and end Reconstruction. However, since the Fourteenth Amendment proclaimed that a state that deprived a male citizen of the vote because of race would face reduction of its representation in Congress, white southern lawmakers worried about Congressional retribution if they explicitly disfranchised African American men. Suffragists had learned from their experiences in the West that many lawmakers who remained unmoved by arguments for the justice of enfranchising women could be persuaded to do so if it benefited them politically. Thus, beginning around 1892 they launched a major effort to convince southern politicians they could restore white supremacy through woman suffrage. Since white women outnumbered black women in the South, they argued, southern politicians could re-establish white control by enfranchising women instead of disfranchising black men.[17]

NAWSA spent considerable time and resources pursuing this "southern strategy," locating suffrage sympathizers and organizing them, sending out recruiters, circulating literature, dispatching NAWSA leaders Susan B. Anthony and Carrie Chapman Catt on speaking tours through the region, and holding national conferences in Atlanta and New Orleans from which African Americans were banned. However, by 1903 most suffragists recognized that the strategy had failed; the region's politicians had refused, in the words of one Mississippi politician, to "cower behind petticoats" and "use lovely women" to maintain white supremacy. Instead, these conservative men found other means to do so that did not involve the "destruction" of women's traditional role as wives and mothers, dependent upon men for guidance and protection. These other means, which would be used to suppress the black vote in the South for many decades, included such measures as literacy tests, poll taxes, and "understanding clauses" requiring prospective voters to explain excerpts from the Constitution or other documents to the satisfaction of white registrars.[18]

A few southern suffragists in the Deep South, reluctant to give up on the "southern strategy," initiated still more blatantly racist campaigns in 1906 and 1907, including a scheme to get a "white women only" amendment added to the Mississippi constitution. However, NAWSA refused to give its endorsement. Anna Howard Shaw, then president of NAWSA, insisted that such actions would be "contrary to the spirit of our organization." Endorsing them would "re-act

against ourselves" by suggesting "that we really don't believe in the justice of suffrage, but simply that certain classes or races should dominate the government." It would damage the movement, she believed, in the North and also in the West—the region where suffragists would finally achieve the crucial breakthroughs that gave momentum to the suffrage campaign and led to the passage of the federal amendment. The incident brought an end to the "southern strategy" designed to exploit the South's "Negro problem" by suggesting woman suffrage as way to preserve white supremacy and suggested that there was, after all, a limit to the racism the NAWSA would support.[19]

Most southern suffrage clubs dissolved or lay dormant until approximately 1910. In the second stage of the suffrage movement in the South, 1910 to 1920, with most black men effectively disfranchised, white suffragists had nothing to gain and everything to lose by raising the race issue, and for the most part, they didn't. They were almost exclusively on the defensive in regard to race with anti-suffragists, who used it extensively. The anti-suffragists' racist tactics included publicizing the early association between the antislavery and the women's rights movements and emphasizing the continued friendship of suffragists such as Susan B. Anthony with black leaders. These included Frederick Douglass, who late in life outraged many by marrying a white woman but was eulogized by Anthony at his funeral in 1895. Anti-suffragists also sought out and publicized supportive statements from Carrie Chapman Catt about black suffrage, offering them as "proof" that Catt supported equal rights for African Americans and was an enemy of the South. The main anti-suffrage organization in the region, the Southern Women's League for the Rejection of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, declared its opposition to "any measure that threatens the continuation of Anglo-Saxon domination of Social and Political affairs in each and every State of the Union."[20]

Southern anti-suffragists also opposed woman suffrage on the grounds that black women supported it, for instance, distributing reprints of a pro-suffrage resolution adopted by the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). At times, anti-suffragists insisted that enfranchised African American women would be more demanding and difficult to deter than black men; they predicted that black women would register and vote in even larger numbers than white women, who would be unwilling to associate with African Americans at the polls. Moreover, as the suffragists became more focused on the federal woman suffrage amendment, white southern politicians denounced it as an unacceptable extension of the Fifteenth Amendment, a measure that would inspire renewed demands for black suffrage, which they insisted was "not dead but sleeping."[21]

As anti-suffragists employed rabidly racist rhetoric to fight women's enfranchisement, especially by federal amendment, white suffragists insisted that the race issue was irrelevant to the woman suffrage issue, a "non-issue" trumped up by their opponents. Nellie Nugent Somerville of Mississippi brushed aside the question, "How would woman suffrage apply to the American negress?" saying, "I answer, just as it applies to the American negro." Mary Johnston of Virginia

was relatively liberal compared to other white suffragists in the South. She was a novelist, the author of many best-selling books; her short story about a lynching and the psychological impact on all involved prompted Walter White of the NAACP to write her, saying he had never "read any story on this great national disgrace which moved me as yours did." She believed strongly that women active in the suffrage movement should take care not to seek their own enfranchisement in such a way that black or poor white women would one day look back and conclude that the white suffragists had "betrayed" them or "excluded them from freedom." Yet even she tried to counter the tactics of the anti-suffragists by denying that state suffrage amendments would enfranchise large numbers of African American women, insisting that only "a few educated, property-owning colored women will vote, but not the mass of colored women."[22]

In this second stage of the southern suffrage movement as in the first, although a majority of white southern suffragists supported a federal amendment, most continued to focus their efforts on winning enfranchisement by state rather than federal action. Well aware of white southern conservatives' defiance of a federal amendment enfranchising black men, white suffragists longed for suffrage victories *at home* that would proclaim an acceptance of women's political equality.

A minority of white southern suffragists could not bring themselves to support a federal suffrage amendment. When in 1913, NAWSA, prodded into action by Alice Paul and her associates, renewed its campaign for a federal suffrage amendment, New Orleans suffrage leader Kate Gordon decided it was time that southern suffragists go their own way—founding a new organization, the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference (SSWSC). Gordon insisted the NAWSA was just wasting its time and money promoting "another federal suffrage amendment" in the South, and demanded that the NAWSA turn over the South to her leadership.[23]

Most southern suffragists, however, did not follow Kate Gordon's lead. Few were willing to renounce federal suffrage when it might be their only means of gaining the vote. In fact, after one of Gordon's tirades against NAWSA leaders, state suffrage organizations in Tennessee and Alabama formally rebuked Gordon and her attempts to lead a southern revolt against NAWSA and the federal amendment. Of the leading suffragists, only Clay and Gordon were so committed to the concept of state sovereignty that they ultimately refused to support, and indeed, opposed the federal suffrage amendment.[24]

Most southern suffragists rallied behind NAWSA President Catt when she announced her "Winning Plan" to coordinate state suffrage work through a nationwide strategy to finally secure a federal amendment—though they hated to see that *all* southern states were designated as "hopeless" states where launching further state campaigns would be counter-productive. Nellie Nugent Somerville set aside her own reservations about federal overreach and, as a NAWSA

vice president, labored to convince fellow southerners that the amendment held "no menace for the institutions of any State or any group of States."[25]

When in June 1919 Congress finally submitted the proposed Nineteenth Amendment to the states for ratification, the leaders of the woman suffrage movement in the southern states found themselves fighting one another as well as the antis—a situation that did nothing to help the cause. In Louisiana, Gordon and other advocates of woman suffrage only through state action combated both federal amendment supporters *and* the anti-suffragists, creating a three-way struggle in which no form of woman suffrage was adopted. During the final, bitter battle which took place in Nashville, Tennessee, both Gordon sisters and Laura Clay actually campaigned against ratification of "this hideous amendment," though Clay expressed "a great distaste" at being publicly associated with the despised "antis."[26]

For suffragists whose hopes were now pinned on the federal suffrage amendment, it was worrisome that the last state fight over ratification would take place in the South. Yet with only one more state needed for ratification, and no other state legislatures scheduled to meet before the upcoming November 1920 presidential election, they were lucky that the governor of Tennessee—pressured by President Woodrow Wilson—agreed to call a special session. Still, the southern setting of the suffrage movement's "Armageddon" —the final, desperate battle--meant that the outcome was far from certain.[27]

The anti-suffragists pulled out all the stops; the viciousness of their racist arguments knew no bounds. The "antis," including the women of the Southern Woman's League for Rejection of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, urged Tennessee legislators to "Save the South" from the amendment and from "Federal Force Bills," to "Remember that woman suffrage means a reopening of the entire negro suffrage question, loss of State rights, and another period of reconstruction horrors, which will introduce a set of female carpetbaggers as bad as their male prototypes of the sixties."[28]

Tennessee ratified the amendment on August 18, 1920, but by just one vote. Even then, anti-suffrage legislators, using parliamentary tricks, called for reconsideration, pressured men who had voted "aye" to change their votes, and held a "Mass Meeting…To Save the South" in Nashville's Ryman Auditorium. Desperate anti-suffrage lawmakers fled the state to prevent a quorum, but in vain. Tennessee confirmed its vote for ratification, and the governor rushed the bill to Washington where Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby received and signed it on August 26, 1920--in the wee hours of the night before antis could secure an injunction or by some other means interfere with certification of the Nineteenth Amendment.[29]

A "nemesis" is by definition an arch-enemy, antagonist, or foe, determined to thwart its adversary.[30] For woman suffrage, the nemesis was clearly the South, the region of the country where the woman suffrage movement encountered the strongest opposition and the least success.

After ratification, NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt observed ruefully that, in 1920, when "the final victory came to the woman suffrage movement"…suffragists knew that their victory had, even then, been virtually wrung from hesitant and often resentful political leaders."[31] She was speaking of the leaders who had eventually conceded; in the states that had refused to ratify, conservative white lawmakers continued to resent and to resist woman suffrage. Implementation of the federal woman suffrage amendment was slow--when it happened at all.

Georgia and Mississippi did not allow any women to vote in 1920, refusing to hold the special legislative sessions necessary to pass "enabling acts" setting up the mechanism for women's participation in the November 1920 election. On election day, the all-male electorate in Mississippi rejected woman suffrage in a referendum, even as women in most of the country voted for the first time. Florida held the special session only after a judge on the state supreme court reminded the governor that if the state failed to put the amendment into effect, the enforcement clause of the Nineteenth Amendment and perhaps of the Fifteenth Amendment might be invoked.[32]

After adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, African American women outside the South began voting right away. Ida B. Wells-Barnett and members of her Alpha Suffrage Club, had already been voting—and playing an important role in Chicago politics—since Illinois passed a state suffrage amendment in 1913. However, most African American women lived in the South. And when they turned out to register to vote in great numbers, they found—as many had feared and predicted—that the measures adopted by southern states to prevent black men from voting were quickly adapted to apply to them. Pushing back, African American women established "Colored women's voter's leagues" throughout the South, to aid black women seeking to qualify to vote on how to deal with white opposition. And with the aid of the NAACP, they carefully gathered evidence about racial and gender discrimination in violation of the Nineteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to present to Congress. However, Congress refused to intervene.[33]

It would take forty-five more years, and a massive voting rights movement in which black women played a leading role, before Congress finally used its authority to enforce the Nineteenth Amendment—and the Fifteenth—through the Voting Rights of 1965. After that, African American women of the South were finally able to fully claim the right to vote they had won in 1920.

Chapter 23

The Final Desperate Battle for Suffrage in Tennessee

By Elaine Weiss

Everyone knew that Tennessee was a dangerous place to stage the decisive battle for ratification of the 19th Amendment, but the suffragists had no choice. It was their last, best hope to secure ratification before the fall 1920 national elections; it was their only feasible prospect for gaining the elusive 36th ratification state to make women's suffrage part of the Constitution. After seven decades of struggle, it would come down to Tennessee, and that was terrifying. "At this time, I do not believe there is a ghost of a chance of ratification in Tennessee,"[1] National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) president Carrie Chapman Catt admitted in July 1920.

The federal Suffrage Amendment's ratification process had been going on for a year by then, since Congress had finally approved the legislation in June 1919, after being stalled there for 40 years—a Biblical span of debate, delay, and deceit. When the Senate passed the Amendment by a margin of only two votes, the Amendment went out to the states for ratification in an off-year for many state legislatures—when they were not in regular session—making the process far more difficult. Suffragists had to convince 30 governors to call their legislatures back into a special session to act on the Amendment, and many balked at the cost, both financial and political, of bringing representatives back to the state capitals.

Some states ratified quickly and easily: Illinois and Wisconsin raced to claim bragging rights as the first state to ratify; New York gave speedy assent in a midnight statehouse session; Pennsylvania legislators stood and sang "America the Beautiful" when they gave thumbs-up to the Amendment. But after a flurry of wins, the suffragists faced a lull in fall of 1919, and had to exert extra pressure on Western states to ratify. Winter and spring of 1920 brought a distressing string of rejections of the 19th Amendment, and suffragists worried that they had lost momentum: if the Amendment was rejected by 13 states, it was dead, and by late spring 1920, nine were already in the "no column," with more likely.

The Amendment had been rejected by almost all the southern states of the former Confederacy (except Arkansas, Kentucky and Texas), and even two of the old border states—Maryland and Delaware—all using the same primary rationales: states' rights and racism. Southern legislators viewed the Amendment as a violation of states' rights to decide the voting qualifications for their citizens and objected that the 19th Amendment might allow black women to vote.

When Washington state finally ratified in March 1920—the 35th state—only one more was needed to achieve the approval of three-quarters of the 48 states of the union necessary to reach full ratification. A frantic search for the 36th state began. Suffragists hoped Connecticut or Vermont would come through for them, but the governors of those states—driven by opposition

from corporate interests—refused to call their legislators into session. As did the governor of Florida; and North Carolina was poised to reject the Amendment. That left Tennessee as the only remaining feasible (but far-fetched) state still in play.

If the Tennessee legislature ratified the 19th Amendment, it would become the law of the land and 27 million American women would be eligible to vote in every election in every state in the fall. If the Volunteer State rejected the Amendment, the suffragists feared it would flounder and very likely fall short of ratification. The women of 15 states, mostly in the west, already enjoyed the right to vote, thanks to the suffragists' relentless campaigns to change state enfranchisement laws. But for the women in all the other states, a federal Amendment was their only hope for achieving full suffrage. Now it all rested on Tennessee.

But Tennessee was not promising. The state suffrage association was energetic, but splintered by regional and personal animosities; the governor was running for re-election in a tight race and didn't want his campaign complicated by a woman suffrage fight; and the legislature was notoriously susceptible to bribery and special interest pressure. Nevertheless, the suffragists had little choice.

The battle was joined in Nashville in mid-July, and all the forces—for and against the Federal Amendment—gathered in the city for a giant six-week brawl. Suffragists from across the state and around the nation flooded into Nashville; joined by political party operatives, lobbyists, journalists, beleaguered legislators, and the many varieties of those opposed to the Amendment.

Carrie Chapman Catt, a protegé of Susan Anthony, and the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the pre-eminent American suffrage organization, came down from New York City to direct the ratification campaign in Nashville. She took up residence for six hot, miserable weeks in the Hotel Hermitage, as the cause to which she had dedicated her life confronted its most bitter challenge. Alice Paul, head of the more radical National Woman's Party, sent a top lieutenant, Sue Shelton White, to lead their rival ratification effort: working towards the same goal, but not in concert with the NAWSA suffragists. Stalwart native Tennessee suffragists took up the front-line positions in persuading their legislators to support the Amendment, chasing them with pledge cards to commit to ratification. Many of those commitments would dissolve in the heat of the Nashville battle.

There were powerful forces working against ratification—ideological, political, and corporate foes, all with their own reasons for objecting to women obtaining the ballot. Politicians, at both the state and national level, were wary of doubling the electorate and contending with an unpredictable new voting bloc—the mysterious "women's vote." Conservative clergymen railed against woman suffrage from the pulpit, as they saw it as a challenge to "God's Plan" for women's obedience to masculine authority.

Many corporations were suspicious of women voting, as they feared it might be bad for their bottom lines. Textile manufacturers worried that if women could vote, they might want to abolish child labor, and those factories depended upon cheap child labor for profitability. Railroad interests relied upon Congress and state legislatures for favorable treatment (and had purchased the loyalty of many legislators) and saw women's power at the ballot box as a threat to their secure investments.

The liquor industry was a longtime foe of woman suffrage, harking back to the historic alliance of the suffrage and temperance movements. Even though the 18th Amendment and Prohibition were already in effect in the summer of 1920, the "liquor lobby" hoped that if women could be kept away from the polls, and more "wet" representatives were elected to Congress and state legislatures, Prohibition laws might not be enforced too stringently. In Nashville, liquor industry efforts to influence the legislature rose to comical heights with the opening of the so-called "Jack Daniels Suite"—in honor of Tennessee's favorite whiskey—on the eighth floor of the Hermitage Hotel, a rollicking 24/7 speak-easy dispensing liquor to pliable legislators who might be convinced to vote against the Amendment.

But the most passionate foes of the Amendment turned out to be women: the women Anti-suffragists who poured into Nashville to fight against their sisters gaining the vote. Many of these women were social and religious conservatives, who feared that the extension of women's rights—including voting rights—would emasculate men, undermine traditional gender roles, and bring about the moral disintegration of the nation. Women would be emboldened to take an interest in political affairs outside the home, threatening the stability of the American family, while also sullying the tender nature of womanhood. The Anti's circulated broadsides screaming such slogans as "Can Anyone Terrorize Tennessee Manhood?" and "Heed not the Siren Call of Suffrage" and warned that "America When Feminized" under the 19th Amendment would bring on "organized female nagging forever!"

The Anti coalition in Tennessee was bolstered by those women who saw the 19th Amendment as a direct assault on southern sensibilities: male chivalry, states' rights, Christian teachings, and white supremacy. Anti-suffrage leaders from around the south, as well as national Anti-organizers from New York, Boston, and Washington came to Nashville armed with propaganda to incite racial animosity and fear. Suffragists were portrayed as proponents of "race war": if black women could vote, they might consider themselves socially equal too, and that would topple the entire southern social order.

The suffragists were also not above employing racial arguments for their own benefit, reminding Tennessee legislators that there were more white women citizens than black: thus the Amendment would not really upset the status quo. And even if the 19th Amendment promised the vote to black women, just as the 15th Amendment had promised the vote to black men, the southern states had long ago mastered ways to prevent them from voting, by imposing poll taxes,

literacy tests, intimidation, and violence. There was a tacit understanding that the same local customs, the same techniques, could be employed against black women voters.

In a painful demonstration of the divided loyalties of some southern white suffragists, two veteran national leaders—Kate Gordon of Louisiana and Laura Clay of Kentucky—came to Nashville to work against ratification, side-by-side with the Anti-suffragists they had battled for decades. Their allegiance to the doctrine of states' rights (and the right of their states to deny black women the vote) made them oppose a federally mandated right to the franchise. They had already been marginalized in the movement by Carrie Catt and NAWSA, and when they passed their former suffrage comrades in the hallways, they did not speak.

The ratification fight in Nashville was waged in the midst of a presidential election campaign, forcing the candidates and their minions into the fray, as well as the lame-duck occupant of the White House, Woodrow Wilson, a come-lately supporter of the Amendment. By the time the legislature convened at the statehouse in early August, Nashville had become a flower-strewn battlefield, with ratification supporters wearing yellow roses on their bosoms and lapels, Anti's sporting their own campaign symbol, red roses: the whole affair became known as the War of the Roses.

And it got wild: there were booze and bribes and blackmail, fistfights and kidnappings, betrayal, and courage. Spies roamed the hotel hallways, listening through the transoms. Legislators received fake telegrams calling them home on account of invented emergencies. The newspapers commonly called it "Suffrage Armageddon."

The outcome remained in doubt until the very last moment, as the suffragists watched pledged support for ratification slip away. On the night before the final vote, the suffragists were in despair—they did not have the votes to prevail. Even the unflappable Carrie Catt could offer her faithful troops little hope: "We can only pray," she told them.[2] In the end, the fate of the 19th Amendment came down to a single vote of conscience cast by the youngest member of the Tennessee legislature, who, that morning, had received a history-making letter from his mother.

Harry T. Burn of the tiny town of Niota receives rightful credit for listening to the wisdom of his mother, and for voting based upon his own sense of justice. But we should remember that if not for clever political maneuvering, brave votes—and brute arm-twisting—by several other Tennessee politicians (including the once reluctant Governor), young Delegate Burn would not have been in a position to break the tie and carry ratification to victory. We should also remember that the Anti-suffragists in the legislature, and in the state, did not give up the ratification fight gracefully: they smeared Burn with allegations that he was bribed for his vote; they held ugly "indignation" rallies to intimidate him and other pro-ratification legislators; they lodged injunctions and lawsuits to prevent the amendment from entering the Constitution. Taking advantage of parliamentary skullduggery, on August 31, 1920, the Tennessee legislature actually rescinded its ratification of the 19th Amendment; the action was meaningless in a legal

sense, but still represented the lack of consensus—even entering the third decade of the 20th century—on the right of women to vote in the American democracy.[3]

Nevertheless, just moments after Harry Burn made his fateful decision, Alice Paul was able to stitch the 36th and final star on her ratification banner and unfurl it from the window of National Woman's Party headquarters in Washington, D.C. A few days later, Carrie Catt was greeted at home in New York City with a celebratory parade, and presented with a gigantic bouquet of flowers, in suffrage colors, tied with a ribbon offering the thanks of "the 27 million enfranchised women of America." The final challenge by the Antis to the legality of the 19th Amendment was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1922.

Chapter 24

On This Day August 26, 1920: The Significance of Ratification of the 19th Amendment

By Robert P. J. Cooney, Jr.

"The Secretary has signed the proclamation," the Secretary of State's office told Carrie Chapman Catt over the phone on August 26, 1920.

"So quietly as that," lobbyist Maud Wood Park, who was there, later wrote, "we learned that the last step in the enfranchisement of women had been taken, and the struggle of more than seventy years brought to a successful end."[1]

"We were all too stunned to make any comment."[2]

Suffragists had finally won their epic, decades-long struggle for the vote and the formal proclamation that the Secretary signed merely confirmed it. The legislature in the state of Tennessee ratified the amendment on August 18, making it the required 36th state to do so. However, as New York suffragist Mary Peck recognized, the Secretary's act "was public notice that the Tennessee ratification had been received, examined, accepted and formally recorded as the final step in adopting the Nineteenth Amendment."[3] The United States would never be the same.

At the suffragists' great celebration in the capital that night, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby represented the Administration and, as Carrie Catt noted, "congratulated the suffragists upon their freedom."[4]

A Permanent Change

Ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution altered our country in an essential and permanent way. On this day, as surely as a war is ended or a monarchy is toppled, male-only rule in the United States was outlawed. Women, with the support of many men, had won adoption of a Constitutional amendment that banned discrimination in voting based on gender. Through it, American women won the right to participate in the political process as voters and, for the first time, the opportunity to freely shape their own future as enfranchised citizens.

This was an extraordinary change for the entire country, directly affecting half the adult population. And it took some getting used to, particularly since suffragists had faced such intense opposition from men, in and out of government, for decades. Many women realized that, despite the new amendment, the same old attitudes and underlying prejudices were still there. The reluctance of most male political figures to even acknowledge passage of the 19th Amendment was obvious. There were no national victory parades or official ceremonies, no government

actions or even voter preparation from the federal government for the millions of new women voters.

For women in the 36 ratifying states it was different. As Carrie Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association noted, "The action of their respective Legislatures in ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment was greeted by the women of every State with a vast State pride and gratification because that commonwealth stood forth before the world as an upholder of the American ideal of democracy."[5] In some states, both houses passed ratification unanimously. One hundred years later, each of these 36 states proudly celebrated the centennial of their state's ratification.

It was left to the women themselves to herald their new national success, and coast to coast they toasted their long-sought victory. Bells rang in major cities, residents gathered to celebrate, and women and state governments prepared for the November election. Throughout the country, suffragists regrouped and established chapters of the new League of Women Voters to carry on their work.

A New Type of Organization

During the movement, suffragists pioneered a new type of political organization and paved the way for later social justice movements in America. As historian Sarah Graham emphasized, despite the prejudices of the movement, "suffragists had done a great thing: they had given America a model of a new democracy that not only enfranchised women but gave other groups the tools to protest their political and social exclusion in the years to come."[6] By 1920, the multi-faceted women's suffrage movement had grown into a powerful political pressure group that utilized a wide range of tactics that were not based on violence, threats, or deception. These nonviolent methods featured coordinated public actions including public speaking, lobbying, local and precinct organizing, electoral campaigns, drives to defeat opponents, demonstrations, parades, boycotts, protest meetings, picketing, arrests, and hunger-strikes in prison.

While suffragist Maud Park believed that "the long campaign of education, organization, and legislative effort in the states . . . was the fundamental cause of the final success,"[7] it really involved more than that. The bold, assertive strategies suffragists employed, particularly in the final decade, were critical to winning both public visibility and political support. Simple lobbying and slow state approvals were not enough, given the strength of the opposition. As many suffragists realized, the movement needed more aggressive, targeted, and publicity-generating methods to win their goal.

Author Elaine Weiss recognized this in her recent book, *The Woman's Hour*: "The crusade for woman suffrage stands as one of the defining civil rights movements in the history of our country, and its organizing strategies, lobbying techniques, and nonviolent protest actions

became the model for the civil rights campaigns to follow in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries."[8]

A Transformation for Women

Ratification of the 19th Amendment symbolized not only a transformation for the nation but also a transformation for women. Speaking to victorious supporters on August 27, 1920, Carrie Catt emphasized this new identity: "We are no longer petitioners, we are not wards of the nation but free and equal citizens. Let us practice the dignity of a sovereign people."[9] While their long movement had its serious limits and contradictions, suffragists still, at great cost, moved us one step closer to a more democratic nation.

"It must be remembered," Sara Graham wrote, "that their vision of politics and society, flawed and narrow as it was, did in fact bring votes to women and thus achieved a significant expansion of American democracy. Sadly, their new democracy, like the old, was tainted and limited by racism and elitism . . . [that] compromised a larger progressive and feminist vision for America."[10]

History that Empowers

This anniversary honors women's key role in American history – demanding justice and expanding democracy to include women. The quest for a new, more inclusive vision for America continues today. By celebrating the centennial of the 19th Amendment, we are insisting that the nation recognize women's past and present fight for equality. How women in the U.S. won the vote is the kind of history that teaches and empowers. Learning about the fierce opposition suffragists faced reminds us that women were denied the vote and access to power in the U.S. for 120 years. And suffragists changed that.

On August 26, 1920, the women's suffrage movement proved that those without power can still achieve real and lasting change, without violence and the needless causalities of war, if they are willing to work, sacrifice, and organize. Women were able to permanently change the country 100 years ago, and today, following in the footsteps of the suffragists, Americans are ready to write a new history of inclusion, justice, and equality. As the suffragists showed us, together, women and men can shape our nation and guide our country towards a better future for all its citizens.

Afterword

Light of Truth

By the Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission Staff

Anna Laymon, Executive Director; Kelsey Millay, Director of Communications; Gabriela Hernandez, Program Coordinator; Stephanie Marsellos, Communications and Program Specialist; Candace Samuels, Staff Director; and Kimberly Wallner, Director of Programs

Women's fight for the vote is one the longest and most impactful social movements in American history, spanning the Civil War, Reconstruction, World War I, and the Spanish Flu pandemic. For five generations, suffragists were ridiculed, marginalized, arrested, and imprisoned for their cause. Their radical efforts for equality were deemed "unpatriotic" and "unladylike," and they were told that women voting would bring undue burden to the home and lead to the unraveling of the American family. Despite the seemingly overwhelming obstacles placed in their path, suffragists were never deterred in their pursuit of equality. They triumphed, and the intensity of their efforts through wars and a pandemic is an example for all Americans of perseverance and tenacity.

On Their Shoulders: The Radical Stories of Women's Fight for the Vote is an intentional collection of essays that investigates a more complete and full history of the suffrage movement than has been traditionally told—revealing the good, the bad, and the somewhere in between. It is a celebration of the pioneers who taught us that a just cause is a worthy cause, and an exploration of a movement for change whose victories often came at the exclusion and expense of friends and colleagues. These chapters, written by some of the most prolific and dedicated scholars of our time, tell the stories of imperfect heroes and revolutionary changemakers whose bravery changed the course of American history. In the centennial year, we have elevated women out of the footnotes of history and into our collective American story.

The Nineteenth Amendment represents an important chapter in our Nation's voting rights history, but the suffragists' greater pursuit of a more perfect union continues today. 2020 marks 100 years since ratification of the amendment, but the struggle for voting rights and women's equality did not begin or end in 1920. In the spirit of Ida B. Wells' words, we hope that this collection of essays has turned the "light of truth upon" this critical but often overlooked history and that we have moved our Nation toward a better understanding of our past and present. The women and men whose stories we tell in these pages were radical in their beliefs and relentless in their pursuit for equality, and today, we stand on their shoulders.

Acknowledgements

The Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission is grateful to the dozens of scholars and historians who contributed their time and expertise to this anthology as authors, editors, and fact checkers. To our copy editor, Kathleen Grathwol, thank you for your careful work and your dedication to the success of this project. To the historians who peer reviewed each article--Dr. Anne Boylan, Jane Cook, and Dr. Allison Lange--thank you for your thorough and thoughtful review of these essays. And to Stephanie Marsellos, who guided this project on behalf of the Commission, you have ensured that these stories will be taught, told, and remembered for the next 100 years. To all the women and men who came together to create this book, we thank you.

Author Biographies

Michelle Duster is a writer, speaker, professor, and champion of racial and gender equity. In the last dozen years, she has written, edited, or contributed to eleven books—two that include the writings of her paternal great-grandmother, Ida B. Wells. She has written articles for Essence, Huffington Post, Teen Vogue, and The North Star. Her advocacy has led to street names, monuments, historical markers, and other public history projects that honor women and African Americans, including Wells.

Winifred Conkling is the author of *Votes for Women! American Suffragists and the Battle for the Ballot* (Algonquin Young Readers, 2018.) She is the award-winning author of fiction and nonfiction for young readers.

Johanna Neuman is an award-winning historian and author of two books on the triumphant campaign by women to win the vote. As a journalist, she covered the White House, State Department and Congress for USA Today and the Los Angeles Times. Johanna won a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University and holds a PhD in history from American University. She currently lives in Florida and has dedicated the rest of her career to writing books about the history of women through archival research, storytelling, and journalist skills. Her first book as a historian was Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites Who Fought for Women's Right to Vote (2017) followed by How Women Won the Vote: The Long History (2020), a gripping story of female activism.

Lori D. Ginzberg is a professor of History and Women's Gender and Sexuality Studies at Penn State University. She is the author of several books, including Untidy Origins: A Story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2005) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life (Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2009). She has been the recipient of numerous awards, including fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Simon Guggenheim Foundation, and the Huntington Library. In the summer of 2017 she taught an NEH summer seminar for K-12 teachers in Philadelphia on the topic "What Did Independence Mean for Women? 1776-1876." This year she will be speaking throughout the country, as well as on radio and in podcasts, about Elizabeth Cady Stanton and about the complexities and challenges of historic commemoration. Lori Ginzberg lives in Philadelphia.

Allison K. Lange is an associate professor of history at the Wentworth Institute of Technology. Her book, *Picturing Political Power: Images in the Women's Suffrage Movement*, will be published in May 2020 by the University of Chicago Press. The book traces the ways that women's rights reformers and their opponents used images to define gender and power in the United States. She is curating suffrage exhibitions at the Massachusetts Historical Society and Harvard's Schlesinger Library. Lange delivers talks across the country, including at the National Portrait Gallery, Cornell University, and the American Antiquarian Society.

Dr. Sally Roesch Wagner was awarded one of the first doctorates in the country for work in women's studies (UC Santa Cruz) and a founder of one of the first college-level women's studies programs in the United States (CSU Sacramento). She has taught women's studies courses for 50 years. She currently serves as an adjunct faculty member in the Syracuse University Renée Crown University Honors Program. She wrote the faculty guide for *Not for Ourselves Alone,* Ken Burns' documentary on Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and has appeared in that film and numerous history films and radio programs. Dr. Wagner was selected as one of "21 Leaders for the 21st Century" by Women's E-News in 2015. She serves on the New York Suffrage Centennial Commission. Founder and Executive Director of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Center for Social Justice Dialogue in Fayetteville, New York, she received the Katherine Coffey Award for outstanding service to museology from the Mid-Atlantic Association of Museums in 2012.

Ann D. Gordon is Research Professor Emerita of history at Rutgers University and editor of the six-volume *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*. She has written numerous articles on women's history, biography, and historical editing and also compiled a collection of essays by scholars of black history, *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965*. In advance of the Nineteenth Amendment centennial, she served as a historical advisor to the National Archives for its exhibit "Rightfully Hers: American Women and the Vote."

Susan Ware is the Honorary Women's Suffrage Centennial Historian at the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University. Since 2012 she has served as General Editor of the *American National Biography*. The author of numerous books on 20th century American women's history and biography, her most recent publication is *Why They Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019). The Library of America will publish her edited anthology *American Women's Suffrage: Voices from the Long Struggle for the Vote, 1776-1965* in July, 2020. She also served as a historical consultant to the forthcoming *American Experience* documentary, "The Vote."

Paula J. Giddings is Elizabeth A. Woodson 1922 Professor Emerita of Africana Studies at Smith College. She is the author of *When and Where I Enter: The Impact on Black Women on Race and Sex in America*; *In Search of Sisterhood: Delta Sigma Theta and the Challenge of the Black Sorority Movement*; and, most recently, the biography of anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells, *Ida: A Sword Among Lions*, which won The Los Angeles Times Book Prize for Biography and was a finalist for the National Book Critics Circle award. Giddings is also the editor of *Burning All Illusions*, an anthology of articles on race published by *The Nation* magazine from 1867 to 2000. She is a former book editor and journalist who has written extensively on international and national issues and has been published by the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Jeune Afrique* (Paris), *The Nation*, and *Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women*, among other publications. Before her tenure at Smith

College, Giddings taught at Spelman College, where she was a United Negro Fund Distinguished Scholar; Douglass College/Rutgers University, as the Laurie Chair in Women's Studies; and Princeton and Duke Universities. She served as the editor of *Meridians, feminism, race, transnationalism*. She was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2017.

Laurel Bower is a Producer/Director for Iowa PBS, where she has produced programs and documentaries for 25 years. Her latest documentary is entitled *Carrie Chapman Catt: Warrior for Women*. It premiered on Iowa PBS in May 2020 and is currently being distributed to other PBS stations nationwide.

Kathleen Grathwol is a former professor of English and Women's Studies, specializing in 18th-century British literature. She taught for a number of years at Suffolk University in Boston and at Howard University in Washington, DC. She is the author of numerous scholarly articles and has been the recipient of fellowships and grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Mellon Foundation, New York University, and Suffolk University. She currently runs her own consulting company and works as an education consultant, writer, and editor.

Cathleen D. Cahill is an associate professor of history at Penn State University. She is a social historian who explores the everyday experiences of ordinary people, primarily women. She focuses on women's working and political lives, asking how identities such as race, nationality, class, and age have shaped them. She is also interested in the connections generated by women's movements for work, play, and politics, and how mapping those movements reveal women in surprising and unexpected places. Her first book, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1932* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011), won the Labriola Center American Indian National Book Award and was a finalist for the David J. Weber and Bill Clements Book Prize. Her most recent book, *Recasting the Vote: How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement* (University of North Carolina Press, Fall 2020) follows the lead of feminist scholars of color calling for alternative "genealogies of feminism." It is a collective biography of six suffragists -- Yankton Dakota Sioux author and activist Gertrude Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša); Wisconsin Oneida writer Laura Cornelius Kellogg; Turtle Mountain Chippewa and French lawyer Marie Bottineau Baldwin; African-American poet and clubwoman Carrie Williams Clifford; Mabel Ping-Hua Lee, the first Chinese woman in the United States to earn her PhD; and New Mexican Hispana politician and writer Nina Otero Warren -- both before and after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. She also serves on the advisory committee for the National Votes for Women Trail and is the steering committee chair of the Coalition for Western Women's History.

Mary Walton is the author of *A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot*. She has written four previous works of nonfiction. For twenty-two years, until 1994, she was a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, where she wrote scores of articles as a staff writer for the

Sunday Inquirer magazine. She has also written for the *New York Times*, *Washingtonian*, the *Washington Monthly*, the *American Journalism Review*, and PBS. After graduation from Harvard University, and a turn at social work and community organizing, Walton began her journalism career as a reporter at the *Charleston* [WV] *Gazette*. She lives in Philadelphia, PA, with her husband Charles Layton. She was interviewed for a two-part PBS documentary titled "The Vote" that aired in July 2020.

Dr. Ida E. Jones is the inaugural University Archivist for Morgan State University. She is the author of *The Heart of the Race Problem The Life of Kelly Miller* (2011); *Mary McLeod Bethune, Activism and Education in Washington, D.C.* (2013); *William Henry Jernagin in Washington, D.C.: Faith in the Fight for Civil Rights in Washington, D.C.* (2015); and most recently *Baltimore City Rights Leader: Victorine Q. Adams, the Power of the Ballot* (2019) which won the African-American Historical and Genealogical Society's International biography book award. She curated an online exhibition for the National Women's History Museum "Claiming Their Citizenship: African American Women From 1624-2009." She is the former managing editor of the *Negro History Bulletin* 1999 to 2005. She is a former National Director of the Association of Black Women Historians 2011-2013. Jones has appeared on CSPAN, National Public Radio, BBC radio and in numerous publications. She is currently co-vice president of Baltimore City Historical Society and managing editor of the Gaslight BCHS's newsletter. She is a newly appointed board member of the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites. She is an adjunct faculty member at Lancaster Bible College. Jones believes deeply in the words of Mrs. Bethune who said, "power must walk hand in hand with humility and the intellect must have a soul."

Alison M. Parker is Chair & Richards Professor of American History at the University of Delaware. She has research and teaching interests in U.S. women's and gender history, African American history, and legal history. She majored in art history and history at the University of California, Berkeley and earned a PhD in history from the Johns Hopkins University. In 2017-2018, Parker was an Andrew W. Mellon Advanced Fellow at the James Weldon Johnson Institute for the Study of Race and Difference at Emory University, where she worked on her biography of the civil rights activist and suffragist Mary Church Terrell. Her book, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* is forthcoming from the University of North Carolina Press, in its John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture. Parker is the author of, among other publications, *Articulating Rights: Nineteenth-Century American Women on Race, Reform, and the State* (2010) and *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873-1933* (1997). Parker also serves as co-editor of the Gender and Race in American History book series for the University of Rochester Press. As Chair of the History Department at the University of Delaware, Parker is committed to helping to build a coalition of students, faculty, and staff promoting a wide-ranging anti-racism agenda.

Wendy Rouse is an Associate Professor of History at San Jose State University whose scholarly research focuses on the history of women and children in the United States during the Progressive-Era. Her latest book, *Her Own Hero: The Origins of the Women's Self Defense Movement* published by NYU Press, examines the political and physical empowerment of women through the practice of boxing and jiu-jitsu in the early twentieth century. She is presently working on a manuscript project called "Queering the History of the Women's Suffrage Movement."

Brooke Kroeger is a journalist and professor of journalism at the NYU Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute and the author of five books, most recently *The Suffragents: How Women Used Men to Get the Vote*. With Linda Steiner and Carolyn Kitch, she co-edited the newly published book of academic essays, *Front Pages Front Lines: Media and the Fight for Women's Suffrage,* as well as creating and overseeing the suffrage centennial media resource database, SuffrageandtheMedia.org. Her previous books are *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist*; *Fannie: The Talent for Success of Writer Fannie Hurst*; *Passing: When People Can't Be Who They Are*; and *Undercover Reporting: The Truth About Deception*.

Susan Philpott is a Park Ranger with the National Park Service at the Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument, historic headquarters of the National Woman's Party. She earned her Bachelor and Master of Arts degrees in Historical Studies, with a focus on Public History, at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC). Her areas of study include the long Civil Rights Movement and Black freedom struggle, especially in Washington, D.C. She continues her research into strategies used by those who demand social, political, and economic equality.

Rebecca Boggs Roberts has been many things including, but not limited to, journalist, producer, tour guide, forensic anthropologist, event planner, political consultant, jazz singer, and radio talk show host. Currently, she is Curator of Programming for Planet Word, a museum set to open in 2020. She looks forward to creating a new institution that will become part of the intellectual and cultural life of our capitol city. She is co-author of *Historic Congressional Cemetery* (2012), part of Arcadia Publishing's Images of America series, and author of *Suffragists in Washington, D.C.: The 1913 Parade and the Fight for the Vote* (2017). Roberts lives in Washington, D.C. with her husband, three sons, and a big fat dog.

Tina Cassidy writes about women and culture. In addition to *Mr. President, How Long Must We Wait? Alice Paul, Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the Right to Vote*, she is the author of *Birth: The Surprising History of How We Are Born*; and J*ackie After O: One Remarkable Year When Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis Defied Expectations and Rediscovered Her Dreams*. A former journalist who spent most of her career at the *Boston Globe* covering business, fashion and politics, she is the Chief Marketing Officer of WGBH. Cassidy serves on the board of *The*

Conversation U.S. She lives in the Boston area with her husband, the author Anthony Flint. They have three sons and a Norfolk Terrier named Dusty.

Marjorie J. Spruill, Distinguished Professor Emerita, University of South Carolina, writes about women and politics from the woman suffrage movement to the present and about the American South. Her most recent book is *Divided We Stand: The Battle Over Women's Rights and Family Values That Polarized American* Politics (Bloomsbury 2017). She is the author of *New Women of the New South: The Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (Oxford University Press) and five edited books on woman suffrage. In 2020 she is publishing a new edition of *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, first published in 1995 as the companion volume to the PBS documentary "One Woman, One Vote." Spruill was a consultant to the National Archives for its exhibit, "Rightfully Hers" and an advisor for the documentary "By One Vote: Woman Suffrage in the South," produced by Nashville Public Television. Her work was supported by fellowships from the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and a research award from the Gerald R. Ford Foundation. She spent a year at the National Humanities Center. Spruill co-edited a textbook on the American South and two multi-volume anthologies about the "lives and times" of women in South Carolina and Mississippi. During her career, she was a professor at the University of Southern Mississippi, Vanderbilt (where she was an Associate Provost), and the University of South Carolina. She lives in Folly Beach, SC.

Elaine Weiss is a Baltimore-based journalist and author, whose feature writing has been recognized with prizes from the Society of Professional Journalists, and her byline has appeared in many national publications. Weiss' most recent book, *The Woman's Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote* (Viking/Penguin) has won critical acclaim from the *New York Times*, the *Wall St. Journal*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and *The New Yorker*, hailed as a "riveting, nail-biting political thriller" with powerful parallels to today's political environment. *The Woman's Hour* was a GoodReads Readers' Choice Award winner, short-listed for the 2019 Chautauqua Prize, and received the American Bar Association's highest honor, the 2019 Silver Gavel Award. Steven Speilberg's Amblin production company is adapting the book for TV, with Hillary Rodham Clinton serving as Executive Producer. A young readers edition of the book, *The Woman's Hour: Our Fight to Win the Vote* is now available from Random House Children's Books.

Robert P. J. Cooney, Jr. has studied the historic drive to win the vote by American women for more than 25 years. After attending the University of Santa Clara in California, he joined the staff of the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence in Palo Alto where he designed and co-edited *The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States* (Peace Press: 1977). This illustrated history traced nonviolent tactics and philosophy throughout U.S. history from before William Penn to after Martin Luther King, Jr., and awakened an interest in the woman suffrage

movement. Mr. Cooney received the “Write Women Back Into History” Award in 2005 from the National Women’s History Project in recognition of his work uncovering this central and inspiring chapter in American history. Recently, he has been working on the 2020-2021 women’s suffrage centennial celebration. A native of St. Louis, Missouri, he lives with his wife in northern California.

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Chapter 2
The Prequel: The Suffrage Movement Before 1848

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[8]See Cott, "Feminist," 51–54.

[9]MCT Diary, November 12, 1909, MCTP, Library of Congress, Reel 2.

[10]MCT Diary, Thursday, February 10, 1921, Oberlin College Archives.

[11]MCT Diary, February 10, 11, & 14, 1921, Oberlin College Archives.

[12]MCT Diary, January 21, 1921; and February 17, 1921, Oberlin College Archives.

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[14]Darlene Clark Hine suggests white Americans' racism made them view as "unimaginable the possibility that a Black woman could be raped, sexually exploited, or harassed." Hine, "For Pleasure, Profit, and Power," 101; Brown, "Imaging Lynching,"169; Crenshaw and Ritchie, *Say Her Name*; Feimster, *Southern Horrors*, 158; Southard, *Militant Citizenship*, 181–83; MCT, *Colored*, 316–17. MCT Diary, February 17, 18, 1921, Oberlin College Archives.

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[3]On white southern conservatives' efforts to preserve much of antebellum culture, see Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, Ga. University of Georgia Press, 1989.

[4]Faye E. Dudden, *Fighting Chance: The Struggle Over Woman Suffrage and Black Suffrage in Reconstruction America* (Oxford University Press, 2014); Spruill (Wheeler), *New Women of the New South*, 19-26; Marjorie Spruill (Wheeler), ed., *Votes for Women: The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, the South, and the Nation* (University of Tennessee Press, 1995), anti-suffrage broadsides 300-311.

[5]"Voting Rights and the 14th Amendment," National History Education Clearinghouse https://teachinghistory.org/history-content/ask-a-historian/23652

[6]Dudden, *Fighting Chance*.

[7]Jennifer Davis McDaid, "Woman Suffrage in Virginia" https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/woman_suffrage_in_virginia#start_entry.

[8]Willard Gatewood, "The Rollin Sisters: Black Women in Reconstruction South Carolina," in Marjorie J. Spruill, Valinda Littlefield, and Joan Marie Johnson, eds., *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times* (University of Georgia Press, 2010): 50-67.

[9]Conservative white southerners used the term "carpetbaggers" for northerners who came to the South and cooperated with the federal government's efforts to "reconstruct" the South after the Civil War. "Scalawag" was the equally derisive term for a white southerner who worked with them.

[10]Spruill (Wheeler), New Women of the New South; Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (New York: Dial Press, 1954)

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[12]Mary Church Terrell, National Park Service https://www.nps.gov/people/mary-church-terrell.htm; Mayo, "African American Women Leaders."

[13]Terborg-Penn, "African American Women and the Woman Suffrage Movement"; Martha S. Jones, *All Bound Up Together: The Women Question in African American Public Culture, 1830-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[14]Adele Logan Alexander, "Adella Hunt Logan, The Tuskegee Woman's Club, and African Americans in the Suffrage Movement," in Marjorie Spruill (Wheeler), ed., *Votes for Women: The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, the South, and the Nation* (University of Tennessee Press, 1995): 71-104; Adele Logan Alexander, *Princess of the Hither Isles: A Black Suffragist's Story from the Jim Crow South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

[15]Spruill (Wheeler), *New Women of the New South*, Alabama state senator quoted 25-26, 38-58.

[16]Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, *Women Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1923), 88-89; Marjorie J. Spruill, Chapter Nine, "Bringing in the South: Southern Ladies, White Supremacy, and State's Rights in the Fight for Woman Suffrage," in Spruill, ed., *One Woman One Vote*; Spruill (Wheeler), *New Women of the New South*, 113-125.

[17]Ibid., 113-120.

[18]Ibid., 116-120.

[19]Ibid., 120-25, quotations 121.

[20]Ibid. 30-37, 125-32; Spruill (Wheeler), *Votes for Women*, Pro-suffrage literature, 290-91. Anti-suffrage literature, 302-11; Anastatia Sims, "Armageddon in Tennessee: The Final Battle Over the Nineteenth Amendment," Chapter Twenty-one, in Spruill, *One Woman One Vote*, Second Edition.

[21]Spruill, *Votes for Women*, 303, 304; Sims, Chapter Twenty-one.

[22]Ibid., 106, 125–32, Somerville quotation on 128, White quotation on 106.

[23]Spruill (Wheeler), *New Women of the New South*, 133–53.

[24]Ibid., 154–80.

[25]Ibid., 159-71, quotation,163.On Catt's "Winning Plan," see Robert Booth Fowler, "Carrie Chapman Catt: Strategist," Chapter Nineteen, in Spruill, ed., *One Woman One Vote*.

[26]Spruill (Wheeler), *New Women of the New South*, 172–80, quotations, 176.

[27]Sims, "Armageddon in Tennessee"; Weiss, Elaine, *"The Woman's Hour": The Great Fight to Win the Vote* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2018).

[28]Spruill (Wheeler), *Votes for Women*, 302-311, quotations, 305; Suzanne Lebsock, "Woman Suffrage and White Supremacy: A Virginia Case Study," in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, ed. Nancy Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 62–100.

[29]Spruill (Wheeler), New Women of the New South, 30-37; Spruill (Wheeler), *Votes for Women*, see anti-suffrage broadsides, 300-311, quotations 305, 311.

[30]"Nemesis," Oxford Languages, https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-1-d&q=definition+of+nemesis

[31]Carrie and Shuler, *Women Suffrage and Politics,* 5.

[32]Spruill (Wheeler), *New Women of the New South*, 181; Terborg-Penn, Chapter Ten, in Spruill, ed. *One Woman One Vote, Second edition*.

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[3]"Suffrage Rescinded by Tennessee House," *Washington Post,* September 1, 1920, 1.

Chapter 24
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[1]Maud Wood Park. *Front Door Lobby*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960, p. 276.

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[3]Mary Gray Peck. *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Biography*. New York: H.W. Wilson, 1944, p. 338.

[4]Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler. *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement*. New York: Charles Scribner's, 1926, p. 455.

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[6]Sara Hunter Graham. *Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 147.

[7]*Front Door Lobby*, p. 268.

[8]Elaine Weiss. *The Woman's Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote*. New York: Viking, 2018, p. 5.

[9]*Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement*, p. 342.

[10]*Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy*, p. 164.

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