

8/21/95

11 p.m

NEW VERSION

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE**

One day in the summer of 1978, I was knocking on doors in a small town in eastern Arkansas, trying to drum up support for my husband in the upcoming election for governor.

It was the middle of the day, and most of the people at home were older women -- women who I assumed would be going to the polls.

Imagine my surprise when one woman told me that her husband did the voting in their family. Another said that, since her husband's death, she hadn't known whom to vote for. And a third explained that she couldn't vote because she hadn't paid her poll tax, a requirement that had been outlawed years before.

Seventeen years have passed since then, and as we celebrate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to exercise their hard-won privileges.

A smaller percentage of women vote in national elections today than voted 30 years ago. Fewer than half go to the polls in non-Presidential election years.

Sadly, many women feel that their vote doesn't really matter to their own futures or the future of our country.

It might also be that we have so many obligations in our

everyday lives. Women are busy raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

But even so, we all should be able to find the time to vote, especially now that registration can be done at the local department of motor vehicles, government social services office, public library or even through the mail.

We owe it to ourselves to make our voices heard. After all, women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched the suffrage movement in 1848, and the courage of Susan B. Anthony, who was arrested, tried and fined for attempting to vote in the Presidential election of 1872.

It took thousands of others -- from seamstresses to socialites -- who joined parades, pageants and picket lines on behalf of suffrage.

It took men, too. Men like Harry Burn, the young legislator from Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage on August 18, 1920, but only after receiving an admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J. L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother."

Harry Burn took his mother's advice and, eight days later, on August 26th, 1920, suffrage was finally granted. But for months thereafter, Harry Burn had to travel the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

He got off easy compared to some. Many who campaigned for suffrage went to jail for their cause. Some were scorned and ridiculed. Some lost jobs. Some gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

To those Americans, voting was the most fundamental right of living in a democracy. It was essential to women's progress in the world. And that's why women before us fought so hard to achieve it.

Women's suffrage, finally granted with ratification of the 19th Amendment, was nothing short of a social revolution. With the vote, women in America could influence laws. They could have some say over their destinies. They could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

When I travel overseas, I think about suffrage often. On several recent trips, I have met women who have been persecuted, imprisoned or even exiled for their efforts to gain basic legal and political rights for women. I have visited countries, newly freed from the yoke of totalitarianism, where citizens walk miles and stand in line for hours to cast their ballots.

And each time I come home thankful for the blessings we Americans have.

This week, let's celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage by taking stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And let's remember the words of the great suffrage leaders.

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th century anti-slavery and women's rights advocate, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

But we can only do it if we vote.

###

DRAFT
August 18, 1995

old version
w/ edits marked

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE**

One day in the summer of 1978, I was knocking on doors in a small town in eastern Arkansas, trying to drum up support for my husband in the upcoming election for governor.

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This story comes to mind while our family is vacationing in Wyoming, which in 1969 became the first place in the United States to give women the right to vote.

While we're here, Bill, Chelsea and I are taking some time out of our hiking, horseback riding, and fishing to help commemorate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage, which was finally granted on August 26th, 1920.

The women's suffrage movement is something I think about often, particularly when I'm traveling abroad. On several recent

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4

Move to page 4

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~~The 75th anniversary of women's suffrage,~~
vote, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to

exercise their hard-won privileges.

In fact, ~~A larger~~ ^{smaller} percentage of women ^{Vote in national elections today than} voted 30 years ago ~~a~~
than do today. Only 2 out of 10 women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted in 1994. Fewer than half go to the polls in non-Presidential election years.

① Sadly, many women feel that their vote doesn't really matter to their own futures or the future of their country.
I realize that many of us are busy raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.
② It might also be that we have so many obligations in our everyday lives. Women

But we all should be able to find the time to vote, especially now that ~~registering is so easy.~~ ^{registration can be done}

~~You can sign up~~ at the local department of motor vehicles, government social services office, ^{or} public library. ~~You can even~~ ^{or} register by mail. ~~through the~~

So, however chaotic life seems, ^{We} you owe it to ~~yourself~~ ^{ourselves} to ~~remember~~ ^{make} ~~your~~ ^{our} voices heard. ←

After all, women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched

everyday lives. Women are busy raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

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"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J. L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother."

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Harry Burn took his mother's advice ^{and eight days later, on Aug. 26th, 1920,} ~~And~~ ^{Suffrage was} ~~But~~ ^{finally} ~~for months~~ ^{granted.} thereafter, ^{Harry Burn had to} ~~he traveled~~ the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

^{He got off easy compared to some.}
→ Many who campaigned for suffrage ~~endured great hardships.~~

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Insert
from
pp 1-2

This week, ^{let's} ~~as we~~ celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage ^{by taking stock} ~~in towns and cities across America, I hope we will take~~ ~~stock~~ of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

^{let's remember The words of} And ~~I hope we will heed the message that~~ the great suffrage leaders ~~passed on to us~~

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th century anti-slavery and women's rights ^{advocate} ~~leader~~, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

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###

SUFFRAGE EVENT

350-400 people

LWV, NOW, ANWW are putting together lists of ppl statewide
State officials

[acknowledgement of descendants]

LWV State Prez - Rose Shockley -

Center for the American Woman and Politics

Eagleton Institute of Politics • Rutgers University • New Brunswick, NJ 08901 • (908) 828-2210 • FAX (908) 932-6778

SEX DIFFERENCES IN VOTER TURNOUT

In recent elections voter turnout rates for women have equalled or exceeded voter turnout rates for men. Women, who constitute more than half the population, have cast between four and seven million more votes than men in recent elections.

VOTER TURNOUT IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

In every presidential election since 1980, the proportion of eligible female adults who voted has exceeded the proportion of eligible male adults who voted. In all presidential elections prior to 1980, the voter turnout rate for women was lower than the rate for men. The number of female voters has exceeded the number of male voters in every presidential election since 1964.

Presidential Election Year	% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1992	62.3	60.2	60.6 million	53.3 million
1988	58.3	56.4	54.5 million	47.7 million
1984	60.8	59.0	54.5 million	47.4 million
1980	59.4	59.1	49.3 million	43.8 million
1976	58.8	59.6	45.6 million	41.1 million
1972	62.0	64.1	44.9 million	40.9 million
1968	66.0	69.8	41.0 million	38.0 million
1964	67.0	71.9	39.2 million	37.5 million

VOTER TURNOUT IN NONPRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Since 1986, the proportion of eligible female adults who voted has exceeded the proportion of eligible male adults who voted, reversing the historical pattern of higher turnout rates for men than for women.

Nonpresidential Election Year	% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1994	44.9	44.4	44.6 million	40.4 million
1990	45.4	44.6	43.3 million	38.7 million
1986	46.1	45.8	42.2 million	37.7 million
1982	48.4	48.7	42.3 million	38.0 million
1978	45.3	46.6	36.3 million	33.3 million
1974	43.4	46.2	32.5 million	30.7 million
1970	52.7	56.8	33.8 million	32.0 million
1966	53.0	58.2	31.8 million	30.7 million

Among Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites, the number of female voters in recent elections has exceeded the number of male voters. While the difference in voter turnout rates between the sexes is greatest for Blacks, women have voted at higher rates than men across all three groups in the last three presidential elections.

	% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1992				
Black	56.7	50.8	6.6 million	4.8 million
Hispanic	30.9	26.8	2.3 million	1.9 million
White	64.5	62.6	52.9 million	47.6 million
1988				
Black	54.2	48.2	5.9 million	4.2 million
Hispanic	30.1	27.4	2.0 million	1.8 million
White	59.8	58.3	47.7 million	42.7 million
1984				
Black	59.2	51.7	6.1 million	4.2 million
Hispanic	33.1	32.1	1.7 million	1.4 million
White	62.0	60.8	47.7 million	42.4 million

VOTER REGISTRATION

Women outnumber men among registered voters.

	Number Reporting They are Registered Voters	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1994	62.7 million	55.3 million
1992	67.3 million	59.3 million
1990	60.2 million	53.0 million
1988	63.4 million	55.1 million
1986	59.5 million	52.2 million
1984	62.1 million	54.0 million

Data are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports, Series P-20, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1964" and subsequent reports for all years through 1994. These figures are from post-election responses to supplementary questions in the monthly Current Population Survey for a sample of households in November of each election year. Respondents to the survey report their own voting activity and that of other members of their household. The sample systematically over reports both voting and registration by several million people.

A note to users of this information: Please credit the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

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MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
Fr: Sabrina
Re: voting stats
Da: August 21, 1995

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, women aged 18-20, and 21-24* have voted in the following percentages:

18-20 year-old-women

Presidential elections:

1980 36.8%
1984 39.2%
1988 35.2%
1992 40.5%

Congressional elections:

1982 19.4%
1986 18.9%
1990 19.1%
1994 15.1%

21-24 year-old-women

Presidential elections:

1980 44.5%
1984 45.1%
1988 40.3%
1992 48.2%

Congressional elections:

1982 28.1%
1986 25.0%
1990 22.4%
1994 23.8%

* The Census Bureau breaks down 18-24 year-olds into two categories, 18-20 y.o., and 21-24 y.o., because 18-year-olds have only recently received the right to vote.

MONDAY
8/21/95

FAX TO: 307-734-3951
9 pages total

MEMORANDUM

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa Muscatine *jm*
RE: Suffrage column
DATE: August 21, 1995

Here is a final draft of the column. You'll notice some re-arranging of paragraphs.

The reason is that, on reading it a second time, the Creators folks felt the Wyoming section didn't work as a way of getting into the discussion of suffrage. I think they were right.

So, I wrote a new transition and moved the paragraph about traveling overseas to the last page of the column.

Also, the voting statistics were not easy to generalize because patterns have gone up and down a bit (and women continue to vote in greater numbers than men). Given that the stats were not as dramatic as I thought, I went back to some of the earlier language to soften the tone of that section and keep it from sounding too preachy.

I'm sending you a new version and an old one with the edits marked so you can see what I'm talking about.

The good news from all this is that I think the whole thing flows more smoothly now and makes your points more forcefully.

We need to have a final sign-off by noon Washington time on Tuesday.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING

PHONE: (202) 456-2777
FAX: (202) 456-5709

TO: ANITA TOBIAS

FROM: LISBA MUSCATINE

RECEIVER FAX: 310 337 7625

RECEIVER PHONE: 310 337 7003

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 5

COMMENTS: _____

Thanks for the McGraw stuff!

WARNING

Unauthorized use of these materials is subject to federal prosecution

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

COMMENTS

K-

I think it works pretty well.

Max. L.

DRAFT
August 21, 1995

6 pm EST

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

One day in the summer of 1978, I was knocking on doors in a small town in eastern Arkansas, trying to drum up support for my husband in the upcoming election for governor.

It was the middle of the day, and most of the people at home were older women -- women who I assumed would be going to the polls.

Imagine my surprise when one woman told me that her husband did the voting in their family. Another said that, since her husband's death, she hadn't known whom to vote for. And a third explained that she couldn't vote because she hadn't paid her poll tax, a requirement that had been outlawed years before.

I think that's what she meant
Seventeen years have passed, but when she said no to exercising their hard-won privileges.
Today,
~~That was 17 years ago. Now, as we celebrate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage, this sad pattern of women not voting only continues.~~

to exercise their hard-won privileges
women are not
~~Women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to exercise their hard-won privileges. Today, a smaller percentage of women vote in national elections than voted 30 years ago. Fewer than half go to the polls in non-presidential election years.~~

Of course, many of us are busy raising children, taking care

✓
of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

But we all should be able to find the time to vote, especially now that registering is so easy.

for her
You can sign up at the local department of motor vehicles, government social services office or public library, ~~You can even~~ register by mail.

So, however chaotic life seems, make your voice heard. You owe it to yourself and the women who came before you.

After all, women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched the suffrage movement in 1848, and the courage of Susan B. Anthony, who was arrested, tried and fined for attempting to vote in the Presidential election of 1872.

It took thousands of others -- from socialites to seamstresses -- who joined parades, pageants and picket lines on behalf of suffrage.

It took men, too. Men like Harry Burn, the young legislator from Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage on August 18, 1920, but only after receiving an admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J. L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt put "rat" in

ratification. Your Mother."

Harry Burn took his mother's advice and, eight days later, on August 26th, 1920, suffrage was finally granted. But for months thereafter, Harry Burn had to travel the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

He got off easy compared to some. Many who campaigned for suffrage went to jail for their cause. Some were scorned and ridiculed. Some lost jobs. Some gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

To those Americans, voting was the most fundamental right of living in a democracy. It was essential to women's progress in the world. And that's why women before us fought so hard to achieve it.

Women's suffrage, finally granted with ratification of the 19th Amendment, was nothing short of a social revolution. With the vote, women in America could influence laws. They could have some say over their destinies. They could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

When I travel overseas, I think about suffrage often. On several recent trips, I have met women who have been persecuted, thrown in jail or even exiled for their efforts to gain basic legal and political rights for women. I have visited countries, newly freed from the yolk of totalitarianism, where citizens walk miles and stand in line for hours to cast their ballots.

And each time I come home thankful for the blessings we

Americans have.

This week, let's celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage by taking stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And let's remember the words of the great suffrage leaders.

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th century anti-slavery and women's rights leader, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

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###

DRAFT #3
August 18, 1995

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COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE**

One [hot?] day in the summer [?] of 1978, I was knocking on doors in a small town in eastern Arkansas, trying to drum up support for my husband in the upcoming election for governor.

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This story comes to mind while our family is vacationing in Wyoming, which in 1969 became the first place in the world [ck] to give women the right to vote. *In prepay*

While we're here, Bill, Chelsea and I are taking some time out of our hiking, horseback riding, and fishing to help commemorate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage in America, which was finally granted on August 26th, 1920.

The women's suffrage movement is something I think about

often, particularly when I'm traveling abroad. On several recent trips, I have met women who have been persecuted, thrown in jail or even exiled for their efforts to gain basic legal and political rights for women in their countries. And each time I come home thankful for the blessings we American women have.

Yet today, less than a century after winning the right to vote, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to exercise their hard-won privileges.

not 1 decision over last 10 yrs - x % of us are
In 1994, only 45 percent of eligible women voted. More distressing, only 2 out of 10 women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted.

Clearly, some women are apathetic about politics, or don't believe that their vote really matters to the future of our country.

when we think all the tasks we have perform every day - we ought to be women - - doing men - -
It might also be that we have too many obligations in our everyday lives.

Women are responsible for raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

We must worry about everything from the cost of groceries to the quality of our kids' schools, from the safety of our neighborhoods to how to cover the family medical bills.

Perhaps, in the rush of modern life, too many of us have simply forgotten our own history.

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can get registered here + need + make you voice heard

able to find time to vote. Register, protect earn money. SC of Motor Voter Act - - Now, while you're taking care of other business, you can register and you can also vote absentee.

In other countries, freed from the yoke of totalitarianism, spend hours in line for the privilege.

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This week, as we celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage in towns and cities across America, I hope we will take stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And I hope we will heed the message that the great suffrage leaders passed on to us.

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th century anti-slavery and women's rights leader, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

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###

MEMORANDUM

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa Muscatine *LM*
RE: Suffrage column
DATE: August 18, 1995

The folks at Creators are very, very happy with the column.

They made a few minor suggestions, which I have incorporated into this draft. *You'll also see that I made some minor changes to the first section, just to make it flow more smoothly.*

They were mildly concerned about the "political" evocations of the first sentence.

They also think the piece should carry a Wyoming dateline (which I initially raised with them, and now am kicking myself for). If it does have the dateline, they felt that opening with an incident in Arkansas may seem strange to the reader.

After mulling this over, I think we should leave the column without a dateline and keep the first sentence as is. (One reason is that none of the previous columns were datelined Washington. Also, changing the first sentence to somehow situate you in Wyoming would seem contrived.)

Finally, and perhaps most significant: I faxed the column to Diane Blair, since she and I had talked about suffrage at some length earlier in the week. Overall, she loved it, but felt we should get rid of the entire section about the burdens on women (I've marked it for you on page 2). Her view is that men also are under great stress these days. She thought that particular section sounded a little preachy. And third, she didn't know of any studies that show a causal relationship between stress/exhaustion/anxiety and the failure of women to vote. The US News piece you asked me to look at talks about women's voting patterns and their concerns, but doesn't actually make a strong connection between the two.

To make matters more complicated, Creators loves that section and wants us to keep it in.

I'm of little help, because I think the piece reads well and credibly both ways. (I am probably leaning toward keeping it in, especially the statistics, which are pretty shocking.)

DRAFT
August 20, 1995

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COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

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#W
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trips, I have met women who have been persecuted, thrown in jail or even exiled for their efforts to gain basic legal and political rights for women. I have visited countries, newly freed from the yolk of totalitarianism, where citizens walk miles and stand in line for hours to cast their ballots.

And each time I come home thankful for the blessings we Americans ~~women~~ have.

Yet today, less than a century after ^{saving} winning the right to vote, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to exercise their hard-won privileges.

In fact, a larger percentage of women voted 30 years ago than do today. Only 2 out of 10 women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted in 1994.

^{of course,}
~~I realize that~~ many of us are busy raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

But we all should be able to find the time to vote, especially now that registering is so easy.

You can sign up at the local department of motor vehicles, government social services office or public library. You can even register by mail.

So, however chaotic life seems, ~~you owe it to yourself to~~ make your voice heard ~~and~~. ^{You owe it to yourself + the women who came before you.}

After all, women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched

the suffrage movement in 1848, and the courage of Susan B. Anthony, who was arrested, tried and fined for attempting to vote in the Presidential election of 1872.

It took thousands of others -- from socialites to seamstresses -- who joined parades, pageants and picket lines on behalf of suffrage.

It took men, too. Men like Harry Burn, the young legislator from Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage on August 18, 1920, but only after receiving an admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J. L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother."

Harry Burn took his mother's advice, ^{and 8 days later on Aug. 26, 1920} And for months thereafter, ^{Harry had to} he traveled ~~the~~ the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

^{Harry Burn set off easy compared to some.} Many ^{men who} who campaigned for suffrage endured great hardships. Some went to jail for their cause. Some were scorned and ridiculed. Some lost jobs. Some gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

To those Americans, voting was the most fundamental right of living in a democracy. It was essential to women's progress in the world. And that's why women before us fought so hard to

achieve it.

Women's suffrage, finally granted with ratification of the 19th Amendment, was nothing short of a social revolution. With the vote, women could influence laws. They could have some say over their destinies. They could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

This week, ^{let's} ~~as we~~ celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage in towns and cities across America, ^{and} ~~I hope we will~~ take stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And ^{let's} ~~I hope we will~~ ^(pay attention) ~~need~~ the message that the great suffrage leaders passed on to us. ^{to be listened to}

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th century anti-slavery and women's rights leader, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

But we can only do it if we vote.

###

MEMORANDUM

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa Muscatine *jm*
RE: Suffrage column
DATE: August 20, 1995

Here is the column with most of the changes we discussed. Unfortunately, I'm having trouble getting good statistics on women's voting because nobody seems to be around this weekend. But it should be no problem to get the information first thing Monday morning.

Creators agrees that the lead is strongest the way it is and not worth changing for the sake of a dateline.

As for the other stuff you wanted: Pam has the research from the gang study and will send it along to you on Monday (she was pretty sure that it was not in the packet that was sent on Friday).

You should already have received from me the President's speech that mentions the study and the shooting incident, as well as one news story about the shooting.

DRAFT #4
August 10, 1995

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

One day in the summer of 1978, I was knocking on doors in a small town in eastern Arkansas, trying to drum up support for my husband in the upcoming election for governor.

It was the middle of the day, and most of the people at home were older women -- women who I assumed would be going to the polls.

Imagine my surprise when one woman told me that her husband did the voting in their family. Another said that, since her husband's death, she hadn't known [who] to vote for. And a third explained that she couldn't vote because she hadn't paid her poll tax, a requirement that had been outlawed years before.

This story comes to mind while our family is vacationing in Wyoming, which in 1869 became the [first place in the world [ck] to give women the right to vote]

While we're here, Bill, Chelsea and I are taking some time out of our hiking, horseback riding, and fishing to help commemorate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage in America, which was finally granted on August 26th, 1920.

The women's suffrage movement is something I think about often, particularly when I'm traveling abroad. On several recent

trips, I have met women who have been persecuted, thrown in jail or even exiled for their efforts to gain basic legal and political rights for women. I have visited countries, newly freed from the yolk of totalitarianism, where citizens walk miles and stand in line for hours to cast their ballots.

And each time I come home thankful for the blessings we American women have.

Yet today, less than a century after winning the right to vote, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to exercise their hard-won privileges.

In [the last 10 years] only [xx] percent of eligible women voted. More distressing, only [xx] out of 10 women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted.

I realize that many women today are busy raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

But we all should be able to find the time to vote, especially now that registering is so easy.

You can sign up at the local department of motor vehicles, government social services office or public library. You can even register by mail.

So, however chaotic life seems, you owe it to yourself to make your voice heard.

After all, women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched

the suffrage movement in 1848, and the courage of Susan B. Anthony, who was arrested, tried and fined for attempting to vote in the Presidential election of 1872.

It took thousands of others -- from socialites to seamstresses -- who joined parades, pageants and picket lines on behalf of suffrage.

It took men, too. Men like Harry Burn, the young legislator from Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage on August 18, 1920, but only after receiving an admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J. L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother."

Harry Burn took his mother's advice. And for months thereafter, he traveled the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

Many who campaigned for suffrage endured great hardships. Some went to jail for their cause. Some were scorned and ridiculed. Some lost jobs. Some gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

To those Americans, voting was the most fundamental right of living in a democracy. It was essential to women's progress in the world. And that's why women before us fought so hard to

achieve it.

Women's suffrage, finally granted with ratification of the 19th Amendment, was nothing short of a social revolution. With the vote, women could influence laws. They could have some say over their destinies. They could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

This week, as we celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage in towns and cities across America, I hope we will take stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And I hope we will heed the message that the great suffrage leaders passed on to us.

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th century anti-slavery and women's rights leader, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

But we can only do it if we vote.

###

SUFFRAGE COLUMN - (NOTES)

50 152
1006
578 3356

PBS

Documentary

1848

Seneca Falls 1848

Heart of anti slavery movement

Elizabeth Cady Stanton 32 at the time

she called for enfranchisement of women.

Not put off by the bad publicity -- she loved it
bc she was convinced ppl wd begin thinking abt
the women

1850s

ECS ^{and to balance} ✓ raise family + run a movement
[even she felt the pressures]

SB Anthony — young Quaker schoolteacher

Simple message — women must have full
rights of citizenship +
equality

Lucy Stone — Boston abolitionist

Set up competing campaign of the
black suffrage based

p. 3 Trial of SBA

By 1890 > Wyoming only territory — entered

Union as first and only suffrage
state

Realities of frontier life

SUFFRAGE NOTES (2)

1893 Colorado gov → persuaded Legislature
to put suffrage on the ballot
Campaign led by influential
reports for Rocky Mtn News,
Alice Meredith

Carrie Chapman Catt - 35 yr. old buy L
organizer from Iowa
→ Denver to help

Women's Christian Temperance Union - helped against
Liquor dealers waged huge anti suffrage
Campaign

Passed by 6,000 votes

lost non-bonded rep. in Mass. bc of society

End of century

movement grows among black women

Shunned by white suffragists who

were counting southern voters

Also became anti-immigrant - reflected
fears of middle class

20th C.

Women → factories, offices, trade unions,
settlement houses.... fighting for
better schools etc.

leading Progressive Movement

SUFFRAGE (3)

Hamlet Stanton Blatch helped revitalize
suffrage movement - formed new organization
^{sent women to} confronted men in the streets - and
launched ally girls in sweat shops

also: Parades

conveyed discipline, endurance, + courage

1912 - 5 new states

1915

Anna Howard Shaw - doctor/minister
great orator - men came to
listen to her bc she
was entertaining

support from Progressive Party - + T.R.

Also a resurgence of anti suffrage hysteria

Alice Paul - jailed in England / radicalized
At 28, helped revolutionize suffrage
movement

Set up a pageant in DC the day
before Wilson's inauguration
in less than 2 months

Organized women in suffrage states to vote against
Democrat for Senate

SUFFRAGE NOTES (4)

< Political participation >

Diane
Blair /

Fayetteville

Women in their 90s

- Woman remembering her mother wrestle w/ the issue
all the hassles w'd be w/ - the 1st women
were w/ for

Ppl really don't understand that just happened - -

87 that ppl really fought for
how long + hard
how persistent + courageous

It's painful to think abt ppl who don't see
it -

- Cat > 56
466 campaigns
47 campaigns to get state

Now women don't bother to vote

- Also astonishing > really was a revolution -
but accomplished w/o a gun being
fired
- women took risks
were phys
a demonstration of strength under
fire

SUFFERAGE /

DBlair

Forgetting our history - not knowing our history
Those of us fortunate enough to have grandmothers -
aunts who have any recollection of these
days should seek out their memoirs

Observation - Congress didn't give women the right to vote
they fought for it

The only ones who could vote to do it were men

In interview w/ H. Bunas -- said he had for many
yrs felt it was unjust

His mother was educ & interested
in public affairs → couldn't vote & ignorant
of what was going on

Movement not perfect

Took a long time for women to exercise their franchise

- Even ER opposed at 1st

- A lot of women thought they would give up their
privileges

In 1970s → a higher % of women vote than men
influence if all voted incalculable

- Celebrations being held -

All over Amer. this wk - big cities & small
communities

SUPPLAGE

Fayetteville -

Br PWs

Atkins

Rem + Ref

LWV



all involved
v. non partisan

how ungrateful it wd be ~~not to~~ exercise

LA TIMES / OP-ED

FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Albright

Opportunity to chart further gains in status & rights for women.

Appalling abuse today against women around the world

{ women = pariahs.
girls valued as much as boys
domestic violence curtailed & condemned. }

central
to
Triple
Platform
for Action

Examples of women + health care, education,
pay, etc.

Since 1st Conf 20 yrs ago — opp't have expanded
voice &
building inclusive societies

[suffrage]

Not "theirs" or "ours"

Women — pivotal to addressing poverty.
Families

Talk abt assault of family fr all direct

rapport material

advertising

mixed blessing of telecommunication

- women w/ harder fr less \$

(men ~

within Thailand - houses selling daughters¹⁸ fr pros

families who refuse to sell da

women too; more & more control over
while not supposed to go

Amer. women also feel; a loss of control

traded our mothers depression for our
own stress

DRAFT #2
August 18, 1995

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

[NOTE: do we need a Jackson, Wyoming dateline?]

One [hot?] day in the summer of 1978, I was knocking on doors in a small town in eastern Arkansas, trying to drum up support for my husband in the upcoming election for governor.

It was the middle of the day, and most of the people at home were older women -- women who I assumed would be going to the polls on Election Day.

Imagine my surprise when one woman told me that her husband did the voting in their family. Another said that, since her husband's death, she hadn't known who to vote for. And a third explained that she couldn't vote because she hadn't paid her poll tax, a voting requirement that had been outlawed years before.

This story comes to mind today because our family is vacationing in Wyoming, which in 1869 became the first place in the world [ck] to give women the right to vote.

While we're here, Bill, Chelsea and I are taking some time out of our hiking, horseback riding, fishing, ^{and golfing!} to ^{help commemorate} celebrate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage, which was finally granted on August 26th, 1920.

The women's suffrage movement in America is something I

think about often, particularly when I ^{so} travel abroad. On ~~my~~ ^{In my travels} recent trip to South Asia, I ^{have} met women who ~~had~~ suffered persecution, ^{been thrown in} jail and even exile for their efforts to gain basic legal and political rights for women in their countries. And I came home thankful for the blessings we American women have.

Yet today, less than a century after winning the right to vote, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to exercise their hard-won privileges.

In 1994, only 45 percent of eligible women voted. More distressing, only 2 out of 10 women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted.

Perhaps? *Given don't the they make a difference*
~~I don't~~ think it's because women don't care about our country. It's that we have so many obligations in our everyday lives.

Women are responsible for raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

We must worry about everything from the cost of groceries to the quality of our kids' schools, from the safety of our neighborhoods to the ~~availability of affordable health care~~. *how can we afford to take care of our families?*

Perhaps, In the rush of modern life, too many of us have simply forgotten our own history.

Women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched the suffrage movement in 1848, and the courage of Susan B.

Anthony, who was arrested ^{and fined} and tried for attempting to vote in the Presidential election of 1872.

It took thousands of others -- from socialites to seamstresses -- who joined parades, pageants and pickets ^{lines} on behalf of suffrage.

It took men, too. Men like Harry Burn, the young legislator from Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage on August 18, 1920, but only after receiving an admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J. L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother."

Harry Burn took his mother's advice. And for months thereafter, he traveled the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

^{men} Others who campaigned for suffrage endured ^{beat} ~~far greater~~ hardships. Some went to jail for their cause. Some were scorned and ridiculed. Some lost jobs. Some gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

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19th Amendment, ~~on August 26, 1920~~, was nothing short of a social revolution. With the vote, women could influence laws. They could have some say over their destinies. They could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

This week, as we celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage in towns and cities across America, I hope we will take stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And I hope we will heed the message that the great suffrage leaders passed on to us.

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But we can only do it if we vote.

###

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

phone 202-456-6266
fax 202-456-6244

h: 202 337 3171

TO

DIANE BLAIR

FROM

LISSA MUSCATINE

FAX #

501- 521- 8373

PHONE #

501- 521- 1066

OF PAGES (including cover)

5

COMMENTS

Thanks!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING

PHONE: (202) 456-2777
FAX: (202) 456-5709

TO: ANITA TOBIAS

FROM: LISSA MUSCATINE

RECEIVER FAX: 310-337-7625

RECEIVER PHONE: 310-337-7003

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 5

COMMENTS: Anita: This is still rough in

places. Also, don't panic when you read

the first sentence.

Talk to you soon. Lissa

WARNING

Unauthorized use of these materials is subject to federal prosecution

TO Lissa Mucattine
 Confirm receipt by calling 307-734-3930

SUFFRAGE COLUMN

PAGE: 394B

On a + 4 per
 In 1978, I ^{was} going door-to-door in a small Arkansas town asking
 whichever adults were at home to vote for my husband in the upcoming election
 for governor. ^{It was the middle of the day,} Most of the people who answered their doors ~~in the middle of the~~
^{you -} day were older women. Imagine my total surprise when one woman told me her
 husband did the voting in their family; another said that since her husband had
 died, she hadn't known who to vote for; and a third ^{said} ~~woman~~ told me she couldn't
 vote at all because she hadn't paid her poll tax, a voting requirement that had been
 outlawed years before.

I think of this now for two reasons: my family is vacationing in Wyoming,
 which ~~was~~ the first place in the world in 18-- to give women the right to vote. ^{- -}
 And while we're here, Bill, Chelsea and I will take some out of our hiking, riding,
 fishing (and golfing!) to celebrate on August 26th the 75th anniversary of women's
 suffrage in our country.

^{the second reason was}
 When I visited South Asia, I met so many women who ^{to} were working every
 day to give ^{to} women in their countries their basic legal and political rights. I came
 home thankful for all the blessings women in America have. Yet, less than a
 century after winning the right to vote, women in America are hardly flocking to
 the polls today ^{to take & exercise their privilege.} ~~and further these blessings.~~

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
F: Sabrina
Re: Suffrage anecdotes
Da: August 9, 1995

1) The story of Harry Burn, Representative from Tennessee (see fax from yesterday). Note: his vote was cast at the last minute during a recount. Initially, Burns voted against ratification, and only changed his vote because his mother convinced him to.

2) Defining experience in life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton: as a child, she would listen to discussions between her father (an attorney) and his female clients, and was appalled at their lack of legal rights; laws that forced them to relinquish custody of their children in certain cases, drove them out of their homes, etc. Some time later, her father came upon her in his library, attempting to cut out the passages in his law books that referred to the rights (or lack thereof) of women. She was distressed when he explained to her that removing the offending paragraphs from his volumes would not actually change the laws (see attached passage).

3) Alice Paul: during World War I, suffragists were picketing the White House, and because of an altercation with bystanders, many of the women were arrested and sent to jail. Alice Paul was one of them. Upon her arrival in jail, she began a hunger strike. Eventually, she became so weak, she was transferred to the jail's hospital. Following her example, many suffragists also in jail began a hunger strike.

While in the hospital, Alice weakened even further. President Wilson, concerned (and getting a lot of bad press), sent a psychiatrist to evaluate Alice in the hospital. At this point, Alice Paul could not even climb out of bed. But when the doctor came and started to ask a question, Alice immediately sat up and proceeded to lecture him for one hour on the necessity of woman's suffrage. The doctor, suitably impressed, wrote to the President, "She will die, but she will never give up." (based on oral recollections of Amelia Fry, Ph.D, currently working on a two volume biography of Alice Paul)

4) Finally, there is the often-told story of two Members of the House. One left his wife on her deathbed to cast his vote for the 19th Amendment (she died during the vote), the other was brought in on a stretcher. The amendment passed in the House by exactly the number of votes that were needed (it passed the Senate with two votes to spare).

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
Fr: Sabrina
Re: Wyoming suffrage speech
Da: August 14, 1995

The first victories for the suffrage movement occurred in Western states.

Those seeking their fortune in westward expansion saw the need of encouraging men to settle down as homesteaders -- and women had to be persuaded to come with them. Enticements included the Oregon Land Donation Act of 1850, which gave a man and wife 640 acres (the wife could hold her share as her own separate property), and a single woman 320 acres.

The realities of frontier life meant that women settlers were regularly exposed to hardship, hunger, exhaustion, and danger. The demands of survival did not encourage the idea that women should be sheltered and dominated.

Women also gained in prestige because of their very scarcity. In the territory of Washington, there were four men to every one woman, in Nevada, eight men, and in Colorado, the ratio was as high as 20 to one (p.157).

The first victory for women's suffrage came without much hoopla -- in the Territory of Wyoming. Suffragists saw the Territory as a great opportunity -- it was a new land, without established traditions.

Mrs. Esther Morris "six feet tall, with a craggy, granite-like face" was a suffragist of "leadership caliber." In 1869, she followed her husband and son to Wyoming. Not long after her arrival, Mrs. Morris invited a group of community leaders and legislators to her home and made an appeal for the vote (strongly influenced by a lecture by Susan Anthony she had heard before she left). Those present were so impressed they pledged their support.

Women's suffrage passed in the Senate 6-2, the lower house 6-4. Governor Campbell was under pressure from anti-suffragists to veto the bill, and as a bachelor, there was no one in his family to plead the suffragists' cause. But twenty years earlier, the Governor had sat in the back row of one of the earliest women's rights conventions (in Salem, OH) and had been deeply impressed. The Governor signed the bill.

Mrs. Morris was appointed to serve as Justice of the Peace in South Pass City, the first woman justice on record; "despite

the inevitable hooligan attempts to prevent her from carrying out her duties, and the usual newspaper hue-and-cry across the country, not one of the forty-odd cases she handled was reversed by a higher court." (p.159-162)

When Wyoming made a request for statehood, Congress was opposed to admitting a state that granted women suffrage. The territorial delegate to Congress, Joseph Carey, telegraphed the Wyoming Legislature that he feared statehood would not be granted if the suffrage clause were not abandoned. The Legislature telegraphed back: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years, rather than come in without woman suffrage." (Frances Bjorkman, Annie Porritt, "Where Women Vote," 1915)

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
Fr: Sabrina
Re: Suffrage states
Da: August 17, 1995

I am waiting to hear from a woman at the 75th Anniversary of Woman Suffrage Task Force regarding a time line of events. However, Betsy Myers' office sent over some information you may find helpful, which I have incorporated into yesterday's memo.

Full state suffrage was granted to all women in this order:

Wyoming	1869
Utah	1870
Colorado	1893
Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Arizona	1912
Alaska	1913
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914

After the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association merged in 1890, literally hundreds campaigns for state suffrage were conducted.

After the 19th Amendment passed, Carrie Chapman Catt summed up the effort it represented: she counted 480 campaigns in state legislatures; fifty-six referenda to male voters, forty-seven attempts to add suffrage planks during revisions of state constitutions; 277 campaigns at state party conventions and thirty at national conventions; and nineteen biannual campaigns with nineteen different Congresses.

In 1915, suffrage came up for a vote in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Suffragists and anti-suffragists conducted all-out campaigns. The suffragists lost in all four states. New York reversed itself in 1916 to become the first eastern state to enfranchise women.

For many states, partial suffrage became an easy compromise. In 1913, Illinois granted women the right to vote for president, but not other offices. Rhode Island, Ohio, Indiana, North Dakota and Nebraska emulated this model. A few years later, in 1918, South Dakota, Oklahoma, and Michigan also granted women suffrage for presidential elections.

Arkansas granted women the vote in primary elections (but not general) in 1917.

The area of greatest "backwardness" was the South. In Louisiana, for example, a married woman did not even have legal title to the clothes she wore. Without a federal amendment, woman suffrage was doubtful in most southern states.

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
Fr: Sabrina
Re: Suffrage states
Da: August 16, 1995

Full suffrage was granted to all women in this order:

Wyoming	1869
Colorado	1893
Utah	1896
Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Arizona	1912
Alaska	1913
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914

In 1915, suffrage came up for a vote in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Suffragists and anti-suffragists conducted all-out campaigns in the four states:

"Nothing had previously approached these campaigns in concentrated effort, organizational detail, imaginativeness of the propaganda and educational work, and dogged, slugging 'footwork' by thousands of dedicated supporters..." (Eleanor Flexner, A Century of Struggle). The suffragists lost in all four states.

The area of greatest "backwardness" was the South. In Louisiana, for example, a married woman did not even have legal title to the clothes she wore. Without a federal amendment, woman suffrage would not be achieved in most southern states.

Persistent election fraud ruined chances for suffrage in Michigan, Nebraska and Iowa. In Ohio, Wisconsin, and New York, the opposition of political machines made suffrage impossible without a federal amendment.

NOTE: The battle for woman suffrage state by state is complicated and at times confusing as to who did what when. I will try to have more for you tomorrow.

MEMORANDUM

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa Muscatine *LM*
RE: Suffrage column
DATE: August 18, 1995

A few things I wanted to mention about the column:

1) Maggie told me the lead anecdote, but she said to check the details with you because she may have gotten some of them wrong.

2) I think the trick with this is to avoid making it exclusively a history lesson (which could sound too preachy) or an analysis of why women don't vote (which could sound too wonky). I've tried to come up with a way to do a little of both.

Let me know if (or when) you would like me to show a draft to Creators.

Harry T. Burn was the legislator from Niota, Tennessee whose mother told him to vote for women's suffrage. His vote was the decisive vote - on August 18, 1920 his "yea" ratified the 19th Amendment. According to Gallatin school teacher Elizabeth Ann Baker, Burn had to hide in the storage room in the Tennessee State Capitol after the vote, fearing he would be attacked. After his return to Niota, Burn hired the village blacksmith as his bodyguard fearing bodily injury. The enclosed letter regards a film in which Burns was interviewed. Burns felt that W.B. Pemberton should know about the bodyguard situation, and so he wrote him on that matter. The letter was sent to Ms. Baker by Carolyn Pemberton, granddaughter of W.B. Pemberton.



March 20, 1962

Honorable Harry T. Burn, President
First National Bank and Trust Company
Rockwood Avenue
Rockwood, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Burn:

My family and I viewed the program on the Columbia Broadcasting System last Sunday, March 18, entitled The Twentieth Century, and which dealt with Womens' suffrage. We were delighted to see and hear your remarks which you made on this program.

I know that the program was seen throughout the United States and I feel that your appearance on the program added a great deal to it. It was a credit not only to you but to the State and the nation, and my wife, son and I thought you did a splendid job.

I know that many honors have been bestowed upon you during your lifetime but I feel that none could have exceeded this national television program.

Yours sincerely,

W. B. Pemberton

**FIRST NATIONAL BANK AND TRUST COMPANY****ROCKWOOD 1, TENNESSEE**

March 27, 1962.

PERSONAL

Mr. W. B. Pemberton,
Tennessee Public Service Commission,
Cordell Hull Building,
Nashville 3, Tennessee.

Dear Bill:

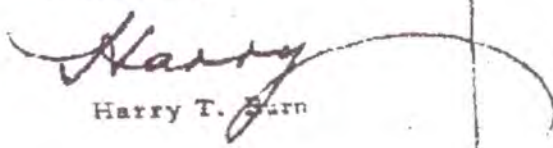
Your gracious letter of March 20, 1962, is sincerely appreciated. A by-product of my appearance on The Twentieth Century is the renewal of contacts with friends and acquaintances.

You and your family might have some special interest in a footnote to the comment I made on the program. My "body-guard" after my return to Niota, and during the political campaign preceding the November election, was Niota's village blacksmith, W. M. (Bill) Snyder. He decided that I was in some danger from a crack-pot or illiterate person, so he made it a rule to travel with me. To keep within the law, he carried a hammer in his hip pocket instead of some weapon.

For two or three years the History Department of the University of Tennessee has been insisting that I write a booklet or book entitled "The Day the Women Got the Vote". If I ever find time for extra-curricular activities I may do that.

Sincere regards and good wishes to you and your family.

Yours truly,


Harry T. Barn

HTB:mgs

The Gateway Bank

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ratification, but I am just as earnest about expressing myself in favor of fidelity to conscience in the performance of a public service.

This pious statement opened a door of retreat for Republican legislators who might be looking for it.

Tennessee ratificationists, both men and women, now systematically trailed their pledged legislators, taking them to movies, on rides, to social functions so that the opposition should not get at them. If a legislator walked through the lobby with a bag in his hand, they inquired where he was going. They picketed the railway stations day and night so that nobody could leave town without their knowledge, and they kept taking polls to see that the pledges were holding. Their pressure on the opposition was equally unrelenting. Two votes must be reclaimed before the House went into decisive session or their cause was lost in Tennessee. In the second week of the session the legislature began to show signs of cracking under the strain to which they were subjected by both sides. Mrs. Catt, in the midst of the melee behind the scenes in the Hermitage Hotel, wrote a letter describing the situation:³⁵

We are up to our last half of a state. With all the political pressure [at our command] the rest ought to be easy, but the opposition of every sort is here fighting desperately with no scruple. . . . I've been here a month. It is hot, muggy, nasty, and this last battle is desperate. . . . Even if we win, we who have been here will never remember it with anything but a shudder!

Meantime, Mrs. J. L. Burn back in Niota, McMinn County, had been scanning the papers to see how things were going for ratification in Nashville, and she was not pleased with the delay nor with the part her son was playing, and she wrote:

Dear Son: Hurrah and vote for suffrage! Don't keep them in doubt. I notice some of the speeches against. They were bitter. I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother.

On Wednesday of the second week of the session, the House convened with the determination to vote without further delay. There was a last, turgid debate, at the close of which Speaker Walker shouted in melodramatic manner, "The hour has come. The battle

³⁵ C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, Nashville, August 15, 1920.

has been fought and won!" and moved to table the ratification resolution. As the roll was called, it was punctuated frequently with short bursts of applause and mutterings of anger. The suspense increased painfully as the voting went on down the alphabetical list of members. Suddenly a wild outcry shook the Capitol. Banks Turner had dropped off the fence on the suffrage side! There were ninety-six members present, and this made the vote a tie, 48 to 48. Seth Walker, unwilling to believe his ears, demanded a second roll call and left the Speaker's chair to throw his arm around Turner's shoulders and pour frenzied entreaties into his ear. When his name was reached on the second roll call, Turner for an agonizing moment delayed to answer, then he stood up, shook off Walker's arm and shouted, "NO!" and the vote to table still stood at a tie. The opposition had not been able to table the resolution, and now the vote must be taken on ratification itself.

The suffragists had to have one more vote for a majority and it was with sinking hearts that they waited for the next roll call. Then came the prodigious moment. "Harry Burn," called the clerk in his monotonous voice for the third time that day, and for the third time Harry called back, "Aye!" But this time the whole House broke into an uproar that was heard outside for blocks around, for young Harry was keeping his promise to his mother and giving the Nineteenth Amendment the one vote necessary to put it into the Federal Constitution.

There was one more drop of sweetness poured into the suffrage cup, by Speaker Walker himself, ironically enough. Although forty-nine was a majority of the ninety-six members present, Tennessee was accustomed to consider fifty, a majority of the ninety-nine elected members, as the "constitutional" majority, and this was forthcoming when Walker, in order to move for reconsideration, changed his vote on ratification from no to aye! "Thus by a freak of politics, the last vote needed by the Tennessee standard to enfranchise the women of a great nation was cast by a man who was clearly staking heavily to defeat it."³⁶

³⁶ *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, Catt and Shuler, p. 449.

But the Tennessee show was not over yet. The printed rules of the House gave Walker three days in which to call for reconsideration of the vote, and during this period frantic efforts were made to detach votes from the suffrage majority. Senator McKellar unearthed an attempt to bribe a wavering suffrage member with a political job under the Excise Commissioner. A telegram from the President sent the Commissioner scurrying out of town and confirmed the weak brother's loyalty to ratification. The principal assault was made on Harry Burn as a last-minute deserter. He was accused of accepting a bribe and threatened with exposure unless he promised to absent himself from the House when the vote on reconsideration was taken. Burn made a public statement in the House defying his accusers and defending his vote, in the course of which he said:

I changed my vote in favor of ratification, first, because I believe in full suffrage as a right; second, I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify; third, I knew that a mother's advice is always safest for her boy to follow, and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification; fourth, I appreciated the fact that an opportunity such as seldom comes to a mortal man to free seventeen million women from political slavery was mine; fifth, I desired that my party in both state and nation might say that it was a Republican from the mountains of East Tennessee, the purest Anglo-Saxon section in the world, who made national woman suffrage possible at this date, not for personal glory but for the glory of his party.

Soon after this statement a telegram to Mrs. George Fort Milton from the young man's mother showed that the anti's had tried to get her to repudiate her letter urging Harry to "Hurrah and vote for suffrage." The telegram read:

Woman was here today, claims to be wife of Governor of Louisiana and secured an interview with me and tried by every means to get me to refute and say that the letter I sent to my son was false. The letter is authentic and was written by me and you can refute any statement that any party claims to have received from me. Any statement claiming to be from me is false. I stand squarely behind suffrage and request my son to stick to suffrage until the end. This woman was very insulting to me in my home and I had a hard time to get her out of my home.

Mrs. J. L. Burn

One Small Vote for a Man Brought One Giant Leap for Women

By RONALD SMOTHERS

NASHVILLE, Aug. 16 — There will be invective against the destruction of the family and paeans to equal rights for women in the vaulted chambers of Tennessee's House of Representatives on Friday. But it will not be a debate on family values.

Instead, a Tennessee theater company is planning to re-enact the spirited events of Aug. 18, 1920, when Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify the 19th Amendment, providing the required two-thirds of states needed to grant women the right to vote. On that day, a young, ambitious legislator from eastern Tennessee, who had previously voted staunchly with the anti-suffragists, cast the deciding vote for the amendment. The reason for his change of heart has some poetic justice: He received an admonition from his mother and concluded "that a mother's advice is safest for her boy to follow."

The re-enactment of the vote 75 years ago will be part of a nearly weeklong celebration here of the state's unlikely role as the "Perfect 36" — the phrase used by newspaper cartoonists of the day to refer both to the number of states needed for ratification and the 36-24-36 measurements considered ideal female proportions. The events are sponsored by the Tennessee Commemorative Women's Suffrage Commission with the help of Tennessee 200, the state's bicentennial celebration planning committee.

Lucinda Robb, a researcher at the National Archives, said that Tennessee, along with other states in the South, was an unlikely ratifier of the amendment because the measure enfranchised black women along with white women. Supporters of the amendment had therefore focused much of their attention on states in the North, she said. But when the amendment unexpectedly met defeat in Delaware, the battlefield shifted to Tennessee.

"It was one of the most fascinating dramas of the day," said Mac Pirkle, the founder and artistic director of the Tennessee Repertory Company, which will be staging the



Associated Press

Henry Thomas Burn followed his mother's advice in 1920 and cast the deciding vote making Tennessee the 36th state to ratify the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote.

'A mother's advice is safest for her boy to follow.'

re-enactment, "and we will be trying to recreate the spirit of that time."

Today, Mr. Pirkle rehearsed with a dozen or so of the actors who will have major parts. The company is also preparing a musical about the events, tentatively titled "Perfect 36," which is scheduled to debut next year during the state's bicentennial celebration.

On the day of the vote, Mr. Pirkle said, there was "shouting and screaming from the gallery." He added, "The energy was high because the stakes were so high."

The current legislators will assist in the re-enactment in bit parts, as actors playing lawmakers recreate the debate and those playing suffragists celebrate their victory by

throwing hundreds of yellow roses from the visitors' balcony to the House floor. Historians call this "the rain of the roses."

The suffragists had adopted the yellow rose as their symbol, while the anti-suffragists had adopted the red rose.

But the story of Representative Harry Thomas Burn of tiny Niota, Tenn., who, at 23 was the youngest member of the House, will figure prominently in the re-enactment, as it did in real life.

Through a day of parliamentary maneuvering in which opponents sought to table the measure rather than vote on its merits, Mr. Burn had voted every time with the anti-suffragists, who argued that granting women the vote would "enshrine nagging as a national policy," in the words of the anti-suffragist leader Alice Wadsworth.

A tie vote on a measure to table the amendment kept it alive, and the opponents, reasoning that the same tie would also deny it the required majority, forced a vote on the amendment itself.

But, unknown to others in the chamber, Mr. Burn had a letter from his mother, Febb Ensminger Burn, in his pocket.

"Hurray and vote for suffrage," wrote Mrs. Burn. "Don't forget to be a good boy."

On the vote on the amendment, to the surprise of all in the chamber, Mr. Burn, a Republican in a Democrat-dominated state, switched sides and voted in favor of it. He later explained his action in a speech from the floor.

"I know that a mother's advice is safest for her boy to follow and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification," he said. "But I appreciate the fact that an opportunity as does seldom come to mortal man to free 17 million from political slavery was mine. I do it not for any personal glory but for the glory of my party."

Some versions of the story suggest that Mr. Burn so angered the anti-suffragists with his switch that they chased him from the chamber and forced him to climb out a window of the Capitol and inch along a ledge to safety. But Lois Riggins-Ezzell, director of the Tennessee State Mu-



Andrew Goetz for The New York Times

The Tennessee Repertory Company will re-enact on Sunday the ratification of the 19th Amendment in the State Capitol in Nashville.

seum, said that the story was probably apocryphal, and that little evidence of it was found in historical documents.

Ms. Riggins-Ezzell recalled meeting Mr. Burn some years before his death on Feb. 17, 1977. She said that he loved to tell the story of his vote that day and of how he had no idea of the enormity of what he had done when he did it.

"He was a genteel, animated Southern gentleman," she said. "He didn't say anything about climbing out on a ledge to escape, but he did talk a lot about the high esteem in which he held his mother."

Mr. Burn's vote ratifying the amendment stood in spite of parliamentary maneuvering by opponents to reconsider the vote or rescind it. On Aug. 24, 1920, Gov. Albert H. Roberts, a Democrat, signed and forwarded the 19-page amendment, as well as the minutes of the legislative proceedings, to Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, whose office received it at 4 A.M. on Aug. 26.

The original document, encased in plastic, will be on exhibit at the state museum as part of the weeklong celebration. Clearly visible in the upper right-hand corner is the tiny, penciled notation: "36".

Oveta Culp Hobby, Founder of WAC's And First Secretary of Health, Dies at 90

By JAMES BARRON

Oveta Culp Hobby, the creator of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps in World War II, the first Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and a longtime executive at the recently closed Houston Post, died yesterday at her home in Houston. She was 90.

Mrs. Hobby, whose media holdings made her one of the nation's richest women, suffered a stroke in April, her family said.

She went from being a small-town lawyer's well-read daughter to being a regular on fashion magazines' lists of well-dressed women, with her trendy designer gowns and hats from Bergdorf Goodman. She took lessons that erased the drawl from her conversations about the Picasso paintings she collected or the Bartok concertos she heard at the Houston Symphony. And she reorganized the business department of The Houston Post from top to bottom, and later developed a reputation as a hard-working administrator who prized efficiency in government.

But she was not one to demand the credit.

"Everything that ever happened to me fell in my lap," she once said. "And nothing in my life would have been possible without Governor."

"Governor" was William P. Hobby, an easy-going newspaperman who was the top elected official in



Oveta Culp Hobby

zation for Human Needs, all before she was 35.

Mrs. Hobby was born on Jan. 19, 1905, in Killeen, Tex. The daughter of Isaac and Emma Hoover Culp. Her first name was an Indian word that her parents chose because it rhymed with Juanita, the name of one of her sisters.

She soon demonstrated her independent-mindedness. A temperance campaign swept Killeen when she was 5, and her Sunday school class was asked to sign a pledge. She politely refused. Her grandmother heard about her refusal and had a switch ready. Not until afterward did her grandmother ask why she had refused. "I did not sign because I did not know what that word means — temperance," she said. Her grandmother apologized.

She was her father's favorite; at 10, she read the Congressional Record in his office, and when he won a seat in the Texas Legislature in 1919 she went with him to Austin.

She briefly attended Mary Hardin Baylor College at Belton, Tex. Miss Culp was soon on the state payroll, in a job codifying statutes for the State Banking Committee. In 1925, when she was 20, a year shy of being old enough to vote, she was appointed parliamentarian of the Texas Legislature. Later she wrote a handbook on parliamentary procedure, "Mr. Chairman," which was used as a textbook throughout the state.

"If I hadn't been parliamentarian of the Texas Legislature, other things would never have been sparked," she said later. "Twenty is a wonderful age for things to be sparked."

One of the things sparked by her duties in Austin was an interest in politics. The 1928 Democratic National Convention was held in Houston, and she worked on senatorial and mayoral campaigns. She later ran for a seat in the State Legislature. Her opponent whispered that she was "a parliamentarian and a Unitarian." She lost. It was the last time she ran for office.

Mrs. Hobby was in Washington in 1941 for a meeting at the Federal Communications Commission — the family owned radio station KPRC-AM — when Gen. David Searles

called to ask her to organize a section on women's activities for the Army. But Mrs. Hobby turned down General Searles, saying that she had a husband, two children and a job.

He asked her to draw up an organization chart with recommendations on ways that women could serve, and she did. He repeated his request that she go to work in Washington. She repeated her refusal. Then she told her husband.

"You shouldn't have made him have to ask you a second time," Mr. Hobby reportedly said at the time. "Any thoughtful person knows that we are in this war, and that every one of us is going to have to do whatever we are called upon to do." Mrs. Hobby went to Washington.

Her job was completely new in American military history, and she had to write her own rules. The idea of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps — the name was later shortened to Women's Army Corps — was not well received by male commanders. Sergeants had jeeps, but Mrs. Hobby, who held the rank of colonel, had to call for a car from the War Department motor pool.

At first she had the only WAC uniform in existence. Traveling with an iron and an electric fan, she washed and dried it every night. Eventually, she called in well-known designers to sketch the WAC uniform. But the Army Quartermaster's Corps vetoed a belt as a waste of leather and a pleat in the skirt as a waste of cloth. The design that was approved was much more basic.

Mrs. Hobby received the Distinguished Service Medal in January 1945 for outstanding service "without guidance or precedents in United States military history."

Back in Houston, she renewed her political contacts and expanded the circulation of The Post, where she was an executive vice president and a director of KPRC, which came to include not only the AM station but also FM and television outlets.

Although she considered herself a conservative Democrat, she backed Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, a Republican, when he ran for President in 1948, and Dwight D. Eisenhower in his successful Presidential campaign in 1952.

In return for her support, Mrs. Hobby was appointed to succeed Oscar E. Ewing as head of the Federal Security Agency. Her post did not have full Cabinet status when she

was sworn in, but it was soon elevated to that rank and its name was changed to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Mrs. Hobby was the nation's second woman to hold a Cabinet post; the first, Frances Perkins, was Secretary of Labor under President Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1933 to 1945.

In 31 months in charge of the department, which had a \$1.7 billion annual budget, she oversaw the development of nurses training programs and a hospital reinsurance plan. She was also involved in the announcement of the Salk polio vaccine, and was praised at the time for having the patience to hold the an-

nouncement until the vaccine had been properly tested.

When Mrs. Hobby resigned, Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey was so dismayed that he said, "What? The best man in the Cabinet?"

Mrs. Hobby's reason for leaving Washington was straightforward: "Nothing is as important as Governor."

Her husband had been ill, but he improved once she was back in Houston. For the next nine years, until his death in 1964, they worked out of adjacent offices at The Post or a single large room in their home.

Mrs. Hobby sold The Post to the Toronto Sun Publishing Company in 1983 for about \$130 million. The paper changed hands again a few years later, and was finally closed earlier this year.

In 1992, H&C Communications Inc., another family enterprise, sold its five television stations. The sale left H&C with only one broadcast outlet, the Hobby's original station, KPRC-AM in Houston.

Besides her son, who was the Lieutenant Governor of Texas from 1973 to 1991 and was recently named chancellor of the University of Houston, and her daughter, Jessica Catto, of San Antonio, she is survived by a sister, Mrs. Loy Loving, of Weslaco, Tex., 8 grandchildren and 12 great-grandchildren.

Leaving a mark on government and a big-city newspaper.

Texas from 1917 to 1921; his most notable action as Governor was to call out the state militia to crush a dock strike.

He was hired as publisher of The Houston Post-Dispatch at about the same time that Miss Culp, a friend of Florence Sterling, whose millionaire brother owned the paper, got a job in the circulation department.

Mr. Hobby's first wife died a year later. A couple of years later, after Miss Culp lost a campaign for a seat in the State Legislature, they were seen socializing around Houston. In 1931, when she was 26 and he 53, they were married.

"Will, she'll embarrass you," one of her husband's friends warned. "She doesn't give a hang about clothes."

But she learned to; in the 1950's her name appeared regularly on the best-dressed lists. She also learned about newspapers. The Hobbys eventually acquired ownership of The Post and she worked as a book reviewer, copy editor and editorial writer.

Their first child, William P. Hobby Jr., was born on Mrs. Hobby's 27th birthday, and her daughter, Jessica, on her 32d. As the publisher's wife she became president of the Texas League of Women Voters, a member of the board of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts, a member of the Houston Symphony Orchestra Committee and regional chairman of the Mobili-

Planks in the Party Platform

1916 Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, and other leaders arrived in Chicago a week in advance of the Republican national convention, and were met by the news that the Iowa suffrage campaign had resulted in defeat. This disappointment only stiffened the determination of the suffragists to get a plank in the Republican platform. Wednesday, June 7, was the day set for the suffrage parade to the Coliseum, where they were to present the plank to the Resolutions Committee. The parade was to start from Grant Park and proceed along Michigan Avenue, headed by the national officers and followed by the plank carried on a large American flag held flat by twelve young women representing the suffrage states, timed so that the plank and the national board of officers would arrive at the Coliseum at four o'clock, the hour set for the hearing.

Wednesday dawned in a pouring rain whipped by a wild wind! When the suffragists assembled in the Princess Theater for their morning meeting, Mrs. Catt asked for an opinion about calling off the parade on account of the weather. From all parts of the room came cries of "NO!" "Good!" exclaimed their leader heartily. "Our parade will start as scheduled, but I advise raincoats and rubbers." Noon extras of the Chicago papers announced that the parade had been called off, and much effort was spent contradicting the false report. To complete the chaos, the Republican Resolutions Committee notified Mrs. Catt that they would expect her to appear half an hour earlier than the hour previously set for the hearing! As Henry Cabot Lodge was chairman of the Resolutions Committee, the women naturally thought the change of hour was intended to dislocate the time schedule of the parade.

Meantime, every raincoat in the city was bought up by the paraders. Bands were not released from their engagements. Two elephants had been secured; they were provided with rubber blankets! At three o'clock, the dripping suffragists made a rush for Grant Park where the filled-in land was a sea of mud. Mrs. Catt, on her way to the Resolutions Committee hearing, came over to encourage them, lamenting that she had to go on ahead of them. "But," said she, "*This is our great chance! Make the most of it!*" and she drove off waving the plank. Then the national board arrived, having decided to stay with the parade instead of going ahead with the plank. The standards and flapping banners were borne to their stations. The marshals on horseback rode up and down shouting directions; the bands appeared holding their horns upside down; the elephants stood deep in the mud swinging their trunks sadly; three o'clock struck and the bugles sounded through the roar of wind and rain and surf along the lake shore. A platoon of mounted police in oilskins wheeled into the Avenue; tall Susan Ryerson strode after them with the American flag; Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, grand marshal of the parade, with her aides came next; then the national board; then the flag carried flat with a large blank document sewed in the middle of it in place of the plank which had been taken by Mrs. Catt; then delegations from the suffrage states, some of them wearing delegates' badges to the Republican convention; then the great body of the column, state by state, behind their banners which were so buffeted by the wind that three women could scarcely hold them upright. Many of them marched without any protection from the storm, with the rain washing the yellow from their parade sashes in great splashes into the white of their dresses.

As the band music rose above the storm, people snatched umbrellas and ran toward the lake front shouting, "The suffrage parade is coming!" Windows, balconies and doorways were lined with onlookers. The curbs were lined with a crowd under umbrellas. "Twenty-four bands, a Highland piper and two fife and drum corps!" a stupefied man counted.

The firemen's parade scheduled for the same day had been called off and a *New York Times* correspondent began a vivid account of the demonstration thus:

This was no day for men to be out in the cold. The firemen's parade was called off, but 10,000 women took part in the suffrage parade, marching for more than an hour in a heavy downpour and biting wind. . . . In the hotel lobbies tonight, people are talking as much about the suffrage demonstration as about the candidates who should command their undivided attention. Politicians are calling it the pluckiest thing they ever knew women to do. . . . Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was one of the women responsible for the parade despite the storm. Tremendous publicity has been gained. All the state delegations to the Republican convention had given up street demonstrations for their candidates.

The Pennsylvania women had brought along their replica of the Liberty Bell, and as they were escorting it, a woman stepped from the sidewalk and asked to join them. She was welcomed and asked her name. "Mrs. Gifford Pinchot," she replied. A little later a man stepped from the curb, saying, "This is the stuff we need more of! May I walk with you a block or two?" He was Arthur Brisbane.

There was something profoundly moving in the sight of the draggled thousands carrying their drenched banners behind their bands up to the Coliseum. Many a man turned away from it with a lump in his throat and shame in his heart. Meantime, Mrs. Catt and her speakers had reached the Coliseum and presented their appeal. Mrs. Catt ended her speech with the words:

We make our request in the name of justice, but a great party may well consider the expedience of such a course, because the women of six states have gained the vote since the last presidential election, and these women voters have their party affiliations to make. But with party help or without it, we shall win. We believe that party to be farseeing which befriends the cause.

The antisuffragists had their hearing after the suffrage speakers, and the sleepy committee was listening to them when the faint sound of band music outside came to their ears. Just as the words "Women do not want the ballot" were falling from the lips of one of the anti's, the door swung open to the stirring strains of "Hail,

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Hail, the Gang's All Here!" and the sodden thousands began to pour in. Mr. Lodge turned his head towards the sudden tumult, and a wintry smile flickered over his face. Outside, policemen were bawling, "Don't crowd, ladies! There are 10,000 seats inside! Take your time!" Band after band marched past the entrance playing state songs or, with a fine sense of fitness, "Down Went McGinty"—a ditty doubtless inspired by the appearance of the ladies just ahead of them. It was like a stage climax, as the paraders surged around the platform. Wave after wave they came in, as quietly as possible in their endeavor to hear what was being said. The anti-suffrage speaker's voice faltered, she closed her address and hastened with her companions away from a humiliating position. The paraders, meantime, glad to find shelter, listened to the speakers for the Congressional Union which had just changed its name to "The Woman's Party."

The Resolutions Committee went into executive session immediately after the hearing, and a bitter struggle over the suffrage plank began which lasted all night. Leading the fight against the plank were Senators Lodge and Crane of Massachusetts and Wadsworth of New York. In favor were Senators Madden of Illinois and Southerland of Utah, and, if by state action, Borah of Idaho. The Committee brought in its report next day. Mrs. Catt was sitting in the gallery opposite the platform. Suffragists filled every available space and some were seated as delegates on the floor of the convention. Senator Lodge looked smaller and whiter than usual as he made his way to the speaker's desk to read the platform. He read on and on until at the very end he came to the words, "The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people and for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women—" He got no further. A scream of exultation in the gallery pierced the air, followed by cries from all parts of the house, and the first spontaneous and prolonged cheering of the day rose in long waves. Mr. Lodge waited patiently. When he was able to make himself heard, he raised his voice and shouted, "*BUT we recognize the right of each state to settle this question for itself!*"

What do women want?

It's 75 years since they won the vote. And the gender gap is now a chasm

We cannot promise you that women will vote as a unit when they are enfranchised. . . . Our women won't toe a mark anywhere; they will think and act for themselves, and when they are enfranchised they will divide upon all political questions, as do intelligent, educated men.

—SUFFRAGETTE SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1884



Not many believed Anthony. Women, it was presumed, would vote like their fathers, husbands and grown sons. Worse yet, they might favor candidates for frivolous reasons like appearance — and they would not want to dirty themselves with the business of politics. Ultimately, political self-interest and general principle required that they be allowed in voting booths. But the betting was that men still would pull the levers.

Seventy-five years after women won

the right to vote, all bets are off. By 1964, women were voting more often than men. By 1980, they were voting more often for Democrats. Today, the picture that emerges from a *U.S. News* survey is of a harried and worried group of female voters — divided among themselves by education, income and lifestyle and overwhelmingly divided from men on the most fundamental political questions.

On the role of government, the gender gap is as large as it has ever been: Fully 53 percent of men see government as the problem, but only 43 percent of women agree. On the virtue of budget cuts, the disparity is also large: While half of women think Washington's cutting binge has gone too far, about half of the men say cuts haven't gone far enough.

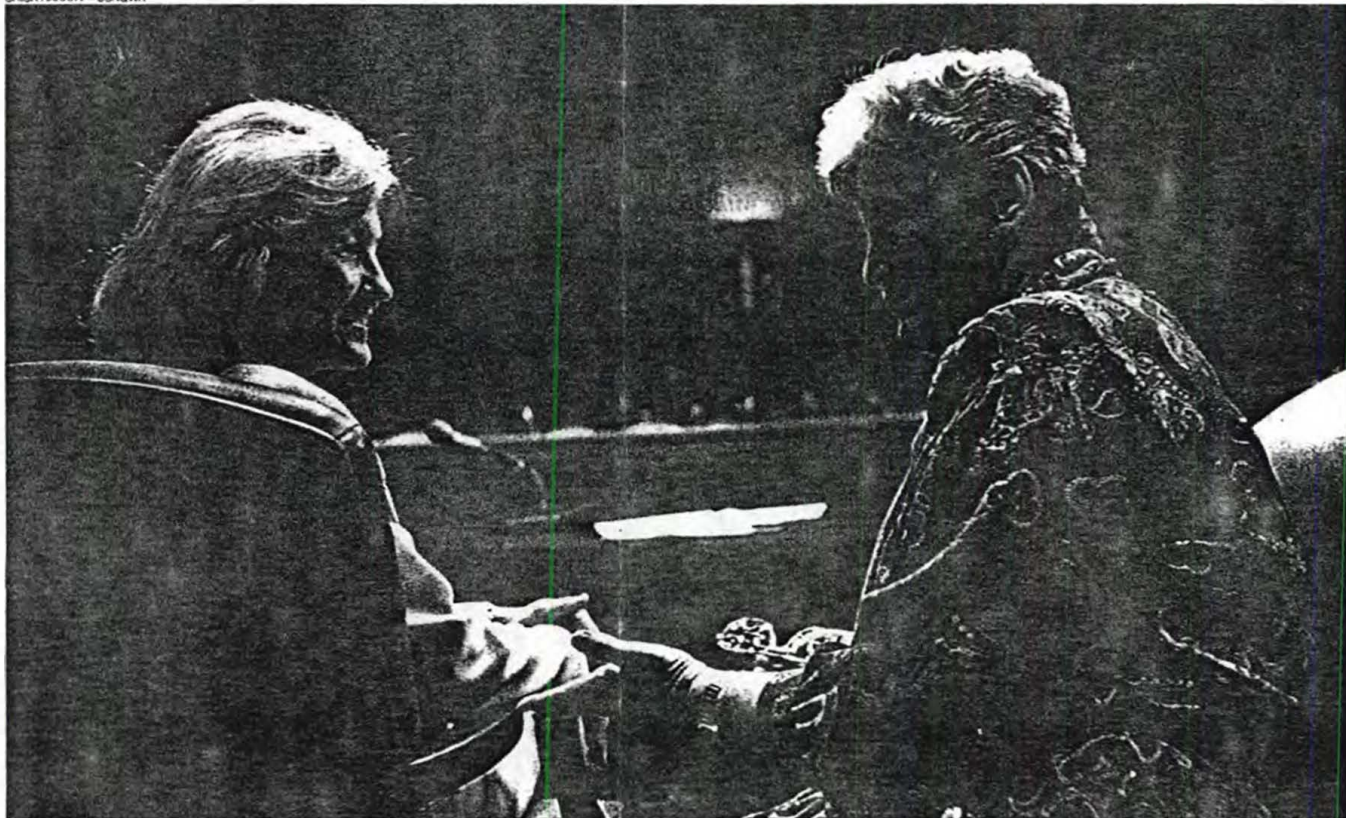
The gap becomes a gorge

when the topic is political leadership. Hillary Rodham Clinton is 19 points more popular with women than with men. Half of male voters approve of House Speaker Newt Gingrich; only 35 percent of women do. And Bill Clinton is the mirror image: Most women approve of him; most men don't. Women are twice as likely to believe he can provide moral leadership. The president has to "get women to feel as intensely for him as the men feel against him," says Democratic pollster Celinda Lake, who conducted the *U.S. News* survey with

LYNNE ABRAHAM
Philadelphia

The city's district attorney, Abraham (right, below, with Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas) wants to raise the quality of the national debate. Public service, she says, "is now akin to greed and corruption in most folks' minds." She voted for Bill Clinton but says she would like him to "loosen up."

CHUCK HARRITY — USNEWS



ROXANNE JONES

Philadelphia

A state senator and leader in the African-American community, Democrat Jones sees jobs as the main issue. "If people don't have jobs," she asks, "how can they afford health care, rent or food?" She calls GOP policies "hard-nosed and meanspirited."

Clinton, she adds, "has been a good shepherd of the American people."

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Republican Ed Goeas of the Tarrance Group. "That's the challenge."

If last November's election reflected frustrations of angry white men, next year's could turn on the anxieties of their wives. They worry about making ends meet, paying health bills, stopping crime, affording retirement—and having the time to get it all done. In addition to self-described independent women, politicians are watching another swing constituency: women without college degrees, a combination of blue- and pink-collar workers and homemakers.

Both feel overwhelmingly torn and stressed out and believe they have few choices: More than half of the women at home say they are living in bad times. Sixty-two percent of the workers say they must work to survive. "A lot of [politicians] don't know what it's like to worry about not getting a raise or losing a job," says Ruby Chambers, a Chicago mother who lost her job as an insurance adjuster. She backed Clinton in 1992 but voted Republican last year—and is uncommitted now.

Chambers is not alone. Polls show that more than half of those who voted in 1992 but stayed home in 1994 were women. That was very bad news for Democrats, who depend on their solid 8-to-10-point advantage with women. In fact, pollster Lake says that the Democratic Party could have kept control of Congress had its women been as "excited" about their party as men were about the GOP.

The first lady herself worries that "only 45 percent of the women eligible to vote did so" in 1994. What's more, she told *U.S. News*, "only 22 percent of the women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted [in 1994]"—down from 1992. Given women's concerns about economic security, the White House is trying to carve a political fault line between the substantial GOP budget cuts and the Democrats' more Medicare-friendly version. "We should inspire all women to exercise their right to vote," says Mrs. Clinton. Her husband's nightmare is that they won't.



This country's so messed up it will take an awfully long time to get things straightened out. Most politicians are wealthy. They don't think too much about people without money.

—MARTY THOMPSON, LORDSTOWN, OHIO

Half of all women worry about making ends meet, and Thompson is no exception. She's been a waitress at the Lordstown Family Restaurant for four years, and her husband works at a rubber factory. She voted for Clinton and stuck

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JEAN TATE

Eugene, Ore.

It's somehow appropriate that Tate, the retired founder of a real-estate agency, keeps both a donkey and a mule as pets. She's active in GOP politics, but she's also on the board of the local American Civil Liberties Union. She worries about the "conservative bent" of the GOP. "Clinton's value system is fairly close to mine."



with the Democrats in 1994 but is now undecided. This time, the issue is jobs — and Thompson is among those who see more limits than possibilities.

A vast majority of women working outside the home earn less than \$25,000 annually; 1 in 5 holds a secretarial or clerical job, a proportion that has remained constant for 40 years. The U.S. News survey found 61 percent of women without college degrees concerned about health care. Many fear that a family member will lose a job or not be paid fairly at work. And while 83 percent of college-educated women call work a career, 62 percent of those without a college degree say it is just a job for pay. "These folks are the most vulnerable and have the most at stake," says Democratic strategist Ann Lewis. "They are also the hardest to reach. They are skeptical political consumers, turned off by conventional politics."

If lower-wage women are disappointed in Clinton, they are also nervous about the GOP Congress: Sixty-one percent of them — more than any other group — believe Republican budget cuts have gone too far. So while Clinton hammers the GOP, Republicans try to attract women on cultural issues that stress family values. Bob Dole's attacks on Hollywood and gangsta rap, for instance, score well with women over 55, a group that often shuns Republicans.

Then there are the worries about schools and about losing control of the children. GOP-backed vouchers for school choice have some appeal to non-college-educated women, but proposed cuts in education spending do not. "The government should give more money to education," says Julie Petschenko, an at-home mother of two in Chicago's Ukrainian Village. She and her husband, a machinist, have shifted their children to parochial school. "I believe that the public school teachers are underpaid and that the schools are overcrowded. Children can't learn there anymore."

I know there's fraud in every aspect of business. I know there's fraud in Medicare. But there's a lot of good in it, too.

—MAY WHITE, NEW PORT RICHEY, FLA.

Like many elderly women, White, 72, worries about health care. Two years ago, everyone was talking about universal coverage, she says. "Now they want to cut it [Medicare]." White is a registered Republican, but she usually votes Democratic, as do many senior women.

Health care — one of the most polarizing issues of recent years — is not a partisan matter among women. Almost half consider it a major concern — in all par-

The great gender gap

Women's views break sharply from men's on key political issues and national leaders, says a U.S. News survey. And many misread their spouses' votes.

■ Voters who say electing more women to public office will produce a government that serves people better:

Total	51%
Men	48%
Women	55%

■ Do you think government can help average working families or that government is the problem, not the solution?

	Total	Men	Women
Can help	43%	37%	48%
Is problem	47%	53%	43%

■ Have Republicans in Congress gone too far in trying to cut social programs and may hurt people or have they not gone far enough in reforming to save taxpayer money?

	Total	Men	Women
Too far	49%	42%	56%
Not far enough	35%	44%	27%

American voters who have a favorable view of the jobs done by:

■ PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

	Total	Men	Women
Approve	47%	39%	54%
Disapprove	46%	54%	37%

■ FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

	Total	Men	Women
Approve	56%	46%	65%
Disapprove	34%	41%	27%

■ HOUSE SPEAKER NEWT GINGRICH

	Total	Men	Women
Approve	42%	51%	35%
Disapprove	43%	38%	47%

■ Americans who say they usually vote the same way as their spouse:

Married men	43%
Married women	27%

U.S. News poll of 1,000 registered voters with an additional 45 African-American registered voters conducted by Celinda Lake of Lake Research and Ed Goeas of the Tarrance Group July 25-27, 1995. Margin of error: Plus or minus 2.9 points. Percentages may not add up to 100 because some respondents answered "don't know."

MARTY THOMPSON

Lordstown, Ohio

Thompson, a waitress, says she's flexible about 1996. Four years ago she served on a grand jury, and it was an education. "I was shocked at how much crime we have," she says, and it has remained her key issue. She considers Hillary Clinton "very stylish," but some customers say "she's the president."

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ties, at all ages. Like many women, Elaine Derteen comes to the issue as a caretaker. "It would be devastating for my parents to pay [medical expenses] out of pocket," says Derteen, a Lordstown, Ohio, secretary who takes care of her parents. "Medical costs are unreal. It's really scary." While Democrats are likely to continue pushing the issue, Republicans sidestep it at their peril, says GOP pollster Goeas. "Republicans can't ignore the health care issue without it acting as a red flag on the women's vote."

Crime is more problematic. While Republican leaders oppose gun control, most women support it—and oppose repealing last year's congressional ban on some semiautomatic assault-style weapons. African-American women, who are largely Democratic, worry about crime the most—and most women call it a major problem. "Lack of leadership on this issue is destroying our young people," says Pennsylvania state Sen. Roxanne Jones. "We're literally losing a generation to these drugs." Across the country, Sandy Vaughn, a sports official at the University of Oregon in Eugene, worries about "people not working, born with drug and alcohol addictions, unwilling or unable to be productive. This puts a horrendous burden on our children."

It's easy to be a career woman. It's harder to be a mother.

— WANDA BEST, ALLEN, TEXAS

Women at home are more conservative personally and more anxious about the economy than are their counterparts in the work force. Some, like Best, are on the fence. She voted for George Bush in 1992, albeit not enthusiastically. Her husband owns a medical supply company, and her issues are economic: She wants a tax cut and less government.



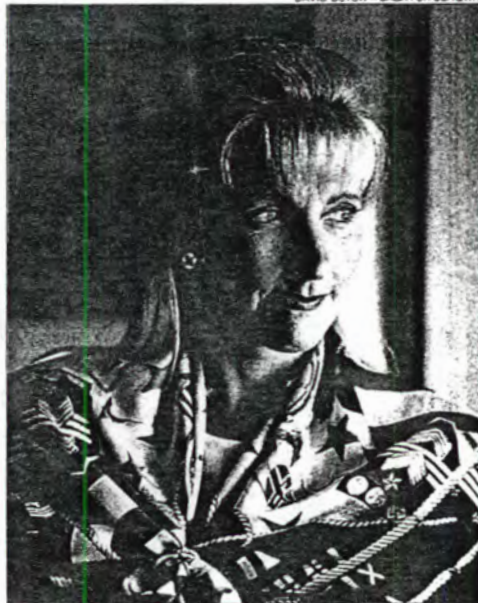
Others, like Connie Reese of Canton, Texas, pledge to continue voting Republican. Reese likes Phil Gramm; Clinton is someone "constantly putting his finger to the wind looking for a policy." And Reese doesn't like affirmative action. "How can I be for a policy that is going to hurt my husband and my sons?" she asks. Reese, who teaches her children at home, calls herself an "angry mother." Her chosen route, she says, has been "so

desecrated by liberal feminist ideology that a woman of above-average ability is told that being a mother is beneath her and a waste of her talents."

Reese's anger reflects differences between women who work outside the home and those who do not. Many of the latter, like Best, oppose abortion, an issue that often divides women by education and income (Best calls it "an important issue but not a litmus test").

Homemakers worry most about moral values—and the "character issue." That matters, says GOP pollster Linda DiVall, "when it's the presidency." Women in the work force are partial to the Clintons: They give the first lady a 73 percent vote of approval; Bill Clin-

DAVID BUTOW — SABA FOR USNEWS



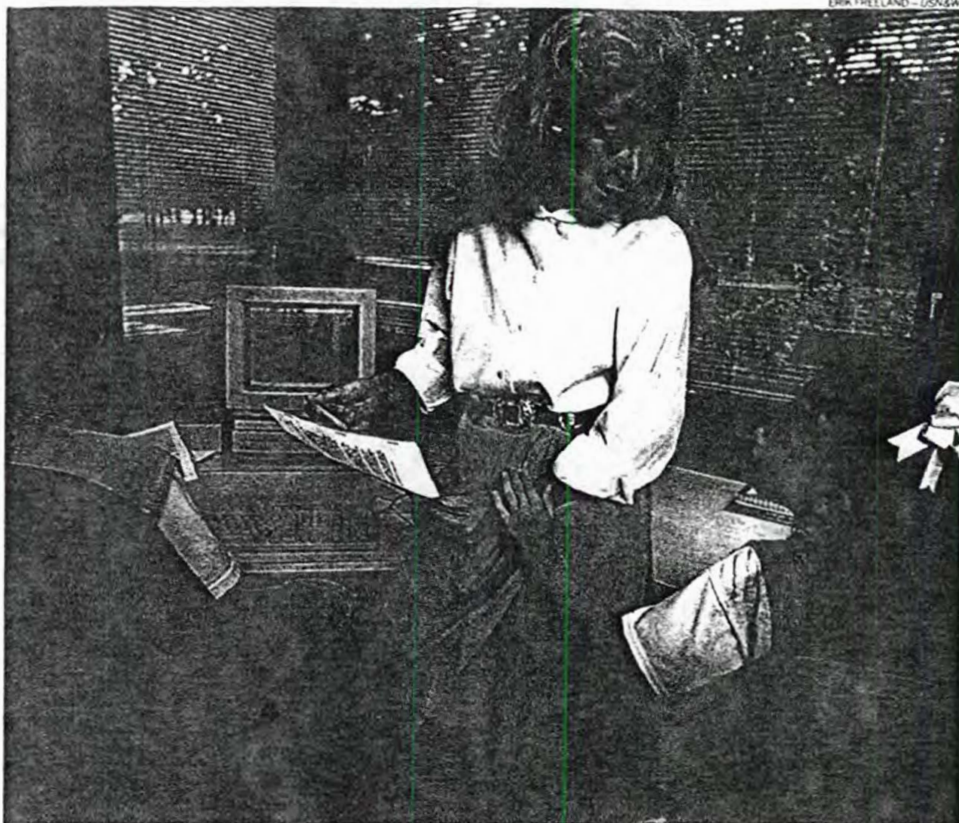
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TERESA DIETZ

San Diego

As a business attorney, Dietz believes that affirmative action should be abolished. She gives the president credit for turning the economy around—and leading Republicans leave her underwhelmed. "There's been too much posturing," she says.

And she gives Hillary Clinton credit for "good service."



CONNIE REESE

Canton, Texas

Reese lives with her husband and eight children on a 200-acre ranch outside Dallas. She manages the livestock operation and teaches her children at home. Family issues are key to her conservative politics. "We need to strengthen the family unit," she says, "and not undercut it with policies from Washington."

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it most, but the problem transcends education, income and partisan affiliation. Chambers, a mother of three in Chicago, spends most of her time coordinating her children's schedules. She tries to stay awake until midnight, when her husband returns from his shift at the city water department. Lordstown's Derteen, who has spent most of the past 23 years working two jobs as a caterer and a secretary for a union, says, "We just try to choose what's most important. . . . It's too

ton gets 57 percent. And 62 percent think the government would be better if more women were a part of it.

But women have never based their votes on gender alone. They provided the victory margin for Democrat Dianne Feinstein's close California Senate race last year. Yet Republican New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman says she didn't do as well among women as among men. "Women have to get the confidence to say that if there are two equal candidates, it's OK to come down on the side of the woman," says Whitman. "I haven't been able to break down that barrier yet."

My home life and my husband suffer. But you're faced with making

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JULIE PETSCHENKO

Chicago

"I feel there aren't enough women who really care about their right to vote," says Petschenko, who stays at home to care for her family. She worries about crime, health care and disappearing opportunities for children. A devout Catholic, she opposes abortion but calls Bill Clinton "OK."

difficult choices. You can go home early at 6 p.m. or late at 10 p.m. I'm home late.

— PHILADELPHIA DISTRICT ATTORNEY
LYNNE ABRAHAM

More than anything else, women are tired. Six in 10 say that having enough time and energy to get all their jobs done is their main concern. Baby boomers, many with young children, feel

much at times; the stress gets to you."

If the answer is technology, as Gingrich argues, he's not convincing women — who figure their jobs will be the ones lost to a computer or voice mail. GOP pollster Frank Luntz, who credits Clinton for talking about the stresses of real life, says, "Now, the Republicans have to be the party that tries to present some light at the end of the tunnel."

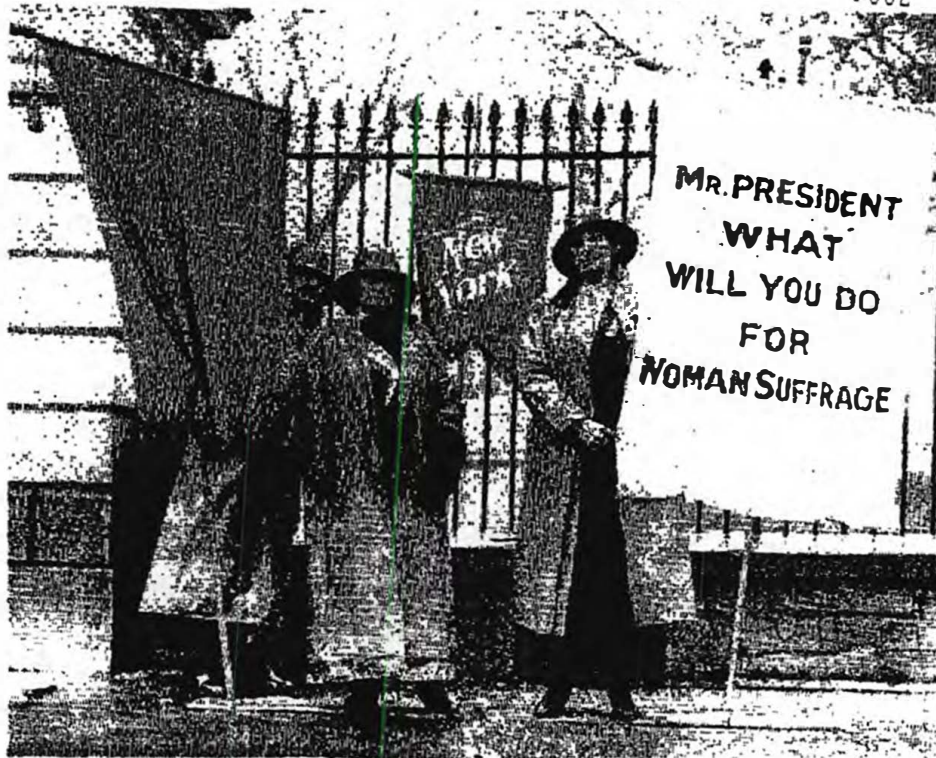
Easier said than done. Ronald Reagan discovered the GOP's gender gap in 1980. It fluctuates but never evaporates. Now the Democrats are worried about their own gender gap — with men. "Are women in love with Democrats?" asks Mark Mellman, a party pollster. "Certainly not. They're just a lot more positive about us than men are." The gap is so wide, says Lake, "you have to wonder what couples are talking about."

Maybe not much, the *U.S. News* survey suggests: More than two thirds of married women say they don't vote like their husbands. But nearly half of American husbands think they do vote like their wives.

BY GLORIA BORGER WITH JENNIFER SETER. MISSY DANIEL IN OHIO. BETSY WAGNER IN ILLINOIS. MIKE THARP IN CALIFORNIA. DAN MCGRAW IN TEXAS. SCOTT MINERSBROOK IN PENNSYLVANIA AND JERELYN EDDINGS IN FLORIDA

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Suffragists picketing the White House in the rain, 1917.

"It leaves its mark on one, such a struggle."

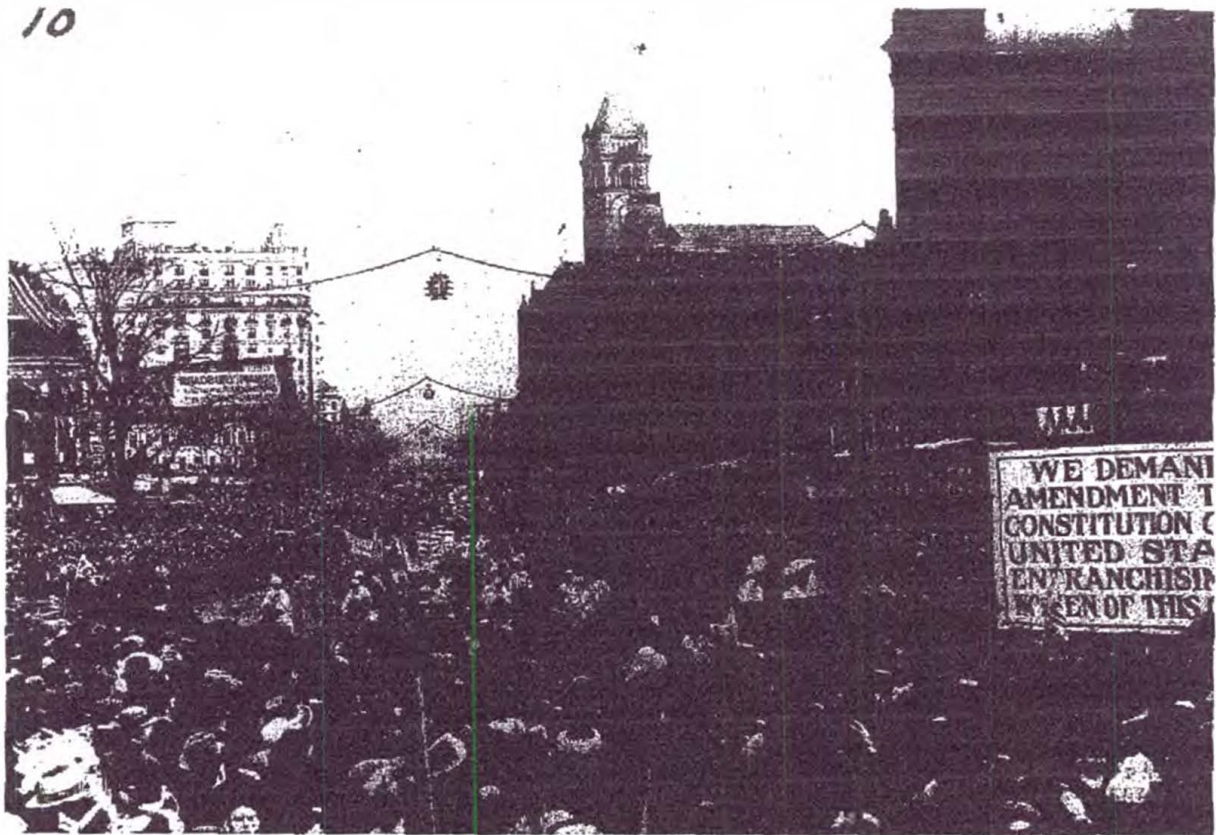
"To get the word 'male' in effect out of the Constitution cost the women of the country fifty-two years of pauseless campaign. . . . During that time they were forced to conduct fifty-six campaigns of referenda to male voters; 480 campaigns to get Legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to get State constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions; 277 campaigns to get State party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; 30 campaigns to get presidential party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms, and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses.

"Millions of dollars were raised, mainly in small sums, and expended with economic care. Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an entire lifetime, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds of thousands gave constant interest and such aid as they could. It was a continuous, seemingly endless, chain of activity. Young suffragists who helped forge the last links of that chain were not born when it began. Old suffragists who forged the first links were dead when it ended. . . .

"It is doubtful if any man, even among suffrage men, ever realized what the suffrage struggle came to mean to women before the end was allowed in America. How much of time and patience, how much work, energy and aspiration, how much faith, how much hope, how much despair went into it. It leaves its mark on one, such a struggle. It fills the days and it rides the nights. Working, eating, drinking, sleeping, it is there. Not all women in all the States of the Union were in the struggle. There were some women in every State who knew nothing about it. But most women in all the States were at least on the periphery of its effort and interest when they were not in the heart of it. To them all its success became a monumental thing."

— Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler,
Woman Suffrage and Politics, 1923

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This 1913 suffrage parade was timed to coincide with the inauguration of President Woodrow Wilson. When marchers were physically attacked by jeering men, the police were slow to respond; the ultimate effect was to energize the suffrage movement and greatly increase membership. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; PHOTO BY G.V. BUCK.

SOJOURNER TRUTH was present at the first national WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION in Worcester in 1850; the fact that her great "Ain't I a Woman?" speech is known today is because white women valued it enough to record it. She was featured at conventions for the rest of her life, and like her white colleagues in the movement, tested the Fifteenth Amendment by attempting to vote in Michigan in 1872. Because this was a time and place when the votes of black men were counted, it was clear that her ballot was refused because of her gender, not her race.

While it may be true that neither the AWSA nor the NWSA rushed to recruit African Americans, their original members had roots in the anti-slavery movement, and each appreciated those black women who joined. The AWSA, for example, welcomed poet FRANCES WATKINS HARPER to its leadership, while the NWSA promoted attorney CHARLOTTE RAY and featured MARY ANN SHADD CARY as a speaker. Decades later—when Reconstruction liberalism had disappeared from the rest of American society—black women such as MARY MAHONEY, NANNIE HELEN BURROUGHS, MAGGIE WALKER, and even radical IDA WELLS-BARNETT participated in the suffrage movement. MARY CHURCH TERRELL was repeatedly highlighted at conventions and made the most celebrated speech of her life before the INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE in 1904.

By the standards of their time, white suffragists were lead-

ers in race relations, for most organizations practiced greater segregation. Catholics and Jews also made up only a small portion of suffragist membership, but once again, cases such as ERNESTINE ROSE demonstrated a willingness to not only accept but also promote minority women who did join. Such tolerance is even more remarkable given the fact that few nineteenth century suffragists had any chance for college education, and that most women in academia held themselves far from the middle-class housewives who formed the backbone of the movement. Even as late as 1898, for example, only two of seventy-two students in a RADCLIFFE COLLEGE class were willing to say they favored votes for women.

With such obstacles to surmount, the aging leadership of the NWSA and AWSA associations worked out a truce after two decades of destructive rivalry and reunited into the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION in 1890. Tensions remained within the NAWSA for a number of years, however, in cases such as Anthony's immoderate response to the 1893 suggestion that conventions sometimes be held outside of Washington. In addition to the latent hostility between the former rivals, the NAWSA soon developed other internal factions. None was of greater significance than the tensions between Easterners and Westerners and the "wets" vs. the "drys" on the issue of PROHIBITION.

DRAFT #1
August 18, 1995

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Once, when I was a teenager, a friend and I devised a plan to singlehandedly root out political corruption in the city of Chicago.

Without telling our parents, we boarded a bus in the suburbs and traveled to the city's south side.

At a local precinct, we were given the latest voter registration rolls and told to go door-to-door. For hours we canvassed the neighborhood, asking earnest questions about whether people listed as registered voters were alive or dead.

Although I was too young to vote at the time, and unschooled in the art of big city politics, I did have a strong sense from the adults around me that voting was a right and a privilege that should not be abused.

In those days, the biggest abuse was dead people on the rolls. Today, the biggest abuse is real people who don't vote.

I think of this now as our nation celebrates the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. Less than a century after winning the right to vote, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls.

In 1994, only 45 percent of eligible women voted. More distressing, only 2 out of 10 women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted.

I don't think it's because women don't care about our country. It's that we have so many obligations in our everyday lives.

Women are responsible for raising children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages), and running households.

We must worry about everything from the cost of groceries to the quality of our kids' schools, from the safety of our neighborhoods to the availability of affordable health care.

In the rush of modern life, too many of us have simply forgotten our own history.

Women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched the suffrage movement in 1848, and the courage of Susan B. Anthony, who was arrested and tried for attempting to vote in the Presidential election of 1872.

It took thousands of others -- from socialites to seamstresses -- who joined parades, pageants and pickets on behalf of suffrage.

It took men, too. Men like Harry Burn, the young legislator from Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage on August 18, 1920, but only after receiving an

admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J. L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother."

Harry Burn took his mother's advice. And for months thereafter, he traveled the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

Others who campaigned for suffrage endured far greater hardships. Some went to jail for their cause. Some were scorned and ridiculed. Some lost jobs. Some gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

To those Americans, voting was the most fundamental right of living in a democracy. It was essential to women's progress in the world. And that's why they fought so hard to achieve it.

Women's suffrage, finally granted with ratification of the 19th Amendment on August 26, 1920, was nothing short of a social revolution. With the vote, women could influence laws. They could have some say over their destinies. They could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

This week, as we celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage in towns and cities across America, I hope we will take stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And I hope we will heed the message that the great suffragists passed on to us.

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th century anti-slavery and women's rights leader, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

But we can only do it if we vote.

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In 1978 I was for hour & hour
with

East Arkansas

small town

white neighborhood

> home in the 50s, 60s, 70s <

< Latest time to put in the Big - when >

< Newcomer to the community >

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DRAFT #1
August 17, 1995

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

I was 21 years old the first time I voted. The polling place was in [garage; school; whatever] in [city]. The booth had a dark curtain, and I remember carefully [lifting the lever; penciling in xx] to mark the ballot in the right place.

It was a memorable, ~~even awesome~~, experience for me. And I have to thank Harry Burn and his mother, among others, for making it possible.

Burn was a 23-year-old [ck] state legislator in Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage 75 years ago. But he did so only after receiving an admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear Son," she wrote. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage! Don't keep them in doubt."

Burn's vote made Tennessee the 36th state to ratify the 19th Amendment and assured the enfranchisement of women nationwide.

Of course, Burn and his mother were only minor figures in the extraordinary story of how women won the right to vote.

This week, as we celebrate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage in towns and cities across America, we are reminded of the courage and sacrifice of the true heroines of the movement: Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Sojourner Truth and Carrie Champan Catt, and thousands of other women and men who

gave their lives to the cause.

Women's suffrage was not something that just happened. It took 72 years of hard work.

Women went to jail for suffrage. They were scorned and ridiculed. They lost jobs. They gave up their possessions to raise money for the hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

Yet today, despite the sacrifices of those who came before us, many women don't bother to vote at all. They forget that voting is a hard-won privilege.

A friend once told me about the time she decided not to vote because she didn't like any of the candidates. Her mother was furious. "She reminded me of the suffrage movement and all of the women of her generation who had made great sacrifices so that we could vote," my friend said.

DRAFT #1a
August 17, 1995

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #6 -- WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE**

Once, when I was a teenager, a friend and I decided to do our part to root out voting irregularities in the city of Chicago.

Without telling our parents, we boarded a bus in the suburbs and traveled to the city's south side. Armed with the latest voter registration rolls, we went door-to-door, asking earnest questions about whether people listed as registered voters were alive or dead.

Although I was too young to vote at the time, and unschooled in the art of big city politics, I knew that voting was a right and a privilege that should not be abused.

The problem in those days was that a lot of people who couldn't vote, did vote. The problem today is that too many Americans who can vote, don't vote.

I think of this now as our nation celebrates the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage.

Suffrage was not something that just happened overnight. It took 72 years of hard work.

Women went to jail for suffrage. They were scorned and ridiculed. They lost jobs. They gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in

state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

In cities and town across the United States, stories are being told about women who devoted their lives to the suffrage movement so that successive generations could enjoy the full privileges of democracy.

I have friends who only now are are discovering great grandmothers and great aunts who had joined suffrage parades, pageants, and picket lines. I know young men and women who are learning for the first time about the courage and sacrifice of suffrage leaders like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who launched the first public campaign to enfranchise women in 1848 and Susan B. Anthony, who was arrested and tried for attempting to vote in the presidential election of 1872.

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
Fr: Sabrina
Re: suffrage march
Da: August 15, 1995

I thought the following passage offered a nice description of a suffrage march. In 1912, a reporter for the Baltimore American wrote:

"Women who usually see Fifth Avenue through the polished windows of their limousines and touring cars strode steadily side by side with pale-faced, thin-bodied girls from the sweltering sweatshops of the East Side. Mrs. O.H.P. Belmont walked but a few steps ahead of Rebecca Goldstein, who runs a sewing machine in a shirtwaist shop.

"All along Fifth Avenue from Washington Square, where the parade formed, to 57th street, where it disbanded, were gathered thousands of men and women of New York. They blocked every cross street on the line of march. Many were inclined to laugh and jeer, but none did. The sight of the impressive column of women striding five abreast up the middle of the street stifled all thought of ridicule. They were typical, womanly American women...women doctors, women lawyers, splendid in their array of academic robes; women architects, women artists, actresses and sculptors; women waitresses, domestics; a huge division of industrial workers; women of the seven suffrage states in the Union; a big delegation from New Jersey; another from Connecticut...all marched with an intensity and purpose that astonished the crowds that lined the streets." April 5, 1912

Note: The reporter was in error. At the time, there were only six suffrage states. Reprinted in Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, 1974, p.259.

RATIFICATION OF THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

In 1919, Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution and sent it to the states for ratification. Three-fourths (36) of the states had to vote in favor. On August 26, 1920, it was certified that 36 states had voted to grant women the vote.

*Illinois was first,
but for clerical error
Wisconsin was given
the credit.*

Post-It® Fax Note	7671	Date	8/17	# of pages	9
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Include in this listing:
Minnesota, September 1919

Arizona	February 12, 1920	New Jersey	February 9, 1920
Arkansas	July 28, 1919	New Mexico	February 21, 1920
California	November 1, 1919	New York	June 16, 1919
Colorado	December 15, 1919	North Dakota	December 1, 1919
Idaho	February 11, 1920	Ohio	June 16, 1919
Illinois	June 10, 1919	Oklahoma	February 28, 1920
Indiana	January 16, 1920	Oregon	January 13, 1920
Iowa	July 2, 1919	Pennsylvania	June 24, 1919
Kansas	June 16, 1919	Rhode Island	January 6, 1920
Kentucky	January 6, 1920	South Dakota	December 4, 1919
Maine	November 5, 1919	Tennessee	August 18, 1920
Massachusetts	June 24, 1919	Texas	June 28, 1919
Michigan	June 10, 1919	Utah	October 2, 1919
Missouri	July 3, 1919	Washington	March 22, 1920
Montana	August 2, 1919	West Virginia	March 10, 1920
Nebraska	August 2, 1919	Wisconsin	June 10, 1919
Nevada	February 7, 1920	Wyoming	January 27, 1920
New Hampshire	September 10, 1919		

CHRONOLOGY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT EVENTS

compiled by Mary Ruthadotter

National Women's History Project

1776-1807: New Jersey grants women the vote in its state constitution.¹

1838: Kentucky widows with children in school are granted "school suffrage," the right to vote in school board elections.²

July 13, 1848: Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mary Ann McClintock are invited to tea at the home of Jane Hunt in Waterloo, New York. They decide to call a two-day meeting of women at the Wesleyan Methodist chapel in Seneca Falls to discuss women's rights.³

July 19 and 20, 1848: Three hundred people attend the first convention held to discuss women's rights, in Seneca Falls, New York. 68 women and 32 men⁴ sign the "Declaration of Sentiments," including the first formal demand made in the United States for women's right to vote: "...it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

August 2, 1848: Amy Post, Sarah D. Fish, Sarah C. Owen and Mary H. Hallowell convene a women's rights convention in Rochester, New York. Abigail Bush chairs the public meeting, a first for American women.⁵

1850: Isabella Van Wagener adopted the name Sojourner Truth in 1843 and became an itinerant preacher. In 1850 she began speaking out widely for women's rights.⁶

April 19-20, 1850: In Salem, Ohio, women take complete control of their women's rights convention, refusing men any form of participation apart from attendance.

October 23-24, 1850: First National Woman's Rights Convention, planned by Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott and Abby Kelley,⁸ is held in Worcester, Massachusetts.⁹ It draws 1,000 people, and women's movement leaders gain national attention. Annual national conferences are held through 1860 (except 1857).¹⁰

March 1851: Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton first meet, on a street corner in Seneca Falls, New York.¹¹

May 28-29, 1851: Sojourner Truth's spontaneous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech electrifies the woman's rights convention in Akron, Ohio.¹²

October 15-16, 1851: Second National Woman's Rights Convention held in Worcester, Massachusetts.¹³

February 1853: The *Una* premier in Providence, Rhode Island, edited by Paulina Kellogg Wright Davis. With a masthead declaring it to be "A Paper Devoted to the Elevation of Woman," it is acknowledged as the first feminist newspaper of the woman's rights movement.¹⁴

October 6-8, 1853: Fourth National Woman's Rights Convention is held in Cleveland, Ohio.¹⁵

October 18, 1854: Fifth national Woman's Rights Convention is held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.¹⁶

October 17-18, 1855: Sixth National Woman's Rights Convention is held in Cincinnati, Ohio.¹⁷

November 15-26, 1856: Seventh National Woman's Rights Convention is held in New York City.¹⁸

1861: Women in Kansas are granted the vote in school board elections.¹⁹

February 1861: National Woman's Rights Convention is held in Albany, New York.²⁰

1866: Suffragists present petitions bearing 10,000 signatures directly to Congress for an amendment prohibiting disenfranchisement on the basis of sex.²¹

May 1, 1866: Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention. The American Equal Rights Association is formed at the end of the convention, with Lucretia Mott as president, the members pledged to achieve suffrage for both women and Negroes.²²

October 10, 1866: Elizabeth Cady Stanton declares herself a candidate for Congress from the 8th Congressional District of New York. She receives 24 of 22,026 votes cast in November.²³

1867: Kansas puts a woman suffrage amendment proposal on the ballot, the first time the question goes to a direct vote. It loses.²⁴

1867-1913: Referenda on woman suffrage are held in fifty-six states.

1868: The Fourteenth Amendment is ratified, including the word "male" for the first time in the Constitution.

1868: The first measure providing for a woman suffrage amendment is introduced into Congress.²⁵

January 8, 1868: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Parker Pillsbury publish the first edition of *The Revolution*, which becomes one of the most important radical periodicals of the women's movement, although it circulates for less than three years.²⁶ Its motto: "Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less!"²⁷

November 19, 1868: In Vineland, New Jersey, 172 women cast ballots in a separate box during the presidential election, inspiring similar demonstrations elsewhere in following years.²⁸

December 1868: The federal women's suffrage amendment is first introduced in Congress, by Senator S.C. Pomeroy of Kansas.²⁹

May 1869: The National Woman Suffrage Association is founded by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to achieve the vote through a Congressional amendment, while also addressing other women's rights issues.³⁰

March 1869: The federal women's suffrage amendment is introduced as a Joint Resolution to both Houses of Congress by Rep. George W. Julian of Indiana.³¹

November 18, 1869: The American Woman Suffrage Association is formed by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell and other more conservative activists to work exclusively for woman suffrage, focused on amending individual state constitutions.³²

January 8, 1870: *The Woman's Journal* debuts, edited by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Mary Livermore.³³ In 1900 it is adopted as the official paper of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the merged suffrage organizations.³⁴

1870: Women in Wyoming become the first to vote following the granting of territorial status.³⁵

January 11, 1871: Victoria Woodhull addresses the House Judiciary Committee, arguing women's right to vote under the 14th Amendment.³⁶

1871: The Anti-Suffrage Party is founded by wives of prominent men, including many Civil War generals.³⁷

May 10, 1872: Victoria Woodhull becomes a Presidential candidate on her own ticket, naming Frederick Douglass (who declined) as her running mate.³⁸

November 1872: For casting a ballot with 15 other women, Susan B. Anthony is arrested in New York.³⁹

June 17, 1873: Susan B. Anthony is tried for voting illegally, is convicted, and fined \$100, which she refuses to ever pay.⁴⁰

1875: Michigan and Minnesota give women the "school vote."⁴¹

1876: Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage disrupt the official Centennial program at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, presenting a "Declaration of Rights for Women" to Vice President Ferry.⁴²

1878: Senator A.A. Sargent (California) introduces a woman suffrage amendment, the wording of which remains unchanged until it is finally passed by Congress in 1920.⁴³

1882: Both houses of Congress appoint Select Committees on Woman Suffrage, and both report the measure favorably.⁴⁴

January 25, 1887: The first vote on woman suffrage is taken in the Senate, where it is defeated 34 to 16, with 25 members absent.⁴⁵

1887: Kansas grants women municipal suffrage.⁴⁶

1890: American Federation of Labor declares support for a woman suffrage amendment.⁴⁷

July 23, 1890: Wyoming is admitted to the Union, becoming the first state since New Jersey (1776-1807) to grant women full enfranchisement in its state constitution.⁴⁸ Women had been granted voting rights in the Wyoming Territory since 1869.⁴⁹

1890: The American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association merge, becoming the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), pledged to state-by-state campaigns for suffrage.⁵⁰

1890: The South Dakota campaign for woman suffrage loses.⁵¹

1893: Colorado adopts a constitutional amendment after defeat in 1877.⁵²

1894: 600,000 signatures are presented to the New York State Constitutional Convention in an effort to bring a woman suffrage amendment to the voters. The campaign fails.⁵³

1896: Utah joins the Union, granting women full suffrage.

1896: Idaho adopts a state constitutional amendment enfranchising women.⁵⁴

October 31, 1909: The Woman Suffrage Party is founded.⁵⁵

1910: Washington State adopts a state constitutional amendment enfranchising women after defeats in 1889 and 1898. It had twice had woman suffrage by enactment of the territorial legislature and lost it by court decisions.⁵⁶

1903: In a highly symbolic move, the National American Woman Suffrage Association Annual Convention, held in New Orleans, featured wouthern women prominently, and voted to accept a states' rights structure along with permitting southern state organizations to exclude black women from their associations.⁵⁷

1910: The first suffrage parade is held in New York City,⁵⁸ organized by the Women's Political Union.

July 25, 1911: the first-ever open-air suffrage meeting was conducted in Philadelphia by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, part of a long and popular series.⁵⁹

November 1911: The most elaborate campaign ever mounted for suffrage succeeds in California by only 3,587 votes, an average of one vote in every precinct in the state.⁶⁰ This followed a defeat in 1896.⁶¹

1911: 3,000 suffrage supporters march in the second New York City parade, with an estimated 70,000 onlookers.⁶²

1911: National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is founded,⁶³ issuing an official journal, the *Woman's Protest*.⁶⁴

1912: 20,000 suffrage supporters join a New York City parade, with a half-million onlookers.⁶⁵

1912: Oregon adopts a constitutional amendment after defeats in 1884, 1900, 1906, 1908, 1910.⁶⁶

1912: Kansas adopts a constitutional amendment after defeats in 1867 and 1893.⁶⁷

1912: Arizona adopts a constitutional amendment submitted as a result of referendum petitions.⁶⁸

January 2, 1913: The National Woman's Party is founded by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns as an auxiliary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for the exclusive purpose of securing passage of a federal amendment.⁶⁹ Their efforts revive the moribund issue.⁷⁰ First office at 1420 F Street, Washington, DC; incorporated on Sept. 20, 1918.⁷¹

March 3, 1913: The day preceding President Wilson's inauguration, 8,000 suffragists parade in Washington, DC, organized by Alice Paul. They are mobbed by abusive crowds along the way.⁷²

May 10, 1913: The largest suffrage parade to date marches down Fifth Avenue, New York City.⁷³ 10,000 people, including perhaps 500 men, paraded past 150-500,000 onlookers.⁷⁴

October 18, 1913: Militant Emeline Pankhurst arrives from England to undertake a speaking tour.⁷⁵

December 1913: At their annual convention, the NAWSA leadership expells the militants (Alice Paul, et al.)⁷⁶

1913: The Territory of Alaska adopts woman suffrage. It is the first bill approved by the Governor.⁷⁷

1913: Illinois is the first state to grant women presidential suffrage by legislative enactment.⁷⁸

1913: Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference is formed.⁷⁹

1914: Montana adopts a constitutional amendment on its first submission.⁸⁰

1914: Nevada adopts a constitutional amendment on its first submission.⁸¹

September 1914: A bequest from Mrs. Frank Leslie, publisher of *Leslie's Weekly*, puts \$1,000,000 at the disposal of Carrie Chapman Catt for "the furtherance of the cause of woman suffrage."⁸²

1915: A transcontinental tour by suffragists, including Mabel Vernon and Sara Bard Field,⁸³ gathers over a half-million signatures on petitions to Congress.⁸⁴

1915: 40,000 march in a New York City suffrage parade, the largest parade ever held in that city.⁸⁵

1915: Woman suffrage measures are defeated in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts.⁸⁶

August 1916: 36 National American Woman Suffrage Association state chapters endorse NAWSA President Carrie Chapman Catt's "Winning Plan," a unified campaign to get the amendment through Congress and ratified by their respective legislatures.⁸⁷

December 2, 1916: Suffragists fly over President Wilson's yacht and drop suffrage amendment petitions.⁸⁸

1917: North Dakota secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment, after defeat of a constitutional amendment in 1914.⁸⁹

1917: Nebraska secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment after defeats of a constitutional amendment in 1882 and 1914.⁹⁰

1917: Rhode Island secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment after defeat of a constitutional amendment in 1887.⁹¹

1917: New York adopts a constitutional amendment after defeat in 1915.⁹²

1917: Arkansas secures primary suffrage by legislative enactment.⁹³

January 10, 1917: National Woman's Party pickets appear in front of the White House⁹⁴ holding aloft two banners: "Mr. President, What Will You Do For Woman Suffrage?" and "How Long Must Women Wait For Liberty?" Sentinels remain stationed there permanently regardless of weather or violent public response, with hourly changes of shift.

April 2, 1917: Jeannette Rankin of Montana is formally seated in the U.S. House of Representatives, the first woman elected to Congress.⁹⁵

June 22, 1917: Arrests of the National Woman's Party pickets begin on charges of obstructing traffic. Subsequent pickets, tried and found guilty, refuse to pay the \$25 fines and are sentenced for up to six months in jail.⁹⁶ Their inhumane treatment in jail creates a cadre of martyrs for the suffrage cause.⁹⁷

November 27, 28, 1917: In response to public outcry and jailers' inability to stop the National Woman's Party pickets' hunger strikes, the government unconditionally releases the pickets.⁹⁸

1918: Michigan adopts a constitutional amendment after defeats in 1874, 1912, and 1913. Secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment in 1917.⁹⁹

1918: Texas secures primary suffrage by legislative enactment.¹⁰⁰

1918: South Dakota adopts a constitutional amendment after six prior campaigns for suffrage had been defeated.¹⁰¹

1918: Oklahoma adopts a constitutional amendment after defeat in 1910.¹⁰²

January 9, 1918: President Wilson first states his public support of the federal woman suffrage amendment.¹⁰³

January 10, 1918: The House votes 274 to 136, precisely two-thirds in favor of a suffrage amendment.¹⁰⁴

September 30, 1918: President Wilson finally addresses the Senate personally, arguing for woman suffrage at the war's end.¹⁰⁵

1919: Indiana secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment in 1917. Rendered doubtful by a court decision, the law was re-enacted with but six dissenting votes.¹⁰⁶

1919: Maine secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment after defeat of a constitutional amendment in 1917.¹⁰⁷

1919: Missouri secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment after defeat of a constitutional amendment in 1916.¹⁰⁸

1919: Iowa secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment after defeat of a constitutional amendment in 1916.¹⁰⁹

1919: Minnesota secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment.¹¹⁰

1919: Ohio secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment after defeat of referendum on the law in 1917 and of a constitutional amendment in 1912 and 1914.¹¹¹

1919: Wisconsin secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment after defeat of a constitutional amendment in 1912.¹¹²

1919: Tennessee secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment.¹¹³

January 6, 1919: In an urn directly in line with the White House front door, the National Woman's Party builds a perpetual "watchfire for freedom" in which they burn the words of every hypocritical speech President Wilson gives about democracy.¹¹⁴

March 24 1919: Carrie Chapman Catt proposes the formation of a league of women voters to "finish the fight." The occasion was the 50th Anniversary Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in St. Louis.¹¹⁵

Spring 1919: The most prominent National Woman's Party suffrage prisoners (including Havemeyer, Rogers, Milholland, Winsor, Vernon) tour the country on a train called the "Prison Special." At each stop they speak about the need for suffrage and their prison experiences; between stops they threw suffrage literature out the windows for farming communities.¹¹⁶

May 21, 1919: The House of Representatives passes the federal woman suffrage amendment, 304 to 89, a margin of 42 votes over the required two-thirds majority.¹¹⁷ Opponents block action in the Senate for another two weeks, delaying ratification as most legislatures have adjourned for the year.¹¹⁸

June 4, 1919: The Senate passes the 19th Amendment with just two votes to spare, 56 to 25.¹¹⁹ Drafted by Susan B. Anthony and first introduced in 1878 with the same wording, it is now sent to the states for ratification.¹²⁰

1920: Kentucky secures presidential suffrage by legislative enactment.¹²¹

February 14, 1920: The League of Women Voters is founded as "a mighty experiment" at the Victory Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Chicago, Illinois. By now, 33 states have ratified the suffrage amendment, but final victory was still three states away.¹²²

August 18, 1920: Tennessee becomes the 36th state to ratify the Amendment.¹²³ A young state legislator casts the deciding vote after being admonished to do so by his mother.¹²⁴

August 26, 1920: The 19th Amendment is quietly signed into law by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, granting women the right to vote.¹²⁵

Carrie Chapman Catt summarized the effort involved in securing passage of the 19th Amendment:

"To get the word "male" in effect out of the Constitution cost the women of the country fifty-two years of pauseless campaign... During that time they were forced to conduct fifty-six campaigns of referenda to male voters; 480 campaigns to get Legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to get State constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions; 277 campaigns to get State party conventions to include woman suffrage planks in party platforms, and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses."¹²⁶

- 1 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 247
- 2 Handbook of American Women's History, p. 581, col. 2.
- 3 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 83
- 4 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 83
- 5 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 81
- 6 Famous American Women: A Biographical Dictionary from Colonial Times to the Present, p. 417
- 7 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 93
- 8 From Parlor to Prison, p. 292
- 9 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 100
- 10 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 100
- 11 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 97
- 12 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 98
- 13 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 100
- 14 A Voice of Their Won: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910, p. 48
- 15 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 101
- 16 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 101
- 17 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 130
- 18 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 130
- 19 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 151
- 20 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 151
- 21 From Parlor to Prison, p. 293
- 22 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 171
- 23 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 172.
- 24 From Parlor to Prison, p. 293
- 25 Century of Struggle, p. 176 (no further details there)
- 26 A Voice of Their Won: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910, p. 71
- 27 Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States, p. 153
- 28 Century of Struggle, p. 168
- 29 Century of Struggle, p. 152
- 30 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 177
- 31 Century of Struggle, p. 152
- 32 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 178, 207
- 33 Century of Struggle, p. 155
- 34 A Voice of Their Won: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910, p. 91
- 35 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 208
- 36 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 211
- 37 From Parlor to Prison, p. 294
- 38 Notable American Women, p. 654.
- 39 Century of Struggle, p. 168
- 40 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 211
- 41 Womanlist
- 42 A Time of Protest: Suffragists Challenge the Republic, 1870-1887, p. 75
- 43 Century of Struggle, p. 176
- 44 Century of Struggle, p. 177
- 45 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 241
- 46 Votes for Women?! p.14
- 47 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 247
- 48 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 247
- 49 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161
- 50 From Parlor to Prison, p. 295
- 51 From Parlor to Prison, p. 295
- 52 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-4
- 53 From Parlor to Prison, p. 295
- 54 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-4
- 55 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 294
- 56 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
- 57 Hidden Histories of Women in the New South, p. 98.
- 58 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 294
- 59 Lifting the Curtain, p. 43
- 60 Century of Struggle, p. 265
- 61 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
- 62 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 289
- 63 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 294

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- 64 Hidden Histories of Women in the New South, p. 99
 - 65 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 291
 - 66 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 67 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 68 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 69 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 295
 - 70 Woman's Party papers, January 12, 1916, Library of Congress
 - 71 The Story of Alice Paul and the National Women's Party, p. 19
 - 72 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 295; 5,000 marched, according to the Baltimore American, March 4, 1913
 - 73 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 290
 - 74 "Women's Journal and Suffrage News," as reported by the Schlesinger Library in response to 7/19/94 inquiry.
 - 75 Challenging Years, P. 200-205
 - 76 Historical Viewpoints, p. 185
 - 77 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 78 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 79 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 295
 - 80 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 81 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 82 Century of Struggle, p. 282, 324.
 - 83 "How We Got the Vote" video, interview
 - 84 From Parlor to Prison, p. 296
 - 85 From Parlor to Prison, p. 296
 - 86 From Parlor to Prison, p. 296
 - 87 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 296; Century of Struggle, p. 290
 - 88 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 296
 - 89 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 90 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 91 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 92 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 93 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 94 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 315
 - 95 Century of Struggle, p. 293
 - 96 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 315, 318.
 - 97 Century of Struggle, p. 295
 - 98 Century of Struggle, p. 297
 - 99 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 100 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 101 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 102 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 103 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 319
 - 104 Century of Struggle, p. 302
 - 105 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 316/7.
 - 106 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164 (reprint in Scott & Scott, p. 166-168.
 - 107 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 108 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 109 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 110 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 111 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 112 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 113 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 114 Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party 1912-1920, p.238
 - 115 League of Women Voters Council Kit, June 1993
 - 116 Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party 1912-1920, p.242-3.
 - 117 Century of Struggle, p. 327
 - One Half the People, p. 163
 - 118 League of Women Voters Council Kit, June 1993
 - 119 Women's Suffrage in America, p. 317
 - 120 From Parlor to Prison, p. 300
 - 121 Victory: How Women Won It, p. 161-164
 - 122 League of Women Voters Council Kit, June 1993
 - 123 League of Women Voters Council Kit, June 1993
 - Century of Struggle, p.323
 - The Story of the 19th Amendment, p. 30
 - 124 League of Women Voters Council Kit, June 1993

¹²⁵ *Women's Suffrage in America*, p. 319.

¹²⁶ *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, Catt and Shuler, p. 107

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THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE Show #706

Air Date: February 15, 1995

One Woman, One Vote

DAVID McCULLOUGH, Host: Good evening and welcome to The American Experience. I'm David McCullough.

It was not until a dreadfully hot day in Nashville in the summer of 1920 that the state legislature of Tennessee cast the 36th and deciding vote to ratify the epochal 19th Amendment to the Constitution — "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex" — but why had it taken so long? As history goes, 1920 was only the other day. Many watching this broadcast can remember 1920.

When the founders of the new United States of America had finished their work in the last part of the 18th century, they thought they had established a true democracy and, by contrast to the rest of the world at the time, they had, but it was democracy by their standards, a democracy of white men, and much of the American story since has been about the struggle of so many others to be included. It would take a terrible civil war to emancipate millions of black men and women held in slavery, Americans with no rights at all, and the long struggle for women — all women, white and black — to win the most basic right of democracy, the right to vote, would go on for more than 70 years.

Why did the nation that called itself the world's greatest representative democracy refuse federally-granted suffrage to more than half of its adult citizens for more than 130 years? The answer is our story tonight. It's the chronicle of a long, difficult crusade and of extraordinary, and, I should say, extraordinarily courageous leadership. Among the lessons to be drawn are surely these two: that such victories as won in Nashville in 1920 don't just happen, and never, ever should we take for granted the progress gained for us by others who went before.

SUSAN SARANDON, Narrator: [voice-over] Nineteen thirteen — Washington had never seen anything like it — 8,000 from all over the country flooding down Pennsylvania Avenue, demanding the right to vote. "It is absurd," said one delegate, "half the citizens in America keeping the other half from the ballot."

SINGERS: *We shall strive and we shall conquer /
Hard though the fight may be / And with hearts
ne'er weak nor weary / We'll win from sea to sea.*

SARANDON: [voice-over] Leading the parade, a law-

yer named Inez Mulholland. Three years, she'd die of exhaustion, campaigning for the cause. One delegation, dressed as Pilgrims, had marched 400 miles from New York City, led by General Rosalie Jones.

SINGERS: *We are marching on to victory / Coming in the light, for our cause is right.*

SARANDON: [voice-over] The reaction from the crowd was mixed. Some men jeered. One yelled, "Go home to your mother." A marcher yelled back, "My mother is here." Women new to the battle, some who had fought for decades — by 1913, the movement had millions of supporters, but on that blustery day, there were few who could remember how it all began 65 years before in Seneca Falls, New York.

In 1848, this was a progressive town in the heart of the anti-slavery movement, but the women of Seneca Falls were as confined as any in the land — second-class citizens restricted by law and custom.

SALLY ROESCH WAGNER, Women's Historian: Once a woman married, everything that she owned became her husband's. They ceased to exist legally. Women had no rights to their own property, they had no rights to their children, they had no rights to the safety of their own bodies. One of the states upheld the right of a husband to beat his wife, saying that to do otherwise would be to upset the domestic harmony of the home.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Those who dared suggest that women were entitled to equal rights were accused of blasphemy. It was in this climate that the first woman's rights meeting was called at a modest chapel in Seneca Falls. The leader, 32-year-old Elizabeth Cady Stanton, did not look like a revolutionary, but Stanton had been a rebel since childhood. A judge's daughter, she had fought for an education as good as her brother's. Now the wife of a radical abolitionist, Stanton was pushing the fight beyond slavery to demand justice for women as well.

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her.

SARANDON: [voice-over] For two days, the Methodist chapel rang with the voices of 300 women and 40 men, most of them abolitionists already calling for the end of slavery. Now they raised some of the most troubling issues to women — divorce, education, property rights — passing one resolution after the next. Then the assembly was thrown into an uproar by Stanton's demand that women be given the right to vote.

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] For what shall we first petition? For the exercise of our right to the elective franchise — nothing short of this. The grant of this right will secure all the others.

SARA EVANS, Historian: That was the only thing that was controversial among them. It was so radical. It was such a quintessentially male act by 1848, to vote, that they really had to argue among themselves about whether it was okay to put that in, whether

that would sink the whole thing.

MICHAEL McGERR, Historian: Women couldn't, by law, vote, but by and large what was at stake here wasn't just law. It was a whole set of customs and assumptions about the way the world was supposed to be, about what men and women were supposed to be. It was only men, mostly white men, who had the right to vote.

SARANDON: [voice-over] The debate over woman's suffrage went on for hours until abolitionist Frederick Douglass rose in support.

READER: [Frederick Douglass] This cause is not exclusively woman's cause. It is the cause of human brotherhood as well as human sisterhood.

SARANDON: [voice-over] The Seneca Falls declaration called for the vote in a true democracy where male and female, black and white would stand together on equal ground. Reaction to the convention was swift. One paper called it "an insurrection," another "a congregation of Amazons bolting with a vengeance." Elizabeth Cady Stanton was delighted.

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] "My dear friends, I saw that all the journals from Maine to Texas strive with each other to see which will make our movement seem more ridiculous. Imagine all the publicity given to our ideas that will start women thinking and men, too, and when men and women think, the first step in progress is taken. Good night. Elizabeth Cady Stanton."

Early Days

SARANDON: [voice-over] The Seneca Falls convention set off a wave of woman's rights meetings throughout the 1850's. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was torn between raising her children and raising a revolution. Unable to travel, she made her voice heard in articles, letters and at local meetings. It was following one of these assemblies that she met a restless schoolteacher from Rochester, New York, Susan B. Anthony. They began a lifelong friendship. Stanton said when she first saw that stately young Quaker woman, she knew that together they would shake the very foundations of American society. Inspired by Stanton, Anthony dedicated her life to the cause, taking to the road to fight for woman's rights.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] "My dear Mrs. Stanton, I do not want to give up my life of freedom to become a man's housekeeper. If a girl marries poverty, she becomes a drudge. If she marries wealth, she becomes a doll, and I want none of either. Yours, Susan B. Anthony."

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] "Oh, Susan, Susan, I shall die of a human rights convulsion. How rebellious it makes me feel when I see my husband going about where and how he pleases. Come here and I will do what I can to help you with your speech if you will hold the baby and make the puddings. Ever yours, Elizabeth."

SARANDON: [voice-over] For years, Anthony trekked

from town to town to deliver her message. She never knew if people would listen politely or pelt her with rotten tomatoes. Quietly, firmly, she called for equality for all peoples.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] There is no true freedom for woman without possession of all her rights. Whether black, white, male or female, even the smallest human right denied is large.

KATHLEEN BARRY, Biographer of Susan B. Anthony: Anthony always carried a tremendous sense of personal dignity with her, because she always had a sense of having the rights that she actually did not have. Her message was not complicated and that is that women must have full rights of citizenship and full equality, most basically be fully treated as human beings.

SARANDON: [voice-over] The suffrage movement would be a magnet for a handful of extraordinarily independent women. A Boston abolitionist, Lucy Stone joined the crusade. Stone had defied convention by keeping her own name when she married. Now a paid anti-slavery speaker, she split her time working for women's rights.

READER: [Lucy Stone] The woman who departs from society's rules must suffer, but I shall brave ridicule and persecution for the sake of the good that will result.

SARANDON: [voice-over] For 10 years, leaders of the woman's movement and abolitionists all worked together. In 1861 when the issue of slavery erupted into civil war, these reformers saw the promise of independence not only for black Americans but for American women as well. The women would put aside their own demands and work for the Union cause. With the war behind them, Elizabeth Cady Stanton would raise the issue of the vote once again.

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] This is our opportunity to retrieve the errors of the past and mold a new democracy. If our rulers have the justice to give the black man suffrage, should not woman walk in by his side?

SARANDON: [voice-over] Since the founding of the country, only the states had power to declare who could vote. Now the federal government would move to pass a constitutional amendment to enfranchise black men. Stanton and Anthony argued passionately for women to be included, but in 1869, the politicians wanted no part of the stormy issue of woman's suffrage. It was, they said, the Negroes' hour.

SALLY ROESCH WAGNER: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony said, "We will not put anyone's rights above our own. We have been told that we should wait, but there is no time to wait. Everyone needs their freedom and their rights now."

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] I will cut off this right arm of mine before I will ask for the ballot for the Negro and not for the woman.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Anthony and Stanton publicly denounced the constitutional amendment that

would give black men the vote, but exclude women, holding their ground when Lucy Stone condemned them as "fanatics, even racists." Defiantly, they founded their own organization, the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Lucy Stone remained loyal to the former slaves and, with her abolitionist allies, set up a rival association to continue the right for the woman's vote. For the next 20 years, two competing groups would carry on the campaign.

The Challenge

SINGER: *When women cast the ballot, have pow'r within the home / And have the right to ballot for home and liberty / Let the suffrage cause march on.*

SARANDON: [voice-over] In 1872, the radical wing of the woman's movement used the presidential election to challenge the Constitution. In defiance of the law, hundreds of women went to the polls to vote, arguing that, as American citizens, it was their given right.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] "November 5, 1872. Dear Mrs. Stanton, well, I have been and gone and done it, positively voted for Grant and the Republican ticket straight this A.M. at 7 o'clock and swore my vote in at that. I hope you, too, voted. Yours, Susan B. Anthony."

SARANDON: [voice-over] In Rochester, Anthony had led a dozen women, including her elderly mother and three sisters, to the polling place at a local barber-shop. She had intimidated the young registrars into letting them vote. Four hours later, a U.S. marshal came to the home Anthony shared with her sister with a warrant for her arrest. Anthony demanded to be handcuffed before being led away. Newspapers pounced on the story. One wrote, "Miss Anthony is a culprit who pretends she is a martyr."

ELLEN CAROL DuBOIS, Women's Historian: The fact that Anthony was arrested was, as they say, no accident. She was notorious by this time. And the fact that this was a federal crime and a U.S. marshal arrested her to me indicates that there was a pretty high-level decision to prosecute her, I believe with the idea that if they could stop Anthony from voting, they would stop this whole movement.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Four months later, the now-infamous Susan B. Anthony was tried before a federal judge for the crime of voting.

KATHLEEN BARRY: And this courtroom was filled with very important people. This trial was of nationwide significance. The media was there. The women of the movement were there, as well as the all-male jury, the judge and the lawyers. Anthony was not allowed to be a witness in her own trial. She was — because she was a woman — declared incompetent to testify in her own behalf.

In this very same day that the trial began, the judge took from his pocket the decision which he had written, which he read to the court, finding her guilty of voting, and instructing the jury — this all-male jury, of course — to find her guilty of voting. Anthony,

as you can imagine was writhing with anger and indignation. This went far beyond being denied the right to vote and being arrested for voting. She was even getting a full trial. And then the judge says, "Does the prisoner have anything to say before sentence is passed," and that opened the floodgates

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] Yes, Your Honor.

In your ordered verdict of "guilty," you have trampled underfoot every principle of our government — my natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights.

READER: [Judge] The prisoner has been tried according to established forms of law.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] I have been tried by law made by men, interpreted by men, administered by men in favor of men and against women.

READER: [Judge] The sentence of the court is that you pay a fine of \$100 and the costs of the prosecution.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] May it please Your Honor, I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Anthony wanted to appeal to the United States Supreme Court, but was blocked on a technicality. A year later, the high court heard a similar case. The justices declared unanimously that while the U.S. Constitution made women citizens. Only the individual states could give them the right to vote.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] So now we are forced to beg at the feet of each individual male voter in every state. Well, we must buckle on our armor and organize wherever the battle for the ballot for woman is to be fought.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Over the following years, Stanton and Anthony campaigned from Maine to California, giving thousands of women the courage to organize. By 1890, they were reunited with Lucy Stone and merged their organizations, but after 40 years of work, the leaders could only point to a single victory. The Wyoming territory had granted its few women the right to vote and had entered the Union as the first and only suffrage state.

The West

SARANDON: [voice-over] If there was any hope at all for women's suffrage, it seemed to be in the West. Here the idea that women should be dependent on men had given way to the realities of Frontier life. But in this society where women had greater opportunity, most men continued to resist giving women the vote.

In 1893, a progressive governor in Colorado persuaded the state legislature to put woman's suffrage on the ballot. Selected to lead the campaign was an influential reporter for *The Rocky Mountain News*, Alice Meredith. Through her weekly column, Meredith could voters all over the state. Years before,

she had been inspired by Susan B. Anthony during one of her western swings. Now, with only five months to mount a campaign and absolutely no money, she wrote to Anthony for help.

READER: [Alice Meredith] "Dear Miss Anthony, practically speaking, we have, well, next to no money. You ask what we want. First, speakers who can organize and raise money, and next, floods of literature. A word of encouragement from you would go a long way. Yours sincerely, Alice Meredith."

SARANDON: [voice-over] For two and a half months, there was no response. Then, six weeks before the election, Carrie Chapman Catt, a tough 35-year-old from Iowa and the movement's best organizer, was dispatched to Colorado.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] "Dear Alice Meredith, I will be Denver September 5th. Appointments for at least two weeks should be completely arranged for. I have a voice like a foghorn and can be heard in out-of-door meetings. Very truly, Carrie Chapman Catt."

SARANDON: [voice-over] When Catt arrived in Denver, the city was in an uproar. The price of silver had dropped. Thousands of unemployed miners roamed the streets. Catt and Meredith campaigned in the relief camps, handing out a suffrage leaflet with every bowl of soup.

MARCIA GOLDSTEIN, Historian: When people are angry, they're ready for a change, and the women were savvy enough to recognize that if they organized and did their work among the working people especially, in conjunction with the unions, the labor unions and the church groups and the farming organizations, and this could all lead to a groundswell of support for women's right to vote.

SARANDON: [voice-over] While Alice Meredith was mobilizing women's groups from Denver, Catt set out alone to reach voters in the most remote mining towns and farming communities.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] To the hard-headed men of Colorado, I state my plea. Make your women as free as you would make your silver free. Never give up till both are free.

SARANDON: [voice-over] One day, to get to a meeting on time, Catt accepted a ride down a mountain on a railroad handcart.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] "I clung to the wooden platform. My driver informed me that the handcar was liable to jump the track any minute. Somehow I arrived, hatless and breathless, just in time to give my speech. My driver bowed and said, 'Just remember, you could not have gotten here if it weren't for a man.'"

SARANDON: [voice-over] By October, Meredith and Catt had organized 10,000 women. Among the most active were members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the WCTU. Horrified by the abuse that women and children suffered at the hands

of drunken men, the WCTU fought for the vote in order to end the sale of alcohol. "If woman had the ballot in her hands," one member warned, "it would not be many years before the mighty power of the liquor interest would tremble." In state after state, the liquor interests had blocked every attempt by the WCTU to gain the vote. Now when Denver saloon owners realized that women might actually win, they hastily mounted an attack. The liquor dealers plied the unemployed miners with free drinks and plastered the town with anti-suffrage leaflets.

READER: [anti-suffrage organizer] Young man, if you don't want a politician for a wife or would prefer a good companion, vote against woman suffrage.

SARANDON: [voice-over] On election eve, Meredith and Catt gathered the suffragists together and waited for the Denver returns. By morning it was clear that Colorado had voted for free silver and woman's suffrage. The referendum had passed by 6,000 votes.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] "I can't believe it's true. It is too good to be true. Oh, how glad I am that at least we have knocked down our first state by the popular vote. Congratulations. Yours, Susan B. Anthony."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Western states continued to lead the way. By 1896, women had won the vote in Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah. Suffragists across the country dared to believe that the tide had finally turned.

Hidden Enemy

SARANDON: [voice-over] By the 1890's women in the Northeast had won some of the rights Elizabeth Stanton had called for at Seneca Falls — rights to their property, rights to their earnings, rights to their children. Girls could now attend high school, even college, and thousands were going out to work. Despite these changes, opposition to suffrage was as stubborn as ever.

READER: [Boston society woman] The duties and life of men and women are divinely ordered to be different. Family is a woman's business.

SARANDON: [voice-over] In Boston, the most vocal opponents of suffrage were the society women of Beacon Hill.

READER: [Boston society women] Nothing but degradation can come of placing women in the voting places.

SARANDON: [voice-over] They organized the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Suffrage For Women.

SARA EVANS: For them, it was important to show that their capacity to shape the world rested on a particular identity as women that was focused on the home and that drew its sense of moral purity from those domestic roles. They saw the public world of politics as corrupt and male, so if women voted, essentially what they were doing was joining that corrupt

male world, and they would lose their power to influence.

SARANDON: [voice-over] In 1895, the Massachusetts legislature brought the issue of women's suffrage to a head. The state called for both men and women to vote in a non-binding referendum, an opinion poll. Suffrage leader Alice Stone Blackwell had absolute conviction that most women wanted the vote.

READER: [Alice Stone Blackwell] "After next November, suffragists will have a right to speak for a majority of women unless they are snowed under by the antis, which seems very improbable."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Blackwell had grown up in the suffrage movement, the daughter of pioneer Lucy Stone. With her mother, she had built a network of women across the state. Now she alerted her followers to the coming referendum and went off to Maine for the summer. It would be a fatal error.

SARA HUNTER GRAHAM, Historian: The suffragists didn't really, I think, take seriously the need to organize. The anti-suffragists had a very strong organization. They plastered Boston with leaflets. The other tactic that the anti-suffragists took was to urge women not to vote at all, because they thought this would send a message even stronger than a no vote, that if women simply did not turn out, this would signify how repulsive they found women's suffrage to be.

SARANDON: [voice-over] On election day, only a very small percentage of women turned out. In 44 towns in Massachusetts, not a single woman cast a ballot, and woman's suffrage was overwhelmingly defeated. For anti-suffrage women, the referendum was a moral victory that sparked a movement. Soon they would be a well-financed national organization. "It is too bad," said Elizabeth Stanton, "that these women are begging to be left in their chains."

Sisters & Strangers

SARANDON: [voice-over] At the end of the century, a new group of suffragists emerged.

READER: [Mary Church Terrell] "Tonight our club meets to talk about winning the vote. Back in the 1950's, the great Sojourner Truth went from town to town, lecturing about suffrage. 'If the first woman God ever made was able to turn the whole world upside down,' she said, 'then all these women together ought to be able to get it right side up again.'"

SARANDON: [voice-over] Among African-American clubwomen, there was little opposition to women voting. The ballot was a crucial weapon in their fight for equality. They were an elite group — educated and middle class — working to help all black people find safety and opportunity in a racist society.

ROSALYN TERBORGH-PENN, Historian: Black women need the vote more than white women, because they feel, by the end of the century, that if they don't get some political clout, they'll be continually discriminated against. For black women, it's a ques-

tion of life and death.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Most African-Americans still lived in the South. Here all but a few men had been robbed of the vote by poll taxes, literacy tests and intimidation. Most black families lived in poverty and fear. Over a period of 30 years, 10,000 Negroes had been murdered.

READER: [Mary Church Terrell] "How can anyone who is able to use reason withhold from one-half the human race rights and privileges freely accorded to the other half?"

SARANDON: [voice-over] Mary Church Terrell was the outspoken leader of the African-American Club movement. Raised in Memphis, the daughter of a successful businessman, Terrell had gone north to Oberlin College and on to a career as an educator and reformer. Widely admired as a suffragist, Terrell was one of the few black women Susan B. Anthony invited to speak at national conventions. Terrell urged white suffragists not to forget black women.

READER: [Mary Church Terrell] "Not only are colored women handicapped on account of their sex, they are everywhere marked on account of their race. We are asking that our sisters of the dominant race do all in their power to include in their resolutions the injustices to which colored people are victims."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Terrell's pleas found little support. At that time, suffrage leaders were actively wooing southern white members. To appease the southerners, white suffragists found it expedient to abandon their black sisters.

ROSALYN TERBORGH-PENN: So there is much resistance to black women being part of the movement, but a determination from black women, saying, "I don't care. We're going to vote. We're going to be part of this movement."

SINGER: *Let us hold our banner high, though / When marching all the while / And we'll win the world for good / Lifting a hand, we climb / It's the national command / To educate and graduate all over the land.*

SARANDON: [voice-over] Mary Church Terrell was one of a number of black suffrage leaders. With active support from African-American men, they built a movement that would grow to half a million, but they would never find acceptance among mainstream suffragists.

Ties That Bind

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] "My dear Mrs. Stanton, we little dreamed that when we began this contest, optimistic with the hope and buoyancy of youth, that half a century later, we would be compelled to leave the finish of the battle to another generation of women."

SARANDON: [voice-over] At the turn of the century, Susan B. Anthony, now president of the national movement, complained that few of new members had

Shunned black women

enough starch in their souls. Her suffrage army of several thousand had grown conservative.

Anti-immigrant
SARA EVANS: We have to think about the conservatism of the suffrage movement in the 1890's as very much linked to the fears of the middle class. And it was a group that saw the world around it as rather out of control. There was a depression in the middle of the decade. There were strikes and there was massive immigration. To argue for women's suffrage, they began to appeal to the prejudices of the white middle class, and to argue that, "Immigrant men, ignorant immigrant men can vote. Why shouldn't educated white women vote?"

SARANDON: [voice-over] In public speeches, white suffragists declared that the vote should be taken away from ignorant newcomers and given to educated women.

SINGER: *Your own loving mother that nursed you for years / And rocked your lone cradle at night / Do you think her below the immigrant man / Who can vote? She cannot. Is it right?*

SARANDON: [voice-over] Privately, Anthony disagreed, but she was too much of a politician to offend her followers.

SINGER: *The pauper, the fool and the knave and the thief / Why not right for a woman to vote?*

SARANDON: [voice-over] Elizabeth Stanton was growing impatient.

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] "Dear Susan, I believe that I get more radical as I grow older, while you seem to get more conservative. Beware, lest you become too respectable."

SALLY ROESCH WAGNER: As they became older, Anthony focused more on the vote as the great work of her life. She wanted to be the one who achieved suffrage for the women of the country, and at the same time, Elizabeth Cady Stanton began to see the vote as less and less important.

SARANDON: [voice-over] In her mid-70's, Stanton saw the church as responsible for the oppression of women.

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] "The bible teaches that woman brought sin and death into the world."

SARANDON: [voice-over] The great work of her life, she said, would be to get women to give up their religious superstitions.

READER: [Elizabeth Cady Stanton] "I don't believe that any man ever talked with God. The bible was written by man out of his love of domination."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Stanton rewrote every passage of the bible that said women were inferior. Her Woman's Bible would be translated into six languages. The Woman's Bible scandalized members of the Suffrage Association. They denounced it as blasphemous. The suffragists publicly censured the woman who had started the movement 50 years before. Stung by the criticism, Elizabeth Stanton insisted that her friend Susan B. Anthony break with

the suffragists and resign her presidency. Anthony defended Stanton, but would not give up her post.

KATHLEEN BARRY: Anthony and Stanton met in 1852. It's a 50-year friendship and has been considered by many as one of the greatest relationships of the 19th century. It was a very dynamic relationship. It was one in which they grew together. They also, in many periods of time, grew apart.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Anthony continued on in her tireless campaign for the vote. At 80, she was a living icon known to suffragists around the country as "Aunt Susan." But in the early 1900's, the suffrage movement was at a standstill and Anthony longed for Stanton's support.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] "Oh, Mrs. Stanton, how my soul longs to see you in the great battlefield. If you come not to the rescue, who shall? Don't fail to write me. It always does me much good to hear from you. Yours, Susan."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Elizabeth Cady Stanton died in 1902. She asked that Susan B. Anthony's picture be placed on her casket.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] "It is an awful hush. It seems impossible that the voice is hushed that I have longed to hear for 50 years, longed to get her opinion of things before I knew exactly where I stood. I am all at sea."

New Woman

SARANDON: [voice-over] The 20th century brought profound change to the lives of women in America's big cities. Women were working in offices, factories, shops and professions in ever greater numbers. Women were tackling social issues, organizing trade unions, working in settlement houses, fighting for better schools, safe food and clean government, leading the movement for progressive reform. These women were bringing the concerns of home and family into American politics.

ROSALYN TERBORGH-PENN: You can't reform your society unless you can show that you're on the ballot, you're registered and you vote. If you have the vote, then you have political leverage.

SARANDON: [voice-over] It was these women who would transform the elite and aging suffrage movement.

READER: [Harriet Stanton Blatch] "The national suffrage movement is in a rut. It is into this rut that I step, eager to finish the work my mother began."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Harriet Blatch was a natural choice to shape things up — a rebel at Vassar, a radical socialist and the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She would breathe new life into the battle to win the vote.

READER: [Harriet Stanton Blatch] A great change is called for in the method of attack. Trade union women must be brought into the campaign and brought in contact with business and profes-

sional women who are out in the world earning their living.

ELLEN CAROL DuBOIS: Blatch realized she was going to get nowhere with the established organizations of the suffrage movement. She formed a new organization, and it's really at this point that the suffrage movement becomes what I think we have to fairly call a mass movement. Women of all different sorts, different classes, women whose names we'll never know began to make their contribution.

SARANDON: [voice-over] To win the vote for the women of New York, Blatch initiated a tactic the suffragists had never used before. She sent women into the streets to directly confront the male voters.

READER: [Harriet Stanton Blatch] If mothers could vote, would the legislature have refused for the last three years to stop the work of little girls who work all night in the textile mills?

READER: [suffragist] We have women working in foundries, stripped to the waist because of the heat. Surely these women won't lose any more of their beauty and charm by putting a ballot in a ballot box.

SINGERS: *Uncle Sam set up his house / He welcomed ev'ry brother / But in the haste of his new life / He quite forgot his mother.*

SARANDON: [voice-over] Leaders of the National Suffrage Organization called Blatch's open-air tactics "unladylike." "If we cannot win without tramping through a public thoroughfare," one said, "we had better give up woman's suffrage altogether." But for Harriet Blatch, these open-air speeches were only the beginning.

READER: [Harriet Stanton Blatch] I am convinced that mankind is moved into action by emotion, not argument and reason, and what could be more stirring than hundreds of women carrying banners, marching, marching, marching?

ELLEN CAROL DuBOIS: Perhaps the tactical innovation that Blatch was most commonly associated with was the suffrage parade, and it was also the tactical symbol of the new—of the new votes-for-women movement, the modern votes-for-women movement. She announced that her goal was to have women march in uniform rows with a certain military determination to show that women have the kind of discipline that's associated with political responsibility, that they're not frivolous, that they're not weak, that they can hold together—literally hold together.

MICHAEL McGERR: Men stand there and jeer at women's suffrage parades. If women are supposed to be in private, if women are supposed to lack the ability to participate in politics, then they can't be there on the street, they can't be doing this, and yet they are. They begin to get the message that these women are not going to go away, that they're brave, that they're doing something that requires great courage. And for some men, those parades, I think, are the final indication that things ought to change

and that they will change.

SARANDON: [voice-over] By 1912, Blatch's tactics had energized the campaign in New York State and across the country. The movement would never be the same. Within three years, five new states gave women the vote: Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas and Oregon. It brought the total to nine.

SINGERS: *Hurrah, hurrah, for equal rights, hurrah / Hurrah for the suffrage life / And there's the woman's star.*

Hard Times

SARANDON: [voice-over] Nineteen twelve—it was a time a great optimism. In the Midwest where suffragists had made little headway, suddenly three states—Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio—had all agreed to put the issue of woman's suffrage on the ballot. At the invitation of local leaders, Anna Howard Shaw, now the president of the National Suffrage Association, got on a train for Ohio.

NANCY F. COTT, Historian: Anna Howard Shaw was a very highly educated woman who had worked as a doctor, as a minister. She was quite an extraordinary personage, but her main contribution to the suffrage movement was as an orator. She could put ideas about women's equality into homey, folksy and often eloquent language and really move audiences.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Regardless of their attitude, men in the Midwest were willing to come out and listen to Anna Howard Shaw because they found her entertaining.

READER: [Anna Howard Shaw] Sinners are the people who do not agree with us, and saints are the people who do. Now, I want all sinners to be seated. I know if you want to convert a man, he must be physically comfortable. You men tell us we should not vote because we should have to mingle at the polls with horrid men, but gentlemen, these are the same horrid men we live with the rest of the year.

SINGERS: *She's good enough to want her hugs and kisses / When you are lonesome and blue / She's good enough to be your baby's mother / And she's good enough to vote with you.*

READER: [Anna Howard Shaw] I see some encouraging conditions in these midwestern campaigns. In all my years of speaking, I have never addressed more thoughtful and respectful men, and the endorsement of the Progressive Party suggests we might have a chance.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Years of progressive reform had brought more momentum into the suffrage camp.

Pres. THEODORE ROOSEVELT: Friends, our task as Americans is to strive for social justice.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Even Teddy Roosevelt, the Progressive Party candidate for President, had come out for the woman's vote.

Pres. THEODORE ROOSEVELT: I hope we

shall win, but win or lose, we shall not falter.

SARANDON: [voice-over] At the peak of the campaign, Anna Howard Shaw recognized that, for all the hopeful signs, the opposition was formidable.

MICHAEL McGERR: Certain male groups are now much more willing to spend money to stop suffrage because they have to. The liquor interests understand that if women have the vote, they may bring in prohibition. Some businessmen understand, too, that if women have the vote, they're going to vote to stop factory owners from treating women workers any way that they want, and that can cut into profits.

SARANDON: [voice-over] In the fall of 1912 in Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin, woman's suffrage was defeated, but it was more than the opposition from big business. The attitudes of most men had never really changed.

SINGER: Put me upon an island where the girls are few. / Put me amongst the most ferocious lions in the zoo. / You can put me upon a treadmill and I'll never, never fret, / But for pity's sake, don't put me near a suffragette.

MICHAEL McGERR: Just as the women's movement becomes more organized and more visible in the 1910's, there's this sudden flow, this outpouring of anti-suffragist propaganda of all kinds, including the new medium of film. Many men responded with open anger, almost a hysteria. They're afraid. Men had good reason to be afraid of the women's suffrage movement because it really did involve a redefinition of what women were and what men were. Men would see their identity changed. That's a frightening thing.

READER: [Anna Howard Shaw] By the opposition, one might suppose we were asking women to forsake their husbands and children and become absorbed in politics, whereas all we are asking of men is to be true to the fundamental principles of democracy.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Anna Howard Shaw saw stretched before her campaigns in state after hopeless state. She took heart from the advice Susan B. Anthony gave her when Anthony had passed on the reins of leadership.

READER: [Susan B. Anthony] "My dear Anna, just think of it. I've been striving for over 60 years for a little bit of justice, and yet I must die without obtaining it. I'm not complaining, for mine is the fate of every pioneer who ever opened up the way. Remember that the only fear you need have is the fear of not standing by the thing you believe is right. The right of suffrage shall be granted. Failure is impossible."

SARANDON: [voice-over] At age 86, Susan B. Anthony died in her home in Rochester, New York. A dozen women dressed in white stood guard as 10,000 mourners passed by her simple Quaker casket. In the years to come, suffragists would mount their final campaign in Anthony's name.

We Demand

SINGERS: Shout, shout out with your song / Cry with the wind, for the dawn is breaking. / March, march, swing you along. / Wide goes our banner and hope is waking.

SARANDON: [voice-over] London, 1910. After 40 years of demanding the vote, British suffragists began to engage in militant civil disobedience, risking arrest and imprisonment under the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst. Her motto was, "Deeds, not words."

READER: [Alice Paul] "Dear Mama, Mrs. Pankhurst is a genius, a born leader. Women by the hundreds will do anything Mrs. Pankhurst asks. She has asked me to join their march on the parliament. At last I've got up enough courage to say I will go."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Alice Paul, a scholarly Quaker from New Jersey, was swept up in the protest. Arrested three times for storming government buildings, Paul suffered harsh prison terms. With hundreds of other women, she went on a hunger strike and was fed by force.

READER: [Alice Paul] "Dear Mama, the forcible feeding was terrible. They tied me to a chair because I struggled. One wardress sat aside my knees. Two others held my arms and hands while two doctors forced a tube five or six feet long through my nose, like driving a stake into the ground."

SARANDON: [voice-over] The prison nightmare radicalized Alice Paul. She returned home with a mission. At age 28, she would revolutionize the American suffrage campaign. "Women need a cause," she said. "Any other life would be empty." In 1913, Alice Paul arrived in Washington, one of the few women of the time to hold a doctorate in political science. She set up shop in a dingy basement office near the White House on behalf of the National Suffrage Association with no money, a list of names and an American friend she had met in prison, Lucy Burns [sp?].

An outgoing redhead, Burns was the perfect partner for the shy Alice Paul. Together they set out to build support for a constitutional amendment that would guarantee all women the right to vote. The two friends would stage a glorious pageant in Washington on the day before Woodrow Wilson was to be sworn in as President.

AMELIA ROBERTS FRY, Biographer of Alice Paul: Anna Howard Shaw, a lot of the others, just felt that that was a bit much, that you didn't want to upstage the President and his parade the next day, but Alice Paul didn't mind upstage the President. That was his problem. She wanted to get a message that thousands of women from over the country were excited enough about votes for women that they would come and be in that parade.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Some said it was a miracle. In less than two months, Paul and Burns had mobilized 8,000 suffragists from coast to coast.

AMELIA ROBERT FRY: Alice Paul made the town of Washington into her stage, a pageant, a moving pageant that we haven't seen since. There were floats. There were color masses set to move down the avenue. She wanted it to be very, very beautiful.

SARANDON: [voice-over] To lead the parade, Paul chose radical New York lawyer Inez Mulholland. "For this pageant," Mulholland said, "we must suggest the free woman of the future." Delegations of every kind marched on the White House. Harriet Stanton Blatch came from New York with hundreds of supporters. Mary Church Terrell led delegations of African-American women from clubs and colleges. Their presence angered some southern women, who refused to join the march. Men were there, representing a growing number who now supported the cause. As the parade proceeded down Pennsylvania Avenue, men on the sidelines began to heckle. Thousands of inaugural revelers, after drinking all morning, were turning mean.

READER: [pageant participant] As we swung onto Pennsylvania Avenue, we had no place to go. The whole street was just, from the one side to the other, filled with people, just a great mass of people.

SARANDON: [voice-over] One young lady was so frightened that she shouted, "Girls, get out your hats. They're going to rush us."

READER: [pageant participant] All the way up the avenue, men would pass their hands down my arms. One man grabbed my sister, and I kicked him.

READER: [pageant participant] I ran and said to a policeman, "Won't you kindly protect these people here?" And he said, "There would be nothing like thing happened if you would stay at home."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Five blocks away at an all-but-empty Union Station, President-elect Woodrow Wilson arrived for his inauguration scheduled for the next day. Expecting thousands to greet him, he was not pleased to learn that the crowds were watching women campaigning for the vote.

On Pennsylvania Avenue, hundreds of marchers were injured. The United States cavalry was called in to restore order, but not a single rioter was arrested. The next day, as Woodrow Wilson left for the inauguration, he received a message from Harriet Blatch, saying, "Be mindful, as you ride in comfort and safety, that yesterday the government left women at the mercy of a howling mob."

Taking full advantage of the nationwide publicity, Alice Paul began organizing women to lobby the President and Congress. A month after the Washington demonstration, a crowd gathered at the Capitol. A western senator and congressman had introduced a constitutional amendment declaring, "The right of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of sex." Alice Paul named it the Susan B. Anthony Amend-

ment.

We Have Power

SARANDON: [voice-over] A year after the great march down Pennsylvania Avenue, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns were running their own organization, the Congressional Union, dedicated to winning the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. The resolution was badly stalled in Congress and President Wilson was still against it, but a new wave of activists had been recruited to the cause. They flocked to Alice Paul, one said, because she had the fighting spirit of Susan B. Anthony.

NANCY F. COTT: Alice Paul specifically recruited women who had ties to the labor movement. She also, though, recruited rich women, because she had a very savvy sense of how dollars were necessary for this movement. What united these women and made them attracted to Paul, I think, was a militance of spirit. They wanted to show the system that women could pull political weight. And this was a different orientation to the political system. They didn't want to be supplicants. They wanted to demand their rights.

SARANDON: [voice-over] By the summer of 1914, Paul was urging her followers to bring direct pressure on the power structure.

READER: [Alice Paul] The time has come when we can go into national politics and attack our enemy, the Democratic Party, which is responsible for blocking the suffrage amendment.

NANCY F. COTT: Alice Paul decided, in 1914, to hold the party in power responsible, and since Wilson was the President and since Democrats had control of Congress, she thought that all Democrats should be punished unless they did what women wanted, which was pass the women's suffrage amendment.

READER: [Alice Paul]- Let us organize the nearly four million western women to go out and vote against the great Democratic Party in the fall election. If the party leaders see that votes have been turned, they will know that we have power.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Paul dispatched her top organizers to each of the nine states where women had the vote. Among the envoys, a fiery young textile worker, Rose Winslow, Paul's partner Lucy Burns, and feminist social worker Doris Stevens [sp?]. Their assignment, to convince as many women as possible to oppose the Democrats in the fall elections.

READER: [suffrage organizer] We ask you, in the name of womanhood, to vote against all Democratic candidates in the United States Senate.

READER: [suffrage organizer] You have, with your votes, the power to enfranchise all the women in our country.

READER: [suffrage organizer] Use your votes to move the suffrage bill to the floor of the Congress.

SARA HUNTER GRAHAM: One of the most exciting jobs in the woman's suffrage movement was to be an organizer. What this meant for young women of

organizing women in suffrage states to vote against Democratic Senate

the time was travel, adventure, freedom and excitement. Most women didn't travel much at all.

READER: [suffrage organizer] Everyone was wildly enthusiastic, even the Democratic women, and I danced with voters, male, until 1:30 in the morning.

READER: [suffrage organizer] The campaign in California is big success. Democratic candidates for Congress are unexpectedly put on the defense. One of the most encouraging things we've encountered is that Democratic nominees' delicate suggestion that we had better leave the state at once.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Only a few Democratic candidates were defeated, but Alice Paul's campaign was the last straw for the sedate National Suffrage Organization. President Anna Howard Shaw called it "suicidal" and severed all relations with Paul. Once again, the suffrage movement split, as it had after the Civil War.

NANCY F. COTT: To the leaders of the National, the strategy of holding the party in power was just anathema. They had been working and would continue to work to cultivate Democratic congressmen, so they saw it as really not just sticking their foot in their mouth, but really as about the most counter-productive thing that could have been done.

SARANDON: [voice-over] The Southern Democrats, who ruled Capitol Hill, denounced Alice Paul as a dangerous radical. One swore she had set woman's suffrage back a thousand years. Yet Paul cheerfully took credit when the suffrage amendment was suddenly released from a House committee and sent to the floor for a vote. After days of debate, it was badly defeated, but Paul hailed it as a sign of progress.

READER: [Alice Paul] The feeling of the suffragists as they came away from the Capitol was one of the elation that the question had finally been seriously considered by the Congress. Every woman who watched from the gallery is now fired with a determination to work harder than ever for the federal amendment.

Winning Plan

SARANDON: [voice-over] In 1916, shifts in the political winds brought a growing sense of hope to the suffrage movement. Jeanette Rankin of Montana became the first woman ever elected to Congress. Next, President Wilson, courting the votes of western women for his re-election, announced he would support woman's suffrage, but only by state action, not by constitutional amendment. And finally, Carrie Chapman Catt took over the National Suffrage Association from Anna Howard Shaw. Cat would centralize the power of two million women scattered across 44 states.

NANCY F. COTT: The National was really floundering, and people around Shaw realized that, so it was important to bring in someone who had a sense of how to direct a large organization and Carrie Chapman Catt was perfect for that. She was often called "the

general," and that is the way she acted. She acted like a great general deploying her forces on the field.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] There should be a mobilization of state armies. They should be disciplined and obedient and should move on Congress with precision and will. Those who enter on this task should prepare to give their lives and fortunes for success.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Catt had spent a lifetime battling for women's rights. She had defied her parents to go to college, at 25, became a journalist; by 30, the suffrage movement's greatest organizer. At 57, she was a seasoned and skillful leader. Now, Catt would united the sprawling mainstream association behind a single goal: to join the fight for the constitutional amendment.

NANCY F. SCOTT: Catt devised her so-called "winning plan." It was a plan that focused on the federal amendment, did not abandon the states, but tied work in the state into the federal amendment.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Catt's campaign won support among suffragists across the country, except in the South. Here her small but study band of followers faced unbending opposition to a constitutional amendment.

MARJORIE SPRUILL WHEELER, Historian: The South was very hostile to woman's suffrage and the southern suffragists had a very difficult time. Part of it was that it was the region of the United States that was the most resistant to any change in woman's role.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Equally powerful was the race issue. Southern Democrats claimed that the constitutional amendment would give the vote to millions of black women, threatening white supremacy. In Washington, where southern politicians held the amendment hostage, Carrie Catt mounted a sophisticated campaign. She named Maude Wood Park [sp?] chief lobbyist for the National Association. As veteran of the Massachusetts crusades, Park had once cornered a legislator in a Boston saloon just to get his vote. Within months, Park had recruited hundreds of women. They prowled the halls of Congress alongside Alice Paul's lobbyists in uneasy sisterhood. Park provided recruits with detailed instructions on the care and feeding of legislators.

READER: [Maude Wood Park] Be sure to read detailed records of each members before calling on him, and be courteous no matter what the provocation.

READER: [congressman] I know why you women want a federal amendment. It's because you'll never get another state. You're done.

READER: [Maude Wood Park] Do not ignore trifles. A badly-digested luncheon in the stomach of a representative may change the course of history.

NANCY F. COTT: It's hard to imagine what it was like for these women to lobby in the House or the in the Senate, since these were such male domains. These grand halls just reeked of male privilege and

male prerogative. Maybe they were somewhat inspired by the fact that there were women pictured, and it's possible that these allegorical representations gave women some heart, some spirit, to think about the belongingness of women in those hallowed halls.

READER: [Maude Wood Park] Knock at a closed office door and then enter immediately. The knock is to warn the man who might have his feet on the desk. The immediate entrance is to keep him from leaving.

READER: [congressman] I'm with you. I'm for it. I'm going to vote for it. Now, don't bother me.

READER: [Maude Wood Park] And take care never to be in congressional office buildings later than six. We hear rumors that, in the evening, offices are not always devoted to public business.

NANCY F. COTT: Women entered this battle, at the beginning, largely ignorant of what it meant to move politically through American society, and it took a long time for a sufficient number of women to develop the political skills to maneuver such a difficult enterprise through the American political system.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Months of lobbying won many new friends in both houses of Congress, but the women were still a world away from having the two-thirds majority they needed to pass the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

GEORGE M. COHAN: [?] [singing] Johnny, get your gun, get your gun / Take it on the run, on the run, on the run / Hear them calling you and me / Every son of liberty.

SARANDON: [voice-over] April 1917 — America entered the world war that had been raging in Europe for more than two years. For the suffrage movement, it brought a great crisis, pitting mainstream and militant activists against each other once again.

NANCY F. COTT: The National realizes that many people will expect suffragists to put aside their goal of suffrage and commit themselves entirely to the war. This was, in fact, that Stanton and Anthony had done during the Civil War. So Catt, as leader of the National, decided that her organization would declare for both.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] Suffragists are quite capable of conducting the vote campaign and also of doing all the war service that is likely to come their way.

NANCY F. COTT: And so the National itself set up an agency that had to do with hospitalization and nursing for soldiers, and they directed their loyal workers to spend their time on both projects. The National was very wise, in that women's patriotic work really mattered. It was not only the middle-of-the-road strategy and the one that would appeal to most of her own immediate constituents in the National, it was a very politic strategy in terms of the way that congressmen could later react to what they saw the suffragists doing.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Alice Paul and her splinter

organization, now called the National Woman's Party, elected to go a different route.

READER: [Alice Paul] Our organization is dedicated only to the enfranchisement of women. President Wilson has made it clear that he wants no more audiences with our lobbyists, so we have made the decision to have a perpetual delegation six days a week around the White House.

SARANDON: [voice-over] For the first time in United States history, women were picketing the White House, demanding that the President support the constitutional amendment — society women, working women, African-American women.

ELLEN CAROL DuBOIS: [?] They just sent out mailings and advertised it in their weekly newspaper, *The Suffragist*, and women began to come. The rules were, as usual, it had to be beautiful, and they were to be silent and look straight ahead — very dignified.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Some pickets had come with their husbands' approval, others in defiance of family and friends, sustained by Susan B. Anthony's motto, "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." At first, Woodrow Wilson tolerated the protesters, even offering them tea on a cold afternoon. Not so Carrie Catt, who could barely contain her anger.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] "My dear Miss Paul, I urge the National Woman's Party to withdraw its pickets stationed at the White House. The picketing is an unwarranted discourtesy to the President."

NANCY F. COTT: The picketing seemed, to the National, so impolitic, they felt it directly countered their congressional strategy, that it couldn't work to advance the federal amendment, but only the opposite, and they thought it was just plain stupid.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Ignoring their critics, the militants escalated the campaign. They carried banners that mocked the President, flaunting phrases from his wartime speeches. For a nation at war, many Americans began to see the picketing as treasonous.

NANCY F. COTT: They carried signs in very bad taste. They carried signs that called Wilson "Kaiser" Wilson. The Kaiser was the person we were at war against, and to call him a kaiser because he and his party had not granted liberty to women and political freedom was about the most outrageous thing they could have done.

READER: [Alice Paul] I do not remember when Elizabeth took this banner out, but I think she was on the 4 o'clock shift. The crowd grew and grew. You felt there was something brewing in them, but what you could not guess. Suddenly it came. A man dashed from the crowd and tore the banner down. One after another, other banners were torn down.

READER: [suffragist picketer] Alice Paul was knocked down three times by a sailor in uniform, and dragged the width of the White House sidewalk in his frenzied attempt to tear off her suf-

frage sash. Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant was struck by a soldier in uniform and her blouse torn from her body.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Day after day, the women took up their places at the White House, knowing they would be attacked, unprotected by the police or the President. The attacks were front-page news. *The Chicago Tribune* called the pickets "bolsheviks." *The Boston Journal* took a kinder view.

READER: ["*Boston Journal*" editorial] Right or wrong, the suffragists at Washington are entitled to police protection, even though, in the mind of the administration they are not entitled to the ballot.

NANCY F. COTT: They were very, very frequently attacked. That is when the Wilson administration seems to have decided that these pickets had to be gotten rid of, and the women started to be arrested.

SARANDON: [voice-over] July 14, 1917 — the police assembled from obscure spots. The leader was placed under arrest. Her place was taken by another. She was taken. Another and still another stepped into the breach and was arrested. Younger women and white-haired grandmothers were hoisted before the public gaze into the patrol wagon. All through the summer and fall, the women were sent to prison, some for days, some weeks, some months. The charge in every case was obstructing traffic.

READER: [suffragist picketer] We were silently, peacefully attempting to gain the freedom of 20 million women. We are guilty of no crime. We demand our freedom and we shall continue to ask for it until the government acts.

READER: [suffragist prisoner] We were obliged, one by one, to remove all our clothing before the entire company.

READER: [suffragist prisoner] Our days were spent in the sewing room. Our mail was cut off, and we had no contact with the outside world.

READER: [suffragist prisoner] I was fed food filled with worms and vile with saltpeter, food consisting of cast-offs and rotting horsemeat and insect-ridden starches. Upon this fare, I was put at hard labor from 7 A.M. until 5 P.M.

AMELIA ROBERTS FRY: It did not break their spirit, of course, just made them — made them more determined because they were so outraged. A lot of women went back to the picket lines again.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Prison abuse radicalized even the most gentle pickets. In all, 168 women were jailed, many returning to prison over and over again. After five months, the authorities were frustrated. The chief warden was called to a meeting at the White House. When he returned, he was determined to scare the women into stopping the campaign. Seventy-three-year-old Mary Nolan, a suffrage pioneer from Florida, remembered it as the night of terror.

READER: [Mary Nolan] The guards fell upon us. Two men seized Mrs. Lewis, lifted her up and

catapulted her through the doorway. I said to them, "I will come with you. I have a lame foot," but I was dragged down the steps and away into the dark.

SARANDON: [voice-over] The women were taken to an isolated wing of the prison.

READER: [Mary Nolan] The bed broke my fall, but Mrs. Kossu [sp?] hit the wall. Mrs. Lewis, doubled over like a sack of flour, was thrown in. Her head hit the bed and she fell over senseless. They handcuffed Lucy's wrists and fastened the handcuffs above the cell door. She wore her handcuffs all night. It seemed to me that the treatment we received was out of all proportion to the offense with which we were charged.

SARANDON: [voice-over] As word of the women's treatment reached the outside world, many came forward to protest. A senator from Illinois, after visiting the prison, made a public statement. "In all my years of criminal practice," he said, "I have never seen prisoners so badly treated." Many appealed to the President to intercede, but the White House chose to maintain a public silence.

MICHAEL McGERR: Wilson always denied that Alice Paul and radical action had any impact on him, but Wilson knew those women were there, and he knew they weren't going to go away, and he knew what an embarrassment they were. He might not want to deal with them. He certainly preferred to deal with Carrie Catt and the NAWSA, rather than these radical women, but part of the reason he was forced to deal with Carrie Catt was because he couldn't escape the radicals.

AMELIA ROBERTS FRY: In October, Alice Paul went out on the line, and they really slapped it to her. They gave her six months, plus one month in prison, and of course, she hunger-struck.

SARANDON: [voice-over] For five weeks, Alice Paul was kept in solitary confinement, force-fed three times a day by prison officials. A psychiatrist was summoned to examine her in hopes he would declare her insane.

AMELIA ROBERTS FRY: He said, "There's nothing wrong with this woman. She's just very determined." He said that she had the spirit of Joan of Arc and that she would go on her hunger strike and she wouldn't give up, and she might die, but she wouldn't give up.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Other women followed Alice Paul's lead. Thirty prisoners refused to eat. Lying on a stone floor, some with high fevers, eight women were in a state of near-collapse. One sympathizer named them "the iron-jawed angels." The administration capitulated. All prisoners were unconditionally released.

AMELIA ROBERTS FRY: The publicity was tremendous from that and the mail began pouring in to congressmen's offices. The main idea here was never dropped and that is, "This isn't going to stop until you pass the suffrage amendment."

READER: *[Alice Paul]* We have won. They have now shot their biggest piece of ammunition at us. From now on, we will win and they will lose.

Turning the Tide

SARANDON: *[voice-over]* In November 1917, the State of New York, an anti-suffrage fortress for almost 70 years, finally gave women the right to vote.

SINGERS: *We know just why we are wearing a grin. / Mighty New York has finally caved in.*

SARANDON: *[voice-over]* The largest congressional delegation in the country from the nation's most powerful state would now be obliged to support the suffrage amendment. Almost immediately, the House of Representatives scheduled a vote for January 10, 1918. The first skirmish in the final battle was under way.

Both suffrage groups doubled their efforts on Capitol Hill, working closely with their congressional allies. One opponent complained he was being harassed by a petticoat brigade. They appealed to Woodrow Wilson to come out for the amendment and bring other Democrats with him, but for weeks there was no word from the White House. Then, on the afternoon before the House vote, California Representative John Raker *[sp?]* announced that the President had finally agreed to make a statement.

READER: *[Alice Paul]* *[?]* A small group of us stood outside, waiting for the first word of that interview. It seemed interminable. Then out came cheery Mr. Raker with the news.

READER: *[Rep. John Raker]* The President has declared for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment and will stay home from his golf game tomorrow to see any congressmen who wish to consult him about it.

JOHN MORTON BLUM, Historian: Woodrow Wilson was always sensitive to political possibilities and he also recognized, after 1918 and the New York referendum, that he had to solicit the woman's vote. It was a recognition which was beginning to dawn on other Democrats, too. I am not sure that Wilson was ever, in his heart as a human being, a strong advocate of woman's suffrage, but he did have the necessary political capacity to persuade himself to believe what was tactically useful.

SARANDON: *[voice-over]* The morning of the House vote dawned crisp, bright and uncertain as crowds descended on the Capitol. Carrie Catt's lobbyist, Maude Wood Park, arrived in a panic. Park had just learned that the President had not gained a single vote and that several pro-suffrage congressmen would be absent from the chamber.

READER: *[Maude Wood Park]* Beset by nauseating fear, I went to my seat in the gallery. I had a hard time to get to the front row for the standing space at the back was suffocatingly crowded with women, many of whom had been there for hours.

READER: *[congressmen]* "The right of citizens to

vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

NANCY L. COTT: It really wasn't known on that fateful day of January 10, 1918, how the vote would come out in the House of Representatives.

READER: *[Rep. John Raker]* Woman's suffrage is no longer a question. It is an established fact.

SARANDON: *[voice-over]* Then Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin took the floor.

READER: *[Rep. Jeanette Rankin]* Gentlemen, how can this Congress, which voted for war to make the world safe for democracy, refuse this small measure of democracy to women?

READER: *[clerk]* The Honorable Mr. Moon?

READER: *[Congressman Moon]* To double the number of ignorant voters by giving colored women the right to vote would be absolutely intolerable.

NANCY L. COTT: They worked up to the last minute, bringing in men who, on any other vote, would not have been present on the floor. Four of the congressmen were taken literally from their sickbeds. One came in with a broken shoulder and arm that he refused to go up and have set because it would take too long, and he would miss the vote. Another had been in the hospital for six months and was taken from there, white as a ghost, barely able to stand up, in order to cast his vote. A third was either carried in or carried out — forget which — on a stretcher. And then yet another man had to leave the deathbed of his wife to come. She was an ardent suffragist and he had promised her he would vote for the amendment. He came in, voted for it and then left to go to her funeral. Indeed, only six congressmen failed to vote on this question.

READER: *[clerk]* Mr. Clark of Florida?

READER: *[Rep. Clark]* Nay.

READER: *[clerk]* Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania?

READER: *[Rep. Clark]* Aye.

READER: *[Maude Wood Park]* When two or three noes came in succession, it was almost more than I could bear. Halfway through the vote, I realized our victory was in doubt.

READER: *[clerk]* Mr. Price?

READER: *[Rep. Price]* Nay.

READER: *[clerk]* Miss Rankin?

READER: *[Rep. Jeanette Rankin]* Aye.

READER: *[clerk]* Mr. Weaver.

READER: *[Rep. Weaver]* Aye.

NANCY L. COTT: It just barely managed to pass. And when it was clear that it had happened, a voice was heard singing the old hymn, "Praise God From Whom All Blessings Flow," and the whole gallery and all the people in the room began to join in.

READER: *[Maude Wood Park]* Thanks stuck in my throat. I had a hard time to keep back the tears. We had won one vote to spare. If any one of the men who had come at great risk to themselves had not been there, we would have lost.

SARANDON: *[voice-over]* The morning after the

House vote, the suffrage leaders were back at work. The amendment would not have to win a two-thirds majority in the Senate.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] "Put on your armor and mobilize your army. Yours for victory, Carrie Chapman Catt."

SARANDON: [voice-over] Hungry for victory, leaders were willing to compromise. Southern senators had proposed a rider to the suffrage amendment which would allow states to discriminate against black women. With their goal in sight, white suffragists did not protest.

ROSALYN TERBORGH-PENN: I wouldn't say that Catt was an extremist, but I think she was willing to sacrifice black women if she had to, in order to get the amendment through.

SARANDON: [voice-over] Leaders representing more than 50,000 black clubwomen spoke out. "We are most concerned that women shall have the vote," one said, "and the word 'women' must include colored women." Progressive senators defeated the discriminatory clause, but white suffragists continued to pursue the votes of Southern Democrats. On June 4, 1919, the Senate finally passed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment by one vote. For all suffragists, it was the signal to organize for the most difficult fight of all.

Fight to the Finish

SARANDON: [voice-over] To become law, 36 state legislatures would have to ratify the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

SINGER: *There is a band of women and to a banner born / Emerging from the darkness past and looking toward the morn. / Their mothers labored, waited through a night without a star / Though morning shows a suffrage flag that bears the woman's star. / Hurrah, hurrah, for equal rights for all. / Hurrah for the suffrage flag that bears the woman's star.*

SARANDON: [voice-over] Each time a new state fell in line, Alice Paul sewed a satin star on the victory banner. By March of 1920, she had 35 stars. Then, Delaware defeated the amendment. It was a terrible blow. The women were forced to turn to the anti-suffrage South, where they hoped the border State of Tennessee would become the 36th and final state. The quiet town of Nashville was unprepared for the onslaught.

MARJORIE SPRUILL WHEELER: The summer of 1920 in Nashville, Tennessee was rather extraordinary. It was hot and miserable and all of these people from all over the nation — both pro- and anti-suffrage — descended upon Nashville to have it out once and for all. In a suffrage campaign that had been bitterly fought for a long time, everybody on both sides was going to pull out all the stops when it came down the end.

SARANDON: [voice-over] All parties set up headquarters in the elegant Hermitage Hotel, a block from

the statehouse. Carrie Catt commanded operations from her suite, leaving the public lobbying to the Tennessee women. The National Woman's Party campaign was also run by local suffragists. Knowing her presence would stir controversy, Alice Paul directed strategy from Washington. Anti-suffrage women, calling themselves the National Association For the Rejection of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, took over the entire mezzanine. And the legislators, who were staying at the Hermitage during the special session, became the targets for everyone.

MARJORIE SPRUILL WHEELER: The lobbies of both the Hermitage Hotel and there at the capital were crowded with people busily plying their legislators, trying to persuade them one way or another, but I imagine that a lot of that lobbying went on behind closed doors.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] My friends, the opposition of every sort is here fighting desperately with no scruples, appealing to Negro phobia and every other caveman's prejudice. Our telegrams are stolen, our telephones tapped. Men, lots of them, are here. We believe they are buying votes.

SARANDON: [voice-over] As the summer wore on, the suffragists watched as votes slipped away. Having a member's vote in the morning, one worker said, did not at all mean you would still have it by the evening. There women were convinced that their old enemies from the liquor and manufacturing lobbies were bribing the legislators. By the night of August 17th, it was feared that the amendment would lose the next day by one vote. Near dawn, Carrie Catt sent her weary army to bed, saying, "All we can do now is pray." The next morning, suffragists, anti-suffragists, the press and the curious jammed the Tennessee statehouse for the final showdown. Overflow crowds stood for hours in the stifling heat, waiting for news from the inside.

MARJORIE SPRUILL WHEELER: They held their breath when they called the roll, and about the seventh vote cast was that of Harry Byrne [sp?], the youngest member of the legislature, a 24-year-old young man from the mountains of Tennessee, a Republican. And he sent shock waves through the legislature when he voted yes, and it took a few minutes, in fact, for the suffragists to realize just what had happened and for the antis to realize what had happened. Everybody was going, "Why? Why did Harry Byrne change his mind?" People said, "Oh, he must have been bribed. He must have been corrupted." But actually, what ended up happening was that Harry Byrne had gotten a letter from his elderly mother who lived in the mountains, saying, "Be a good boy, Harry, and do the right thing. If it comes down to your one vote, help Mrs. Catt put the rat in ratification."

SARANDON: [voice-over] And when young Harry Byrne decided to change his vote, with that simple stroke of good fortune, the battle of 72 years came to an end. Twenty million American women had won the right to vote.

READER: [Alice Paul] (?) American women now stand with the vote, ready at least to take their share in the burdens and the responsibilities of self-government. Our victory cannot be a signal for rest. It is not only the symbol of the new status which women have earned, but also the tools with which they must end completely all discrimination against them.

READER: [Carrie Chapman Catt] (?) This is a glorious, a wondrous day. For many a year, we have marched up the long hill together, you and I. Now we will all go our separate ways, holding in our hearts tender memories of our comrades in the great war. I have lived to realize the great dream of my life, the enfranchisement of women. We are no longer petitioners, but free and equal citizens. Let us do our part to keep it a true and triumphant democracy.

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Sound Mixing RODEL AUDIO SERVICES

Locations:

Canadaigua County Courthouse
Central Presbyterian Church, Denver, Colorado
Four Mile House, Denver, Colorado
Genesee County Village Museum
Georgetown Loop Railroad, Colorado Historical Society
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Gibson House Museum
Hillwood Museum, Washington, D.C.
Hyattsville, Maryland Prison
Mendon Pond Park, Rochester, New York
National Society of The Colonial Dames of America
National Women's Rights Historical Park,
Seneca Falls, New York
Russell Senate Office Building
South Park City, Fairplay, Colorado
Sumner School Museum
Susan B. Anthony House
Tudor Place Foundation
United States Capitol
Women's National Democratic Club

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United States Senate Radio and TV Gallery
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children—mute testimony to her own difficulties over earlier births and child rearing and evidence that she probably used some form of birth control, probably abstinence. This son following contemporary practice, was named Eleazer after his older brother. He was obviously seen as his late brother's replacement, although he died in 1829. Then forty-four, Margaret Livingston was approaching menopause, the mother of five daughters and no sons. Apparently suffering some sort of breakdown, she gave the household management over to her grown daughter and son-in-law, Tryphena and Edward Bayard, who lived with the family.

Partly in compensation for what she felt as maternal rejection, Elizabeth formed other supportive bonds. The family's black servant, Peter Teabout, warm and loving, for many years watched the younger girls and gained their confidence by taking them on exciting visits to the courthouse and the jail across the town square from their home and by rarely reporting misdeeds to their parents. In her mature years Cady Stanton traced her interest in the law and in prison reform partly to these visits, where she listened to lawyers pleading their cases and heard the prisoners' stories. Witnessing prejudice against Peter predisposed her toward her later abolitionism. In addition, the family pastor, the Reverend Simon Hosack, expounder of conservative theology, was responsive to Elizabeth's needs. Without children of his own, he took to heart the bright young girl, encouraged her ambitions, and for many years tutored her in Greek at her request. His church and rectory were close to the Cady house; and he often let her drive him on his rounds while he read *Blackwell's Magazine* or *The Edinburgh Review* aloud to her and patiently explained the meaning of complex ideas. For Elizabeth's often absent father, he was a substitute; his love and esteem bolstered her own self-respect. When he died he willed her the Greek lexicon, grammar, and testament that he had used since his student days.

Elizabeth Cady also gained a strengthened sense of identity from growing up with four sisters and only one brother, who

was much older. Despite the favoritism accorded Eleazer and the training in domesticity her mother enforced, Elizabeth could retreat to the community of women her sisters constituted in order to reinforce her sense of self-worth. Harriet and Margaret, nearest her in age, disliked the strict family regimen as much as Elizabeth herself. The three of them forged a confederacy in rebellion, acting on Margaret's suggestion that they defy the "everlasting no" from their parents and do what they wanted. Harriet was a sickly child, often confined to the house, and Margaret was younger. Given her vitality and force, Elizabeth emerged as their leader.

Alienated from her mother, Elizabeth Cady also looked to her father for support. Most people found Daniel Cady stern and severe. To Elizabeth, he seemed shy and sensitive and sympathetic to her desire to escape maternal discipline and training in domesticity. Her father, she recalled, had a childish love of fun and fresh air. She speculated that his example "had quite as much to do with our rebellion against maternal authority as our own natural proclivities." The mature Cady Stanton remembered that her father upheld her in her periodic rebellions against hated sewing sessions. He was proud of her eventual skill at horsemanship, and if he saw her sewing he would tell her to go riding and let a servant—"a good strong Irish girl!"—do the work. And there was an adventurous strain in his character. When a young lawyer he had ridden the court circuit in the near wilderness of upstate New York; he had settled in Johnstown when the area was little more than frontier. He told tales of adventures with Indians and frontiersmen, of court sessions in log cabins, and of nights spent camping on floors with judges, juries, sheriffs, and defendants.

When an exasperated Margaret Livingston sent the rebellious Elizabeth for discipline to her father in his law office, he would usually simply let her listen to his discussions with his clients or read the volumes in the bookshelves along the walls—activities which she loved. In such reading and listening she gained her first knowledge of her society's discrimination against women. One case in particular she never forgot. Flora

- (7) Sale of drugs and narcotics regulated.
- (8) Pure Food law.
- (9) Duelling and prize-fighting made illegal.
- (10) Saloons closed on Sundays and Election Day.
- (11) Examination and registration of nurses required.
- (12) Gambling devices must be seized and destroyed after any complaint made under oath.
- (13) Extortion on small loans made misdemeanor.

Woman Suffrage: History, Arguments Results, 1915

Why Women Should Vote

By Jane Addams

FOR many generations it has been believed that woman's place is within the walls of her own home, and it is indeed impossible to imagine the time when her duty there shall be ended or to forecast any social change which shall release her from that paramount obligation.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women to-day are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. One could illustrate in many ways. A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house, as so many of my neighbors do, she cannot fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administration

for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing, unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. Women who live in the country sweep their own dooryards and may either feed the refuse of the table to a flock of chickens or allow it innocently to decay in the open air and sunshine. In a crowded city quarter, however, if the street is not cleaned by the city authorities no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed a tenement house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, she cannot provide fresh fruit, unless the meat has been inspected by city officials, and the decayed fruit, which is so often placed upon sale in the tenement districts, has been destroyed in the interests of public health. In short, if woman would keep on with her old business of caring for her house and rearing her children

she will have to have some conscience in regard to public affairs lying quite outside of her immediate household. The individual conscience and devotion are no longer effective.

Chicago one spring had a spreading contagion of scarlet fever just at the time that the school nurses had been discontinued because business men had pronounced them too expensive. If the women who sent their children to the schools had been sufficiently public-spirited and had been provided with an implement through which to express that public spirit they would have insisted that the schools be supplied with nurses in order that their own children might be protected from contagion. In other words, if women would effectively continue their old avocations they must take part in the slow upbuilding of that code of legislation which is alone sufficient to protect the home from the dangers incident to modern life. One might instance the many deaths of children from contagious diseases the germs of which had been carried in tailored clothing. Country doctors testify as to the outbreak of scarlet fever in remote neighborhoods each autumn, after the children have begun to wear the winter overcoats and cloaks which have been sent from infected city sweatshops. That their mothers

mend their stockings and guard them from "taking cold" is not a sufficient protection when the tailoring of the family is done in a distant city under conditions which the mother cannot possibly control. The sanitary regulation of sweatshops by city officials is all that can be depended upon to prevent such needless destruction. Who shall say that women are not concerned in the enactment and enforcement of such legislation if they would preserve their homes?

Even women who take no part in public affairs in order that they may give themselves entirely to their own families, sometimes going so far as to despise those other women who are endeavoring to secure protective legislation, may illustrate this point. The Hull-House neighborhood was at one time suffering from a typhoid epidemic. A careful investigation was made by which we were able to establish a very close connection between the typhoid and a mode of plumbing which made it most probable that the infection had been carried by flies. Among the people who had been exposed to the infection was a widow who had lived in the ward for a number of years, in a comfortable little house which she owned. Although the Italian immigrants were closing in all around her she was not willing to sell her property and to move

away until she had finished the education of her children. In the meantime she held herself quite aloof from her Italian neighbors and could never be drawn into any of the public efforts to protect them by securing a better code of tenement house sanitation. Her two daughters were sent to an Eastern college; one June, when one of them had graduated and the other still had two years before she took her degree, they came to the spotless little house and to their self-sacrificing mother for the Summer's holiday. They both fell ill, not because their own home was not clean, not because their mother was not devoted, but because next door to them and also in the rear were wretched tenements, and because the mother's utmost efforts could not keep the infection out of her own house. One daughter died and one recovered but was an invalid for two years following. This is, perhaps, a fair illustration of the futility of the individual conscience when woman insists upon isolating her family from the rest of the community and its interests. The result is sure to be a pitiful failure.

One of the interesting experiences in the Chicago campaign for inducing the members of the Charter Convention to recommend municipal franchise for women in the provisions of the new

charter was the unexpected enthusiasm and help which came from large groups of foreign-born women. The Scandinavian women represented in many Lutheran Church societies said quite simply that in the old country they had had the municipal franchise upon the same basis as men for many years; all the women living under the British Government, in England, Australia or Canada, pointed out that Chicago women were asking now for what the British women had long ago. But the most unexpected response came from the foreign colonies in which women had never heard such problems discussed and took the prospect of the municipal ballot as a simple device—which it is—to aid them in their daily struggle with adverse city conditions. The Italian women said that the men engaged in railroad construction were away all summer and did not know anything about their household difficulties. Some of them came to Hull-House one day to talk over the possibility of a public wash-house. They do not like to wash in their own tenements; they had never seen a washing-tub until they came to America, and find it very difficult to use it in the restricted space of their little kitchens and to hang the clothes within the house to dry. They say that in the Italian villages the women all go to the streams to-

gether; in the town they go to the public wash-house; and washing, instead of being lonely and disagreeable, is made pleasant by cheerful conversation. It is asking a great deal of these women to change suddenly all their habits of living, and their contention that the tenement house kitchen is too small for laundry work is well taken. If women in Chicago knew the needs of the Italian colony they would realize that any change bringing cleanliness and fresh air into the Italian household would be a very sensible and hygienic measure. It is, perhaps, asking a great deal that the members of the City Council should understand this, but surely a comprehension of the needs of these women and efforts toward ameliorating their lot might be regarded as matters of municipal obligation on the part of voting women.

The same thing is true of the Jewish women in their desire for covered markets which have always been a municipal provision in Russia and Poland. The vegetables piled high upon the wagons standing in the open markets of Chicago become covered with dust and soot. It seems to these women a violation of the most rudimentary decencies and they sometimes say quite simply: "If women had anything to say about it they would change all that."

138 WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

If women follow only the lines of their traditional activities, here are certain primary duties which belong to even the most conservative women, and which no one woman or group of women can adequately discharge unless they join the more general movements looking toward social amelioration through legal enactment:

The first of these, of which this article has already treated, is woman's responsibility for the members of her own household that they may be properly fed and clothed and surrounded by hygienic conditions. The second is a responsibility for the education of children: (a) that they may be provided with good books; (b) that they may be kept free from vicious influences on the street; (c) that when working they may be protected by adequate child-labor legislation.

(a) The duty of a woman toward the schools which her children attend is so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell upon it. But even this simple obligation cannot be effectively carried out without some form of social organization, as the mothers' school clubs and mothers' congresses testify, and to which the most conservative women belong because they feel the need of wider reading and discussion concerning the many problems of childhood. It is, therefore, perhaps natu-

WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE 139

ral that the public should have been more willing to accord a vote to women in school matters than in any other, and yet women have never been members of a Board of Education in sufficient numbers to influence largely actual school curricula. If they had been, kindergartens, domestic science courses and school playgrounds would be far more numerous than they are. More than one woman has been convinced of the need of the ballot by the futility of her efforts in persuading a business man that young children need nurture in something besides the three r's. Perhaps, too, only women realize the influence which the school might exert upon the home if a proper adaptation to actual needs were considered. An Italian girl who has had lessons in cooking at the public school will help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits. That the mother has never baked bread in Italy—only mixed it in her own house and then taken it out to the village oven—makes it all the more necessary that her daughter should understand the complications of a cooking-stove. The same thing is true of the girl who learns to sew in the public school, and more than anything else, perhaps, of the girl who receives the first simple instruction in the care of little children, that skillful

care which every tenement house baby requires if he is to be pulled through his second summer. The only time, to my knowledge, that lessons in the care of children were given in the public schools of Chicago was one summer when the vacation schools were being managed by a volunteer body of women. The instruction was eagerly received by the Italian girls, who had been "little mothers" to younger children ever since they could remember.

As a result of this teaching I recall a young girl who carefully explained to her Italian mother that the reason the babies in Italy were so healthy and the babies in Chicago were so sickly was not, as her mother had always firmly insisted, because her babies in Italy had goat's milk and her babies in America had cow's milk, but because the milk in Italy was clean and the milk in Chicago was dirty. She said that when you milked your own goat before the door you knew that the milk was clean, but when you bought milk from the grocery store after it had been carried for many miles in the country, "you couldn't tell whether or not it was fit for the baby to drink until the men from the City Hall, who had watched it all the way, said that it was all right." She also informed her mother that the "City Hall wanted to fix up the milk so

that it couldn't make the baby sick, but that they hadn't quite enough votes for it yet." The Italian mother believed what her child had been taught in the big school; it seemed to her quite as natural that the city should be concerned in providing pure milk for her younger children as that it should provide big schools and teachers for her older children. She reached this naive conclusion because she had never heard those arguments which make it seem reasonable that a woman should be given the school franchise, but no other.

(b) But women are also beginning to realize that children need attention outside of school hours; that much of the petty vice in cities is merely the love of pleasure gone wrong, the over-strained boy or girl seeking improper recreation and excitement. It is obvious that a little study of the needs of children, a sympathetic understanding of the conditions under which they go astray, might save hundreds of them. Women traditionally have had an opportunity to observe the plays of children and the needs of youth, and yet in Chicago, at least, they had done singularly little in this vexed problem of juvenile delinquency until they helped to inaugurate the Juvenile Court movement a dozen years ago. The Juvenile Court Committee, made up largely of

women, paid the salaries of the probation officers connected with the court for the first six years of its existence, and after the salaries were cared for by the county the same organization turned itself into a Juvenile Protective League, and through a score of paid officers are doing valiant service in minimizing some of the dangers of city life which boys and girls encounter.

This Protective League, however, was not formed until the women had had a civic training through their semi-official connection with the Juvenile Court. This is, perhaps, an illustration of our inability to see the duty "next to hand" until we have become alert through our knowledge of conditions in connection with the larger duties. We would all agree that social amelioration must come about through the efforts of many people who are moved thereto by the compunction and stirring of the individual conscience, but we are only beginning to understand that the individual conscience will respond to the special challenge largely in proportion as the individual is able to see the social conditions because he has felt responsible for their improvement. Because this body of women assumed a public responsibility they have seen to it that every series of pictures displayed in the five-cent theatre is subjected to a careful

censorship before it is produced, and those series suggesting obscenity and criminality have been practically eliminated. The police department has performed this and many other duties to which it was oblivious before, simply because these women have made it realize that it is necessary to protect and purify those places of amusement which are crowded with young people every night. This is but the negative side of the policy pursued by the public authorities in the fifteen small parks of Chicago, each of which is provided with halls in which young people may meet nightly for social gatherings and dances. The more extensively the modern city endeavors on the one hand to control and on the other hand to provide recreational facilities for its young people, the more necessary it is that women should assist in their direction and extension. After all, a care for wholesome and innocent amusement is what women have for many years assumed. When the reaction comes on the part of taxpayers, women's votes may be necessary to keep the city to its beneficent obligations toward its own young people.

(c) As the education of her children has been more and more transferred to the school, so that even children four years old go to the kindergarten, the

woman has been left in a household of constantly-narrowing interests, not only because the children are away, but also because one industry after another is slipping from the household into the factory. Ever since steam power has been applied to the processes of weaving and spinning woman's traditional work has been carried on largely outside of the home. The clothing and household linen are not only spun and woven, but also usually sewed by machinery; the preparation of many foods has also passed into the factory and necessarily a certain number of women have been obliged to follow their work there, although it is doubtful, in spite of the large number of factory girls, whether women now are doing as large a proportion of the world's work as they used to do. Because many thousands of those working in factories and shops are girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two, there is a necessity that older women should be interested in the conditions of industry. The very fact that these girls are not going to remain in industry permanently makes it more important that some one should see to it that they shall not be incapacitated for their future family life because they work for exhausting hours and under insanitary conditions.

If woman's sense of obligation had enlarged as the industrial conditions

changed she might naturally and almost imperceptibly have inaugurated the movements for social amelioration in the line of factory legislation and shop sanitation. That she has not done so is doubtless due to the fact that her conscience is slow to recognize any obligation outside of her own family circle, and because she was so absorbed in her own household that she failed to see what the conditions outside actually were. It would be interesting to know how far the consciousness that she had no vote and could not change matters operated in this direction. After all, we see only those things to which our attention has been drawn, we feel responsibility for those things which are brought to us as matters of responsibility. If conscientious women were convinced that it was a civic duty to be informed in regard to these grave industrial affairs, and then to express the conclusions which they had reached by depositing a piece of paper in a ballot-box, one cannot imagine that they would shirk simply because the action ran counter to old traditions.

To those of my readers who would admit that although woman has no right to shirk her old obligations, that all of these measures could be secured more easily through her influence upon the men of her family than through the direct use of

the ballot, I should like to tell a little story. I have a friend in Chicago who is the mother of four sons and the grandmother of twelve grandsons who are voters. She is a woman of wealth, of secured social position, of sterling character and clear intelligence, and may, therefore, quite fairly be cited as a "woman of influence." Upon one of her recent birthdays, when she was asked how she had kept so young, she promptly replied: "Because I have always advocated at least one unpopular cause." It may have been in pursuance of this policy that for many years she has been an ardent advocate of free silver, although her manufacturing family are all Republicans! I happened to call at her house on the day that Mr. McKinley was elected President against Mr. Bryan for the first time. I found my friend much disturbed. She said somewhat bitterly that she had at last discovered what the much-vaunted influence of woman was worth; that she had implored each one of her sons and grandsons; had entered into endless arguments and moral appeals to induce one of them to represent her convictions by voting for Mr. Bryan; that, although sincerely devoted to her, each one had assured her that his convictions forced him to vote the Republican ticket! She said that all she had been able to secure was

the promise from one of the grandsons, for whom she had an especial tenderness because he bore her husband's name, that he would not vote at all. He could not vote for Bryan, but out of respect for her feeling he would refrain from voting for McKinley. My friend said that for many years she had suspected that women could influence men only in regard to those things in which men were not deeply concerned, but when it came to persuading a man to a woman's view in affairs of politics or business it was absolutely useless. I contended that a woman had no right to persuade a man to vote against his own convictions; that I respected the men of her family for following their own judgment regardless of the appeal which the honored head of the house had made to their chivalric devotion. To this she replied that she would agree with that point of view when a woman had the same opportunity as a man to register her convictions by vote. I believed then as I do now, that nothing is gained when independence of judgment is assailed by "influence," sentimental or otherwise, and that we test advancing civilization somewhat by our power to respect differences and by our tolerance of another's honest conviction.

This is, perhaps, the attitude of many busy women who would be glad to use

the ballot to further public measures in which they are interested and for which they have been working for years. It offends the taste of such a woman to be obliged to use indirect "influence" when she is accustomed to well-bred, open action in other affairs, and she very much resents the time spent in persuading a voter to take her point of view, and possibly to give up his own, quite as honest and valuable as hers, although different because resulting from a totally different experience. Public-spirited women who wish to use the ballot, as I know them, do not wish to do the work of men nor to take over men's affairs. They simply want an opportunity to do their own work and to take care of those affairs which naturally and historically belong to women, but which are constantly being overlooked and alighted in our political institutions.

In a complex community like the modern city all points of view need to be represented; the resultants of diverse experiences need to be pooled if the community would make for sane and balanced progress. If it would meet fairly each problem as it arises, whether it be connected with a freight tunnel having to do largely with business men, or with the increasing death rate among children under five years of age, a problem in

which women are vitally concerned, or with the question of more adequate street-car transfers, in which both men and women might be said to be equally interested, it must not ignore the judgments of its entire adult population.

To turn the administration of our civic affairs wholly over to men may mean that the American city will continue to push forward in its commercial and industrial development, and continue to lag behind in those things which make a city healthful and beautiful. After all, woman's traditional function has been to make her dwelling-place both clean and fair. Is that dreariness in city life, that lack of domesticity which the humblest farm dwelling presents, due to a withdrawal of one of the naturally co-operating forces? If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?

In closing, may I recapitulate that if woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and di-

130 WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

rectness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say that American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

Do You Know?

By Carrie Chapman Catt

DO YOU KNOW that the question of votes for women is one which is commanding the attention of the whole civilized world; that woman suffrage organizations of representative men and women exist in twenty-seven different countries; that in this country alone there are more than 1,000 woman suffrage organizations; that there is an International and a National Men's League for Woman Suffrage and numbers of local men's leagues; that the number of women who are asking for the vote in this country is larger than the number of men who have ever asked for anything in its entire history; that more and larger petitions asking for votes for women have been sent to legislative bodies than for any other one measure; that the press of this country is giving more space to woman suffrage than to any other one public question; that the legislatures of twenty-eight states in year 1914 entertained woman suffrage measures; and that a bill for a woman suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution is now before Congress?

assaulted with brooms, which ... had been dipped with human excrement."

The LUDLOW MASSACRE is the most infamous case of violence against women and children caused by a labor dispute, but women were among those killed by militia in Baltimore and Pittsburgh during the giant strike of male railroad employees in 1877, and women, many of them Slavic, rushed to the barricades in the historic Homestead steel strike of 1892. Similar solidarity was demonstrated during the Great Depression, when women supported men in militant 1934 strikes from Minneapolis to San Francisco and in the famous 1937 "sit-down" strikes in the auto industry. Although women were denied the opportunity to work in these industries, they ran kitchens to feed strikers, did supportive secretarial work and other volunteerism for the United Auto Workers, the Teamsters, and other unions that were almost exclusively male.

Their aid was vital in these strikes—although both the industries and the unions involved excluded women from the benefits of their action. Men rarely have rallied behind women strikers with similar solidarity.

SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT Although women had greater legal rights in some colonial governments than they would enjoy later in the nation's history, women were not fully enfranchised in any colony. Some, such as New Jersey, had provisions for partial suffrage for widows and spinners who owned property, but these exceptional circumstances were more likely to be viewed as accidental legal loopholes than as an intentional grant of suffrage. Legal code rewrites after the Revolution made things worse for women instead of better, and AUGUST ADAMS' famous plea that the writers of the Constitution "remember the ladies" went unheeded.

It was states that decided the qualifications of electors, not the federal government, and states varied in their liberality of the franchise even without regard to the gender question. All restricted the vote to white males and most placed further requirements, such as limiting the vote to property-owners and Protestants. The elimination of such restrictions was part of the movement of Jacksonian democracy in the 1820s and 1830s.

This spread of democratic ideas among lower-class males was doubtless a factor, even if unconsciously, in the rise of demands for the vote from women, and a half-century after adoption of the Constitution, the organized effort on behalf of women's right to vote appeared. It was not the wives of the newly enfranchised Jacksonian men who claimed the right to vote, however; instead, it was the better educated, propertied women who were descended from original colonists—many of whom were understandably chagrined to see illiterate frontiersmen and recent immigrants cast ballots in exchange for a drink, while the privilege was denied to taxpaying women with a far better understanding of American history and government.

The first formal call to enfranchise women was part of the DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS FOR WOMEN passed at the SENECA FALLS WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION in 1848. It was the most controversial item on the agenda, and ELIZABETH CADY STANTON included it over the objections of LUCRETIA MOTT and others. (Mott's reluctance may be partially explained by the fact that

she was a QUAKER WOMAN, and many of the men in her faith did not exercise their right to vote.) The debate on suffrage was sharper than any other during the convention, and it passed by a close margin. Because full enfranchisement even for males was still somewhat novel, women's lack of suffrage seemed less obviously unfair; therefore this remained the most theoretical of the Seneca Falls goals. For more than a decade, the movement instead emphasized such issues as DIVORCE, GUARDIANSHIP, and MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY RIGHTS.

It was the enfranchisement of black males after the Civil War that brought suffrage to the forefront. SUSAN ANTHONY was particularly angered by the priority given by the AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION to male ex-slaves, while educated women continued to be judged incapable of casting a ballot. After bitter confrontations with the men of the Association, she and Stanton formed the NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (NWSA) in January, 1869. JULIA WARD HOWE, LUCY STONE, and others took up the remnants of the Equal Rights Association and regrouped as the AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (AWSA) in November.

Especially after the ratification of the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT a few months later, the differences were drawn for the next two decades: The AWSA remained closer to the ABOLITIONIST roots that both groups had shared, while the NWSA gave more attention to women and less to ex-slaves who, they felt, had been prioritized for several decades. Their operational styles differed also: NWSA largely excluded men and Stanton was its president during most of its existence, while the AWSA had both men and women in its leadership. Locational centers reflected ideological differences as well, for the AWSA came to be associated with literary Boston, where its *WOMAN'S JOURNAL* was published, while the NWSA established its headquarters in political Washington. Anthony (who was the NWSA's most visible leader, despite Stanton's ostensible presidency) lobbied for an amendment to the federal Constitution applicable to all states, while the AWSA adopted a strategy of state referenda on suffrage that they believed more likely to result in enfranchisement for some, if not all, women.

Victories were won in several states during this period, for the right to vote was especially likely to be granted western women in their newer state governments. Compromise suffrage situations also appeared in several states, granting women partial suffrage for municipal or school board races or on tax referenda in cases of unmarried female property owners. That these victories were not necessarily attributable to either of the large suffrage associations serves only to demonstrate the pervasiveness of the idea and the depth of the informal movement.

Indeed, for various reasons and throughout the history of the movement, many splinter groups appeared—some of which behaved as though suffrage were already obtained by calling themselves "parties." In this period, for example, VICTORIA WOODHULL organized the Equal Rights Party for her 1872 presidential campaign, while BEAVER LOCKWOOD's 1884 campaign emulated this with the National Equal Rights Party. Neither was more than a skeletal organization, but such diversity helped the major associations by making them look large and respectable in comparison.

Though black women remained a distinct minority of the suffrage movement, some were involved from the beginning.

The two ran together to a large extent, for most Westerners cherished a heritage of individualism that included saloons as part of every town, whereas many Easterners associated the use of alcohol with the immigrants of their big cities—many of whom were Catholic, conservative, and anti-feminist. A number of Western suffragists seriously objected to NAWSA leadership who identified themselves with the WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION (WCTU) and other Prohibitionist groups, for they believed that Western men would never vote for suffrage if there was reason to think that the newly enfranchised women would then prohibit liquor. At the same time, large numbers of Eastern women—including Anthony—had an interest in temperance that predated their suffrage commitment, and they resented taking advice from women whom they saw as relative political newcomers. No case so clearly illustrates this difficulty as that of ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNWAY, who succeeded in winning a suffrage referendum in Oregon only after disassociating from the NAWSA.

Such dissatisfaction with the progress of suffrage resulted in a profusion of turn-of-the-century groups, some of which affiliated with the NAWSA, while others did not. Among them were the college-based EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, which was organized by MAUD WOOD PARK, and after its affiliation with the NAWSA, was presided over by M. CAREY THOMAS. The FEDERAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, founded in Chicago in 1892 by REVEREND OLYMPIA BROWN, aimed to redirect attention to the federal amendment after the NAWSA seemed to emphasize state suffrage campaigns—in a reversal of the NWSA's previous strategy. HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, unhappy with the organization that her mother had presided over, brought some twenty thousand New York women into her Equality League; in 1910, she organized the first big suffrage parade. Variations ran from conservative suffrage groups headed by socialites to numerous working class groups in cities from San Francisco to Pittsburgh. The National Council of Women Voters was a particular point of pride, for this organization was made up of women who lived in states where they had the vote.

The movement became global with the formalization of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1904; in the decade to come, even long-experienced American suffragists would learn lessons from abroad, especially from the British. This influence was extremely important, for the NAWSA had very nearly ossified by the turn of the century. Stanton died in 1902 and Anthony followed four years later; though each remained energetic until death, the organization suffered from a mellowed, static image. With its radical days seemingly behind it, some NAWSA members almost seemed to accept the inevitability of annual conventions devoted to speeches much like those of years past. Indeed, the pages of *HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE* during this era are replete with commentary on floral decorations, celebrity attendance at receptions, and other details that make the NAWSA appear as much a social organization as a political one.

It was women who had worked with the British suffrage movement who challenged these attitudes. In the view of those who had gone to jail and endured the torture of hunger strikes in Britain, the NAWSA's comparable apathy was shocking. "In 1912," wrote one such critic, "the National American Woman Suffrage Association maintained a Committee [that] arranged for one formal hearing before the Senate and House

Committee of each Congress . . . The Suffrage Amendment had never in the history of the country been brought to a vote in the National House of Representatives, and had only once, in 1887, been voted upon in the Senate. It had not received a favorable report from the Committee of either House since 1892 and had not received a report of any kind since 1896."

It was time for a change. With ALICE PAUL, LUCY BURNS, HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, and MARY BEARD among their most visible leaders, younger women began working within the NAWSA, but soon they took their CONGRESSIONAL UNION (CU) in different directions. Paul's first triumph was to organize a giant parade for the inauguration of President Woodrow Wilson. On March 3, 1913, as many as eight thousand women marched from the Capitol past the White House, ending at the hall owned by the DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Because the NAWSA had never engaged in such unladylike behavior, Washington police misjudged the likely response and failed to protect the marchers from jeering men who attacked the women. The result was a swell of public sympathy; the police chief lost his job, while the suffrage cause was energized.

It was the Congressional elections of 1914, however, that demonstrated the CU's controversial new approach. Despite the fundamental differences in the structures of American and British government, Paul's group adopted the British model of pressuring the party that held the executive branch: thus, they decided to demonstrate women's strength by campaigning in the nine states (all in the West) where women had the vote. They would campaign against Democratic candidates because the president was a Democrat—regardless of whether or not the Democratic congressmen supported suffrage.

To NAWSA leadership, this was an insane strategy. They argued that to campaign against men who supported suffrage merely because they were Democrats was the least likely way to convert additional support in the majority party. They also pointed out that, unlike Britain's prime minister, an American president has no formal role in the passage of constitutional amendments. The CU women countered with arguments that can be summarized by a rhetorical question from its January newsletter: "Is it suggested that we be inactive in the only places where we possess real political power?" Thus, throughout 1914, they went across the nation with visibility techniques such as railroad cars placarded with banners—and succeeded in defeating twenty Democrats who had supported suffrage.

To many, the incongruity of defeating one's supporters only played into the hands of anti-suffragists who said that women were too irrational to vote. Moreover, neither the CU nor the NAWSA could claim much success on the suffrage referenda held in 1914; five of the seven conducted were lost, with only the additional Western states of Nevada and Montana extending the vote to women. The power of the 1914 election, however, was that it served as a profound wake-up call to the NAWSA.

At its 1915 convention, Reverend Dr. ANNA HOWARD SHAW withdrew from the presidency and was replaced by CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT. Catt had exhibited genuine political skills during her earlier presidency, when she had done such things as organize New York's various suffrage groups into a cohe-

sive body and trained some two thousand precinct captains. Aware that effective political campaigns cost a great deal of money, she resumed the presidency in part because she knew that she could run a sophisticated campaign with the bequest of MIRIAM LESLIE. Soon after taking office, Catt formulated a "Winning Plan" that drew considerable skepticism both in and out of the suffrage movement—but only five years later, its promise would be fulfilled.

In addition to revitalizing the NAWSA, the congressional election of 1914 also got President Wilson's attention. He was up for reelection in 1916, and slowly he began to see that for political, if not constitutional, reasons he had to take a stand for suffrage. He responded favorably to Catt's careful cultivation, and his letter of June, 1916, promising to "join my fellow-Democrats in recommending to the several States that they extend the Suffrage to women" was addressed to Catt—not Alice Paul.

In the same month, Paul and her CU formally broke their long-loosened tie to the NAWSA. In June of 1916, they reconstituted as the WOMAN'S PARTY—in Chicago, during the week that the Republican and Progressive Parties were meeting there. Such astuteness indicated a continuation of its strategy of high visibility, for already in 1913, the CU had begun a Suffrage School in Washington to educate potential members, and it conducted "an uninterrupted series of indoor and outdoor meetings, numbering frequently from five to ten a day." *The Suffragist* had begun publication in November, 1913, and within three years, it replaced the venerable old *WOMAN'S JOURNAL*.

Generously funded by ALVA BELMONT, Party members worked hard against Wilson in the election of 1916, and again took little note of their defeat. When he spoke to Congress the month after reelection, they scored another coup by unfurling a banner from the House gallery—and were ready with publicity releases for "the men in the Press Gallery the instant after it happened." During the next two years, they drew tremendous attention by picketing the White House; except for Sundays, as many as a thousand pickets "of all races and religions" were there "in rain and in sleet."

Though much of their leadership had ties to Britain, the Woman's Party adamantly refused to endorse WORLD WAR I, for the war was declared only months after Wilson won reelection on the slogan of "He Kept Us Out of War." Their banners became, in the judgment of some, close to treasonous when war was declared, and after a confrontation in June, 1917, pickets were regularly arrested. Like their British mentors, they refused to pay fines, and about one hundred went to jail and endured hunger strikes—with high drama and sympathetic publicity for these brave women whose right to free speech was clearly violated.

In contrast, Catt not only supported the war, but even served on a major defense council. That strategy, however, appealed to a different segment of the public and especially to Wilson and Congress. The radicalism of the Woman's Party made the NAWSA look reasonable by comparison, and its membership soared, reaching two million by 1920. Nor did the war replace suffrage in Catt's focus, and she too had been to England and learned the methods of visibility: the NAWSA's 1917 parade particularly focused on women's contributions

to the war and included a petition signed by a million women working in the war effort.

Catt was astute in highlighting this point, for the public was deeply impressed by women's wartime roles. Women went overseas to drive ambulances and run telephone switchboards, worked in dangerous munitions plants, and even joined the military. Many who previously argued that only men should vote because only men served in war had to think again. Indeed, it may have been the war as much as any organizational strategy that finally brought the vote, for male voters demonstrated a changed view during the wartime elections.

In 1917, women won full suffrage in New York—the first Eastern state—and partial suffrage in seven other states, mostly in the Midwest. The following year, women won referenda in three of four Midwestern states, losing by a close margin only in Louisiana. The armistice was declared on November 11, 1918—a few days after the congressional elections—and the new Congress took office the following March. In May and June, the requisite two-thirds majority of the House and Senate passed the NINETEENTH AMENDMENT.

All factions of the suffrage movement worked hard to lobby it through Congress, of course, and then they continued the long struggle with ratification campaigns in thirty-six states during the remainder of 1919 and on into 1920. The final necessary vote came down to Tennessee, and after a great deal of pressure from fellow-Southerner President Wilson, its legislature ratified on August 26, 1920. The herculean labor was at last over, and women had the right to vote in all elections nationwide.

Finally, it is important to spell out the significant roles that men played in this long effort. Husbands such as James Mott, Henry Blackwell, and Henry Stanton contributed immeasurably more to the early cause than millions of women did, while William Lloyd Garrison had no peer in his dedication to women's rights. The same is true for thousands of anonymous men. In recounting efforts in 1870, for example, the *History of Woman Suffrage* remarks: "It is a noticeable fact that the movement for the enfranchisement of woman in Vermont was inaugurated wholly by men. Not a woman was on its official board, nor was there one to speak in the State. Men called the first woman's rights convention . . ."

Decades later, one of the NAWSA's affiliates was the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and among the first actions of the Congressional Union in 1913 was the formation of a Washington branch that was "composed largely of Congressmen." Ultimately, it is vital to remember that many women opposed suffrage, and that none would have ever received the vote had men not voted for it.

The suffrage movement was commemorated with a monument in the U.S. Capitol that was dedicated in 1921. Carved by Adelaide Johnson, it portrays the two leaders of the Seneca Falls Convention, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, along with the indefatigable Susan Anthony.

SULLIVAN, LEONOR KRETZER (1902–1988) Elected to Congress during what is considered a regressive era for women, Sullivan went on to author the bill that created the food stamp program and the truth-in-lending credit reform bill.

A Democrat from St. Louis, she attended Washington Univer-

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When we went last year to Latvia,
(pays) Polish . . .

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