

# **The U.S. Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920**

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## **ABSTRAKT**

Táto práca sa zaoberá volebnou problematikou žien v Spojených Štátoch. Zdôrazňuje dôležitosť rovnoprávneho volebného práva a rieši argumenty podporovateľov, ale aj oponentov Hnutia za volebné práva žien. Táto práca taktiež obsahuje pohľad na život žien pred začiatkom hnutia, zaoberá sa západnými štátmi a teritóriami, ktoré získali ženské volebné právo už pred rokom 1920 a obsahuje prehľad udalostí, týkajúcich sa hnutia od roku 1848 až do samotného získania volebného práva vo všetkých štátoch amerických v roku 1920.

**Kľúčové slová:** Spojené Štáty Americké, hnutie, volebné právo, ženy, rovnoprávnosť, ženské volebné právo, argumenty, podporovatelia, oponenti, združenia

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis deals with the women's voting issue in the United States. It emphasizes the importance of equal voting rights and lists arguments of both supporters and opponents of the Women's Suffrage Movement. This work also contains a look at the lives of women before the beginning of the movement, deals with Western states and territories, which granted women's suffrage before 1920, and it lists events relating to the movement from 1848 to the official granting women's suffrage in all U. S. states in 1920.

**Keywords:** United States of America, movement, suffrage, women, equality, women's suffrage, arguments, supporters, opponents, organizations

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I hereby declare that the print version of my Bachelor's thesis and the electronic version of my thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical.

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## INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, women can hardly imagine the lives of women in United States before they have been given the right to vote. Women are a full-valued part of a society, with equal rights for their children, property, voting right and the right to apply for any job they want to. But in the past the situation was different. Women in the United States in the 19th century did not have the right to vote and did not have any political power. By marriage, all the money or property of a woman was transferred to the husband, and what was the hardest, in the case of a divorce, women had no right for their children. Women were responsible for the household; their duties included everything from taking care of the children, through cooking, to maintaining cleanliness in the house. This domestic role covered all women - working, middle and high class women. Women with their domestic role were responsible for the whole family and they were often traveling far away to take care of sick or old family members.<sup>1</sup> Later, when women entered the world of workers, they did not have equal rights in this sphere, too. For the same job, they were paid less as men, even though they worked hard to complete the same amount of work as men. Labor standards were set by men, and women had to work to exhaustion to meet men's standards. Women's lives were difficult, women lived according to the rules defined by men and could not decide for themselves. It took almost a century to give women the right to speak out and express their opinions. And they fought very bravely, many of them have been arrested, and many have devoted their whole lives for a better life of their daughters. Many women opposed the movement and did not want any voting rights. Many organizations were formed in order to fight for or against the women's suffrage movement. Both sides had its own arguments; a lot of supporters and each organization were trying hard to convince people of United States about their truthfulness.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Kristin T. Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920* (Waterbury, VT: Bridgestone Books, 2003), 6-9; Steven Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights, and Beyond* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 13-15; Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), 75-79.

<sup>2</sup> Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 75-79.

## 1 WOMEN'S RIGHTS BEFORE THE MOVEMENT

The Declaration of Independence declared the independence of the United States from Great Britain in 1776 and gave equal rights to white American men. These equal rights were not extended to women, blacks or Indians. Yet, the same year as the Declaration of Independence was signed, the first step of the woman equal rights fight was taken.<sup>3</sup> Abigail Adams wrote a letter, dated March 31, 1776, to her husband, John Adams, then attending the Continental Congress, appealing to her husband not to fight only for men's but also for women's rights.<sup>4</sup> Her husband, however, believed that women do not need any political power; they just had to influence their husbands and take care of their sons.<sup>5</sup>

American women had not only no right to vote, but they had practically no rights at all. As soon as a woman got married, she lost her identity and her status totally changed, and she became perceived as a man's possession. After the wedding, all the woman's property, including money and person, became the property of her husband. Girls also could not get a proper education, because public schools were only for boys; girls tried to learn basic things, such as reading and writing, at home. Some states even forbade women to spend money. They had to have permission from their husband or father.<sup>6</sup>

A woman could do little without her husband's or father's permission. Wives and daughters could not even sign a legal document, because men represented the family. <sup>7</sup> Women had a domestic role in the family and were tasked to care about the household and children.<sup>8</sup> They were considered the weaker half of the couple, the one with the responsibility to create a harmonic home space. The woman's responsibility was not to attract any attention to herself, not to meddle into public issues and debates.<sup>9</sup> In case of divorce, a woman had no more rights to her children. And in the case of the death of

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<sup>3</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 6-9.

<sup>4</sup> "Abigail Adams Urges Husband to Remember the Ladies," History, last modified February 25, 2018, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/abigail-adams-urges-husband-to-remember-the-ladies>.

<sup>5</sup> "Women's Rights in the Early Republic," National Women's History Museum, last modified February 25, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthetvote.org/early-republic>.

<sup>6</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 6-9.

<sup>7</sup> National Women's History Museum, "Women's Rights in the Early Republic."

<sup>8</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 13-15.

<sup>9</sup> Nell Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 231-32.

a husband, not even a will could restore her rights and property, which went to the oldest son or some other male heir.<sup>10</sup>

While men were fighting in the Revolutionary War, women had to run the household, causing them to question their legal inferiority to men. The abolitionist movement against slavery in United States was at first led solely by men. Women also wanted to join but were not allowed to speak out in public until the late 1830s, when antislavery people decided to start fighting also for women's rights. In 1837, the first National Female Anti-Slavery Society was established, and as woman started to argue in public, they gained experiences in speaking, writing and leadership, but men still disrespected them. However, this fact led to female unity and to the start of a different movement – for their own rights.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 6-9.

<sup>11</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 6-9; "Woman's Rights Emerges within the Abolitionist Movement," National Women's History Museum, last modified February 25, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/abolition>; Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: United States, 1877-1919*, 231-32; National Women's History Museum, "Woman's Rights Emerges within the Abolitionist Movement."

## 2 SENECA FALLS CONVENTION

More and more people joined the abolitionist movement to fight against slavery in the United States and women also wanted to be heard on this topic. Women started to acquire the knowledge and skills, which they needed later to organize the first convention for women's rights. Two abolitionists believing also in women's rights were Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, who first met at the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840. That malve voices dominated the convention led them to the decision to fight for the right to express their opinion, the right to be equal to men. Stanton had great skills in writing, while Mott was known for her speaking abilities.<sup>12</sup>

The first convention for women's rights in United States was led by these two women in July 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York. The first day of the convention was for women only, while the second day was for all. There were over 300 attendees, mostly women. Inspired by the Declaration of Independence, they created the Declaration of Sentiments, in which the demands of the women's rights were listed.<sup>13</sup> It claimed that "all men and women are created equal," which was a strong expression at that time. A lot of different privileges for women were also included, like controlling their own finances, owning their own property, sharing legal custody of their children, equal religious, educational and job opportunities and also voting rights. The former slave and famous African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass attended the second day of the conference. On that day, the participants voted for the resolutions included in the Declaration of Sentiments, and except for one, all of the resolutions passed unanimously. The one disputed resolution was women's suffrage. Stanton, Mott and other activists were already used to public disapproval off their speeches, and they tried to focus deep into people's personal and social lives. According to Douglass, the most significant demand is the voting right, because it can assure all other rights.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> "The Women's Rights Movement and the Women of Seneca Falls," Biography, last modified March 12, 2018, <https://www.biography.com/news/seneca-falls-convention-leaders>.

<sup>13</sup> "Seneca Falls Convention begins," History, last modified March 12, 2018, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/seneca-falls-convention-begins>.

Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: United States, 1877-1919*, 232.

<sup>14</sup> "Women's Rights, Abolitionism, and Reform in Antebellum and Gilded Age America," Oxford Research Encyclopedias, last modified March 13, 2018, <http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-20>.

The Declaration of Sentiments was finally signed by 68 women and 32 men and even though it was only the beginning of the women's fight for their rights, the convention in Seneca Falls was an inspiration to many women for standing up, organizing meetings and fighting for their wants. One of the women attending the first convention was a 19 year old girl, Charlotte Woodward, who would go on to win a national election 72 years later.<sup>15</sup> The Seneca Falls Convention is considered to be the starting point of the women's suffrage movement in United States.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement*, 1848-1920, 10-14.

<sup>16</sup> Biography, "The Women's Rights Movement and the Women of Seneca Falls."

### 3 PROGRESS IN THE MOVEMENT

After the convention in Seneca Falls, which attracted a lot of attention, more conventions took place. In Rochester, New York, another and even larger meeting happened only two weeks after the Seneca Falls convention, and by 1850, women were meeting annually, gaining sympathy and popularity, in different locations throughout the United States like, for example, Salem, Ohio, focusing more and more on the women's suffrage movement.<sup>17</sup> The first National Women's Rights Convention was organized in October 1850 in Worcester, Massachusetts with more than one thousand attendees.

Lucy Stone was among them. She was a suffragist and abolitionist and also the first woman from her hometown with a college degree. The international press even printed her speech given at the Massachusetts convention, and then she embarked on a speaking tour of the United States and Canada, devoting her life to fight against inequality. Henry Blackwell, a man she met on this tour, promised her an equal marriage. She agreed, and she kept her original surname and even gave a speech during the wedding ceremony about her disagreement with men's control over their wives and children.<sup>18</sup>

Sojourner Truth, a former slave, also became a great public speaker and in 1850 she even lectured and published her own book. She tried to pay attention to racism and she included her own experiences, including being sold for four times, used for hard labor and experiencing terrible physical punishments. Her famous statement "Ain't I a Woman?" was a part of a lecture she gave in Akron, Ohio in 1851.<sup>19</sup>

Amelia Bloomer, a women's rights activist and newspaper editor, started to fight also for female dress reform. Popular pants, bloomers, were named after her, and many suffragists started wearing them. These pants were loose, full length, and therefore comfortable. Bloomer started wearing them under a loose fitting dress, and even though many suffragists liked them, the change in dress code was ultimately rejected. At this time, people fighting for women's rights, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, encouraged dress

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<sup>17</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights, and Beyond*, 46.

<sup>18</sup> "Lucy Stone," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 21, 2018, <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biographies/lucy-stone>.

<sup>19</sup> "Sojourner Truth," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 21, 2018, <https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/sojourner-truth>.

reform. Huge skirts, floor-length dresses, many layers and tight corsets were uncomfortable and moving and speech giving uneasy.<sup>20</sup>

Susan B. Anthony, a leader of the women's suffrage movement at that time, was first introduced to Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1851 in Seneca Falls. Anthony was fighting for labor rights as well as for rights for blacks, but after meeting Stanton, she started to fight actively for women's rights. The teaming up of Anthony and Stanton was fast and strong. Along with Mott, Stone and her husband, they were successful in making progress. Stanton was a good writer, a skill that she used to write articles, speeches, petitions and letters. Anthony was great in organizing and speaking, Mott was the wisdom and support of this movement, and Stone with her husband were travelling and giving speeches nationwide about the importance of women's suffrage.<sup>21</sup>

Early fights of suffragists were primarily focused on the rights of married women, because these women had limited options, especially having a claim for a property. Sixty women were asked by Anthony to go door to door, persuade other women and gather together signatures to support a Married Woman's Property Act. Winning this act would mean significant changes for American women, including sharing custody of their children, keeping their own money, or writing a will. Six thousand signatures were collected. Anthony wrote a speech and Stanton gave the speech at a convention for women's rights in 1854, in Albany, New York. A printed version of the speech was also given to each of the legislators at the convention, but these people did not take it seriously, and in their report it was mocked. However, this fact did not discourage women activists in the struggle for women's rights and they continued in this fight. Stanton gave another speech, personally to the legislature of New York, and the Married Woman's Property Act was finally passed by state legislators.<sup>22</sup> In the end of the 19th Century, the period known as the Progressive Era appeared in the United States. It was the age of volunteering in order to make up solutions to many problems caused by urbanization, industrialization and immigration. It was also the age of attempts for many progressive reforms, including Women's Suffrage Movement. American women started to participate in things, which they considered as their citizen's rights, they started to be interested in politics and started

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<sup>20</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 18-19.

<sup>21</sup> "Susan Brownell Anthony," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 21, 2018, <http://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/susan-b-anthony>; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 13-18.

<sup>22</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 16-18.

to create a lot of different organizations. Through these organizations, women won many movements, such as movement against the child labor, better conditions for women workers concerning wages and working hours, better opportunities concerning education and better conditions of health programs and social welfare measures. A lot of policies and institutions, which are nowadays unimaginable without women and which are a part of daily life, are the result of actions of Progressive Era reformers.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “Women in the Progressive Era,” National Park Service, accessed April 28, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/pwwmh/prog.htm>.



## 4 WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATIONS

### 4.1 American Equal Rights Association

After the Civil War, the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) was created by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. This association was a result of a convention for women's rights held in May 1866, the first convention since the end of the war. The AERA focused both on women's rights and black rights. Because blacks were now free and thereby supposedly due civil rights, placing them in a better position than women, Anthony and Stanton began to question their association with the abolitionists. In 1869, convinced of never winning equality until winning voting rights for women, Anthony and Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). Soon, another organization was formed by Lucy Stone, her husband Henry Blackwell and other suffragists. Their American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) was unlike the NWSA because it was led by both female and male members.<sup>24</sup>

### 4.2 American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) and National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)

The disagreement about the Fifteenth Amendment, which would give voting rights to African American men but completely avoid the women's voting right question, split the AERA into two organizations. The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), based in New England, supported the Fifteenth Amendment, while the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), based in New York, was strictly against this new law as long as white women were not included. A newspaper, *The Revolution*, was created by the establishers of the NWSA, Anthony and Stanton. It was the public voice of their female organization, and it contained different articles about women's suffrage rights, divorce or education. They asked for another amendment, and their controversial topics were meant to support equality for women.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 48-49.

<sup>25</sup> Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 232-33.

"Suffragists Organize: National Woman Suffrage Association," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 26, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/nwsa-organize/>.

Lucy Stone, the establisher of AWSA, also created the popular suffrage newspaper – The Woman’s Journal. In this newspaper, all the association’s strategies, meetings and discussed issues were summed up. The AWSA became very popular, because it focused on gaining voting rights through individual states to gain the most supporters, unlike the NWSA, which was fighting for a lot of different reforms to make all people equal.<sup>26</sup>

### 4.3 National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)

As the time passed, in 1890, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) and National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) merged and formed a new organization called the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). All three women, Stone, Anthony and Stanton, started to fight together for the goals of the association. Elizabeth Cady Stanton became the NAWSA’s president until 1892 and then Susan B. Anthony served as the president until 1900. The next leader of the organization was Carrie Chapman Catt, who held the office after Anthony retired, but only for four years. In 1904, Anna Howard Shaw became the president of the organization. Shaw attended medical school, but never practiced medicine, she worked as a pastor and she also gave up this career in order to lecture in support of the women’s suffrage movement. She led the NAWSA until 1915, when Catt became the president again and held it until the Nineteenth Amendment.<sup>27</sup>

The NAWSA made a compromise and used strategies of both associations, NWSA’s broad focus and AWSA’s intensive focus on one issue - suffrage. It was needed, for these two organizations with twenty unsuccessful years of fighting for women’s rights, to find some new strategies. Their new strategy was very peaceful; they believed that people get to know logic of the movement if they just could hear the idea of the movement. If enough people could hear it, the women’s suffrage would become a reality.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> "Suffragists Organize," National Women's History Museum.

<sup>27</sup> Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 234; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 54-60; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 26-27; "Suffragists Unite: National American Woman Suffrage Association," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 28, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/nawsa-united/>; "Anna Howard Shaw," Biography, last modified March 26, 2018, <https://www.biography.com/people/anna-howard-shaw-9480841>.

<sup>28</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 54-60; "Suffragists Unite," National Women's History Museum.

#### 4.4 Congressional Union (CU)

In 1913, the Congressional Union, the semi-independent organization, was founded by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, members of NAWSA, who took an inspiration from United Kingdom's suffrage movement. They used tactics of militant British suffragettes and started to organize parades. They wanted NAWSA to admit their federal strategy, but at the convention in 1913, NAWSA did not accept this idea and removed Alice Paul from the NAWSA's Congressional Committee. Alice Paul and other suffragist sympathetic with her methods left NAWSA and in the beginning of the 1914, the Congressional Union became an independent organization. The NAWSA and the CU were two very different organizations. The NAWSA was big, diverse and tolerating in a wide range of perspectives. On the other hand, the CU was small, homogenous and tolerating no other perspectives. Congressional Union's plans, methods and goals were fixed, while NAWSA's methods were very confusing. Everything, what the CU tried to do, had to be related to winning the fight for women's suffrage and all these differences are reasons for the greater efficiency of the CU in woman suffrage movement in 1914 and 1915. In 1916, in order to set the female vote in the Presidential election, the Woman's Party was founded by members of the Congressional Union in states of woman suffrage. In 1917, the Congressional Union and the Woman's Party joined and established the National Woman's Party, whose leader was Alice Paul.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4.5 Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)

In 1874, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was established and Frances Willard, the president of the union, who started to persuade members about importance of woman suffrage in 1876. This organization later became the largest association supporting women's suffrage movement in the country. Frances Willard did not try to convince members by talking about equality or deserved rights but by talking about safe home without ruining lots of families by drinking. She wanted voting rights for women in order to change alcohol laws and she almost did it. She was supported by

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<sup>29</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 56-57.

"National Women's Party and Militant Methods," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 28, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthetvote.org/nwp-militant/>.

members of WCTU for both suffrage and federal prohibition by the early 1880s. However, it failed because of the fear of the possible end of the alcohol sale by women's votes.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4.6 Women's Trade Union League (WTUL)

In 1903, working-class women, middle-class women, called allies, and upper class women joined to form an organization called the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). The purpose of the organization included the improvement of conditions for female workers, mainly by organizing them into trade unions, providing educational opportunities and increasing wages. At that time, a lot of women worked in service occupations, majority of them were working in other's houses as domestic workers and personal servants, but retailers, laundresses and waitresses formed also a big part of female workers. A significant and growing part of the female workers was employed in industrial manufacture factories, especially in New York City. Poor working conditions for women could be also included in arguments for giving the right to vote also to women.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4.7 National Association of Colored Women (NACW)

African American women were not very welcomed in organizations fighting for women's rights and these organizations often ignored problems of black women. They decided to start with organizing their own unions in the 1880s. The National Association of Colored Women was an organization formed in 1896 and it became the largest union of local black women. The first president of the organization was Mary Church Teller, African American activist fighting for women's right to vote and against racial discrimination. The NACW's purpose was to gain the right to vote for African American women, but also a lot of other different improvements of conditions for their lives to get better. African Americans were also often separated in every sphere, for example they had to go to separate schools, in old buildings and with old and used textbooks, which were not good enough for white people anymore. Since African American men won the voting right

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<sup>30</sup> Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 232-34; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 52-53; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement*, 1848-1920, 26-27.

<sup>31</sup> Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 242-43; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 55; Nancy Schrom Dye, "Feminism or Unionism? The New York Women's Trade Union League and the Labor Movement," *Feminist Studies* 3, nos. 1/2 (1975): 111-125, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518959>.

in 1870, African American women also wanted suffrage, they wanted to be equal and they wanted their status to be improved.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Beverly W. Jones, "Mary Church Terrell and the National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1901," *Journal of Negro History* 67, no. 1 (1982): 20-33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717758>; "National Association of Colored Women," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 28, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/nacw/>; "Mary Church Terrell," National Women's History Museum, last modified March 28, 2018, <http://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/mary-church-terrell>.

## 5 13TH, 14TH AND 15TH AMENDMENTS

Efforts for the women's suffrage movement were postponed during the Civil War, but women did not stop gaining experiences in forming different organizations fighting for the end of the slavery in the United States. At the beginning of the Civil War, more than 4 million people were held as slaves. The National Women's Loyal League, formed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, gathered almost four hundred thousand signatures on a petition for the Thirteenth Amendment. Slavery in the United States was abolished by Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, but it did not mean that African American people were equal and were not discriminated against. Racism was still a huge problem. Many women suffragists joined the Sanitary Commission, a large national volunteer organization, which raised money for medical supplies needed for soldiers. Harriet Tubman was an African American woman who escaped slavery and then helped other slaves do the same. During the Civil War, she also worked as a spy for the United States, and she was financially supported by the Women's Loyal National League. In such ways, the Civil War gave women experiences and confidence that would prove useful in the continuation of the fight for women's rights.<sup>33</sup>

After the Civil War, the first organization in which gender or race did not matter was formed – the American Equal Rights Association (AERA). The Fourteenth Amendment, approved in 1868 as a result of the Civil War, declared the new rights of males and females in United States. This amendment defined an American citizen as anyone born in the country, including former slaves. However, it also explicitly declared that only male citizens over twenty-one years old could vote. Voting declared as a man's right was the worst message for women's suffrage leaders. The AERA was created in order to fight for equal suffrage. Abolitionists also criticized the Fourteenth Amendment, because it did not guarantee that African American men could also vote. In 1869, the Fifteenth Amendment was approved. This amendment granted men the right to vote, regardless of race, but again, there was nothing written about women. Stanton and Anthony did not agree with the

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<sup>33</sup> "Civil War Activism," National Women's History Museum, last modified April 1, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/civil-war-activism/>; "Harriet Tubman," National Women's History Museum, last modified April 1, 2018, <http://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/harriet-tubman>; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 47-49; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 20; "Thirteenth Amendment," History, accessed April 1, 2018, <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/thirteenth-amendment>.

amendment and wanted to change it, but not all members of the AERA concurred with them, leading to the split of the AERA. Stanton and Anthony formed a new organization – the National Women Suffrage Association (NWSA) – to fight against the 15th Amendment and Lucy Stone, her husband Henry Blackwell and other abolitionists joined together to form the American Women Suffrage Association (AWSA). In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment became law, and African American men were given the voting right.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 20-21; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 47-48, 139-141; "The 14th and 15th Amendments," National Women's History Museum, last modified April 1, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/14-15-amendments/>; "Suffragists Organize: National Woman Suffrage Association," National Women's History Museum, last modified April 1, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/nwsa-organize/>.

## 6 FIRST VICTORIES

The first suffragist victory was in 1869, when the Wyoming territory gave female residents the right to vote in all elections. In 1870, the Utah territory gave women the right to vote, but it was later rescinded. In 1872, Susan B. Anthony and a few other women persuaded election inspectors to allow them to vote in Rochester, New York. The group of women voted illegally in that year's presidential election, which did not allow women suffrage. This illegal voting led to the arrest of Anthony and also the three men who allowed the registration of women. In a trial, which received huge attention, Anthony was found guilty without being allowed to testify. She was ordered to pay a \$100 fine, which she never paid.<sup>35</sup>

More important was the case of another woman, who tried to vote. The suffragist Virginia Minor was not allowed to vote by the registrar of St. Louis, Reese Happersett. Minor with her husband decided to sue him and in 1875, Legal Case Minor vs Happersett appeared at first at the Supreme Court of Missouri and later she appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Minor was using the section of the Fourteenth Amendment to argue that under the amendment she is allowed to vote. The section appointed all citizens' privileges, including voting rights, and Minor argued with her belief in being a citizen of the United States. Both courts, however, ruled against Minor, claiming that the 14th Amendment did not grant the women's suffrage.<sup>36</sup>

Anthony with the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) continued fighting for women rights after the trial, and Lucy Stone with the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) also continued with their state-to-state plan, thinking that it was more palatable for the public. Another victory came in 1883, when the women of Washington territory were granted the right to vote, but it was rescinded in 1887 together

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<sup>35</sup> Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 22-24; Holly J. McCammon, et al., "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866 to 1919," *American Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (2001): 49-70, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2657393>; "When Susan B. Anthony's 'Little Band of 9 Ladies' Voted Illegally," *New York Times*, accessed April 20, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/05/us/womens-rights-suffrage-susan-b-anthony.html>; "Susan B. Anthony," *History*, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.history.com/topics/womens-history/susan-b-anthony>.

<sup>36</sup> "Virginia Minor and Women's Right to Vote," National Park Service, accessed April 20, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/jeff/learn/historyculture/the-virginia-minor-case.htm>; "Virginia Minor," The State Historical Society of Missouri, accessed April 20, 2018, <https://shsmo.org/historicmissourians/name/m/minor/>; "The Legal Case of Minor v. Happersett," National Women's History Museum, accessed April 20, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/minor/>.



with Utah territory. Washington allowed women suffrage again in 1910, Utah in 1895; Idaho also allowed women suffrage. A special election for giving women the right to vote took place in 1911 in California, and as a result, California joined the growing list of women suffrage states.<sup>37</sup>

In 1912, three more states— Arizona, Kansas and Oregon— allowed women to vote. Then came Montana and Nevada in 1914, New York in 1917, and Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota in 1918,<sup>38</sup> bringing the total number of states allowing women suffrage to 15 states. In the western part of the United States, thirteenth out of sixteen states had already given women full suffrage by 1919. Outside the West, only New York and Michigan had granted suffrage to women by 1919. The West thus became a symbol of egalitarianism, but there were concrete reasons why the West offered women suffrage. First, there were a lack of women in the West, and suffrage increased immigration. Increased immigration was needed for statehood (a population of 50,000 was required) and full participation in government. Second, because of the gender disparity, men did not feel threatened by women voting. Third, women suffrage would help eliminate prostitution, drinking or gambling, and make western society more respectable. Women were the moral compass of American society, and their presence and votes would provide order in a region generally lacking it.<sup>39</sup> The following sections deal with 13 western states that granted the women's suffrage before 1920.

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<sup>37</sup>Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 22-24; McCammon, et al., "How Movements Win," 49-70; "Suffragists Organize: National Woman Suffrage Association," National Women's History Museum; "Celebrating Women's Suffrage," California Secretary of State, accessed April 10, 2018, <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/celebrating-womens-suffrage/>; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 56.

<sup>38</sup> McCammon, et al., "How Movements Win," 49-70; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 56.

<sup>39</sup> Holly J. McCammon, et al., "Winning the Vote in the West: The Political Successes of the Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866-1919," *Gender and Society* 15, no. 1 (2001): 55-82, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3081830>; "The Struggle for Western Women's Suffrage, 1860-1920," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 21, 2018, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070627080045/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org/explore/exhibits/suffrage/index.html>; "Western Women's Suffrage," Accessible Archives, accessed April 21, 2018, <http://www.accessible-archives.com/collections/womens-suffrage/western-womens-suffrage/>; "Woman Suffrage in the West," National Women's History Museum, accessed April 21, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/western-suffrage/>.

## 6.1 Wyoming

There was almost no discussion, campaign, parade or opposition when Wyoming was passing the first suffrage law in the United States. Legislators wanted to pass the law in order to increase the population of the territory, because if the population is large enough, the territory could apply for statehood. They expected increasing female immigration after passing the law. Wyoming passed the law in 1869, and in September 1870, women of Wyoming were able to vote for the first time. On the election day, every woman of age at least 21 years living in the territory of Wyoming had the opportunity to vote. About one thousand women were eligible for voting and the large part of them actually did vote. Wyoming women did not get only the right to vote, but also the right to sit on juries and to stand for political office. In 1889, when Wyoming applied for statehood, some members of the U.S. Congress did not agree with the woman suffrage and wanted to annul that law. The reply of the territory was clear, they would become equal voting state or they do not want the statehood at all. In 1890, the territory of Wyoming became the state and along with that also the first American state granting full women suffrage.<sup>40</sup>

## 6.2 Colorado

The winning the women suffrage in Colorado was not so easy, it lasted decades of women's work to gain the equal suffrage. The fighting and the winning of women's suffrage in Colorado took place in the middle of the economic depression, the Panic of 1893. In 1877, there was the first referendum, but it was not successful. Suffrage activists tried hard to get as much support for women's suffrage as they could. Another try to get a referendum was sixteen years later, by the Colorado Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage Association. There was some opposition to women's suffrage in Colorado, brewers and saloonkeepers were afraid that this campaign would destroy their businesses, but prostitutes and girls working in bars supported the suffrage cause. In 1893, Colorado

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<sup>40</sup> "Woman Suffrage," National Geographic, accessed April 21, 2018, <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/news/woman-suffrage/>; "Wyoming: The Equality State," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 21, 2018, [http://web.archive.org/web/20070627080327/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage\\_wy.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20070627080327/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage_wy.html).

became the state allowing women's suffrage and their victory became an inspiration to suffragists of other states. The next year, the first three female state legislators were elected in Colorado.<sup>41</sup>

### 6.3 Utah

The fight for the women's right to vote in Utah was unique. Women of Utah were trying to change laws concerning marriages, religion and women's rights. The Utah territory was by a large part inhabited by Mormons, who are strongly associated with allowing plural marriages – polygamy. In 1870, the Utah Territorial Legislature granted the women suffrage, which meant that more than 17 thousand women had the ability to vote. Women's suffrage in Utah was supported by both Mormons and non-Mormons. Suffragists outside Utah thought that women's vote would lead to abolition of the polygamy, but Mormon women and their husbands voted in the same way, for support of the polygamy. These women were too degraded to have their own political opinion. Utah women were disfranchised by the Edmunds Act of 1883, which culminated in the Edmunds-Tucker Bill in 1887. This law had no understanding by Utah women, they thought it is affront to their religion and rights. After that plural marriage among Mormons was banned in 1890 and the new constitution was ratified when more than 80 percent of men voted for women's suffrage in 1895. In 1896, Utah officially became the forty-fifth American state.<sup>42</sup>

### 6.4 Idaho

In 1896, the same year as Utah, Idaho also granted the right to vote to their female citizens. Women suffrage of the fourth state was linked with the effort for prohibition. People from Idaho, mainly bachelor miners, did not agree with prohibition at first, but between 1890 and 1896, there was a big change and they started to support the prohibition.

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<sup>41</sup> "Colorado: Populism, Panic, and Persistence," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 22, 2018, [http://web.archive.org/web/20070805055425/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage\\_co.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20070805055425/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage_co.html); "Women's Suffrage Movement," Colorado Encyclopedia, accessed April 22, 2018, <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/womens-suffrage-movement>.

<sup>42</sup> Janet Bennion and Lisa Fishbayn Joffe, *The Polygamy Question* (Utah State University Press, 2016), 33-34; "Utah: Women in church, Marriage, and Politics," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 22, 2018, [http://web.archive.org/web/20060909044700/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage\\_ut.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20060909044700/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage_ut.html).

Prohibition was in close relation to women's suffrage, so if people supported prohibition, they also supported women's rights to vote. Voting right granted in 1896 in Idaho, however, did not relate to Mormon people.<sup>43</sup>

## 6.5 Washington

In 1854, the territory of Washington would become the first American state to grant suffrage to women, if they did not fail by only one vote. In 1871, huge suffrage crusade through Washington and Oregon territories was led, organized by Susan B. Anthony and Abigail Scott Duniway. Mainly because of the number of protests, in 1883, women got the full voting right in Washington, which was canceled in 1887, then passed again in 1888, but also overturned. Women were deprived of their voting right because of their efforts to make liquor sales more difficult. Their next tactics included emphasizing bad conditions of women workers and in 1910, Washington finally granted women the right to vote.<sup>44</sup>

## 6.6 California

Women of California first got the right to vote in 1893, but it was rejected by governor because from his point of view it was unconstitutional. Suffragist wanted a statewide referendum in 1896 and although they convinced many people, it was still denied by a majority. Despite the fact, that the suffrage was denied, many groups of people started to support women's suffrage. These groups included white middle-class women, socialists, church groups, different unions, blacks or temperance groups. They believed that women intervention in politics would solve many terrible things like poverty, prostitution or a child labor. Women workers in California also supported suffrage because of their working

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<sup>43</sup> "Women's Suffrage Right to Vote Came Early in Idaho," Lewiston Tribune, accessed April 22, 2018, [http://lmtribune.com/feature/women-s-suffrage-right-to-vote-came-early-in-idaho/article\\_d6e0296a-ba14-59fe-87e4-2789689dcf38.html](http://lmtribune.com/feature/women-s-suffrage-right-to-vote-came-early-in-idaho/article_d6e0296a-ba14-59fe-87e4-2789689dcf38.html).

<sup>44</sup> "Voting Rights for Women, Women's Suffrage," Washington Secretary of State, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://www.sos.wa.gov/elections/timeline/suffrage.htm>; "Washington: Crusade in the Northwest," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 23, 2018, [http://web.archive.org/web/20060908112151/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage\\_wa.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20060908112151/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage_wa.html).

conditions and wages. Support of the women's suffrage has spread around the state and in 1911; California became the sixth and the largest state granting women the right to vote.<sup>45</sup>

## 6.7 Arizona, Oregon and Kansas

In 1912, three other states granted the right vote for women. Referendum on woman suffrage in Arizona in 1912 was supported by both native-born and foreign-born voters. In Oregon, elections for giving women the right to vote took place six times. Oregon voters defeated the suffrage referendum in 1884, 1900, 1906, 1908 and 1910. Over time, suffragists in Oregon started to use better tactics for convincing people to support the women's suffrage. They started to organize meetings, give speeches and advertise the movement by making leaflets or presentations. Oregon voters finally passed the law by 52 percent in November 1912 and the "male" word was removed from the law. Until 1924, this law, however, did not apply to people who migrated from Asia or to native American women, with exception for those married to white men. Kansas became a state in 1861 and in the same year, local women were allowed to vote in school elections. After the Civil War, in 1867, the first attempt for universal suffrage referendum was turned down. When few of the western states granted women the suffrage, Kansas's activists tried it a second time in 1894, but the amendment was turned down again. Only after the Progressive Era came, as also the new views came, women started to sign petitions in support of another try for an amendment, which was introduced in 1911. In 1912, on the third attempt, Kansas finally won the referendum and became another state giving women the right to vote.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> "California: Women Work for Wages, Votes, and Visibility," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 23, 2018, [http://web.archive.org/web/20060908111545/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage\\_ca.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20060908111545/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage_ca.html).

<sup>46</sup> McCammon, et al., "Winning the Vote in the West," 55-82; "Woman Suffrage in Oregon," The Oregon Encyclopedia, accessed April 23, 2018, [https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/woman\\_suffrage\\_in\\_oregon/#.WuBTGGZ0CSN](https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/woman_suffrage_in_oregon/#.WuBTGGZ0CSN); "Oregon: Tenacious Standard Bearer: Abigail Scott Duniway," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 23, 2018, [http://web.archive.org/web/20060909044648/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage\\_or.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20060909044648/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage_or.html); "Kansas: The Third Time Is a Charm," Women of the West Museum, accessed April 23, 2018, [http://web.archive.org/web/20060909044630/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage\\_ks.html](http://web.archive.org/web/20060909044630/http://www.museumoftheamericanwest.org:80/explore/exhibits/suffrage/suffrage_ks.html); "First in the Midwest: Kansas' role in the women's suffrage movement," CSG Midwest, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://www.csamidwest.org/policyresearch/0315-kansas-womens-suffrage.aspx>.

## 6.8 Montana and Nevada

The key role in the women's suffrage victory of Nevada was played by Anne Martin, a history professor, suffrage activist and a leader of the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party. Martin was fighting for women's rights in England and when she came back to Nevada, she helped to win the vote with the Nevada Equal Franchise Society. In 1914, the women's suffrage in Nevada was granted. The same year, another western state was added to the group of states allowing women to vote – Montana. The Montana's most important suffragist was definitely Jeannette Rankin, who fought also for the suffrage in Washington, but later she came back to Montana to help winning the vote in her home state. A lot of organizations were trying to convince people about the merit of women's vote, for example the Women's Christian Union with their one and a half thousand members and their campaign, which involved neighbor-to-neighbor promoting of women's rights. The leaflet titled "Women Teachers of Montana Should Have the Vote" which was printed by The Missoula Teacher's Suffrage Committee in number of 30 thousand copies was also very successful. There was also a woman travelling and convincing people to support the women's suffrage, Margaret Smith. She got the nickname "the whirlwind," because she traveled almost six thousand miles in order to convince as much people as she could. At the vote for the women's suffrage amendment in Montana on November 3, 1914, it was passed by 53 to 47 percent of men's votes.<sup>47</sup>

## 6.9 Oklahoma and South Dakota

After the state of New York granted women's suffrage in 1917, the following year, the last three states gave women the vote before Nineteenth Amendment – Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota. After a few unsuccessful attempts of Oklahoma women and despite the fact that some women joined and formed the Oklahoma Anti-Suffrage Association, on

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<sup>47</sup> "Nevada Suffrage," Women in Nevada History, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://www.womennvhistory.com/nevada-suffrage/>; "Anne Martin," National Woman's Party, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://nationalwomansparty.org/womenwecelebrate/anne-martin/>; "Jeannette Rankin," Biography, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://www.biography.com/people/jeannette-rankin-9451806>; "Suffrage: The Montana Suffrage Story," Montana Women's History, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://montanawomenshistory.org/suffrage/>.

November 5, 1918, the amendment was finally passed by 106,909 to 81,481 votes; therefore Oklahoma became the last state that granted women's suffrage before 1920.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> "Woman Suffrage Timeline: 1840-1920," National Women's History Museum, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/woman-suffrage-timeline-18401920>; "Suffrage Amendment," Oklahoma Historical Society, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=SU002>.

## 7 SUFFRAGE PARADES

The women's suffrage movement weakened after the deaths of all its first main leaders – Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony. After the death of the last suffragists' leader, Susan B. Anthony, in 1906, it was time for a new generation to speak up and start fighting. In the early 1900s, after women factory workers started to merge with suffragists, the movement gained some strength. These women, working in factories, were working in unkind conditions; factories were dirty and dangerous. They worked a lot for little money. Factory workers joined suffragists because they believed that women suffrage could improve the condition in which they were working. These women tried to use different tactics than previous suffragists; they stopped working and were striking in front of the factories. A New York City shirtwaist makers' strike, in which more than 20,000 women working in clothing factories went to the streets in 1909, received huge attention. In 1910, over 40,000 women participated in another strike in Chicago. The same year, the first parade for women suffrage in New York City was organized by Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who continued her mother's work. Blatch was working with the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), and in 1907, she established the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, which was later renamed to the Women's Political Union (WPU). She brought new approaches to the strategies of the women's suffrage movement, inspired by labor activists, which were more aggressive. She tried to attract more and more people. The New York City parade in 1910 was held on Fifth Avenue and since then, it was held every year. "Votes for Women" was the sign on yellow banners, which suffragists carried.<sup>49</sup>

A parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC was organized by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, suffragists working for NAWSA's Congressional Committee and founders of Congressional Union. The parade was organized in 1913, and about 8,000 women attended. A lot of men did not support the parade. They were insulting suffragists, trying to trip them and even spitting on them or throwing burning cigarettes on them. Paul

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<sup>49</sup> "Working Women in the Suffrage Movement," National Women's History Museum, accessed April 10, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthetvote.org/working-women-movement/>; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 28; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 55-56; Nancy Schrom Dye, "Feminism or Unionism? The New York Women's Trade Union League and the Labor Movement;" "Harriot Stanton Blatch," Biography, accessed April 11, 2018, <https://www.biography.com/people/harriot-stanton-blatch-9215141>.



wanted women to continue with this approach and organize other parades, but NAWSA did not accept her suggestions and she was removed from the Congressional Committee of NAWSA. A year later, Paul with Congressional Union split from NAWSA and later they renamed the organization to the National's Woman Party (NWP). Members of the party tried to convince Congress and President Wilson to help them in their fight for women's suffrage by sending them telegrams and letters. In 1916, there was also a banner hanging from a balcony during the president's annual speech to Congress, asking Wilson for help with the women's suffrage movement. Paul's next attempt to get attention was in January 1917, when the NWP picketed the White House gates for the first time, asking how long they must wait for their voting rights. When the United States entered World War I, some people found their acting very disloyal to the United States, but picketers refused to stop. In June 1917, they were arrested because they obstructed the road; many of them were fined but did not pay. The women were sent to jails and workhouses, where the conditions were terrible. They lived with mice and rats, and they were beaten when they refused to cooperate. When some of the women refused to eat, they were force fed through tubes. These arrests did not stop picketing in front of the White house, and more women were arrested and sent to jail.<sup>50</sup> Many Americans got to the facts about conditions in jails, they were angry about Wilson's attitude and Alice Paul and other women were released at the end of November 1917.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 56-59;

"National Women's Party and Militant Methods," National Women's History Museum; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 31-32; "Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party," Library of Congress, accessed April 10, 2018,

<https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/connections/women-protest/history3.html>;

Sally Hunter Graham, "Woodrow Wilson, Alice Paul, and the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Political Science Quarterly* 98, no. 4 (1983-1984): 665-679, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2149723>;

"Tactics And Techniques of the National Woman's Party Suffrage Campaign," Library of Congress, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/women-of-protest/articles-and-essays/tactics-and-techniques-of-the-national-womans-party-suffrage-campaign/>

<sup>51</sup> Graham, "Woodrow Wilson, Alice Paul, and the Woman Suffrage Movement," 665-679; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 34-35; "Tactics and Techniques of the National Woman's Party Suffrage Campaign," Library of Congress.

## 8 WINNING

### 8.1 Winning Plan

Carrie Chapman Catt with the NAWSA continued with the state-by-state approach and she proposed her Winning Plan in 1916. Her tactics included suffragist of each state putting pressure on their Congress members. The plan targeted thirty-six states, which were likely to approve the women suffrage movement and Catt also proposed a timetable, according to which women would win the vote by April 1922. She demanded gaining federal amendment by cooperation of states. Catt also created a map of the United States including details of the plan, strategies and cooperation on a dual strategy. Working together and gaining the federal amendment was the main goal of the organization and there were other tasks given to each state. According to *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* by Jacqueline Van Voris, these tasks included:

*“1) the suffrage states would get resolutions from their legislatures to Congress; 2) in states where there was a chance of getting a constitutional amendment they would push for a referendum, or in states already planning referenda in 1916 and 1917 they would work for the popular vote; 3) other states would persuade their legislatures to vote for the amount of suffrage they were able to give, preferably presidential suffrage, or 4) in the South, suffrage in the primaries.”* Women won the right to vote even sooner than Catt assumed, because of the fact that there were two completely different organizations fighting for women suffrage in the United States, which had the same effectiveness. The Winning Plan in combination with Alice Paul’s efforts had a great success. Sixteen states gave women the right to vote by the end of the 1917, including the state with the largest population, New York. However, six of these sixteen states gave women right to vote only in elections for president.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York: Feminist Press, 1996), 133-135; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 36; Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 58.

## 8.2 The Nineteenth Amendment

The Nineteenth Amendment, before also known as the Anthony Amendment, was credited to Alice Paul, for her parades, pickets, hunger strikes, and arrests. Paul thought that her tactics finally worked when the House of Representatives voted on the amendment. Catt was sure that her state-by-state approach would be a real success. Actually, the victory cannot be credited to one specific person, because all attempts to get the women's right to vote were useful. The House of Representatives voted on January 10, 1918. 274 of them voted to pass the amendment and 136 of them voted against the amendment. For the amendment to pass, it was needed two-thirds majority of votes, which was the exact number of people voting to pass. But it was not the happy end yet. For winning the amendment, they needed also the two-thirds majority of senators to vote for the pass. The day before Senate members voted, President Wilson tried to persuade them to vote to pass the amendment and to give female Americans the right to vote. Senators voted on October 1, 1918 but amendment failed by only two votes.<sup>53</sup>

Suffrage activists blamed Wilson for not supporting the case of women suffrage and they started a new method of getting his attention. They started to burn copies of Wilson's speeches in urns, near Lafayette Square. The person, who started these burnings, was Lucy Branham, who already had hunger struck in the District Jail. She was burning President's words on September 16, 1918, because she wanted to emphasize the anger of women, not having equal rights. According to her, Wilson only gave the words, but he never really did anything about the women suffrage. She claimed that words mean nothing without acts. Suffragists continued with burning copies of Wilson's speeches. When President Wilson left the country in December 1918, because of the peace conference in France, suffragists burned copies of his speeches and this time, it was in front of the White House. Women activists were arrested and sent to the jail. People did not like the way these women were treated and Wilson got many messages to Europe, in order to act. In February 1919, there was a second vote, but the amendment failed again, by only one vote. Another vote was on May 21, 1919, when the suffrage amendment was passed by the new House, 304 votes for pass and 89 votes against the amendment. I was by 42 votes for pass

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<sup>53</sup> "A Vote for Women," United States Senate, accessed April 11, 2018, [https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/A\\_Vote\\_For\\_Women.htm](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/A_Vote_For_Women.htm); Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement*, 1848-1920, 36-39.

more than it was needed. The Senate voted for suffrage amendment on June 4, 1919, and amendment was passed by a vote of 56 to 25. However, this fact did not mean that American women could vote already. It was required that three-fourths of all American states approve the amendment. After the Senate passed the suffrage amendment, the NWP and NAWSA started to work on getting the needed approval of 36 of the 48 states. By March 1920, ratification of thirty-five states was secured. Suffragists needed only one more state to win this fight. On August 18, 1920, Tennessee - the 36th state ratified the suffrage amendment in the United States, which meant that from that time, U. S. citizens of both sex have the right to vote. On August 26, 1920, after many years of women's fighting for their equal rights, the Nineteenth Amendment finally became a law. National elections in November 1920, were the first elections, when the women in all U.S. states were allowed to vote.<sup>54</sup>

### 8.3 The Impact of The Nineteenth Amendment

The Nineteenth Amendment, however, had not as big impact on the citizenship of U.S. women, as they believed it to have. Women fought for their voting right for 72 years because they expected that this right would make them valid citizens with all the rights and privileges but women were more active in politics before getting the right to vote than after they were allowed to vote. They were politically active mainly to get the right and afterwards they limited their interest in politics. Studies showed that even though it took decades for women to finally get their right to vote, they were not showing independent opinion for many years after the amendment. Historians, dealing with the impact of the Nineteenth Amendment on the rights of women in the period of 20 years after the amendment, were of the opinion that it led only to split of women's rights organizations. Few other historians focused on the legal and constitutional point of view and saw it as a missed chance, because service of jury was closely linked to the voting right. Equal citizenship of women would include also the opportunity to serve on a jury, which was perceived as the second most important right after voting. Women took it as the matter of course that after the Nineteenth Amendment they would be able to participate on service of

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<sup>54</sup> Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *After the Vote Was Won: The Later Achievements of Fifteen Suffragists* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 30-35; Keller, *The Women Suffrage Movement, 1848-1920*, 39; "Passing the 19th Amendment," National Women's History Museum, accessed April 11, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/19-amendment/>.

jury. Despite this belief, state courts excluded them from this role, which meant that they did not have the equal status of citizens yet. According to the article, political and civil rights, included in the Nineteenth Amendment, were separated and even that these changes reduced the differentiation of men's and women's rights they did not create equality in their citizenship.<sup>55</sup>

In 1927, Frank R. Kent argued that women with their votes promised too many improvements, which were not granted. According to him, a lot of women did not take the opportunity to pass the ballot at all and he concluded, that women's political opinions only reflected men's political judgments.<sup>56</sup> Allowing women to vote could seem inevitable, but it might not be the case. The women's suffrage movement was not inevitable and it could have been rejected again. Campaigns of the women's suffrage organizations were those, which made it impossible for today's women to imagine a different scenario.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> "Jury Service and Women's Citizenship Before and After the Nineteenth Amendment," Cambridge University Press, accessed April 28, 2018, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/S0738248000008749>.

<sup>56</sup> Sara Alpern and Dale Baum, "Female Ballots: The Impact of the Nineteenth Amendment," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16, No. 1 (1985): 43-67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/204321>.

<sup>57</sup> Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: United States, 1877-1919*, 206-10.

## 9 ARGUMENTS FOR SUFFRAGE

If women have the same terms concerning obeying laws and paying taxes as men do, it is obvious that they should have also the same voice in making decisions independently. They should have the right to express their opinions about who should create laws, because all people are affected by laws equally. Women have the ability and experiences to understand politics. It is easier and faster for women to get different educational, humane or moral legislation if they are allowed to vote. With the right to vote, it is easier for women to fight against other laws, which are not completely fair to them. For example, women from Massachusetts were fighting over a half a century to get equal rights for taking care of their children. Laws that affect children should be created with equal support of both parents. In the past, there was a huge number of women wage workers, whose working conditions were given by law and without a voting right, they could not do anything about that. Also, it was known that women's wages and salaries were lower than men's – for the same work done. Low women's wages, in comparison to men's wages, were the direct result of women's disfranchisement. Women did not have any political influence, and so they did not have the chance to fight for the increase of their wages. According to the Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of male immigrants significantly exceeded the number of females coming to the United States: 1,344,622 compared to 576,746. This means that giving women the right to vote would increase a number of native-born people voting in elections.<sup>58</sup>

Women were fighting hard for their equality. They often suffered, undertook hunger strikes, picketed, and were jailed, but they did not give up and kept fighting for better lives of theirs but also for better lives of future women in United States. And for all these years of not giving up, they deserve equal rights, the right to vote and the right to become independent members of society.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> "Why Women Should Vote," Massachusetts Library Association, accessed April 12, 2018, [http://masslib-dspace.longsight.com/bitstream/handle/2452/213685/ocm46914197-v.1\\_no.8.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](http://masslib-dspace.longsight.com/bitstream/handle/2452/213685/ocm46914197-v.1_no.8.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y); "Twelve Reasons Why Women Should Vote," IUPUI Archives, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://archives.iupui.edu/bitstream/handle/2450/926/mss60-8.pdf?sequence=1>.

<sup>59</sup> Adams and Keene, *After the Vote Was Won: The Later Achievements of Fifteen Suffragists*, 35.

## 10 ARGUMENTS AGAINST SUFFRAGE

Despite the fact, that nowadays this may seem surprising, a large proportion of Americans, including women, did not agree with women's voting right. A significant reason for an opposition was the liquor and brewery business, because owners of these businesses understood the women's suffrage as closely linked with the Prohibition. Anti-suffragists also argued that people need different spheres for men and women, in order to have functional society. Public life was known as the men's sphere and on the other hand, women had the domestic role in the society. They believed that each sex has specific natural strengths and weaknesses and women were those who had to take care of children, prepare meals and keep cleanliness in the house. Another argument concerned women's inability to join army or police, which meant that men did not want them to decide about laws concerning these things. Anti-suffragists also believed that women's vote would cause the competition between men and women. In their opinions, women would vote the same as their husbands would, which meant only doubling the vote of their husbands. Opponents argued, that a bigger part of women did not want any voting right, they protested against women's suffrage and that is a reason against granting the right. According to the poster made by National Association Opposed to Woman suffrage, all huge changes and progress in female world in previous years was made without the need of women's vote and that is also a reason why it is not needed at all. People opposing women's suffrage made different posters or cartoons, which mocked women fighting for the vote. One of the posters said that women do not need the vote and instead it listed different tips and tricks for cleaning the house. A cartoon on another poster represented a woman on her way to vote and leaving crying little children at home with the husband.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Eileen L. McDonagh and H. Douglas Price, "Woman Suffrage in the Progressive Era: Patterns of Opposition and Support in Referenda Voting, 1910-1918;" "Pamphlet distributed by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage," Jewish Women's Archive, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://jwa.org/media/pamphlet-distributed-by-national-association-opposed-to-woman-suffrage>; "National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage," National Women's History Museum, accessed April 25, 2018, <http://www.crusadeforthevote.org/naows-opposition/>; "Why Women Led Anti-Suffrage Campaigns Against Themselves," Atlas Obscura, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/why-women-led-antisuffrage-campaigns-against-themselves>; "Anti-Suffrage Arguments," Arkansas Women's Suffrage Centennial, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://ualrexpibits.org/suffrage/anti-suffrage-arguments/>; "Some reasons why we oppose votes for women," Library of Congress, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbpe.1300130c>.

In 1911, another organization was formed by anti-suffragists - the National Association Opposing Woman Suffrage (NAOWS). Leader of the organization was Josephine Dodge, who led also a different movement, helping working mothers. Many anti-suffrage organizations did not stop with their campaigns even after the Nineteenth Amendment granted women's suffrage in United States and these organizations continued and were thriving.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> "National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage," National Women's History Museum; "Suffrage Not Needed: Notes on the Anti-Suffrage Movement," National Woman's Party, accessed April 25, 2018, <http://nationalwomansparty.org/suffrage-not-needed-notes-on-the-anti-suffrage-movement/>.



## CONCLUSION

It is almost unimaginable nowadays how women were treated in the past and how much they had to fight and protest to get the equal ability to vote. It took couple of generations of suffragist's to get to the point of winning the Nineteenth Amendment. Women of United States should be proud of these women, thanks to which they got the vote and step by step also the equality in the eyes of society. The women's status was gradually improving, they started to understand injustices facing them relating to their position in society, they started to appear in public affairs or in particular professions, which were back then intended exclusively for men. In some professions, step-by-step, women began to be dominated. Traditional image of domestic role of women transferred to professions, which were more suitable for women than men and men allowed them to occupy these work positions. These were jobs connected with teaching or social work.<sup>62</sup>

Step by step and state by state, women began to get more respect, more rights and more freedom, mainly during the Progressive Era. Organizations fighting for women's rights were getting more and more supporters and anti-suffrage organizations were began to lose their success. In the case of voting right itself, all campaigns, protesting, parades, hunger strikes or the time spent in jails, all the fighting was worth it, because women finally got what they wanted by the Nineteenth Amendment. But another question is, if it was enough. Women deserve more than that and it took much longer to become equal and respected in the eyes of society and mainly in the eyes of men.

According to results of a survey named *Women and Love: A Cultural Revolution in Progress* made by Shere Hite in 1987, sixty-seven years after the women's suffrage was granted in the United States, answers of four and a half thousands respondents showed, that even though women had equal voting rights, they still did not feel equal in the eyes of men. The majority of women asked said that in their household they still did not have such equality and respect, as they would like to have in the eyes of their husbands.<sup>63</sup> Lack of women's rights after the Nineteenth Amendment is also confirmed by their inability to participate in the services of the jury. The Nineteenth Amendment needed deeper, broader,

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<sup>62</sup> Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), 111-32.

<sup>63</sup> Susan Faludi. *Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women* (New York: Crown, 1991), 3-9.

and continuing inquiry, so that the women's equality may be realized.<sup>64</sup> Building respect and true equality lasted much longer and it lasted years after winning the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, but this movement is very important in history of women of United States. Thanks to all these brave women and their persistent approach to winning the Women's Suffrage Movement, today's women can enjoy their equality, respect and improved status.

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<sup>64</sup> Jennifer K. Brown, "The Nineteenth Amendment and Women's Equality," *The Yale Law Journal* 102, No. 8, (1993): 2175-2204. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/796863>.

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