

RECOVERING OUR PAST

THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE



“Recovering Our Past: The Struggle for Woman’s Suffrage”

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INTRODUCTION

Women, like blacks, native Americans and other groups in American society, have a dual history, their own and the history of their part in the chronicles of the nation as a whole. Unfortunately, because they have had so little access to power in the society, both of these histories have been largely ignored by conventional accounts of the nation's past.

To more systematically study and understand this past, that of the "historically voiceless", we must both re-examine the past records with a new perspective and develop new techniques to gather information.

One of these techniques, the oral history interview, has been used by the Feminist History Research Project to recover the recent past of women in the United States. By interviewing women ranging in age from their seventies to over one hundred years old, the Project is exploring the history of women in the first decades of this century. From these oral history interviews, the Project is creating RECOVERING OUR PAST, a series

of tape/slide programs that will explore the varied activities and experiences of women whose contributions to the life of our country have been largely ignored.

The first of these programs, *The Struggle for Woman's Suffrage*, examines the seventy-two year battle for the right of women to participate in the political processes of the nation. Though this program is specifically devoted to the campaign waged by women for the right to vote, it also helps to elucidate the general, continuous struggle throughout American history for the realization of the ideals upon which the nation was presumably founded, a struggle even now being waged by women and other groups. Moreover, the depiction of historical events through the words and voices of unknown, ordinary participants provides an introduction to a new kind of history, not the history of official documents and famous names, but history as seen "from the bottom up"

CHRONOLOGY

- 1776 The New Jersey State Constitution grants votes to all inhabitants, twenty-one and over, with property valued at fifty pounds or more.
- 1787 The Constitutional Convention places the determination of voting qualifications in the hands of the states. The qualifications, determined by sex, race, age and property holding, effectively excludes women in all states except New Jersey.
- 1806 New Jersey, as a result of a surprise election outcome largely influenced by the women's vote, restricts suffrage to white males. The denial of the elective franchise to American women becomes universal.
- 1840 Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, along with other women, are denied their seats (as delegate and observer, respectively) to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London due to their sex. This incident leads to a recognition of the need for women to have a convention of their own, and is ultimately responsible for the founding of the women's rights movement in the United States.
- 1848 Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Jane Hunt, Martha Wright and Mary McClintock, issue a public notice for a meeting at Seneca Falls, New York, to be held on July 19, 20, "to discuss the social, civic and religious rights of women".
- The Declaration of Sentiments and a set of resolutions is adopted at Seneca Falls and signed by 68 women and 32 men. The first formal demand for women's right to vote is made in the United States.
- A Woman's Rights Convention is held later in the year at Rochester, N.Y., signalling the rise of state organizations devoted to the cause of women's rights, including suffrage.
- A state women's rights convention is held in Salem, Ohio which bars men from participation.

1850 Women's rights leaders, including Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott and Abby Kelley, meet during the Boston Negro Rights Convention and plan the First National Woman's Rights Convention, to be held in Worcester, Massachusetts, October 23.

1,000 people attend the First National Woman's Rights Convention, including abolitionists, temperance workers, Quakers, and women from cities and farms. This marks the first of the yearly conventions held until 1860.

A resolution is passed that women be entitled to the right to vote and that the word male be stricken from state constitutions. Out of the Convention, a National Central Committee is organized, the first of its kind, to produce literature, promote woman's rights and help to plan other conventions.

Susan B. Anthony joins the ranks of the woman's rights crusaders.

1851-Suffrage leaders continue to devote their energies to both the cause of 1860 women's rights and the abolition of slavery, often appearing before Legislatures in efforts to reform the laws unfavorable to women.

At the Woman's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio in 1851, Sojourner Truth, an ex-slave, helps to save the meeting from men who threaten to break it up. In response to the attacks on woman by several clergymen, she rose to give her now-famous "Ain't I A Woman" rebuttal.

Yearly Woman's Rights Conventions are held until the Civil War diverts the energies of all the suffrage figures to a total concentration on the anti-slavery fight.

The Fourteenth Amendment is drafted, and with it the word "male" is introduced into the federal constitution for the first time. Abolitionists argue with suffragists that extending the franchise to women at this time would hurt the cause of the blacks.

1866 Suffragists make a direct request to Congress, with petitions bearing 10,000 signatures, for an amendment prohibiting disenfranchisement on the grounds of sex. The majority hold firm about not striking the word "male" from the 14th amendment. The first debate on woman suffrage is held in Congress in connection with a move to extend the vote in Washington, D.C.

May 1st, the first Woman's Rights Convention since the Civil War is held. A disagreement is brewing within the suffrage ranks over the 14th amendment (with its "male only" clauses). The Convention resolved itself into the American Equal Rights Association, with Lucretia Mott as president, and pledges to work for suffrage for both woman and Negroes.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton continue to battle against the "male only" 14th amendment, to the point of opposing its ratification-a position which causes them to lose some of their supporters.

1867 Kansas puts two proposed amendments on the ballot; to grant suffrage to women and to Negroes. This marks the first time that woman suffrage is put to a direct vote. Both measures lose.

1868 The 14th amendment is ratified.

1869 The 15th amendment is proposed, prohibiting denial or abridgement of rights on

the basis of race, color, or condition of previous servitude. Women's rights leaders receive little support in their efforts to include "sex" in the wording of the 15th amendment.

The Equal Rights Association breaks up over a disagreement in philosophy and tactics. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton feel women were betrayed by the male abolitionists (who refused to push for the exclusion of "male" from the 14th amendment or the inclusion of "sex" in the 15th amendment). They form the National Woman's Suffrage Association, (NWSA) exclusively for women, to dedicate their energies to a fight for a federal amendment granting woman's suffrage and to the broader issues of women's rights.

Lucy Stone, a few months later, forms the American Woman's Suffrage Association, (AWSA). This group includes men, is dedicated to securing suffrage through state battles rather than through a federal amendment and is generally more conservative and single-issue oriented than the Stanton-Anthony group, NWSA.

Women win the right to vote in Wyoming, following the granting of territorial status. This represents the first enfranchisement of women (since the women of New Jersey lost their rights) in the United States.

1870 The Territory of Utah grants woman suffrage (a right they will later lose when Utah becomes a state).

Victoria Woodhull appears before the House Judiciary Committee, being the first woman to speak in the Capitol.

1871 The Anti-Suffrage Society is formed, composed of wives of prominent men, including many Civil War generals.

1872 Victoria Woodhull becomes the first woman to run for President, on her own ticket, with Frederick Douglass as the vice-presidential candidate.

Susan B. Anthony registers to vote in an effort to force a court decision (which might then avoid the need for a constitutional amendment) on woman's suffrage. She is tried, convicted and fined \$100, which she refuses to pay.

1875 Virginia Minor sues the registrar's office in St. Louis for denying her the right to vote, in an attempt to test the 14th amendment. She loses her case.

1876 Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton open offices during the Centennial in Philadelphia. They issue a Woman's Declaration of 1876 and disrupt the official program to present their Declaration.

1877 Suffragists petition the Senate for the 16th amendment to grant woman suffrage (The Anthony Amendment, ultimately the 19th).

1878 Senator Aaron Sargent of California introduces the 16th amendment. Elizabeth Cady Stanton appears at the hearings held by the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. The Committee reports against the proposed amendment.

1882 Select Committees of both houses of Congress are appointed and both report

favorably on the suffrage amendment.

1886 The woman suffrage amendment is called up on the Senate floor.

1887 January 25, the first vote on woman suffrage is taken and the measure is defeated two to one.

1890 The two major suffrage organizations, The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) merge, becoming The National American Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Because of the failure to secure the passage of a federal amendment, they pledge themselves to state-by-state fights.

The South Dakota Campaign for woman suffrage is lost.

1893 Colorado votes for woman suffrage following an energetic campaign by Carrie Chapman Catt and other suffrage figures.

This represents the first time that male voters decide by direct choice to grant woman suffrage.

1894 Petitions with 600,000 signatures are presented in an effort to convince a New York State Constitutional Convention to submit a woman's suffrage amendment to the voters. The campaign fails.

Lucy Stone, one of the pioneers of women's rights, dies. Her daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, continues her work.

Efforts fail in Kansas to extend woman's suffrage (limited to municipal and school district elections) to general suffrage.

1895 Carrie Chapman Catt presents a plan of re-organization to the NAWSA Convention and re-vitalizes the suffrage struggle.

The first victory under the new organization is won in Utah (where women who had the vote during the territorial status lost it when Utah became a state).

1896 Idaho grants woman suffrage.

1900 Susan B. Anthony turns the leadership of the NAWSA over to Carrie Chapman Catt.

1902 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the philosopher of the women's rights movement, dies.

1904 Carrie Chapman Catt resigns due to ill health and Anna Howard Shaw becomes the president of the NAWSA.

1906 Susan B. Anthony, the early organizational force behind the suffrage movement, dies.

1910 Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, returns from England fresh with ideas from the British suffrage movement. She founds the Women's Political Union in New York and introduces new strategy (street speaking, parades, etc.) which helps to change the tone of the national suffrage movement.

The first suffrage parade in New York is held; 3,000 join it.
The fourteen year lull is broken with the granting of woman suffrage in the state of Washington.

1911 A huge campaign in California is successful in winning the vote for women in that state.

Emmeline Pankhurst, the militant British suffrage figure, speaks at the NAWSA Convention.

1912 The Progressive Party, under the leadership of Teddy Roosevelt, favors woman's suffrage.

A parade to Pennsylvania Avenue is held in Washington, D.C. to present the annual petition for the woman suffrage amendment to Congress.

A major suffrage parade is organized in New York City. Oregon, Arizona and Kansas grant woman suffrage.

1913 The Alaskan Territory grants woman suffrage.

Illinois grants limited suffrage (in municipal and presidential elections). This represents the first victory east of the Mississippi River.

Alice Paul and Lucy Burns return from London where they both had participated in the militant suffrage struggle. They form the Congressional Union as an auxiliary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and set up offices in Washington, D.C. to launch a renewed campaign for a federal amendment.

A parade of 8,000 women is held the day preceding Woodrow Wilson's presidential inauguration. The Washington, D.C. police deny the suffragists police protection and after attacks by mobs, the Secretary of War calls out troops from Fort Meyer.

A delegation from the Congressional Union visits Woodrow Wilson to ask him to include woman suffrage in his message to a special session of Congress. He is uncooperative.

Suffragists march to the Capitol to present petitions.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment is re-introduced in the House and Senate.

The Senate reports favorably on the amendment, but all action is blocked in the House.

1914 Nevada adopts woman suffrage.

A vote is taken in the Senate on the suffrage amendment, the first vote since 1887. (The vote is 35-34).

The amendment is stalled by a tie vote in the Rules Committee of the House.

The Democratic caucus declares that suffrage is a state issue. Since Woodrow Wilson states he can only follow his party, the Congressional Union moves to direct political action, holding the Democratic party, as the party in power, responsible for the continued disenfranchisement of women.

1915 A transcontinental tour by suffragists yields over 'h million signatures on petitions to Congress.

The House, for the first time in history, votes on national woman's suffrage. The measure is defeated 204-174.

40,000 march in a New York suffrage parade, the largest parade of any kind ever seen in New York.

Woman's suffrage measures are defeated in New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

1916 Alice Paul and the members of the Congressional Union break away from the NAWSA over a disagreement on tactics, and the National Woman's Party (NWP) is formed.

Both the NAWSA and the NWP march on the Republican Convention and succeed in having woman suffrage adopted in the Republican platform for the first time. The Republican presidential candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, comes out in favor of a constitutional amendment.

The suffragists converge on the Democratic Convention but are unsuccessful. The platform of the Democratic Party, and the presidential candidate, Woodrow Wilson, both favor action by individual states only. The National Woman's Party, in response, opens a political war against Woodrow Wilson.

1917 300 militant suffragists, including Harriet Stanton Blatch and Alice Paul meet to plan action in Washington. A decision is made to post "sentinels of liberty" at the White House.

January 10th pickets appear in front of the White House and remain stationed there permanently, with hourly changes of shift. On Inauguration Day, 1,000 suffragists join the regular pickets.

In June the arrests of the White House pickets begin. 218 suffragists are eventually illegally arrested for obstruction of traffic.

Beginning in August, the pickets begin to draw 30 and 60 day sentences. They first institute a work strike at the Occoquan Work House, and in September a number of the jailed suffragists begin a hunger strike. They are subjected to forcible feeding and threatened with transfer to an insane asylum.

The House finally sets up a Woman Suffrage Committee, taking the Susan B. Anthony Amendment out of the control of the hostile House Judiciary Committee.

North Dakota, Indiana, Rhode Island, Nebraska and Michigan grant women the right to vote for president. Arkansas grants woman's participation in primary elections.

Constitutional victories are won in South Dakota and Oklahoma. New York finally approves woman suffrage.

1918 In January, President Wilson finally publicly declares his support for woman suffrage-just one day before the House vote. The amendment passes the House by exactly 2/3 majority, 272-136.

The suffragists are released from prison by order of the President. The Washington, D.C. Appeals Court later rules they were illegally arrested, convicted and imprisoned.

The suffrage amendment is kept from coming to a vote in the Senate. The National Woman's Party (NWP) transfers its pickets to the Senate, and continues to put pressure on Wilson to secure his assistance in passage in the Senate.

Wilson appears at the Senate in October to appeal for immediate passage of the suffrage amendment as a war measure. It is defeated in the Senate by 2 votes short of

the 2/3 majority.

1919 The suffrage amendment is brought to a vote again in the Senate, and is still one vote short of the 2/3 majority.

Beginning January 1919, a perpetual fire is built in an urn in direct line with the front door of the White House. Every time President Wilson delivers a speech about democracy, the NWP tolls a bell and burns his words. The watch fire for freedom burns day and night, with women on guard all night. The urn is broken and scattered, but the women rebuild the fire.

The President brings his pressure to bear on the Democratic members of the Senate, and the final vote is secured.

The woman's suffrage amendment, the 19th amendment to the Constitution, is passed on June 4, 1919. It is the same as the amendment originally authored by Susan B. Anthony and first introduced in 1878.

1920 On August 18, 1920, after a year's struggle to secure ratification by 2/3 of the states, Tennessee becomes the 36th state to ratify the amendment. Official word is received in Washington, and the amendment is signed into law on August 26, 1920.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of the husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master-the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement. He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women-the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation-in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most

sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

AMENDMENT XIX

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

The vote for women was finally obtained in 1920 through the hard work and deep commitment of over two million women. However, the story of their struggle is primarily the story of the white, middle-class women who were most active in the suffrage movement. Other women, like those in the trade unions or the National Association of Colored Women, supported the suffragists, but their energies were largely devoted to their own specific goals.

Although the suffrage movement did, ultimately, become a mass movement among women, in the early years the fight was carried on by a small, dedicated band. To fully understand the history of the women's rights movement, it is important to study both the contributions of these early pioneers and the lesser known but equally significant contributions of the thousands of obscure women who also took part in the struggle. Brief biographical sketches of some of the early suffragist leaders appear below. The voices of a few of the unknown thousands are on the accompanying tape.

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT (1793-1880)

Born to Quaker parents, she was brought up on Nantucket Island where women played a key role in the enterprises and affairs of the community. (Still the center of the whaling industry, the men were gone on long sea voyages.) She became a schoolteacher and

taught in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. until her marriage, at the age of 18 to James Mott.

Ten years later she gave up teaching to become a Quaker minister and earned a reputation as a platform speaker, touring the East and lecturing on temperance, abolition and woman's rights. She was among the first women to speak at meetings of men and to voice demands for women's rights. She founded the Female Anti-Slavery, the first women's group to be formed in the United States.

Her association with Elizabeth Cady Stanton began in 1840 in London, where Mott was denied her seat as a delegate to the Anti-Slavery Convention. This led, eight years later, to the Seneca Falls Convention. Although Lucretia Mott pleaded for woman's property rights, it was not until that Convention that voting was even considered a right to be demanded for women. She remained active in suffrage and other reform movements until her death.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON (1815-1902)

Born near Albany, New York, she was exposed early to the plight of women, overhearing her father's counsel to his women clients. She was determined to become educated, and attended the Emma Willard Female Seminary in Troy, N.Y. After her schooling, she often attended anti-slavery meetings, and there met Henry Stanton, an abolitionist speaker ten years her senior. She later married him, over her father's opposition, insisting that the legal vows of obedience be left out of the ceremony.

The couple honeymooned in London, where Henry Stanton was a delegate to the Anti-Slavery Convention. It was there that she met Lucretia Mott. After returning to the United States, the Stantons settled in Seneca Falls where she devoted most of her time to raising her first three children.

The narrow confines of that life, coupled with her discussions in London with Lucretia Mott and the memories of her childhood eavesdropping, led her, with Lucretia Mott and three other women, to call a woman's rights convention in 1848. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was responsible for drafting much of the Declaration of Sentiments, and shocked her four colleagues when she introduced the demand for woman's suffrage.

She eventually had four other children, but her relationship with Susan B. Anthony helped her to continue to express her ideas and to remain the philosopher of the movement. Anthony often cared for the children and the household while Stanton closeted herself to write speeches and declarations. Together they formed an alliance which represented the more radical wing of the early women's movement.

She retired from her activities in 1892 to live with her daughter in England, but still continued to write speeches and sent them to Anthony to deliver at the meetings of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association.

LUCY STONE (1818-1893)

Born in Massachusetts to a poor farm family, she had to struggle both against her family circumstances and her father's attitudes toward women in order to become educated. She earned money by teaching until she was able to pay her way to Mt. Holyoke Seminary. While there, she became interested in the abolitionist movement, and after a disagreement with Mary Lyon over that cause, left Mt. Holyoke. She continued to teach and earn money to attend Oberlin, the first college to open its doors to women, where she formed

the first girls debating society in the U.S. After graduation she began her public speaking career, devoting her attention to the cause of the black slave and women, and linking the two. Although largely a "loner" in the early days of the women's rights movement, she joined with Lucretia Mott and others in forming the early organizations which fought for both women's rights and the abolition of slavery. However, after the Civil War, there was a parting of the ways, and Lucy Stone became the leader of the more conservative wing of the movement, focusing almost exclusively on suffrage.

In 1885 she married Henry Blackwell, insisting both on retention of her own name and on the total revision of the marriage ceremony. Theirs is probably the most famous of marriage contracts. He became a partner in her suffrage work and together they edited *Woman's Journal*. Her only child, Alice Stone Blackwell, continued their work after her parents' death.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY (1820-1906)

Born in Massachusetts, of a Quaker family, she became the "organizer" of the early woman's rights movement. The restrictions placed on women caused her to first quit her teaching job and later the temperance movement in which she had been an ardent worker. Both her mother and sister signed the Declaration of Sentiments at Seneca Falls, but she did not become active in the woman's movement until after meeting Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1850 at an anti-slavery meeting. They became close friends and associates, working as partners for the next fifty years, complementing each other. Remaining unmarried, she was more readily able to go on strenuous organizing and speaking tours.

Susan B. Anthony became the politician and organizer of the movement, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton the philosopher. Together they organized the National Woman's Suffrage Association in 1869 after a falling out with other suffragists over the male only 14th amendment. She edited *The Revolution*, a radical feminist paper which espoused all women's causes and was the first to make an effort to bring working and immigrant women into the women's rights movement. After Stanton's retirement in 1892, she became the leader of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association and continued to be one of the driving forces in the suffrage movement until her death, at the age of 86.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW (1847-1919)

Born in England, she was raised in the wilderness of Michigan. Although she had to assume the responsibility of her three younger siblings at the age of 13, she managed to educate herself and became a schoolteacher to support the family. It was only after the Civil War that she was finally able to attend high school.

Despite severe economic hardships, she completed divinity school and became the pastor of a Cape Cod church. She soon gave up the pulpit, though, to study medicine, and became a doctor in 1885.

Shaw began to lecture on temperance and worked in the suffrage department of the WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Union). Widely recognized as one of the most eloquent orators of her time, she began speaking for the American Woman's Suffrage Association. Her close association with Susan B. Anthony beginning in 1888 meant that

the merger of the Anthony/Stanton NWSA and the Lucy Stone AWSA was a foregone conclusion.

After that, Shaw devoted full time to the suffrage movement, in 1892 becoming the vice-president of the NWSA, working with Anthony. After Carrie Chapman Catt's resignation in 1904, she took over the organization for the next eleven years, until Catt returned to the position. In the last years of her life, she devoted herself to the Council of National Defense (World War I) and then to enlisting support for the League of Nations.

HARRIET STANTON BLATCH (1856-1940)

The daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, she married an Englishman and lived in London for twenty years, coming into contact with the militant suffrage struggle there. After her husband's death, she returned to the U.S. in 1907 to find the suffrage movement here respectable and dull.

She infused the American suffrage movement with a new tone; planning outdoor meetings, campaigning outside factory gates, organizing the first of the great suffrage parades in New York. One of the first to make a direct connection with working women, she founded the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women (later called the Women's Political Union) in New York.

Later, in 1917, she joined with Alice Paul in planning militant tactics to gain a federal amendment, and her organization finally merged with Alice Paul's.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT (1859-1947)

Born on a farm in Wisconsin, she moved to Iowa as a child. After working her way through Iowa State College, she became a teacher, then a principal, and finally, a superintendent of schools at age 24. She began studying law, but gave up her own pursuits when she married Leo Chapman, and worked with him on his newspaper. Chapman died shortly after they moved to San Francisco, in 1886, and she obtained a job reporting for a San Francisco journal of manufacturing and commerce. The ridicule she encountered for doing a "man's job", brought her into the woman's movement. She returned to Iowa and began writing news and lecturing on suffrage, becoming the Secretary of the Iowa Suffrage Association. She married George Catt, a wealthy engineer and suffrage advocate, on the condition that she be given four months of the year completely free to devote to suffrage. In 1890 she attended the convention at which the two suffrage groups merged, and there met Stanton and Anthony. Later that year she became involved with Anthony in the South Dakota suffrage campaign, and in 1893 in the Colorado campaign.

She eventually became one of the new leaders in the suffrage movement, and brought her enormous organizational skills to bear, completely re-organizing and re-vitalizing suffrage forces. After presiding over the National American Woman's Suffrage Association for four years (1900-1904) she was forced to resign when her husband became ill. She returned to the fray again, and in 1915 organized a huge, successful campaign in New York for woman's suffrage.

Carrie Chapman Catt carried the battle for woman's suffrage through the ratification process, and afterwards transformed the NAWSA into the League of Women Voters, and

continued to work for various reforms.

ALICE PAUL (1885-)

Born to a Quaker family in New Jersey, she attended Swarthmore, graduating in 1905. After a years graduate work in the New York School of Social Work, she went to England to do settlement work. During her first three years there, she did graduate work at the Universities of Birmingham and London, for which she was awarded an M.A. and a Ph. D. by the University of Pennsylvania.

In London she became involved in the suffrage struggle and worked with Emmeline Pankhurst, organizing dramatic and militant activities for which she served three jail sentences in England. She met another American, Lucy Burns, and they both returned to the United States in 1912 to engage in suffrage work here. They first formed the Congressional Union as a committee of the NAWSA, but disagreements over tactics led to a secession from that organization in 1913. The Congressional Union (later merging with the Woman's Party) was responsible for organizing the massive Washington, D.C. parade in 1913 and later, in 1917, the picketing of the White House. They represented the militant wing of the suffrage movement.

After final ratification of the 19th amendment, Alice Paul continued her commitment to women, and began to work for other legal changes. To facilitate this work, she went to law school and obtained three law degrees. In 1923 she first introduced the Equal Rights Amendment and has worked continuously, first to secure its passage, and now ratification.

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INQUIRY I. The elective franchise:

Trace the broadening of the franchise from the earliest limitations to white, male, property-holders to the extension of the vote to 18 year olds of both sexes and all races.

Why were special amendments to the Constitution required to enfranchise first the black man, then women, then all 18 year olds?

II. The role and status of women in early 19th century U.S.:

What were the current beliefs about women? Explore the reason that so many of the early women's rights pioneers were from Quaker backgrounds.

What were the legal rights, if any, of women? Restrictions?

What were the options open to women? Explore the reasons that so many of the early activists were school teachers.

Why did women first demand the vote at this time?

What is the significance of the vote being granted to women first in six Western states? Explore the role of women in the West.

III. Woman's suffrage and the Progressive era:

Explore the changing position of women during the late 19th, early 20th century.

What was the relationship of the woman's movement and suffrage to the other reform movements of the period?

Why, after so many decades of demanding the vote, did women finally get support?

IV. Who were the suffragists:

What was the relationship between suffragists and women in the labor movement?

Black women? Immigrant women?

Why were the majority of suffragists basically middle-class, white women?

V. Philosophical positions of the suffrage groups: Why did women want the vote?

Explore the justifications used by women in their demand for the vote. What were the arguments of the anti-suffragists?

What was the relationship between feminism and suffrage? Were all suffragists feminists?

Discuss the differences in philosophy and tactics between suffrage groups. What implications did these differences have for the future of the woman's movement.

What were the attitudes of suffragists and/or feminists to other issues related to women, e.g. birth control, marriage, divorce, etc.

VI. The effect of war on women's status and on their drive for greater participation in society:

What was women's role during the Civil War, World War I and World War II? Explore both their direct participation in the war efforts and the ways in which the wars affected their participation in society.

What effect did the Civil War, World War I and II have on women's demands for their own rights? Were there parallels between the three time periods?

VII. The relationship between women and other "minority" groups in the United States:

What were the similarities in the status of women and black slaves?

What was the justification used to deny women and slaves the right to vote?

Why was there such a close tie between the early abolition movement and the woman's rights movement?

Discuss the implications of the extension of the franchise to the black male, but the continued denial of the voting right to women.

Discuss the parallels between the emergence of the current woman's movement out of the civil rights struggle and the emergence of the earlier movement from the abolition struggle.

How does the current women's movement relate to other "minority" movements?

VIII. Women since 1920:

What happened to the woman's movement after the passage of the suffrage amendment?

Explore, for each decade, beginning with 1920, women's situation. What were the social processes in each decade that affected woman's role and status? (e.g. the

"flapper", prohibition, the depression, World War II, the baby boom, the move to suburbia, etc).

Explore the reasons for a brief revival of feminism in the mid-1940's and its subsidence.

Why did the women's movement emerge again in the 1960's?

What conditions and processes made possible the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, fifty years after it was introduced? Why did it fail to pass in the 1920's and in the 1940's when there was some expectation of passage?

What are the goals of the modern women's movement? Compare and contrast these with the earlier woman's right and suffrage.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Women in the United States, History

Cott, Nancy (ed) *Root of Bitterness*, Dutton, N.Y. 1972

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Lerner, Gerda (ed), *Black Women in White America*, Vintage, N.Y. 1972

The Woman in American History, Addison-Wesley, Menlo Park 1971

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Irwin, Inez, *Up Hill with Banners Flying, The Story of the National Woman's Party*, Penobscott, Me, Traverstry Press, 1964

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O'Neil, William L., *Everyone Was Brave, A History of Feminism in America*, Quadrangel, Chicago, 1971

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After the 19th Amendment:

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Lemons, J. Stanley, *The Woman Citizen, Social Feminism in the 1920's*, U. of Ill. Press, Urbana, 1973

Fiction, Depicting Women's Lives, 1900-1940:

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Edwards, Lee and Arlyn Diamond, *American Voices, American Women*, Avon, 1973

Cather, Willa, *My Antonia* Lewis, Sinclair, Main

Street Rolvaag, S., *Giants in the Earth*

The Modern Women's Movement:

Babcox, Deborah and Madeline Belkin, *Liberation Now*, Dell, N.Y. 1971

Bird, Caroline, *Born Female*, Pocket Books, N.Y. 1969
Morgan, Robin, *Sisterhood is Powerful*, Viritage, N.Y. 1970
Ware, Celestine, *Woman Power, The Movement for Women's Liberation*, Tower Publications, N.Y. 1970

TRANSCRIPT OF TAPE

ORAL HISTORY IN THE CLASSROOM

Oral history offers a unique and exciting opportunity for experiential learning as well as helping the student to develop some basic research skills. As attested to by Foxfire, it has been used with great success in both the high school and college classroom.

The oral history technique, recording memoirs, can be used to collect folklore material, autobiographical material, or special topical material. A different kind of insight can be gained into the social and historical process; an understanding and appreciation of the role of the "ordinary individual" in society.

Any number of projects can be created by the instructor and students; especially rewarding are local history projects and/or generational projects. One possible project might be an exploration of the generational differences in the life experiences of women. The student can interview three generations in their own family. General histories can be gathered from a member of each generation, or a specific topic (e.g. knowledge about birth control, expectations about marriage and/or career) can be explored. Perhaps the male students would want to explore three generations of the men in their families. Then the differences between generations as well as between sexes can be explored.

Suggested readings:

Baum, Willa, *Oral History for the Local Historical Society*, Monograph, Conference of California Historical Society. 1961.

Hoyle, Norman, "Oral History", *Library Trends*, July 1972, pp 60-82.

"Oral History as a Teaching Tool" *The Oral History Review*, 1973, Oral History Assn., N.Y., pp 29-47.

The Foxfire Book, Doubleday, 1972 and *Foxfire 2*, 1973.

Slide 1 Music

Slide 2

SYLVIE THYGESON:

No one thinks for a moment, or stops to think, its uncommon or unusual for women to go

to the polls and vote. We don't think of the fight that was made for it, or anything, we just accept it. And that's the way with all these processes.

Slide 3

NARRATOR:

This is Sylvie Thygeson. She is 105 years old. In 1914 she was a housewife in St. Paul, Minnesota.

SYLVIE THYGESON:

To my mind the whole process is a process of evolution. And I thought as the world progressed and went on further, that men and women would come to have absolutely equal rights. They'd be human beings; not men, not sexes.

NARRATOR:

Sylvie Thygeson is one of the women who helped to finish the American Revolution-144 years after it began.

Slide 4

So did Miriam Allen deFord, while she was still in high school in Philadelphia in 1901.

She is now 85 years old.

MIRIAM ALLEN deFORD:

I think I was about six or seven. And the cook got married. Some kind of argument came up, some of his friends said, "don't let her answer you back, start your marriage right", so he promptly knocked her flat on the floor. I went just boiling with indignation, and I remember saying, "He knocked her down because she wasn't as strong as he was, and if I ever get strong enough, I'll get up and fight back."

Slide 5

NARRATOR:

And Jessie Hover Butler, now 87 who in 1917 was working in Washington, D.C. for the Consumer's League.

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

I became dedicated in a way, to the woman's world and the woman's needs. And, of course, that dedication was really backed by the tragedy of my own family life, and my mother's death at ten, and how I had lived in that valley where no woman in any family that gave birth to the children lived to bring them up. And I didn't think it was justice for women to suffer like that. Now I'm finding women suffering in industry. So all down the line, it seemed to me, it was a bad world for women.

Slide 6

NARRATOR:

And Laura Seiler, now 82, who in 1915 was writing advertising copy in New York City.

LAURA SEILER:

I grew up with absolutely no feeling of ever having been put down, as it were, by a male. He was really responsible for my first realization that I was a suffragist, because once when we were in college early in our career, it was being discussed, and he said, "Oh, Laura doesn't believe in suffrage." At that moment, of course, I knew I did!

Slide 7

NARRATOR:

And Ernestine Hara Kettler, now 76 years old who in 1917 was a young Greenwich

Village radical.

ERNESTINE KETTLER:

But I was actually outraged that women didn't have the vote. I mean there were, after all, as many women in the country as men, and what is this business? Why is a woman so far below a man intellectually that she's not fit to vote.

Slide 8

NARRATOR:

These are women who played a part in the final climactic years of the suffrage movement. Their voices tell of history as it was lived, not the history of headlines and official documents

Slide 9

but the history of ordinary people quietly fighting for one of their basic rights.

Slide 10

For the basic right of a free people, to help choose the leaders and make the laws under which they live, was not granted to all of the women of the United States until August 26, 1920.

Slide 11

The triumph of that historic day was the result of a long, hard struggle; a struggle that involved four generations of American Women.

Slide 12

The first generation of feminists, women like Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in conference at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 issued a Declaration of Sentiments

Slide 13

which, among other things, called for the right to vote, suffrage for women. These suffragists were soon joined by others

Slide 14

like Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony and still others whose names are now only known to their daughters and grand-daughters.

Slide 15

My grandmother was part of that. She got hold of the idea of women's rights. She always wore those short skirts with the bloomers; they were not too full, but they came down to her feet and then she wore high shoes that buttoned up over the bottom part of the bloomer.

Slide 16

She belonged to the suffragettes and was always active. She was a campaigner, crusader, that's the word.

NARRATOR:

These early crusaders for woman's suffrage made progress very slowly

Slide 17

initially West of the Rocky Mountains where frontier conditions made obvious the strength and competence of women.

Slide 18

In 1869 the Wyoming territory gave women the right to vote. Colorado was next.

Slide 19

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

I remember vividly when the campaign for woman's suffrage was going on in Colorado,

how she climbed into that spring wagon. I can see her yet doing it.

Slide 20

She toured that valley to get the men to vote for woman's suffrage. And this wasn't something a good little housewife-even in Colorado in those days was supposed to do.

Slide 21

But, anyway, she helped, and in the end-1893-is when Colorado 'got woman's suffrage.

Slide 22

NARRATOR:

For over fifty years, a small dedicated group of suffragists, surviving the constant abuse and scorn of others pursued their goal.

Slide 23

Then, in the first years of this century, the movement began to grow dramatically, ultimately including in its ranks over 2 million women.

Slide 24

The feelings and experiences of most of these women have gone unrecorded by historians. But those few who are still alive can speak for themselves.

SYLVIE THYGESON:

The part that I played, I think, in suffrage, I think was a very good one.

Slide 25

You had these little afternoon gatherings of women. They came, they gathered, and you had a cup of tea.

Slide 26

A little social gathering. And then I went and while we were drinking tea and talking, I went and gave a little talk and they asked questions.

Slide 27

EVA MARSHALL TOTAH:

When we were interested in the suffrage movement, three of the professors, the women professors sponsored it. We had meetings every two weeks, I think it was, and gave public programs.

Slide 28

Just a little organization of girls who were working and reading and studying and talking and agitating about this movement for the women.

Slide 29

NARRATOR:

As the movement grew, the women moved out of the parlor and off the campus. They took to the streets.

Slide 30

ANONYMOUS:

Well, 1912, I think, was the year of that big procession in New York, when we walked from Washington Square to 57th street, I think-I'm pretty sure it was 57th.

Slide 31

This was a big suffrage demonstration.

MIRIAM ALLEN deFORD:

I think that was the parade, that was the time in that picture

Slide 32

when the whole parade was led by Inez Milholland, who was a beautiful

woman, mounted on a white horse.

Slide 33

ANONYMOUS:

Each section, depending on what you walked with, you know, had its own banner. And this was sort of an eye-opener to the people to realize that the women were in so many professions.

Slide 34

LAURA SEILER:

And there were both jeers and cheers from the sidewalk.

ANONYMOUS:

And it was very orderly, and they marched to music, and they had a multi'd section. It was quite a parade.

Slide 35

The streets were crowded with people, and it went off peacefully.

Slide 36

They carried their message to wherever they might find an audience. In every state they tried to convince men that women should be given the vote.

Slide 37

LAURA SEILER:

We believed that you had to get to the people who weren't the least interested in suffrage. That was the whole theory.

Slide 38

For instance, we spoke on street corners every night of the week. And I remember the little soap boxes with handles on them which every suffragette carried out and plunked down on the curb-stone.

MIRIAM ALLEN deFORD:

That was the day of the soap-box. Every evening when you went downtown every corner was occupied.

Slide 39

LAURA SEILER:

Depending on the neighborhood, those were rather dangerous little things. Things were thrown down from the roofs, and sometimes stones were thrown into the crowd. I don't remember anybody actually being seriously injured, but they weren't fun.

Slide 40

NARRATOR:

They went on organizing tours to small towns.

LAURA SEILER:

They decided that it would be a very good thing for me to go and organize, as they then called it, the two counties of Chautauqua and Cattaraugus, in New York state.

Slide 41

And my mother, who was not a confirmed suffragist, but a very charming Victorian, went along to chaperone me.

Slide 42

So, we would rent a car and put an enormous banner across the back of it, letting it down, and I would stand up on the back seat and make the speech.

Slide 43

Of course, the most difficult moment for a street speaker is getting the crowd. As in almost all small towns, the most sought after corner of the street was the one which held the bar. Mother, who as I said, was small and charming and utterly Victorian and convinced that all good things started with the favor of the male

Slide 44

would go through the swinging doors, and say "Gentlemen, my daughter is about to talk about suffrage outside, and I think you would be interested. I hope you'll come out." And just like the Pied Piper-they would all dump their drinks on the bar and come out and make the nucleus of the crowd.

Slide 45 NARRATOR:

But appealing to male voters in state after state, proved to be a long and disappointing process. Seven decades after the conference at Seneca Falls, most American women still did not have the right to vote.

Slide 46

Suffragists began to increasingly focus on an amendment to the constitution as a way of securing the vote for all women. But there were differences within the movement.

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

There were two suffrage groups fighting for woman's suffrage.

Slide 47

One was led by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt who believed that this was the way to get it-through proper parliamentary procedures. Well, then Alice Paul

Slide 48

was one of the younger members of her organization, and she had been taught by Mrs. Pankhurst in London. And Mrs. Pankhurst was a militant.

Slide 49

Alice Paul followed her way of fighting. In my inner soul I saw that they were making more of a dent, in a way, than Mrs. Catt was with her polite, legislative manner.

NARRATOR:

The new militancy brought to the struggle by Alice Paul led to new tactics.

Slide 50

In 1917, a group of women, including Ernestine Hara, began to picket the White House.

ERNESTINE KETTLER:

Four women picketed every day in front of the White House.

Slide 51

And as soon as four of the group were arrested, then they sent another group of four.

Slide 52

There was a continuous picket line. And, that's what drove the policemen crazy, you know. They saw no end to the number of women who were picketing.

Slide 53

When I came they had already started sending women-giving them thirty days and sending them to Occoquan Workhouse. I think that probably we started picketing the second or third day that I was there.

Slide 54

We were terribly harassed, you know. There were always men and women standing out there harassing us, and throwing some pretty bad insults, and pretty obscene ones. You took your life in your hands if any of the bystanders supported us. They could be beaten by the rest of the crowd.

Slide 55

And we couldn't get police protection-we just couldn't get it-The police, as I said left us alone, but when the crowd got too noisy and the police couldn't get rid of them, then they hauled us in.

Slide 56

On one of the picketing days, the police hauled us in and then we appeared in court.

Slide 57

We all made statements; "We couldn't possibly obstruct traffic; we were on the street-we took-there was only one row of us, there was only four of us, and there was plenty of room. But, I says, "unfortunately, a lot of people stopped and they obstructed traffic. But none of them were arrested. Except us." We were very bold. So we were given 30 days.

Slide 58

After we were sentenced, we were taken directly to the City Jail. And that's where we cooked up our political prisoner demand.

Slide 59

We were political prisoners; we were not guilty of obstructing traffic, we were not guilty of the sentence as charged, and therefore, we did not owe any kind of work in the Workhouse. So the next day we appeared in the work room

Slide 60

and we just sat there with our hands in our laps. Well, this went on for twenty six days.

Slide 61

But the food was the greatest problem that we had there. It was just unbelievable, the worms that were-that was found in the oatmeal that we ate, in the soup we ate, I don't remember what else we were given to eat. I don't remember anything else. You know, for about 30 years afterwards I couldn't eat oatmeal nor soup. It just sickened me-just the mere-and to this day I keep searching for things in it.

Slide 62

The next group that came in went on a hunger strike, and they were brutally treated.

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

And the authorities were afraid they'd die there and this would make martyrs of them, and so they forcefully fed the women.

Slide 63

And it was a very nasty and humiliating and horrible experience.

Slide 64

Finally, Alice Paul and her group began burning the words of the President in Lafayette Park. He became very irritated about all this. He hadn't done a thing to help them get the vote.

Slide 65

World War I was going on and he was giving out noble statements to the world about the right of freedom of people. But he didn't include women in his statements.

Slide 66

The day after they burned Woodrow Wilson in effigy that he decided to go up to the Capitol and ask for woman's suffrage.

LAURA SEILER:

There is no doubt about it, that that is what precipitated the President's decision to bring the matter before Congress. I'm very sure that if Alice Paul had not carried on those demonstrations it would have gone on years more before it ever got to the Congress.

Slide 67

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

Very soon after that the woman's suffrage amendment was passed by the United States Constitution.

Slide 68

And the news came out that Carrie Chapman Catt with her party of speakers were going to start through the far west to hurry up the ratification.

Slide 69

And I spoke on the same platform with Mrs. Catt. At every station where we stopped to go and speak to the people interested, there were huge crowds there.

Slide 70

LAURA SEILER:

There was a vast celebration when we finally had it approved. Tennessee, I think, was the last one. But that spread over a long period of time.

Slide 71

NARRATOR:

And so it was, on August 26, 1920, for the first time in its history-144 years after the Declaration of Independence, 57 years after the Emancipation Proclamation-the nation officially acknowledged, at last, that the right to vote should belong to all of its people.

Slide 72

ERNESTINE KETTLER:

I think that-that-what happened is that they put so much importance in the vote for women that when they got the vote, they felt like they had a victory-a tremendous victory. Well, it was a tremendous victory, but it was a one-issue victory

Slide 73

because the voting rights didn't give them equality. There were many areas not only of employment, but in society, in education, in politics, where women were quite restricted.

Slide 74

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

Alice Paul put into Congress the Equal Rights Amendment. Although she got woman's suffrage she still did not think that woman's suffrage was going to give them what they thought suffrage would give them-everything they wanted-and she was right!

Slide 75

LAURA SEILER:

At that time, I think, it hadn't occurred to a great many women that once they got the vote the rest wouldn't be easy; that women were going to break up as soon as the vote was won. They let their organizations go and

most of them paid no further attention.

Slide 76

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

As soon as the women got the vote, they just quit! It's one of the tragedies of the whole era; they just slumped. And the whole women's movement-the fire and the excitement died down. And there was no fight left.

Slide 77

MIRIAM ALLEN deFORD:

Well, I didn't change any feelings, yet there wasn't anything. I mean there was no movement; there was nothing to join.

Slide 78

Until Women's Lib started there really wasn't anything in the way of an organization.

ERNESTINE KETTLER:

This is only the beginning of the struggle for women.

JESSIE HAVER BUTLER:

So what do you think you're going to get over these deep-deep discussions, deep issues-that we're in the midst of now. Gonna take-is a revolution.

Slide 79

ERNESTINE KETTLER:

And it's going to be a fight for as long as they live. For as long as society exists, women are going to have to fight for their rights.

Music

Slide 80

Continue Music-Repeat refrain "For the rising of the women is the rising of us all".
the end.

SLIDES

1. Feminist History Research Project Graph
2. Title shot
3. Sylvie Thygeson, 1971
4. Miriam Allen de Ford, 1974
5. Jessie Haver Butler, 1973
6. Laura Ellsworth Seiler, 1974
7. Ernestine Hara Kettler, 1974
8. Women with "No Nation . . ." banner
9. Suffragists advertising cause
10. Woman voting in New York, 1920

11. Oldest and youngest pickets
12. Drawing, Seneca Falls Convention
13. Declaration of Sentiments, Preamble
14. Oval photograph of women's rights pioneers
15. Woman in "bloomer" attire
16. Drawing, NWSA meeting
17. Pioneer family
18. Farm women
19. At reins of wagon
20. Pioneer women
21. The polls in Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1888
22. Suffragists with "Strong Spirits" bar
23. New York suffrage parade
24. Suffragist at curbside, Help Us Win Vote
25. Women at tea
26. Women at tea
27. College women
28. College women
29. Women with papers, leaflets
30. New York suffrage parade, Washington S
31. New York suffrage parade
32. Inez Milholland
33. New York suffrage parade
34. New York suffrage parade
35. Suffrage parade, crowds
36. Leafletting barbershop
37. Suffragist leafletting in park
38. Harriet Stanton Blatch, on street-corner
39. Mobbing a street-speaker
40. Suffrage bus caravan
41. Women in back seat of car
42. Suffrage caravan
43. Suffragist addressing men from car
44. Men in bar
45. New York campaign banner "Lunatics ..."
46. Washington, D.C. Suffrage parade
47. Carrie Chapman Catt
48. Alice Paul
49. Arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst
50. Ernestine Hara, 1920
51. Sentinels at the White House
52. Police stopping pickets
53. New York pickets at White House
54. Attack on pickets
55. Police stop pickets
56. Arrests
57. Crowd observing arrests
58. Old jail
59. Suffragists in prison uniforms
60. Occoquan, workroom
61. Suffragist in front of cell
62. Suffragist prisoner on pallets in jail

63. Assisted from ambulance, on release from jail
64. Burning the words of the President
65. White House sentinels with banner
66. Woodrow Wilson, 1919
67. Receiving victory news in San Francisco
68. Carrie Chapman Catt
69. Suffrage meeting
70. Ratification/victory banner at National Woman's Party
71. 19th Amendment
72. Women at the polling place 73. Drawing, ladder of progress
74. Equal Rights Amendment
75. "Every good suffragist, the morning after", Allender
76. Bored group
77. Home scene
78. Women Unite
79. Women marching
80. Credits