

By 1870 there were two national women's organizations working for suffrage: the National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, which sought to win a wide range of rights for women including suffrage through a Constitutional amendment, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone, which avoided economic and legal issues and sought to gain the vote for women primarily on a state-by-state basis.

The period 1800-1870, then, was one of great -- and often contradictory -- changes in the position of American women. By the end of the period, the debate over "woman's proper place" had just begun.

LYDIA HOWARD HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY (1791-1865)

by Evelyn R. Holt

OVERVIEW:

This exercise examines the life of Lydia Sigourney, one of the first women to make a career of writing.

GRADE LEVEL: High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES:

A student should be able to:

1. Evaluate critically the concept of what is "important" in literature. Differentiate between "classic" and "popular" literature.
2. List male contemporaries of Lydia Sigourney and discuss why they are more well-known.
3. Discuss the value of "popular" literature for the historian.
4. Evaluate the role of Lydia Sigourney in society and contrast it with the traditional role of women in the period.

MATERIALS:

Biographical sketch
Poetry excerpt

PROCEDURE:

In a discussion of American culture and major American writers of the first half of the 19th century, introduce Lydia Sigourney. Use the information presented in the biographical sketch. Discussion should center around these suggested questions:

1. Why is Lydia Sigourney's work ignored by modern literary scholars?

2. What well-known writers of this time period who come to mind? What makes them more famous than Sigourney?
3. What was the role of women in 19th century society? How did Lydia differ?
4. What is "popular" literature? What is a "classic"? Does "popular" literature have any literary value? What can it tell an historian?
5. What might an historian learn about 19th century culture and life from "Twas But a Rabe"?

Other discussions can center around the themes used in the poem. What appeal did the poem have for a 19th century popular audience? What images are invoked in the poetry? What is the message of the poem?

LYDIA HOWARD HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY

Known as the "Sweet Singer of Hartford" during her lifetime, Lydia Sigourney is unfamiliar to most modern readers. At the time of her work, Lydia Sigourney was one of the most widely read of American writers. She wrote at the same time as Longfellow, Thoreau, Emerson, Whittier, Melville, Irving, Cooper, and Hawthorne--to name a few.

Why then is Lydia Sigourney a new name to us? Lydia Sigourney was one of the first women to pursue literature as a trade, much to her husband's consternation. She wrote for the popular periodicals of the time and was able to live quite successfully from her writings. In fact, at one time, Edgar Allan Poe sought her contributions for the magazine he edited, Graham's Magazine, in order to increase sales.

Born in Norwich, Connecticut in 1791, Lydia attended the local schools. Her father was a hired man and Lydia began working in 1811 when she opened a girls' school in Norwich. She first published her poetry in a collection (1815) entitled Moral Pieces, in Prose and Verse. Proceeds were used to help support the family.

She married Charles Sigourney, a widower with three small children in 1819. Her husband had a succession of careers and, as his wealth declined, Lydia increasingly turned to her writing to support the family. At first her earnings were given to various charities, such as temperance and church work. Soon the family finances demanded Lydia's money for survival. It was at this time that she stopped writing anonymously and began to sign her name to her published work. Charles objected to the use of her name, but Lydia continued to sign her work.

Lydia wrote for the popular magazines of the day, primarily Godey's Lady's Book and the Ladies' Companion. Her themes were popular ones of death and separation, love and home--all in the popular press. As she gained popularity, she was entertained in the courts of Europe and received by such contemporaries as Thomas Carlyle and William Wordsworth.

Between 1840 and 1850 Lydia published fourteen volumes

of poetry. Very little of this was original material; most was the revised work of earlier poems and prose.

Lydia died in Hartford in 1865, never a truly original writer of enduring classics, but a very popular one of her time.

"'T WAS BUT A BABE" (1836)

Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney

I asked them why the verdant turf was riven
 From its young rooting: and with silent lip
 They pointed to a new-made chasm among
 The marble-pillared mansions of the dead.
 Who goeth to his rest in yon damp couch?
 The tearless crowd past on - "'twas but a babe."
 A babe! - And poise ye, in the rigid scales
 Of calculation, the fond bosom's wealth?
 Rating its priceless idols as ye weigh
 Such merchandise as moth and rust corrupt,
 Or the rude robber steals? Ye mete out grief,
 Perchance, when youth, maturity or age,
 Sink in the thronging tomb; but when the breath
 Grows icy on the lip of innocence
 Repress your measured sympathies, and say,
 "'Twas but a babe."

What know ye of her love
 Who patient watcheth, til the stars grow dim,
 Over her drooping infant, with an eye
 Bright as unchanging Hope of his repose?
 What know ye of her woe who sought no joy
 More exquisite, than on his placid brow
 To trace the glow of health, and drink at dawn
 The thrilling lustre of his waking smile?
 Go, ask that musing father, why yon grave,
 So narrow, and so noteless, might not close
 Without a tear?

And though his lip be mute,
 Feeling the poverty of speech to give
 Fit answer to thee, still his pallid brow,
 And the deep agonizing prayer that loads
 Midnight's dark wing to Him, the God of strength,
 May satisfy thy question.

Ye, who mourn
Whene'er yon vacant cradle, or the robes
That decked the lost one's form, call back a tide
Of alienated joy, can ye not trust
Your treasure to His arms, whose changeless care
Passeth a mother's love! Can ye not hope,
When a few hasting years their course have run
To go to him, though he no more on earth
Returns to you?

And when glad Faith doth catch
Some echo of celestial harmonies,
Archangels' praises, with the high response
Of cherubim, and seraphim, oh think -
Think that your babe is there.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE - MAJOR ARGUMENTS USED TO DENY
WOMEN AND BLACKS THE RIGHT TO VOTE

by Kent Sprague

OVERVIEW:

This lesson will require two to three periods. The exercise is designed to establish specific rationale, stereotypes, and attitudes used by politicians to deny the vote to women in the 19th century. The information covering black suffrage is provided for comparison since the same political professionals, all of whom were white males, believed both sets of arguments. You might encourage the students to do more research on any of these arguments.

Since the focus of the unit is women's suffrage, it is suggested that you examine the arguments against women first, then use the reasons against blacks. Conclude the lesson by challenging the students to choose between women's suffrage and black suffrage.

The purpose of the student handout regarding the 14th and 15th amendments is to point out the important roles played by women during the war. It also points out the devastating effect that the rejection of women had on the movement for suffrage.

More extensive research by students would be fairly easy if you directed them to the various agencies and groups mentioned in the article.

GRADE LEVEL: Senior High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. The students will be able to recognize the influences that women had in the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments.

2. The students will be able to develop theories explaining why the 14th and 15th amendments gave the franchise to black men, but not to women.
3. The students will be able to judge the fallacies of the arguments used against women and blacks about their abilities to vote and the effects of their use of the franchise.

PROCEDURE:

Provide the students with the summary of the roles played by women during the Civil War, and the explanations of the 14th and 15th amendments. You might wish to discuss these in some detail.

Pass out the arguments used against women's suffrage. You might wish to break the class up into groups to start the exercise. You might ask the students to research these arguments, to expand upon them, and to debate them in a mock constitutional convention.

After completing the arguments against the vote by women, hand out the arguments against blacks and follow the suggested questions.

Final Discussion Questions

1. Given the various arguments why women and blacks should not be enfranchised explain why blacks, and not women, were included under the 15th Amendment. Were the arguments against women more compelling?
2. If only one group could be given the franchise under the 14th and 15th amendments, should it be given to blacks or women? (Note: Black women are left out of either group). [You might wish to give students time to develop arguments, some taking one side and some the other. This will place the student in the role of either

a sexist or a racist, but that is exactly the dilemma
women and blacks faced.]

STUDENT HANDOUT A

The Civil War freed slaves from bondage, but unfortunately did not free women from theirs. With the war's outbreak in 1861, women's rights advocates were urged to abandon their "selfish" cause and devote their energies to war work.

Union women, under the name of the United States Sanitary Union, set up hospitals, worked in them, collected medical equipment, sewed, cooked, and did the work of the absent men on the farms and in businesses.

In the middle of war, women's rights advocates joined the abolitionists to form a strong anti-slavery lobby. In 1865, thanks in large part to the work of the National Women's Loyal League, led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which abolished slavery, was ratified.

The antislavery forces then began pushing for two more amendments to insure the citizenship and voting rights of the newly freed blacks. Women abolitionists proposed that the latter amendment also give women the right to vote. But their plans for support fell on deaf ears. Thus, neither the Fourteenth (1868), or the Fifteenth (1870) Amendments made mention of women.

During the national debate on the Fifteenth Amendment, disagreement about whether to fight for co-enfranchisement with the blacks created havoc within the women's suffrage organization. That, coupled with the movement's concentration on the war effort at the expense of their own cause, destroyed the united front women had forged in the 1850's.

The women's rights movement split into two factions in 1869. The National Women's Suffrage Association, formed by Anthony and Stanton, was the more radical. The NWSA continued to favor enfranchisement of women through an amendment to the United States Constitution.

The rival American Women Suffrage Association reflected the more conservative views of feminists like Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe. The NWSA favored working for women's suffrage on the state level.

From: The Good Housekeeping Women's Almanac. (New York: 1977) p. 546.

14th Amendment (Note: included herein are the first two sections of the amendment which are germane to our study; there are 5 sections in all.)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, or shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

ORIGINS - In the Dred Scott case (1857), Chief Justice Richard Taney had stated that blacks were not citizens when the Constitution was adopted and were not covered by its provisions. By the 14th Amendment, blacks were made citizens, and the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States were extended to citizens of the states.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for

President and Vice-President of the United States, Representative in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any male inhabitants of such States, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime. the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

ORIGINS - The fear that southern states would keep blacks from voting prompted this provision. It provides that a state's representation in Congress may be cut if it denies the right to vote to any group of male citizens. Note also that this is the first time that the Constitution uses the word "male."

15th Amendment

Section 1. 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 race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ORIGINS - The 15th Amendment attempted to insure that blacks would have the vote. Women's suffrage advocates had lobbied to include the word "sex" but were told that this was the "Negro's hour."

STUDENT HANDOUT B

Major arguments used to deny women the right to vote

Instructions: Rank the arguments #1 through #5 from the strongest or most compelling point to the idea that you believe makes the least sense. Make sure you can explain your logic.

If you were a 19th century feminist and an advocate of women's suffrage, how would you have answered these arguments?

Are any of the arguments significant to the struggle for equality being waged by women in the 20th Century?

ARGUMENTS:

- A. There was a feeling among many or most abolitionists that "this hour belonged to the Negro" as Abraham Lincoln explained. One such issue at a time was enough.
- B. It was predicted that women's suffrage would have a terribly negative impact on the family. As one lawmaker stated, "Are we to put the stamp of truth upon the label here set forth, that men and women, in the matrimonial relation, are to be equal?" Thus, men feared that to grant women the right to vote would elevate women's status in the home and raise the question of domestic equality.
- C. It would further upset the family by allowing women an independence they had not enjoyed before. John Adams explained that "men controlled women by

controlling their employment, their wages and their property." The franchise would most certainly change this.

- D. It was argued that clearly the Bible preached against women's suffrage. St. Paul argued that this would remove women from their proper sphere (i.e., family and home).
- E. Many women declared that it was unladylike to vote or participate in politics. They just were not interested in the whole mess!

STUDENT HANDOUT C

Major arguments used to deny blacks the right to vote

(After the admission of Maine in 1819 every state that came into the Union before the end of the Civil War confined the suffrage to whites.)

Instructions: Rank the arguments #1 to 6 based upon which you believe would have had most appeal to the people of the 1820's and 1830's. Make sure you can explain your reasons.

Are you surprised at the racist tone of these arguments. Why/why not?

The six arguments were taken from state constitutional conventions in Pennsylvania, New York, and Rhode Island in the 1820's - 1830's. Do they alter your ideas about the cause of the Civil War only 23 years after the Pennsylvania Convention of 1838?

- A. Concerning the issue of universal manhood suffrage, in 1837, a delegate to the constitutional convention in Pennsylvania declared, "every negro in the State, worth and worthless - degraded and debased, as nine tenths of them are, will rush to the polls in senseless and unmeaningful triumph."
- B. In 1829, a Rhode Island legislature committee advised against extending the vote to blacks. The committee warned, "that all the evils which may result from the extension of suffrage will be evils beyond our reach...Open this door, and the whole frame and character of our institutions are changed forever."

- C. Some women's suffragists argued that blacks "were a peculiar people, incapable...of exercising that privilege with any sort of discretion, prudence or independence... they were a distinct, inferior caste" marked by God. Therefore, they were not "entitled to equal rights and equal privileges with the white man..."
- D. Equal rights for blacks on the state level would invite "black outcasts and worthless vagrants. of other states, to settle among us." This, in turn, would degrade white labor and discourage colonization.
- E. Negro voters would control those political wards in which they were most heavily concentrated; they would hold a balance of power between the two political parties and perhaps secure political appointments. What would then keep them out of future constitutional conventions, the state legislature, the jury box or even Congress?
- F. Would not the election of a Negro to congress constitute a "gross insult" to the South and threaten the very existence of the Union? Imagine the reaction of a "southern gentlmen" who had just freed his slaves and sent them to Pennsylvania or New York only to meet them in Congress!

From: North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Leon Litwack, (Chicago: 1961).

QUALITY OF LIFE IN INDIANA IN 1850

by Rosalind M. Fishman

OVERVIEW:

In this lesson the students will be given statistical data taken from the U.S. Census of 1850, specifically the data for Indiana. With this data the students will answer a series of questions and then will be able to draw a picture of the quality of life that was most common not only in Indiana but in their particular county for men, women and children. This can be adapted for U.S. history as well as Government and American Problems.

GRADE LEVEL:

Juniors and Seniors in High School - Although it can be adapted for Junior High School U.S. history

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. Given Handout One, Mortality Statistics--Indiana 1850, students will be able to identify the diseases that are listed as causes of death.
2. Given Handout One, students will be able to identify the breakdown of case by age, sex, and race.
3. Given Worksheet One, a series of questions about Handout One, students will be able to analyze the effect of disease on cases of different ages, sexes, and races.
4. Given Handout Two, Mortality Statistics--Indiana 1850 concerning nationalities of the population, time of year of death, and length of the disease, students will be able to identify the general trend of the effect of individual diseases.

5. Given Worksheet Two, a series of questions about Handout Two, students will be able to analyze the effect of disease on nationality groups, and how the time of the year affected the length of the disease.
6. Given Worksheet Three, questions to be answered by graphing, students will be able to utilize answers from Handouts One and Two in the form of graphing.
7. Given Handout Three, a chart of lifestyles in Indiana 1850, students will be able to compare their home county (Floyd) with the state (Indiana).
8. Given the completion of the above objectives students will be able to draw conclusions as to the quality of life in Indiana, and in particular their home county (Floyd).

MATERIALS:

Mortality Statistics, 7th Census, 1854-55; Seventh Census of the U.S., 1850, Statistics; graph paper.

PROCEDURE:

1. In general class discussion has the students list on the board the diseases that most people die of in the United States today, and identify what these diseases are.
2. Pass out Handout One. the Mortality Statistics--Indiana 1850, and have the students, for homework, write a short one-sentence definition for any of the diseases they cannot identify.
3. In general class discussion have the students identify all the diseases on Handout One. Then hand out Worksheet One to the students. Divide them into small groups and have them answer the questions and draw conclusions as to the variation in effect, if any, of the diseases on cases of

different ages, sexes and races. Each group will then present their findings to the class.

4. Handout Two should be distributed for homework. The students are to identify the general trend in diseases as they were affected by the time of the year contracted and the length of the disease. This data will be used the next day in their small groups.
5. In general class discussion have the students present their conclusions on Handout Two. Then hand out Worksheet Two and have the students answer the questions in their small groups and present their findings to the class.
6. After completing Worksheets One and Two the students in group activity will graph the data and present their graphs to the class.
7. Pass out Handout Three, a chart of lifestyles in Indiana (1850) and on Floyd County. In small groups have the students discuss how Floyd county compares with Indiana.
8. After completing the above objectives have the students individually draw conclusions as to the quality of life in Floyd County, Indiana circa 1850 by writing an essay on the typical family in that time period. [Even though there were more total male deaths than female deaths, there were fewer females in Indiana in 1850. Therefore, since there was a higher death ratio for females than for males, students will be able to draw conclusions as to the relatively poor chances of survival for females and this relationship to the quality of life.]

ASSESSMENT:

The student essay written on the quality of life can be used as a form of evaluation. Or the teacher may use any part of the objectives to test students' comprehension of the statistical materials.

OPTION:

Students can be encouraged to research a later or earlier Census report and then can draw new conclusions.

WORKSHEET ONE: Questions on Mortality Statistics--Indiana
1850. Age, Sex and Race.

1. Which diseases were directly related to women?
2. Which age group did they affect most? Why?
3. Of the three age groups related to pre-teens which three diseases were the most devastating? (excluding unknown)
4. Of the three age groups mentioned above, which disease had the highest mortality rate? Which age group did it affect most?
5. Of the three age groups mentioned above, which had the highest mortality? What conclusions can you draw concerning medical knowledge?
6. What were the three most common diseases for teenagers?
7. Which was the most devastating for teenagers?
8. Which diseases were directly related to poor sanitary conditions?
9. In each age group, which sex more easily succumbed to disease in general?
10. Are there any conclusions that you can draw on general health patterns of each age group? In relationship to sex? To race?

WORKSHEET TWO: Questions on Mortality Statistics--Indiana
1850 Nativity, length of disease and time of
year.

1. When on the whole was disease most likely to occur?
Explain using the examples on the chart.
2. Which disease was the most devastating to natives
of Indiana?
3. Which diseases lasted the least amount of time?
4. What kind of diseases are they? How, if at all,
are they related?
5. Which disease was the most lingering?
6. Looking at the duration of different diseases and
the time of year, what would have been the least
desirable time to live in Indiana? The most
desirable time?

WORKSHEET THREE: Questions to be answered by graphing data from Worksheet One and Worksheet Two.
Any or all of these graphs may be used, time permitting.

1. Construct a line graph for each of the three diseases that devastated pre-teens, showing the ratio of number of deaths to their ages for male and female.
2. Construct a bar graph of the three diseases that affected teenagers showing the ratio between males and females.
3. Take the three largest killers and construct a circle graph showing the ratio for the effect the time of year had on each of the diseases.

MORTALITY STATISTICS--INDIANA, 1850

DISEASE	Age:														Race:							
	-1		1-5		5-9		10-15		20-49		50-79		80-99		Unknown		White		Black		Mulatto	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Accidents (not specified)		3	16	3	13	2	23	2	38	5	20	4	2		1			112		22		
--Burned	4	2	12	6	1	9	3	3	5	1	1	1	1					25		12	1	1
--Drowned		1	17	6	4	1	15	1	25	3	3	1						63		13	1	
--Scalded	2		11	4	1													13		4		
Apoplexy		1				3	1	1	6	11	11	8						18		24		
Asthma			1	1					1		2	3						4		4		
Bronchitis	5	3	2	7		2	2	1	9	8	6	3		1				24		25		
Cancer	1	1	2	2					4	8	9	18	2	1				19		30		
Childbirth								7		86		1								94		
Cholera	38	30	100	96	61	62	85	68	407	236	145	82	6	1	1			838		566	3	6
Colic	1	1	1			1	2	2	6	5	5	5	1					16		14		
Consumption	17	17	21	22	7	7	45	88	303	372	86	78	4	2				477		580	4	4
Convulsions	42	43	20	24	2	7	5	5	11	12	6	5						84		96	1	1
Croup	133	90	111	114	30	14	3	1	3	4	1							281		222	1	1
Diarrhea	51	38	52	37	4	1	3		20	17	9	9	1					139		100	1	1

HANDOUT ONE - 2

Dropsy	11	6	19	20	10	9	18	17	38	51	44	42	7	3			146	146	2	1
Dysentery	126	106	301	245	84	90	56	48	76	71	37	39	1	6	2	1	683	592	4	
Erysipelas	18	21	24	10	6	6	20	7	16	24	19	8		1			103	77	3	1
Fever--Unknown	30	32	58	51	31	29	45	65	130	100	36	22	1	3			328	302		
--Bilious	3	5	16	8	6	5	8	6	35	21	5	3	2				74	48		
--Brain	10	4	9	5	2	5	4	3	4	3			1				30	20		
--Congestion	9	7	22	20	15	9	20	21	50	28	20	8	1		1		137	92	1	1
Intermittent	11	6	6	7	8	1	4	2	5	2	8	2	1	2			38	22		
--Puerperal								4		31								35		
--Scarlet	30	24	115	124	36	44	14	18	5	4	1	1					201	215		
--Typhus	7	4	22	9	18	16	45	42	121	60	19	19	2				234	150		
Gravel		1		1	1		1		4	1	10	5	3				19	8		
Heart		2	1		2	4		2	5	10	5	4	2				15	22		
Hemorrhage	2		1		1	1	1		8	4	4		1				16	7		
Hives	19	8	8	6						1							27	15		
Hooping Cough	37	36	29	65	6	3	1	5	1	2		1					73	111		1
Inflammation of Bowels	18	9	13	21	4	1	3	3	14	10	4	3	1				57	47	1	1
--Of Brains	82	54	73	79	32	24	32	34	30	17	14	1	2				203	209		
--Of Stomach	4	1								5	5	2					10	8		

HANDOUT ONE - 3

Influenza	2	4	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	5						11	18				
Liver	8	4	13	1	1	1	6	22	29	9	9		1				54	52				
Meas. les	16	17	36	41	8	10	4	10	10	9	1	1					75	87				
Old Age									1		36	46	54	45			90	90	1	1		
Pneumonia	47	39	69	45	15	24	31	25	122	75	67	34	4	4			353	242	1	2	1	2
Smallpox	11	7	21	9	6	2	12	9	42	7	11	3					102	36	1		1	
Still Birth	22	11															21	10		1	1	
Suicide							1		9	1	5						15	1				
Unknown	399	299	184	145	53	56	60	60	138	201	120	74	6	13	12	5	963	851	4	2	5	3

123

124

HANDOUT TWO- 1

DISEASE	<u>Were From:</u>						<u>Nationality:</u>			<u>Time of Year:</u>				<u>Length of Disease:</u>			
	Indiana	New England	Middle	South	South West	North West	Irish	German	Other	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter	- 1 week	1 wk.--1 mo.	1 mo. - 3 mos.	+ 3 mos.
Accidents (not specified)	64	2	26	12	1	14	4	8	3	42	23	41	28	26	18	6	2
--Burned	40		8	2		7	1			20	11	10	16	23	15	2	
--Drowned	43	1	9	6		12	2	2		21	12	29	14	4	1		
--Scalded	15		1	1		1				9	2	2	5	9	7		
Apoplexy	7	2	7	10	1	9				1					1		
Asthma				1		2				2	2	2	1			1	3
Bronchitis	13	1	11	7	2	10				15	8	14	11	12	9	2	11
Cancer	2			1		1					1	2	1	1	2	1	
Childbirth	27	4	14	6	1	28	7	5	2	23	20	28	23	38	30	11	3
Cholera	580	25	173	79	13	182	118	97	51	43	690	422	25	1192	137	11	3
Colic	11	1	2	10		4	1	1		7	8	8	5	24	5		
Consumption	380	26	174	146	24	266	19	17	18	285	300	277	200	44	97	116	489
Convulsions	140		9	8	4	19		2		51	41	51	36	94	38	6	5
Croup	458		21	4		18	3	1		124	88	153	135	393	71	5	6

123

126

HANDOUT TWO - 2

Diarrhea	180	4	12	8	1	31	.	1	5	14	72	141	11	58	108	41	16	
Dropsy	113	5	56	44	9	47		6	9	6	77	79	66	67	40	53	45	99
Dysentery	987	15	66	49	6	120		9	19	8	55	248	911	58	320	789	99	11
Erysipelas	96	3	16	33		25					5	2	2	4	1	6		4
Fever-Unknown	332	8	51	64	11	122		13	15	17	144	146	231	105	116	403	79	13
--Bilious	63		16	5	2	17		6	9	5	12	45	52	18	25	80	13	
--Brain	33	1	5	2		7			2		18	13	13	6	21	20	6	6
--Congestion	125	1	24	22	4	42		4	5	4	60	38	85	43	104	96	14	3
--Intermittent	35	3	5	8	1	8			2	1	9	10	35	6	11	33	8	3
--Puerperal	11	1	3	5		10				5	11	12	4	8	9	19	5	
--Scarlet	349		7	5	1	51			1	2	127	90	85	112	180	199	21	1
--Typhus	177	10	50	49	3	85		3	3	4	119	54	101	101	60	251	50	10
Gravel	6	2	8	3		3		1	1	2	7	8	5	7	3	14	4	4
Heart	15	2	8	5	1	3		1			12	8	6	11	5	10	7	4
Hemorrhage	9		4	3		6			1		9	4	5	5	9	3	5	1
Hives	37		3		1	1					14	4	12	9	29	8	1	1
Hooping Cough	162		7	2		13			1	1	41	70	55	20	29	98	43	5
Inflammation of Bowels	73	3	11	3	1	11		1		1	23	26	36	13	31	48	10	5
--Of brain	381	3	20	14	2	51			3		123	112	151	84	201	216	29	6

HANDOUT TWO - 3

--Of Stomach	5		2			11				6	4	5	2	10	8		
Influenza	16	1	4	4	1	2	1			9	4	8	8	12	11	3	2
Liver	43	2	18	12	2	21	1	3	4	29	29	33	13	13	27	24	21
Measles	117	4	6	5		27	1	2	1	43	68	31	22	29	105	14	4
Old Age	19	17	58	55	2	6	6	8	10	58	40	44	34	67	87	15	13
Pneumonia	299	19	80	72	8	108	4	5	6	250	136	79	131	160	341	64	16
Smallpox	14		3	1		2		9	2	51	15	13	60	60	111	3	1
Still Birth	33									10	10	10	3				
Suicide				1			1		1	4	6	3	3	2	1	1	
Unknown	1273	26	134	120	18	208	16	14	19	462	437	540	350	602	492	172	175

120

130

Handout Three

115

	<u>White Population 1850</u>											
	Age: -1		1-4		5-9		10-19		20-49		50-80	
	M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe	
Floyd	236	230	949	913	1037	1057	1670	1651	2978	2466	557	515
Indiana	16344	15636	68294	65613	79563	76369	123717	119673	179443	162212	37605	30348

Free Colored (Black) 1950

	<u>Free Colored (Black) 1950</u>											
	Age: -1		1-4		5-9		10-19		20-49		50-80	
	M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe	
Floyd	5	10	40	43	35	42	68	69	84	115	38	22
Indiana	161	155	772	737	867	915	1450	1390	1864	1912	569	393

Total Population 1850

	Total White				Total Free Colored (Black)			
	M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe		M//Fe	
	Floyd	9,445		6,856		271		303
Indiana	504,966		469,902		5,683		5,512	

Adults Who Cannot Read/Write (Over 20) 1850

	Whites		Free Colored		Foreign	Native
	M//Fe	M//Fe	M//Fe	M//Fe		
Floyd	352	550	68	81	128	923
Indiana	26,132	44,408	1024	1146	3265	69,445

Handout Three -- 2

	<u>Acres of Land In Farms</u>		<u>Values of Farms</u>	
	Improved	Unimproved	Cash Values	Values of Implements
Floyd	24,742	33,174	955,500	37,473
Indiana	5,046,543	7,746,879	136,385,090	6,704,444

	<u>Public Schools 1850</u>			<u>School Attendance</u>					
	No.	Teachers	Pupils	White M//Fe		Free/Colored M//Fe		Native	Foreign
Floyd	47	54	2,011	1,352	1,245	23	20	2,546	94
Indiana	4,822	4,800	161,500	119,496	100,538	484	443	210,227	2,734

	<u>Public</u>		<u>School</u>		<u>Sunday School</u>		<u>College</u>		<u>Church</u>	
	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	No.//Vol.	
Floyd	--	--	2	1,000	--	--	1	2,700	--	--
Indiana	58	46,238	3	1,800	85	11,205	4	8,700	:	400

Churches

133

Baptist
No./Members

Christian
No./Mem.

Episcopalian
No./Mem.

German Ref.
No./Mem.

Methodist
No./Mem.

Presbyterian
No./Mem.

R. Catholic
No./Mem.

134

Floyd	3	600	7	2,500	1	250	1	150	9	3,850	6	2,000	3	1,200
Indiana	428	138,783	187	63,341	24	7,300	5	1,150	778	266,372	282	105,581	63	25,115

Births, Marriage, Deaths, Dwellings, Families

Population	# Born in Year Ending 6/1/1850	# Married in Year Ending 6/1/1850	# Died in Year Ending 6/1/1850	# of Dwellings	# of Families	
Floyd	14,875	481	153	195	2,448	2,677

Indiana 1850

White M/Fe		<u>Blind</u> Free/Colored M/Fe		White M/Fe		<u>Deaf</u> Free/Colored M/Fe		White M/Fe		<u>Insane</u> Free/Colored M/Fe		White M/Fe		<u>Idiotic</u> Free/Colored M/Fe	
189	151	4	5	301	213	4	--	301	209	2	8	520	386	7	6

Pauperism 1850

Indiana	Whole of Paupers who Received Support By 6/1/1850		Whole # of Paupers on 6/1/1850		Annual Cost of Support
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	
	860	322	44	157	\$7,567

Population By Districts 1850

	Whites M/Fe		Free/Colored M/Fe	
Franklin	401	338	10	9
Georgetown	610	579	2	7
Greenville	935	869	2	3
Lafayette	605	571	19	20
New Albany	865	752	55	52
New Albany City	4039	3743	183	212

THE EXPERIENCES AND VIEWS OF ELIZABETH BLACKWELL IN
MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

by E. Jean Oppenheim

OVERVIEW:

This directed reading exercise is designed to provide students with some insight into the experiences of women in the U.S. from 1830 to 1860. The life of Elizabeth Blackwell spans the period of Jacksonian Democracy as well as the period of expansion and sectionalism. The readings provide some interesting comments on education and the role of women and girls during this period.

GRADE LEVEL: Junior and Senior High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES AND SKILLS:

1. Students will be able to make generalizations and inferences about the experiences of some white women during the mid-nineteenth century.
2. Students will be able to read passages and define the new terms.

PROCEDURE:

Provide students with biographical data and vocabulary before passing out the student reading.

KEY TO EXERCISES FOR DIRECTED READINGS ONE AND TWO

Exercise One -

1. Being told not to eat junk foods - watch your diet and exercise regularly for good health.

2. Stay healthy - maintain good nutrition habits. Genetically - color of hair, eyes may be like the father's. Also, sperm determines the sex of the child.
3. Seeing harmonious arrangements of color, exposure to pleasant sounds and smells, a healthy diet. Answer should be yes, the same conditions affect our senses today.
4. We like things with which we have pleasant associations - we dislike things which have given us a negative or unpleasant memory. We differ in our likes and dislikes because we have had different experiences or because we have not experience certain things.
5. Yes. So parents can help their children grow physically and mentally as far as their potential allows.

Exercise Two -

1. Keeping young people confined, without adequate exercise for good physical growth. Not permitted to be out of doors - forcing them to remain seated for long periods of time in uncomfortable positions.
2. Some of the required subjects in Dr. Blackwell's day are no longer a part of the curriculum - Natural Philosophy, Physioloey, Rhetoric, Elocution, and Logic, specifically modern-day curriculum does include grammar, history, science, composition on all levels of mathematics.
3. The "accomplishments" mentioned were French, Latin, Italian, vocal and instrumental music (piano, harp, guitar), drawing, painting and "fancy work", the term given to embroidery and the more elaborate forms of needlework. The accomplishments in today's educational curriculum would include both vocal an instrumen al music, art, and some forms of crafts. This will differ, of course, depending on individual interests such as clubs and organizations available for the students.
4. Girls are no longer hampered by unwieldy clothing and a necessity to confine themselves to "ladylike" behavior narrowly defined.

5. It keeps them from enveloping good health hits, and does not provide them with knowledge and skills they can use in later life.

6. Answers will vary.

7. Answers will vary.

8. Answers will vary.

9. It will depend upon orientation - but certainly the word "ornament" might be questioned.

Vocabulary words could be use to write a one - or two - paragraph review of the articles.

Key to Crossword Puzzle

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			
		E	L	I	Z	A	B	E	T	H	F	O	R	M	I	D	A	B	L	E	S	I	G	H	T			
		A	N			L		H	E					U		S	E	E		E	R	R						
		T	A	N		A		E	A	T		T	A	S	T	E	S		A		O	N	O	U	E			
		H		S	E	L	E	C	T	R		O	C		E	R		S	W		E	N	D					
		B	E	R		K		I			U	L		T	O	N	E	E	T									
		A				N	A	R	N		C	L	E	A	N				S	H		B						
		A	L	E	R	T		T	E	N	G		S	H		S	M	E	L	L	S							
		T				L					O	H			A					M	U	S	C	L	E	S		
		P	H	Y	S	I	R	A	L		I	T		E	D	U	C	A	T	I	O	N		S	O			

Related Activities (Directed Reading Exercises - Elizabeth Blackwell)

1. Students may be interested in finding out how many women doctors there are in their community, state, and the nation today, compared to the number of men doctors.

2. Another area of investigation could be to find out how many men nurses are employed in local hospitals and how many female nurses. The question that should be raised, of course, is why are most doctors men and most nurses women?

3. Perhaps a woman in one of these areas could be interviewed by one or several students to discover how her experiences differed from Dr. Blackwell's.

4. After they have done some investigation, the students might share their information in the form of reports or a class debate

5. There are several biographies of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, as well as her autobiography, that students may be able to find in their local libraries and share with the class. Her autobiography is entitled Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women (1895). One biography is Child of Destiny (1944) by Ishbell Ross. Her life and work are also included in Those Extraordinary Blackwells by Elinor Rice Hayes published in 1967. She is included in Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary, 1607-1950, Edward T. James, Editor.

6. Students should be encouraged to find other women social reformers of the period as well as individuals who preceded and followed her in the course of United States history. The diverse areas in which women were active long before they were recognized as significant figures will be of interest to young men as well as young women: the Grimke sisters and abolition; Dorothea Dixon and prison and mental health reform; Aigail Adams, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the area of women's rights and suffrage; and Jane Addams⁸¹ in the field of social work.

ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, M.D. - BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

In a period when most women were supposed to marry, have children, and defer to their husbands in all important matters, Elizabeth Blackwell is outstanding because she refused to let society tell her how to live and what to do. Much of her courage and ability to be different came from her own efforts and ability, but certainly her family background was also responsible.

Born in England in 1821 Elizabeth grew up with eleven brothers and sisters. The family was unusual because both her mother and father believed that girls should have the same educational opportunities as boys. Because her father disagreed with the established church, the children were not permitted to attend the existing schools. Mr. Blackwell hired private tutors for his large family, and the children were also exposed to family friends who were in favor of women's rights, temperance, the abolition of slavery, and other forward-looking social reforms.

When the family met with financial difficulties in 1832, Mr. Blackwell decided to emigrate to America. The Blackwells settled in New York. Financially, things did not improve, but again, they found good friends among the abolitionists and other social reformers. When fortune still eluded the family, they moved to Cincinnati in 1838. There Mr. Blackwell died.

Elizabeth, her mother, and her two older sisters conducted a private school for four years to support the rest of the family. Elizabeth continued her teaching career in Kentucky. Bored with teaching and disinterested in marriage (an almost unheard-of attitude in the 1800's), she began to think of medicine as a career. After two years of study with private doctors, she applied to and was turned down by every major medical school in the East. Finally a small college in rural New York accepted her application and she was able to continue her studies.

Ridiculed by her male fellow students and regarded as extremely odd by all but a few of her professors and the townspeople, she never gave up, and finished her medical degree in 1848. She spent the next three years in Europe, where she continued her training under still more discrimination because of her sex. She suffered a crushing disappointment when her eyes were seriously damaged by an infection she picked up from a young patient. Her loss of the sight in one eye destroyed her hope of becoming a surgeon. She returned to New York and spent the next seven years trying to establish a medical practice. Lectures she delivered to groups of women eventually gained her some support, and she was able to open a hospital for women and children in 1857.

The Civil War interrupted her plans to establish both a medical college and school of nursing for women, but she resumed her efforts after the war ended, and in 1868, the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary was established. Based on her demanding philosophy, it provided excellent training and hospital experience for women for the next ten years under the leadership of Emily Blackwell, Elizabeth's sister who also had become a doctor. Elizabeth chaired the first department of hygiene at the school and was instrumental in establishing entrance examinations and a longer course of study. She created a board of examiners with well-trained doctors not affiliated with the school who could judge the competency of the graduates

Elizabeth Blackwell returned to England in 1869, where ten years earlier she had become the first woman listed on the Medical Register of the United Kingdom. Her adopted daughter, Katherine Barry, accompanied her, and Dr. Blackwell practiced and taught in England until her health forced her retirement in 1876. She continued to write and travel, always a figure of controversy, not only because of her sex, but also because of her willingness to deal with socially-forbidden topics such as prostitution.

Dr. Blackwell died in England in 1910. Her major contributions to her field were in the areas of preventive medicine, hygiene and sanitation, and public health.

Personal data about Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D., from Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary 1607-1950. Edward T. James. Editor. Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 161-165.

Vocabulary - Student Reading #1

1. ADULTERATED - made impure by mixing with inferior substances
2. ENFOLDED - enveloped, embraced, included
3. PROGRESSIVE - advancing by orderly stages
4. FOLLY - a foolish or dangerous act
5. EMBRYONIC - the earliest stage of development
6. ENDOWED - furnished with
7. CONTRACTILITY - able to draw together
8. VULGAR - offensive to good taste
9. ILL-PROPORTIONED - unbalanced, out of proportion to surroundings
10. DISCORDANT - lacking in agreement or harmony

NOTE: These definitions give meaning to the words as they are used in the reading exercise. The words may have other definitions when used in a different context.

STUDENT READING # 1 - ELIZABETH BLACKWELL

What class is there that cares for the body? We leave it to our butchers and bakers and grocers, and their desire to sell and make money, no matter whether the blood is poisoned and the stomach disordered by their diseased and adulterated goods. They do not even dream of the delicate and wonderfully organized communities (bodies) they may injure when they distribute unwholesome articles to their customers. . . .

Let us consider . . . the Organic life of the body, and the way in which we can aid this life. . . . Each organ has its own special work to do, and understands better than we the best method of doing it. Therefore, in the organic life of the body we are not called upon to either furnish an object, or to educate any part to attain a certain object. Our part lies solely in placing the body in a position to work; in other words, in our duty to the organic life of the body we are not called upon to either furnish an object, or to educate any part to attain a certain object. Our part lies solely in placing the body in a position to work; in other words, our duty to the organic life consists in furnishing the following conditions. . . : first, freedom to work and second, materials to work with. In these two rules lie enfolded our most important duties to the body. . . .

Look at the first gleam of life, the life of the embryo, the commencement of human existence. We see a tiny cell, so small that it may easily be overlooked . . . And yet there is in that simple germ-cell something most wonderful - life: - it is a living cell; it contains a power of progressive growth, according to laws, towards a

definite type, that we can only regard with reverent admiration. Leave it in its natural home, tended by the rich life of the healthy maternal organization, and it will grow steadily in the human type. ...

Throughout this period of early life we remain spectators merely of the wonderful growth: it would be ... folly to attempt to interfere directly with this act of creation; but even here, in this early stage of existence, we have important aid to render. We must, through the maternal organization, present the essential conditions, freedom to work and materials to work with. ...No mother can determine the sex or appearance of the child; she cannot amputate a limb or disfigure the body by any direct violent action of her will; but the state of her health, the disposition of her mind, her habits of life, will materially affect the growth and influence the future constitution of the child. ...

...Such favoring influences are found in the daily life of the mother, during the early period of embryonic existence in the cheerful sunshine of the spirit that should so naturally enfold the new centre of many hopes, in the observance of those important rules of hygiene, regular habits, early hours, periodic exercise cold bathing, plain wholesome food and loose comfortable clothing; these rules are simple and easily understood, not difficult to be observed, yet are they of immense importance - they are the favoring circumstances of growth; they are our part in the work of creation.

As every object in nature has its use, and the degree of importance belonging to that use is indicated by the nature of its structure, we see at a glance how highly important to our well-being the use of the muscular system must be, which forms the largest portion of our bodies, which is arranged in the most beautiful and varied way, which is so richly nourished by heart and brain, and which, moreover, is endowed with a special power, which we find

in no other part of the body - the power of vital contractility

The direct object of this vast preparation is movement. Each muscle, in order to enjoy its proper life, in order to use the blood and ... fluid supplied to it and grow, must move, must contract, and thus employ its powers. We see, then, the necessity of exercise - the prominent place which it must occupy amongst our faculties during the growth of the body. ...

The tone of the whole body is lost by inaction. By the expression, tone of any part, we mean that natural healthy vigor, which is shown in the muscles by their perfect contraction; in the organs, by their steady normal performance of their functions. ... Thus from the neglect of exercise during youth, we have this formidable result to the body, a weakness of the whole muscular (and organic) system. ...

We find the same capacity for improvement which marks so strongly the muscular system, shown most wonderfully in the senses. ... Illustrations of this power of education in the sense are familiar to everyone's experience, and it is this power which gives to the muscles, in relation to our present inquiry, their special interest for it shows us that they are placed directly under our control; that it rests with us to give them their due exercise, and to develop the true life of which they are capable. ...

It is then most important in educating children toward the senses from evil influences, to furnish them with pure and beautiful objects. Each separate sense should preserve its acuteness of faculty: the eye should not be injured by resting on a vulgar confusion of colors, on clumsy, ill-proportioned forms; the ear should not be falsified by discordant sounds and harsh unloving voices; the nose should not be a receptacle for impure odors; each sense should be preserved in its purity, and the objects supplied to them should be filled with moral suggestions and true

sentiment; the house, the dress, the food may preach to the child through its senses, and aid its growth in quite another way from the protection afforded, or the good blood which feeds its organs. ...As the child grows, the necessity arises for uniting mental with bodily training; we must provide for the growth of the mind through the body, by asking the exercises of the physical nature of the expression of ideas and emotions.

Quoted from: Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D., The Laws of Life With Special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852), pp. 16, 69-73, 99, 105-106, 114-122.

Directed Reading Exercise One - Questions

1. Dr. Blackwell talks about diet in the first paragraph. Is there anything familiar about her words - anything someone might say to you today - 130 years later?
2. According to Dr. Blackwell, in what ways do mothers affect the growth and development of their unborn babies? Is there any way in which the father of a child affects the baby before birth?
3. What does she feel develops our senses? Do you think the same conditions affect our senses today?
4. Why do you think we like or dislike certain things? Why do we differ in our likes and dislikes?
5. Do people need to have any specific knowledge to rear children? Why or why not?

VOCABULARY - STUDENT READING #2

1. DIAMETRICALLY - completely opposed or in opposition to something
2. FORMIDABLE - dreadful, serious
3. INJURIOUS - damaging, harmful
4. CONSTRAINED - forced, confined
5. EXCLUSIVE - undivided solely
6. EXERTION - action, effort
7. ENGRAVING - prints or illustrations
8. PHILOSOPHY - the study of fundamental beliefs and the basis for them
9. PROPOSITION - a theorem or problem demonstrated or performed
10. RHETORIC - the art of speaking or writing effectively
11. PHYSIOLOGY - science dealing with the functions of living matter, beings
12. ELOCUTION - the art of effective public speaking
13. SUPERFICIAL - shallow, slight, insignificant
14. CALCULATED - designed, planned
15. FRIVOLOUS - unimportant, trivial

NOTE: These definitions give meaning to the words as they are used in the reading exercise. The words may have other definitions when used in a different context.

STUDENT READING #2 - ELIZABETH BLACKWELL

Now we shall find, on reflecting upon the method in which we educate our children...that the whole scope of education is diametrically opposed to the true principles of growth. ...The large majority of children enter school about the age of 7 years - they leave at the age of 16. Now this period embraces...all (the) remarkable changes of bodily organization which occur. ...The growth of the mind and the wants of social life, necessitate greater freedom of action - long walks, greater exposure to change of weather, to the roughness and accidents of the external world; therefore, all the texture of the body must increase in size and strength. ..

...What do we do, at this period of special physical growth? We completely ignore the body; we entirely change the order of nature and (impose) the most formidable obstacles to the proper growth of the body. ...The best part of every day, generally from 9 to 3, is spent in the school-room, where the mind is forced to long and unnatural exercise... (in an atmosphere that is not) fit for human lungs to inhale. ...

There is another serious evil besides the close air of the school-room; it is the injurious position in which a great part of the time is passed, leaning over the desks in study or writing. ...The seats are hard ...the body is wearied by a constrained position, exhausted by mental efforts; the muscles of the back ... seek to relieve themselves of the weight of the head and back by awkward attitudes - leaning on one side, resting on the desk, curving the back. ...

Now the object for which the children are thus brought together and subjected to such serious physical evil, is open to great objections, not only from the exclusive attention which is paid to the mind, but from the method by which the system of teaching addresses itself to the mind.

The instruction given at school is almost purely intellectual; the senses receive little regular training. . . Grammar, history, definition, composition, call for simple intellectual exertion - the natural sciences are very slenderly illustrated by sensible examples, and the poor engraving in the text books are often the only illustrations they receive. . . Girls of 13 or 15 are called upon to ponder the problems of mental and moral philosophy, to demonstrate the propositions of Euclid, to understand the refinements of rhetoric and logic. . . (all of these) the food of mature minds, not suitable to children. . .

The young mind has to apply itself . . . to such a list of subjects as the following: Grammar, Ancient and Modern History, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Astronomy, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Physiology, Rhetoric, Compositon, Elocution, Logic, Algebra, Geometry. . .

The teacher is not to blame for this wretched system of cramming. He is compelled to present as formidable an array of knowledge to be required at his school, as his neighbors do. . . The evil is in the system itself, which substitutes names for things; which fails to recognize the necessity of adapting the kind of instruction to the quality of the mind. This formidable array of names, and superficial amount of instruction, is required by the community and he or she is compelled to meet the demand; the system is radically wrong - no effort of the teacher can make it right. . .

We have not yet spoken of the accomplishments: accomplishments to be acquired with great labor, to a superficial extent, and laid aside directly when the serious duties of life commence. French, Latin, Italian . . . vocal and instrumental music, piano, harp, guitar, drawing, painting and various kinds of fancy work swell the increasing list. How many of these pursuits are beautiful and useful in themselves, and would refine and elevate life if acquired at the right time, in the right way. . .

The school-hour closes; the child returns home; not racing merrily along, with shout and frolic - the little girl must not slide on the ice with boys - she must walk properly through the streets; she dines, and then there are lessons to be prepared for the next day. ...

There is then for the school-girl, after the long hours of unnatural confinement, no opportunity given for the healthy action of those bodily powers which are, as we have seen, of the first importance to the young. ...

At 16, the girl's education is often considered finished ... (from this point on) pleasure is the chief object ... The knowledge already acquired has no connection with her present life. .. and what has been gained during these long years at school, at such a sacrifice to physical strength? The logic has not taught her to reason well on any subject - the mental and moral philosophy will furnish her no guide to goodness or happiness - the chemistry will never aid her in the preparation of wholesome food. ... She will never use her natural philosophy to make the fires burn, or ventilate her house. ... Little real knowledge is gained, but an evil habit of mind has been acquired; a habit of careless, superficial thought, an inability to apply her mind closely to any subject. ...

The life of the young lady on leaving school is little calculated to restore lost power ... the attention to domestic arrangements does not particularly interest her. ... With the large mass of girls, gossip and frivolous amusements become now the chief business of the day, they have had no serious preparation for life, they know nothing of its realities, its wants and duties. ... Novels are devoured to satisfy the new thoughts and desires that are springing up ... till at length the career is cut short - by

marriage (usually between the ages of 21 and 25). ...

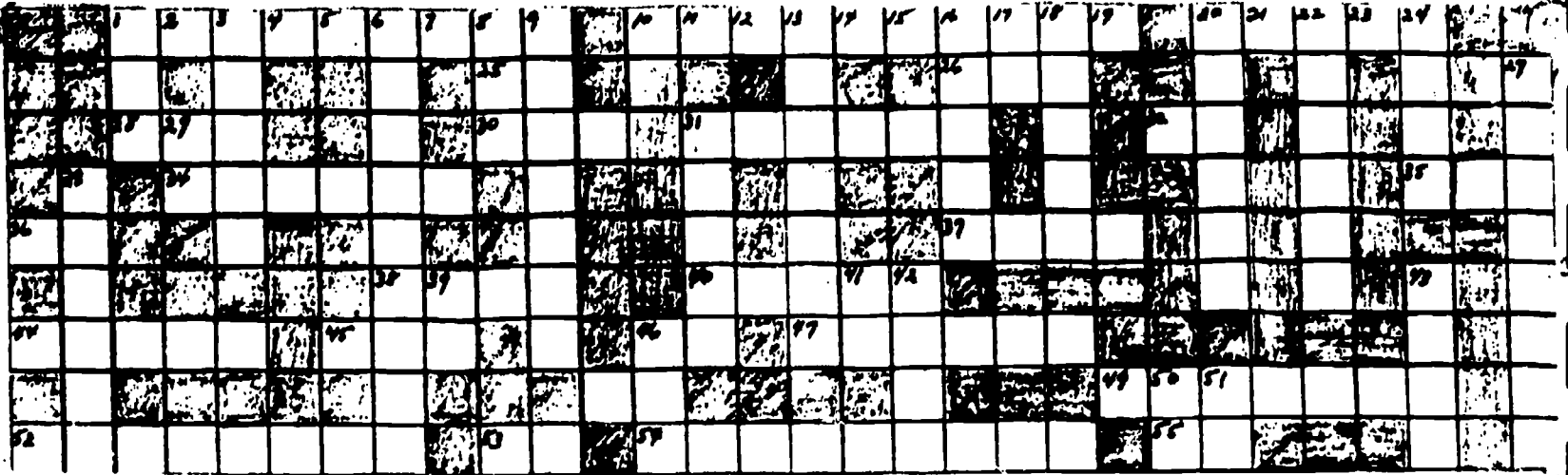
What a grand use those years of life (would) acquire - from 16 to 25 - if they were really spent in preparation for the active duties of adult life, for the part which woman has to play - as wife and mother, member of society, and human being! By the age of 16 or 17, under proper training, she would have acquired a strong, graceful and perfectly obedient body - her senses would be acute. ...The higher powers of her mind would be ready for orderly unflowing. ...The mind would now be ready for more direct education ... her tastes would now be known. ...

But mental cultivation would by no means be the sole object of attention. She should learn to know life in its varied aspects; while cherishing the ideal of life in all its brightness, she should feel strongly and hopefully that she has work to do in the world, to help realize that ideal. She should gradually enter into society, to learn, to feel, to know - and, in time, to take her place as its ornament and architect. ...

 Quoted from: Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D., The Laws of Life With Special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls.
 (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852 pp. 123-124, 126-130, 132, 136-137, 142-143, 148-150.

DIRECTED READING EXERCISE TWO - QUESTIONS

1. What are the physical things Dr. Blackwell felt were wrong with the schools of her day? How are those things similar to or different from your school experiences?
2. What differences do you see between the academic program of 130 years ago and your own? What similarities?
3. What are the "accomplishments" in the schools that Dr. Blackwell is criticizing? Do you acquire "accomplishments" in school? If you do, what are they?
4. How are the after-school activities different today for girls?
5. Why does Dr. Blackwell feel the education for girls in her day is not valuable?
6. What are some of the things you do in school, at home, or with your friends that will be valuable to you as you get older? What are some things that may be harmful?
7. Which, if any, of Dr. Blackwell's criticisms of schools do you agree with? If any, why? If none, why?
8. How would you change school today if you could? Why?

C R O S S W O R D P U Z Z L EACROSS

1. (with 6 down)
first woman doctor
in America
10. dreadful
20. to see
25. a male
26. your eyes
28. light brown
30. consume
31. samples
32. over
34. choose
35. finish
36. exist
37. condition of muscles
38. alarm
40. neat, tidy
44. aware
45. a number
46. quiet!
47. a nose's job
48. exclamation
49. body strength
52. (with 54 across)
training your body
53. a thing
54. (with 52 across)
training your body
55. in that event

DOWN

1. consume
3. inside
6. (with 1 across)
first woman doctor
in America
8. article (grammar)
9. function of ears
13. body strength
16. something of value
17. to exist
18. acquire knowledge
20. we have five of them
22. expansion
24. honest
27. a doctor's training
29. similar to
31. feel
33. condition
39. a single thing
41. exist
42. tidy, clean
43. occupied
46. a female
50. you and me
51. as is

EXPERIENCES OF BLACK WOMEN IN
MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

E. Jean Oppenheim

OVERVIEW:

This directed reading exercise is designed to provide students with some background on the experiences of black female slaves, Vvry, Margaret Walker's grandmother, and Linda Brent.

GRADE LEVEL: Jr./Sr. High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. Students will be able to make generalizations and inferences about the experiences of some slave women during the mid-nineteenth century.
2. Students will be able to read the passages and define new terms.
3. Students will discuss the problems of bias and reminiscences in the materials.

PROCEDURE:

Provide students with introductory material and vocabulary before passing out the student reading.

Introduction

Margaret Walker, Author

Let new earth arise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control¹.

With these powerful words, Margaret Walker closes the title poem in her book, For My People, written to show the strength and courage evident during the long years of slavery. With its publication, she became the first black woman poet to achieve recognition in twenty years.

Dr. Walker was born in 1915 in Birmingham, Alabama, and received her degrees from Northwestern University (A.B., 1935) and the University of Iowa (M.A., 1940, and Ph.D., 1965). She has received honorary degrees for her contributions as an author from Northwestern University, Rust College, Dennison University and Morgan State University. She married Firnist James Alexander in 1943 and is the mother of four children. She teaches in the Department of English at Jackson State College in Jackson, Mississippi.

Besides Jubilee, a selection of which follows, her first novel, Come Down from Yonder Mountain, was published in 1962, For My People, her first volume of verse, in 1942, and a second volume of poetry, Ballad of the Free, was published in 1966. Prophets for a New Day and October Journey are the most recent collections of her poetry. Her work appears in numerous anthologies².

Her reviewer in Contemporary Novelists had this to say about her novel, Jubilee:

...rich with history, numerous details of slaves' medical and culinary arts, clothing, shelter, and marriages are given. Their legally enforced illiteracy, the planned destruction of their normal affections for one another, their physical oppressions (ranging from the Black Codes to savage plantation punishments and Confederate murders at Andersonville) are depicted. Over a dozen episodes and circumstances reveal the slaves' aggressive feelings: repressed hatreds, aid to abolitions, revolts and escapes after 1861 ... to take up either guns or tools for the Union Army³ ...

Her scholarship and research lift the stories her grandmother told her about the life of Vryry very close to a first-person account -- one few slaves could have achieved because of the restrictions placed upon their becoming literate. In very few instances does she use soft words, and she avoids completely reverting to the stereotypes so often presented of the slave women.

Her own words, "For My People," express her thesis far better than any reviewer can:

For the cramped bewildered years we went to school to learn to know the reasons why and the answers to and the people who and the places where and the days when, in memory of the bitter hours when we discovered we were black and poor and small and different and nobody cared and nobody wondered and nobody understood⁴.

In her life and in her work, Margaret Walker has made a tremendous contribution of caring and understanding.

Footnotes

1. Margaret Walker, "For My People." For My People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 13-14.
2. Theresa Gunnels Rush, Carol Fairbanks Myers and Ester Spring Arata, Black American Writers Past and Present: A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary, Vol. II, J-Zj (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975), pp. 731-732.
3. James A Emanuel in Contemporary Novelists, James Vinson, Editor (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), p. 1426.
4. op. cit., Walker, For My People, pp. 13-14.

Vocabulary -- Student Reading (Margaret Walker)

1. **Antebellum** -- the period in the South preceding the Civil War
2. **Reconstruction** -- the ten to twelve years following the Civil War, 1865-1877
3. **Representative** -- showing or presenting a picture of something
4. **Legitimate** -- born of married parents
5. **Illegitimate** -- born of unmarried parents
6. **Compelling** -- forcing
7. **Blubbered** -- cried noisily
8. **Quarters** -- cabins where slaves were housed on the plantations
9. **Branded** -- a mark made by burning flesh
10. **Writhing** -- twisting to and fro
11. **Bequeath** -- to leave someone something in a will after you die

Note: These definitions give meaning to the words as they are used in the reading exercise. The words may have other definitions when used in a different context.

Student Reading -- Margaret Walker

Jubilee by Margaret Walker is based on the story of Dr. Walker's great-grandmother, Vyry, and her life as a slave before and during the Civil War and as a free woman after the war. In addition to a rich portrait of life in the antebellum South and also during the Reconstruction. Dr. Walker has created several characters representative of the different images of the black slave woman and the culture in which she lived -- Granny Ticey, Aunt Sally, and Lucy, the young slave girl in the passage that follows.

Sis Hetta, Vyry's mother, dies while having her sixteenth child. Jake, Sis Hetta's husband, and Marse John Dutton their owner, share the responsibility for these pregnancies, and Vyry, who is two at the time of her mother's death, was fathered by Marse John. She is the same age as his legitimate daughter, Lillian, and when Vyry is seven years old, she is taken to the big house to become Lillian's personal maid and endure the hatred of Marse John's wife and Lillian's mother, Missy Salina Dutton.

One of the many compelling incidents in Jubilee is the story of Lucy, a young slave girl who runs afoul of Missy Salina's temper and tries to run away. The following excerpt begins with Missy Salina telling Mr. Grimes, the slave overseer, how she wants Lucy found.

"I don't want her killed or mangled by the dogs.

We don't want her dead on our hands. That just means another nigger slave dead, though God knows she's not worth much. My husband is complaining now that too many of our slaves are either dying or unfit for work and the price of slaves is going up sky-high. We paid four thousand dollars for that last group. A good worker is hard to buy. Bring her back, but don't let the dogs get at her. They might tear her limb from limb." Mr. Grimes went away, but Vyry did not think he looked too pleased.

They did find Lucy and they brought her back, her hands tied behind her and Grimes pushing her ahead of him on the end of a rope. He threw her down in the backyard while some of the slave boys struggled hard to keep the dogs on their chains. ... Grimes knocked hard on the back door and told a slave to fetch Big Missy. His boots were muddy and he dared not enter the house. He had his whip doubled back and caught up in his hands. Vyry knew he was itching to use it, but waiting for Big Missy's say-so to go ahead. Meanwhile Lucy blubbered with spasms of fear and Vyry's heart beat painfully.

When Big Missy came out she and Grimes had a whispered conversation between them. Vyry strained her ears, but she could not make out what they were saying. Lucy looked as if she were having fits. She was twitching all over and foaming at the mouth, but they had her tied securely and she could not have gotten away even if the dogs had not been there. The slave boys from the yard were lounging around with solemn expressions on their faces and a few of the smallest children from the quarters idled up to the house and out of sheer curiosity peeped around the corners of the house and the barns. Big Missy went inside the house and did not come back. Suddenly Grimes went into action.

Vyry saw Grimes giving orders to the boys and they began to tie Lucy to stakes in the ground with the ropes, but Vyry could not figure out what they were going to do with her. They were tying her legs as well as her arms, and now they had driven a steel spike into the ground and tied the rope that bound her legs to the spike. Grimes now whispered something to one of the white guards and he went off for something. Then Vyry saw them building a small fire while Grimes was still giving orders. The Negro

boys who had been holding the hounds had taken them away and returned. According to Grimes's directions they squatted on the ground and prepared to hold Lucy's head down with their hands. Meanwhile the guard had come back with something in his hands.

Vyry did not see them when they actually branded the girl. She did not hear the hissing sound of the iron on the sizzling flesh. Her heart thumped in her so loudly and her eardrums throbbed so painfully that it was as if thunder were all around her and everything went black and red before her in a whirling wheel of fire and blood and darkness so that she dropped in a dead faint on the dirt and brick floor while somewhere back in her consciousness there was the terrible bellowing sound like a young bull or calf crying out in pain. When Vyry came to herself later, she did not now how long she had lain there, nor how much later it was.

Slowly returning to reality, Vyry remembered and she got up to see if Lucy were still lying outside in the yard, or if perhaps she had had another bad dream. Not a black head could be seen in the yard except Lucy's and she was writhing in agony and still tied down with the ropes. Blood was streaming from her face, which was puffed to twice its natural size and too bloody to be recognized. Nobody seemed to know where Grimes had gone, but far off in the swamp woods they could hear the hounds yelping and crying, so they figured that perhaps he had gone hunting wild game."

Directed Reading Exercise Questions

1. What are some of the ways in which a slave's life differs from that of a free person?
2. Do you think it was harder to be a male slave or a female slave? Why?
3. What do you think it was like to be a slave child?
4. What are some of the reasons slave owners gave for owning slaves? Are their reasons valid? Why or why not?
5. Why did slave owners separate families and sell children to other owners?
6. Why did no one try to help Lucy when she was being branded?
7. What do you think you might have done had you been a slave and seen another slave being so cruelly punished?
8. What might have happened to you if you tried to help?
9. What would you do today if you saw someone being mistreated by others? Why?
10. What were some of the ways in which people tried to help the slaves during the later period of slavery?
11. What reaction did this bring about on the part of Southern slave owners?
12. How do you think Lucy behaved after she was branded? How do you think her punishment affected the other slaves on the Dutton plantation?
13. How do you feel when you are punished for something you have done that is wrong? How do you feel when you are punished for something you did not do?
14. Why did escaped slaves write slave narratives? What were they trying to achieve?

Suggested Activities

1. It would be very helpful if students could do some background reading in the history and practices of the slave trade, slavery, discrimination, and racial conflict in the United States. Following is a short list of some books that might be found in high school or public libraries. There are, of course, many more.

Bennett, Lerone	<u>Before the Mayflower</u>
Botkin, B.A., Editor	<u>Lay My Burden Down</u>
DuBois W.E.B.	<u>The Souls of Black Folk</u>
Herskovits, Melville	<u>The Myth of the Negro Past</u>
Jordan, Winthrop D.	<u>White over Black</u>

2. The students may benefit from a simulated experience of slavery. Using color of eyes or hair, height, weight, or any identifiable characteristic, one group of students could be "slaves" and have to obey the orders of the others for a portion of the class period.
3. Students could plan a presentation of reports of the many records that exist of slave experiences -- Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, and Harriet Tubman for example.
4. It may be helpful to students if the teacher will check out some of the books by and about black people in their own libraries for students to read and summarize for the class. Some of them may be interested in reading Jubilee, which should be available in most local libraries.
5. There are a number of books which describe slave life. Some of the students could use these to prepare reports on the diet, recipes, customs, music, folk tales, and

family life of the slaves on Southern plantations before the Civil War. One that is particularly good for this purpose is Christmas Gif' by Chørlamae Rollins.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
EVERYTHING SHE HAS IS HIS

by Ann Crotser

OVERVIEW:

The purpose of the following lessons is to explore the legal status of women in the 19th century, paying particular attention to the situation of married women. The focus is on questions of women's property rights, grounds for and circumstances of divorce and child custody, the restricted contractual rights of women and how these affect family finances and women's entry into occupations outside the home, and the matter of a married woman's identity as it relates to the name she uses. Lesson 1 provides background information on women's legal status in the 19th Century. Lessons 2, 3 and 4 deal with specific issues. One, two, or all three of these lessons may be used. This material can easily be infused into lessons on the reform period prior to the Civil War.

GRADE LEVEL: High School

SUGGESTED COURSES: U.S. History, Women's Studies, Law, Sociology

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. Students will become familiar with some of the major concepts and historic origins of 19th century family law.
2. Students will become familiar with some of the people and events of the 19th century struggle for legal equality for women.
3. Students will learn to use a variety of original source materials in historical inquiry and interpretation.

4. Students may wish to explore the degree to which the present-day legal position of women in their state differs from or reflects the principles of 19th century law.

MATERIALS:

Suggested teaching procedures, teacher background, and student handouts for:

- Lesson 1: The Husband and the Wife Are One and That One Is the Husband.
 Lesson 2: Property--Everything She Has Is His.
 Lesson 3: Who Abandoned Whom? Who Gets the Children?
 Lesson 4: What's in a Name?

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Shana. Shana Alexander's State by State Guide to Women's Legal Rights. Wollstonecraft, Inc., 1975.

Ten chapters, each with introductory essay: When I Get Married; When I Have Children; When I Adopt a Child; When I Want an Abortion; When I Want a Divorce; When I Am Raped; When I Am Widowed; When I Go to Work; When I Commit a Crime; When Am I Old Enough; Am I a Full Citizen?

No longer in print, but if available, good for comparing how little or how much laws in these areas changed from 19th Century to beginnings of the modern feminist movement.

Kanowitz, Leo. Sex Roles in Law and Society: Cases and Materials. University of New Mexico Press, 1973.

Designed as a textbook for law school courses on women and the law. Good as a reference book

Kanowitz, Leo. Women and the Law: The Unfinished Revolution. University of New Mexico Press, 1969.

Narrative (as opposed to casebook) approach; strongly advocates changes in law as it affects

women. More readable to the layperson than Sex Roles in Law but at the same time more dated.

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds. History of Woman's Suffrage. Volume One (1848-1860), 1881.

Usually available in any large library on microfilm if not in book form. Has been reprinted a number of times. Many of the most famous documents and addresses can be found in the numerous feminist anthologies available today.

Wheeler, Leslie, ed. Loving Warriors: Selected Letters of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, 1853-1893. Dial Press, 1981.

Interesting look at the courtship and marriage of this reform-minded couple. Good to expose students to both internal and societal pressures on a family whose values were a century or more ahead of the times; can also focus on portrait of Henry as a 'liberated husband' or contrast life of Blackwell family to that of the Stantons.

Women Studies Abstracts. Issued monthly.

Easy way to find up-to-date journal articles; especially important if you wish to supplement these lessons with current material on the state of the legal status of women.

Wortman, Marlene; Stein, Linda; Green, Irene; Eisenbud Lesser, Adrienne. Women in the American Law: A Documentary Perspective from Colonial Times to the Present. Holmes and Meier Publications, 1982.

Uses court cases, wills, editorials, public speeches, statutes, and other varieties of original sources to tell the legal history of American women. Material is chronological and divided into four main topics: Marriage and Property, Family Roles, Limits on Occupational Choice, Crime and Deviance.

LESSON ONE:

THE HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE ONE
AND THAT ONE IS THE HUSBAND

PROCEDURE: Hand out excerpts from Blackwell's letters to Stone and their marriage contract. Have students work individually or in groups on questions at the beginning of the handouts.

After discussing student responses, provide students with historic perspective from the following background notes on the doctrine of coverture. Clarify legal terms using the Legal Glossary.

TEACHER BACKGROUND: THEORY AND ORIGINS OF
DOCTRINE OF COVERTURE

"AND Adam said, this is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh."

Genesis, ii, 22-3

As is true of other areas of the law, the legal status of women in the United States has its origins in English Common Law, particularly as interpreted in Blackstone's Commentaries. Under the common law, a single women (feme sole) who had reached her age of majority had an almost

equal status with men in control of real and chattel property, the making of contracts, and the right to sue and be sued.

When a woman married, however, she came under the wing, protection, and cover (hence the French term feme covert, and coverture) of her husband. just as she had been under her father as a minor.

"By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband."

Blackstone, Commentaries, 443

As later jurists put it, "the husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband."

The married woman lost both substantive and procedural rights under the law. The control and management of her real property went to her husband, including the right of conveyance (selling or transferring). Generally, however, the husband was not allowed to convey or dispose of her real property without her consent, although he did have total control over any rents or other income from it. The wife also lost total control of her chattel property which became his and was merged with whatever other property he may have had. All property owned by the husband prior to marriage and all property acquired by the couple during marriage (except real property inherited by the wife) came under the total control of the husband. In most cases any wages earned by a wife were also the property of the husband.

Procedurally a wife could not sue or be sued, unless joined by her husband. Nor, in most situations, was any contract made by her alone considered valid. And, since the wife had no separate legal identity, the couple couldn't give evidence for or against one another in court, or contract with one another after their marriage.

In recognition of the dependent position of a married woman, the common law did enumerate some spousal obligations of a husband. He was obligated to support his wife and children; he was liable for all of his wife's premarital contracts and torts during marriage, and was subject to indictment for his wife's criminal offenses. Moreover, the wife gained dower rights to his estate, this being 1/3 lifetime interest in his real property, to guarantee her means of support during widowhood.

Some other safeguards for the married woman developed under equity law. Particularly important is the concept of the wife's separate equitable estate, which she could hold and control as a feme sole, a concept which may have first been developed by men of property who did not wish to see a daughter's inheritance come under the control of an unscrupulous husband. Women and minors were able to use equity to sue for estate mismanagement. Particularly in the American colonies, the concept was expanded to allow women to run businesses as feme sole traders, thus expanding the concept to include situations where women could control chattel property and income, and make contracts. One must remember, however, that the relief offered women in equity law from a tyrannical, arbitrary or capricious husband was not a reality for the masses of women with limited financial means, education and/or intellect.

LEGAL GLOSSARY:

- chattel: article of personal goods; property that can be moved
- common law: body of law originating in England that is based on custom, usage and court decisions as distinguished from statutory law (the written codes of legislative bodies). In the U.S., if no statutory law exists in a particular case common law prevails.
- contract: legally binding agreement between two or more parties in which one promises to do (

- refrain from doing) something in return for the other doing (or refraining from doing) something.
- conveyance: to sell, transfer, or otherwise dispose of property.
- coverture: condition of married woman under common law by which her separate identity, and hence her ability to act alone, is suspended.
- domicile: person's legal residence; the place one makes his or her principal and permanent home for an indefinite period and to which he or she intends to return after an absence.
- dower: portion of real property that goes to a man's wife upon his death, for her use during her lifetime; after her death it reverts to his heirs according to his will or state law.
- equity: concept of justice that cuts through or goes beyond any particular requirements of the common law.
- feme covert: a married woman under the "cover" of her husband.
- feme sole: a single woman, or married woman acting on her own.
- real property: lands and other real estate; income derived from real estate; in some Southern states slaves were real, not chattel, property.
- tort: wrongful act (except breach of contract) for which the injured party can recover damages in a civil action.

STUDENT HANDOUT 1A

The following are excerpts from the letters of Henry Blackwell to Lucy Stone during their courtship, and the marriage contract read at the time of their wedding.

As you read these letters try to determine the following:

1. What aspects of the legal situation of married women make Lucy Stone reluctant to marry Henry?
2. What non-legal, but socially expected aspects of the role of 19th Century married women also contribute to Lucy's reluctance to marry?
3. How does Henry attempt to alleviate Lucy's apprehensions by committing himself to what the couple perceives as a more "just" lifestyle?
4. How does Henry propose circumventing current legal inequities and restrictions?
5. Why do you suppose it was "legally" important that the couple make their declaration of protest agreement to arbitrate future marital disputes prior to taking their vows as husband and wife?

Cincinnati, July 2, 1853

...I find that here in Ohio our laws with regard to married women though in the main founded on the same unjust basis as elsewhere are in some respects more liberal. The right of a husband to use personal coercion is I believe disallowed. Divorces are granted not only in adultery and bigamy, but also for fraudulent contract, wilful absence of 3 years, cruelty, gross neglect of duty, 3 years habitual drunkenness and for imprisonment for crime. All such divorces are total and the wife where the husband is to blame retains alimony and I believe power. Generally too in cases of Divorce the Courts award the children to the party not in fault -- though the general principle prevails that unless such an award is made the father's claim is paramount. I see too in Mansfield's "Rights of Woman" a Connecticut Court has decided against the husband's right to the custody of his wife and that it has been finally decided in New York that a

husband could not take away his minor daughter from his wife where the divorce rested on the own wife's refusal to accompany him to Nova Scotia to live. .

Marshall Clark Co., Illinois, February 12, 1854

...Now you know that I fully admit the injustice of the present law of property as regards married people (and indeed all others, in a more or less degree). But as to the right of personal custody however true in old fashioned times -- it is not practically so now at all and not even any longer true in theory. Consult any lawyer you can trust, in any state in the Union, or in England, as to whether a husband can control his wife's movements, or residence, and my life against a dime -- every lawyer everywhere will tell you -- no! Universal custom and experience proves otherwise -- positive judicial decisions explicitly deny the right. No husband can prevent his wife's leaving him - except by refusing to support her or holding on to the children. As you refuse, in any case, to be supported -- I suppose the first threat would have no terror.

As regards to the second -- you are aware that the custom has not grown to be a law in many of our States that the children are awarded by the Judge to the party considered not in fault. And we should remember that in cases of marital separation -- give the children to whom you will, there is hardship somewhere. It is rather bad for a father to give up a child. I hope you do not think that the male sex have no parental affection. I think in most cases, where there is fault on both sides the children should be divided. Where very gross criminality exists in Father or Mother, or both, the children should be removed from the one, or both. It is also true that under existing circumstances the fathers are generally best fitted both by position and by character to fulfill the trust beneficially

to the children. And it is really true or is it not that the welfare of the children should be made after all the paramount consideration?

The fact is -- while people are imperfect and make unwise and unhappy marriages -- there must be some law to judge between them. And let the law be what it will, cases of gross cruelty and injustice will sometimes recur under its provisions. Of course the law should be made as equitable as possible in its general provisions! But because these are general they will sometimes work badly. So do the laws of Nature in spite (if I may so say) of God's wisdom and benevolence. The fact is unhappy marriages are like diseases. Medicines only mitigate the horrors -- they cannot always do that.

You ask me if the laws placed a man in the same position on marrying, as they do woman -- would I marry? I say frankly -- I certainly would. I should indeed be cautious in entering into the relation and should first satisfy myself that you would not be likely to lock me up, or rather attempt so to do (for the law would soon get me out with a writ of habeas corpus, if you did)--^{2d}--I should require you to promise not to avail yourself of any unjust laws giving you control of more than half of my future earnings and ^{3d} I should place beyond your control all my present property. These I should do not against you, but from a sense of ³ personal duty and with your full concurrence. Certainly Lucy I should not act unwisely. If the marriage were harmonious the laws would not exist so far as we were concerned, because its provisions only apply where appeal is made to it. If it proved discordant and you proceeded to lock me up, I should let myself out by habeas corpus and sue you for assault and battery. I should go into business in a friend's name (a very easy and common matter) and you never could get one dollar of my earnings. I should sue for divorce on the general grounds of gross cruelty and neglect etc., etc. if the State did not grant divorce on those grounds at the worst I easily move

into one that did. I should steal at least half my children from you and put you to the trouble and expense of a law suit to get them back. If you succeeded I should shortly steal them again and give you the same trouble over and over till you compromised. In short I should be my own master in spite of much unjust annoyance.

Why then are women so terribly oppressed you may say? Because they have not, as a class, the education, the spirit, the energy, the disposition to be free! Give me a free man -- he can never be made a slave. Give me a free woman -- she never can be made one either. Surely you enormously exaggerate the scope and force of external laws at the expense of internal power when you lay such frightful and hopeless stress upon a few paltry enactments. The great evil I think, in our institutions lies here -- that they so crush the spirit out of people that they do not make themselves free...The first step from slavery is to seek freedom for ourselves...the next is to seek it for others and for all I think when a woman has taken the first step she need not greatly fear ever to suffer from dependance. The only danger she should guard against is to avoid trying to play herself the despot -- most intelligent, energetic women (and men too) do that thing. As to your proposition about preferring death to dishonor, that is all very good, but is in no respect a parallel case. You didn't make the external law and are in no sense responsible for it. The law of marriage existed before Blackstone! I think a wise person cannot be a conservative -- neither a radical reformer. Both are fanatics. Fortunately though I have faults, I am so constituted that I am not likely to err in this respect, but in others. You (in common with all radicals) with all your ability and earnestness and because of these, have a tendency to err that way.

But I have written an immense letter, all logical and argumentative, which (in a letter) is great nonsense...Lucy dear -- if I could express to you properly my view of matters and things you would see that as to marrying I am

right and you are wrong and you would marry me and be all the freer for doing so. Your views on the subject are warped from the unfortunate impressions of your childhood. I hope that your soul will be large enough eventually to outgrow these impressions. Meantime dearest -- love me all you can and believe me...

Cincinnati, December 22, 1854

...In your last letter you tell me of the pain you experienced at the idea of being placed in the legal position of wife. I am very sorry that you should thus suffer. But surely there is no degradation in being unjustly treated by others. The true degradation and disgrace rests not with the victim but with the oppressors. In this case the disgrace is more mine than yours. The Law by clothing me with unjust powers puts me in the position of the wrongdoer but it only puts you in that of the wrong sufferer and so my case is morally the most painful. But after all what is the Law? It is nothing, unless appealed to. It is merely "a rule of civil action" in case of such appeal. It exists only where it is invoked. And even there, by taking proper steps we can anticipate and alter its possible action. But dear Lucy unjust as is the Law, the position of a wife is based in Nature and is therefore honorable. All the perversions of Men cannot make the married woman other than a woman in a true relation to herself, to her husband and to her kind. So do not let this matter trouble you...

Dear Lucy, we will live a pure and rational life. We will not be selfish, or impatient with each other in anything. We will advise together and each live out our own nature freely and frankly. But Lucy dear -- do not feel constrained to marry me. Even now -- or even on the very day itself, if you feel pain and shrinking postpone it just as long and as often as you please. Now you are my wife in

sight of God by the divine tie of affection, I can wait as long as you please for its manifestation in this way. Dear Lucy you will break no faith and violate no compact if you leave me at any time either before, or after marriage. You are your own mistress and always will remain so. You speak of "Lucy Stone that was." You are the same Lucy that was and always will be. Don't feel badly on my account. Dear Lucy -- I would rather wait ten years and have no children than give you any unhappiness. I hope that what I have said about the legal position being no disgrace will seem as forcible to you as it does to me. I want you never to feel badly again about our affair. If you could quite understand my feelings towards you you would not. Still when you do feel so, tell me about it. I shall write to Elizabeth today and tell her how matters stand. She would feel much hurt if the news reached her through Dr. Hunt, or any other quarter...

As to your property dear -- it will be necessary I suppose to settle all your personal property on yourself. This includes your money in the hands of our firm and all other than real estate in fee simple. I do not know the law of Ohio, or Mass., but the best way will be to put it into the hands of trustees for your benefit...Then we will engage to share earnings on both sides -- you to get half of mine and I half of yours, so long as we live together. If we ever separate -- each to relinquish all claim to the others subsequent earnings and each to take half the children you having the choice. If the separation is from wrong conduct -- the right to control children to be decided by arbitrators -- one each selected by you and me and one more selected by them. In case of death either party may will his or her property to whomsoever he pleases unless there are children -- in which case enough to support and educate them, shall be reserved. Unless separation take place the surviving partner shall be the executor and guardian.

In case of death after separation, unless gross misconduct on either part has been the cause -- the survivor

takes the children previously held by the other partner and becomes their guardian -- otherwise -- the deceased partner shall have a guardian nominated by him or her in the will. Neither partner shall be liable for any debts contracted and liabilities incurred by the other partner previous to marriage -- nor (except for maintenance if necessary) shall have any claim to property acquired by the other partner previous to marriage -- nor shall the private property of either partner be liable for debts of the other. You shall choose when, where and how often you shall become a mother. Neither partner shall attempt to fix the residence, employment, or habits of the other -- nor shall either partner feel bound to live together any longer than is agreeable to both. All earnings subsequent to marriage during its harmonious continuance to be liable for family expenses equally, but all surplus of joint earnings to be annually divided and placed to the credit of each. It will require some reflection to plan out exactly the conditions which in case of domestic difficulties would be exactly equitable. I think however that the true idea of marriage is a business partnership in pecuniary matters like that existing between members of our firm. You and I will be joint proprietors of everything except the results of previous labors. In case of there being an only child -- and the separation involving no moral turpitude on either side we should share its possession taking turns. For the sake of a good example we will draw up a contract specifying our course under all these various contingencies of separation by dissention or death. But I feel and know so well that the first at least cannot happen, that it seems almost farcical for us so to specify.

Think over my suggestions on the previous pages. The appropriation of joint earnings to family expenses and the division of surplus is clearly the only equitable provision. Even among birds it is the office of the male to bring food and assistance to the female while she is rearing the family. To give the woman the charge of self support in

addition to that of nurturing her offspring would be a monstrous injustice to Woman far worse than the present imperfect system even if it were not, as it would be, a physical impossibility. The surplus, where any exists, should be carried to the individual credits and be under the sole disposal of each. I see no difficulty in the law for a loving marriage. I have just indicated it. But in case of separation and alienation no possible ingenuity can devise a rule under which injustice may not be done, nay must not be done to one and often to both parties. But I think the agreement as I have stated it, would be the best possible. Of course the infant should under any case except habitual vice of the grossest description be guaranteed to the mother...

Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell were married on May 1, 1855. The following protest against the legal condition of married women and contract between the couple to bypass existing legal channels in resolution of any future domestic difficulties was read as part of the marriage ceremony.

While acknowledging our mutual affection by publicly assuming the relationship of husband and wife, yet in justice to ourselves and a great principle, we deem it a duty to declare that this act on our part implies no saction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage, as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess. We protest especially against the laws which give to the husband:

1. The custody of the wife's person.
2. The exclusive control and guardianship of their children.

3. The sole ownership of her personal, and use of her real estate, unless previously settled upon her, or placed in the hands of trustees, as in the case of minors, lunatics, and idiots.
4. The absolute right to the product of her industry.
5. Also against laws which give to the widower so much larger and more permanent an interest in the property of his deceased wife, than they give to the widow in that of her deceased husband.
6. Finally, against the whole system by which "the legal existence of the wife is suspended during marriage," so that in most States, she neither has a legal part in the choice of her residence, nor can she make a will, nor sue or be sued in her own name, nor inherit property.

We believe that personal independence and equal human rights can never be forfeited, except for crime, that marriage should be an equal and permanent partnership, and so recognized by law; that until it is so recognized, married partners should provide against the radical injustice of present laws, by every means in their power.

We believe that where domestic difficulties arise, no appeal should be made to legal tribunals under existing laws, but that all difficulties should be submitted to the equitable adjustment of arbitrators mutually chosen

Thus reverencing law, we enter our protest against rules and customs which are unworthy of the name, since they violate justice, the essence of all law.

Excerpts from: Leslie Wheeler, ed. Loving Warriors: Selected Letters of Lucy Stone & Henry B. Blackwell, 1853-1893.

LESSON 2:
EVERYTHING SHE HAS IS HIS

BACKGROUND:

In 1839 Mississippi passed the first married women's property law. New York followed suit in 1848 and 1860 under pressure from Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The focus of this lesson is on how these laws changed the principles of common law and how the courts interpreted the right of married women to control their own property and earnings and to make binding contracts.

PROCEDURE:

Day One:

Have students read 1848 New York Married Women's Property Act, 1854 Address by Stanton to N.Y. Legislature, and 1860 New York Married Women's Property Act. Discuss questions listed for each reading.

Summarize the legal status of women in chart form to clarify which principles of common law had been modified and which had not. Reproduce in 8 1/2 x 11 form for students.

THE CHANGING LEGAL STATUS OF 19TH CENTURY MARRIED WOMEN

Principles of Common Law	As Modified By 1848 Act	As modified By 1860 Act	As Interpreted by Courts
Husband controls wife's property.	Wife can control own property.		
Husband controls wife's wages.		Wife can control own wages.	Only if she has separate estate.
Etc.			

DAY TWO:

Handout summaries of Switzer and Brooks cases (Handout 2B). Have students indicate what decision they think the court made. Then hand out the opinions and read them and discuss the questions following each decision (Handout 2C). Update the legal status chart where indicated.

LESSON TWO

Student Handout 2A

1848 NEW YORK WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT

1. What areas of common law are left untouched by this Act?
2. What previous objections to the marriage contract are corrected by this Act?

AN ACT FOR THE MORE EFFECTUAL PROTECTION OF THE PROPERTY
OF MARRIED WOMEN

Passed April 7, 1848

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly do enact as follows:

1. The real and personal property of any female who may hereafter marry, and which she shall own at the time of marriage, and the rents, issues and profits thereof shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband, nor be liable for his debts, and shall continue her sole and separate property, as if she were a single female.
2. The real and personal property, and the rents, issues and profits thereof of any female now married shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband; but shall be her sole and separate property as if she were a single female except so far as the same may be liable for the debts of her husband heretofore contracted.
3. It shall be lawful for any married female to receive, by gift, grant, devise or bequest, from any person other than her husband and hold to her sole and separate use, as if she were a single female, real and personal property, and the rents, issues and profits thereof, and the same shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband, nor be liable for his debts.

4. All contracts between persons in contemplation of marriage shall remain in full force after such marriage takes place.

Laws of New York State, 71st Session, 1848, N.Y. Page 307

ADDRESS BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON TO THE
N.Y. STATE LEGISLATURE, 1854

1. What is Stanton's assessment of the progress made by the 1848 act?
2. Why is she still upset at the legal status of married women? Which of these conditions did you notice when you analyzed the 1848 Act?

"...Look at the position of woman as wife. Your laws relating to marriage--founded as they are on the old common law of England, a compound of barbarous usages, but partially modified by progressive civilization--are in open violation of our enlightened ideas of justice, and of the holiest feelings of our nature. If you take the highest view of marriage, as a Divine relation, which love alone can constitute and sanctify, then of course human legislation can only recognize it. Men can neither bind nor loose its ties, for that prerogative belongs to God alone, who makes man and woman, and the law of attraction by which they are united. But if you regard marriage as a civil contract, then let it be subject to the same laws which control all other contracts. Do not make it a kind of half-human, half-divine institution, which you may build up, but can not regulate. Do not by your special legislation for this one kind of contract involve yourselves in the grossest absurdities and contradictions...

The wife who inherits no property holds about the same legal position that does the slave on the southern plantation. She can own nothing, sell nothing. She has no right even to the wages she earns; her person, her time, her services are the property of another. She can not testify,

in many cases, against her husband. She can get no redress for wrongs in her own name in any court of justice. She can neither sue nor be sued. She is not held morally responsible for any crime committed in the presence of her husband, so completely is her very existence supposed by the law to be merged in that of another.

But the wife who is so fortunate as to have inherited property, has, by the new law in this State (The Married Woman's Property Act of 1848), been redeemed from her lost condition. She is no longer a legal nonentity..

Look at the position of woman as widow...Behold the magnanimity of the law in allowing the widow to retain a life interest in one-third of the landed estate, and one-half the personal property of her husband, and taking the lion's share to itself! Had she died first, the house and land would all have been the husband's still ..The husband has the absolute right to will away his property as he may see fit...The man who leaves his wife the sole guardian of his property and children is an exception to the general rule...

Look at the position of woman as mother...The father may apprentice his child bind him out to a trade, without the mother's consent--yea, in direct opposition to her most earnest entreaties, prayers and tears...Moreover, the father, about to die, may bind out all his children wherever and to whomsoever he may see fit, and thus, in fact, will away the guardianship of all his children from the mother...Thus, by your laws, the child is the absolute property of the father, wholly at his disposal in life or at death.

In case of separation, the law gives the children to the father; no matter what his character or condition. At this very time we can point you to noble, virtuous, well-educated mothers in this State, who have abandoned their husbands, for their profligacy and confirmed drunkenness. All these have been robbed of their children

who are in the custody of the husband, under the care of his relatives, whilst the mothers are permitted to see them but at stated intervals..."

Stanton, Woman Suffrage
Vol. 1, pp. 595-603

1860 NEW YORK MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT

1. How many of the issues raised by Stanton in her 1854 address are finally changed in this statute?
2. What issues are still left under the common law?

AN ACT CONCERNING THE RIGHTS AND LIABILITIES OF
HUSBAND AND WIFE

Passed March 20, 1860

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

1. The property, both real and personal, which any married woman now owns, as her sole and separate property; that which comes to her by descent, devise, bequest, gift or grant; that which she acquires by her trade, business, labor or services, carried on or performed on her sole or separate account; that which a woman married in this state owns at the time of her marriage, and the rents, issues and proceeds of all such property, shall, notwithstanding her marriage, be and remain her sole and separate property, and may be used, collected and invested by her in her own name, and shall not be subject to the interference or control of her husband, or liable for his debts, except such debts as may have been contracted for the support of herself or her children, by her as his agent.
2. A married woman may bargain, sell, assign and transfer her separate personal property...carry on any trade...perform any labor...on her sole and separate account and the earnings (thus acquired may be controlled by her).

3. Any married woman possessed of real estate as her separate property, may bargain, sell and transfer such property, and enter into any contract in reference to the same, but no such conveyance or contract shall be valid without the assent, in writing, of her husband, except as herein after provided.
4. [County court may grant power to any married woman to (transfer) property if she cannot get husband's consent]
5.
6. If it shall satisfactorily appear to such court, upon such application, that the husband of such applicant has wilfully abandoned his said wife, and lives separate and apart from her, or that he is insane, or imprisoned as a convict in any state prison, or that he is an habitual drunkard, or that he is in any way disabled from making a contract, or that he refuses to give his consent, without good cause therefore, then such court shall cause an order to be entered upon its records, authorizing such married woman to sell and (transfer) her real estate, or contract in regard thereto without the assent of her husband, with the same effect as though such (transference) or contract had been made with his assent.
7. (Married women may sue and be sued.)
8. (No contract of a married woman carrying on trade shall be binding on her husband.)
9. Every married woman is hereby constituted and declared to be the joint guardian of her children, with her husband, with equal powers, rights and duties in regard to them, with the husband.
10. At the decease of husband or wife, leaving no minor child or children, the survivor shall hold, possess and enjoy a life estate in one-third of all the real estate of which the husband or wife died seised.

11. At the decease of the husband or wife (without a will), leaving minor child or children, the survivor shall hold, possess and enjoy all the real estate (of the husband or wife)...and all the rents, issues and profits thereof during the minority of the youngest child, and one-third thereof during his or her natural life.

Laws of New York State, 83rd Session, 1860, N.Y., pages 157-159

LESSON 2

Student Handout 2B

SWITZER v. VALENTINE (1854) 10 HOW 109 (N.Y.)

Caroline Switzer ran a boarding house to supplement her family income. In this capacity she leased houses and contracted with boarders. Mrs. Switzer borrowed some money from Mr. Valentine, using some of her furniture as collateral. (Technically she secured her loan with a chattel mortgage.) When Mrs. Switzer failed to make her mortgage payments, Mr. Valentine foreclosed, taking the mortgaged furniture. Andrew Switzer, a carpenter, sued Valentine for the return of the furniture, claiming that his wife had no authority to execute the mortgage.

In the space below indicate whether you think the court found for the plaintiff (Mr. Switzer) or the defendant (Mr. Valentine). Indicate legal principles in effect at this time upon which you think the court based its decision.

BROOKS v. SCHWERIN (1873) 54 N.Y. 343

In 1865, Mrs. Brooks, a housewife who worked as a domestic servant while her own children were in school, was injured on her way home from work when she was knocked down by Mr. Schwerin's horse. She sued in her own name for damages for loss of wages while she was injured. The defendant argued, among other things, that she was not entitled to recover for the value of her time and services because these belonged to her husband under the common law.

She, thus, had suffered no losses, and only her husband was entitled to sue to recover damages.

In the space below indicate whether you think the court found for the plaintiff (Mrs. Brooks) or the defendant (Mr. Schwerin). Indicate legal principles in effect at this time upon which you think the court based its decision.

LESSON 2

Student Handout 2C

SWITZER V. VALENTINE

10 HOW 109 (N.Y.) 1854

The evidence showed clearly that Caroline Switzer and the plaintiff were husband and wife and that the defendant knew this when he took the note and mortgage. That they lived together as husband and wife, that he worked at his trade, and that she kept a boarding-house. That she made the purchases for the house, made contracts with the boarders, and received from them their board. All this was done with the husband's knowledge.

Prior to the acts of 1848 and 1849, allowing married women to take, hold, and dispose of property as if they were single and unmarried, there is no doubt that for all purchases made by the wife with the knowledge and assent of the husband, and especially when the articles bought come to his possession, in the manner and to the extent that the articles in question did, he would be liable to the vendor for the price. They could be seized and sold in payment of a claim against him. In judgment of law, they would be his property and not hers.

Have the acts of 1848 and 1849 any bearing upon the question arising in this action? By these acts, the plaintiff wife may take by gift or grant, from any person, except her husband, either real or personal property, and hold and convey it, or any interest in it as if she were unmarried. Does this do more than to enable a married woman to hold as her own a separate property, and to dispose of it, as effectually, as if she were unmarried? Does it authorize a married woman to become a general trader, and make valid contracts, in respect to any business which she may be disposed to undertake...? This Court thinks not.

Is not the whole capacity which is given to her to purchase, limited to purchases which she may make on the credit of her separate estate, or for which she may pay, with such estate, or parts of it? And is not all the new capacity, which is given to her to convey or devise, limited to a conveyance or devise of her separate property?

Can a married woman who has no separate estate make now any valid contract which she could not have made before these acts were passed? In the present case, there is no pretence that Caroline Switzer ever had any separate estate...The property went to the plaintiff's house and possession, it was appropriated to his use, by being employed in a business operated as a means of supporting his family. He is liable in law for its price, and it could be taken on execution to satisfy his debts. In judgment of law it was sold to him, and was his property, and the defendant is liable to him for its value.

From: Marlene Wortman, et al,

Women in American Law:

A Documentary Perspective

from Colonial Times to

the Present.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why was the contract between Caroline Switzer and Valentine considered invalid by the Court?
2. What effect does this decision have on rights of married women to control property other than that inherited separately by them?
3. Is there any way, other than a separate inheritance, that a married woman could establish a separate estate?
4. What are the implications of this case for married businesswomen to get credit in their own name?

BROOKS v. SCHWERIN

New York, 1873

54 NY 343

At common law when a married woman was injured in her person, she was joined with her husband in an action for the injury. In such action nothing could be recovered for loss of service or for the expenses to which the husband had been subjected in taking care of and curing her. For such loss of service and expenses the husband alone could sue. It is now provided by section 2 of chapter 90 of the Laws of 1860, that a married woman may "carry on any trade or business, and perform any labor or services on her sole and separate account, and the earnings of any married woman from her trade, business, labor or services shall be her sole and separate property, and may be used or invested in her own name." This statute effects a radical change of the common law which gave the husband the right to the labor, services and earnings of his wife. The services of the wife in the household in the discharge of her domestic duties still belong to the husband, and in rendering such service she still bears to him the common-law relation. So far as she is injured so as to be disabled to perform such service for her husband, the loss is his and not hers; and for such loss of service he, and not she, can recover of the wrong-doer. But when she labors for another, her services no longer belong to her husband, and whatever she earns in such service belongs to her as if she were a feme sole. So far as she is disabled to perform such service by an injury to her person, she can in her own name recover a compensation against the wrong-doer for such disability. Under the seventh section of the same act, which provides that "any woman may bring and maintain an action in her own name, for damages against any person or body corporate for any injury to her person or character, the same as if she were sole." and the money recovered shall be her sole and separate property.

On the trial of this action it appeared that the plaintiff, before the injury, took charge of her family, and also that she was working out by the day, and earning ten shillings a day. The defendant excepted "That the plaintiff cannot recover for the value of her time and services while she was disabled; such services and time belong, in law, to the husband." The rulings of the court, in receiving the evidence and refusing to charge as requested, were proper within the principles of law above adverted to. If the defendant had requested the court to charge that the plaintiff could not recover for loss of service to her husband in his household in the discharge of her domestic duties, the request could not properly have been refused. But the request was broader, and proceeded upon the idea that all her time and services belonged to her husband, and that she could not recover anything for the value of her time or for the loss of any service while she was disabled. She was earning in an humble capacity ten shillings a day, and so far as she was disabled to earn this sum, the loss was hers, and the jury had the right to take it into account in estimating her damages. Suppose she had been a teacher in school, or a clerk in a store, earning a salary of \$1.000 per year, and she had been disabled one whole year, could she not have shown the loss of her salary as one of the facts to be considered by the jury in estimating her damage? She certainly could if she had been a feme sole, and under the present statutes she had the same right being a married woman. (Judgement affirmed)

Dissenting opinion of Justice Lott.

These provisions, while securing to a married woman compensation for personal injuries as her sole and separate property, and giving to her the right to sue for it in her own name, do not give her a right to sue for her labor and services unless "performed on her sole and separate

account;" and the earnings that are secured to her as her sole and separate property are such as arise and result from her labor and services performed on her sole and separate account; and it has recently been decided by the Court of Appeals that unless the wife is actually engaged in some business or service in which she would...have earned something for her separate benefit, and which she has lost by reason of the injury, she has sustained no consequential damages, having lost nothing...by reason of her inability to labor. This is placed distinctly on the ground that the services and earnings of the wife belong to the husband,... if she, at the time of the injury, was not carrying on any business, trade or labor upon or for her sole and separate account.

The facts disclosed in the present case do not entitle the plaintiff to a recovery for the value of the services lost while she was disabled.

She testified in relation to her working at that time as follows: "I was able to go out and work by reason of my children's being at school, otherwise, I did my work and the work of my family, my own family washing; I did my own work and the family cooking, had the care and nursing of my children;" and she said that since the injury she could scarcely do any of her work.

This evidence did not show that the plaintiff was carrying on or conducting any business or trade, or performed any labor for her sole and separate use and benefit, on her account, independent of and beyond the control of her husband, or that she herself kept what was received for her daily wages, or what disposition was made of them. Indeed, the fair inference is that she only worked out occasionally, and not as a general rule, and that at the

time the injury occurred to her she was enabled to be absent and do what she did because her children were then at school, but that when they were at home she also remained there, taking care of them and doing the usual and ordinary household duties of the family. What she did was consistent with the practice of a husband and wife in moderate humble circumstances -- to go out to work in the day-time and return in the evening -- contributing their respective earnings to the general and common support and maintenance of themselves and their children. There is certainly nothing in such a fact, alone, which can characterize the work or labor thus done by the wife as performed for her sole and separate account, or that shows an intention that earnings resulting therefrom shall constitute or form part of her separate estate, and that the husband shall have no participation in or right to control and disposition thereof. The acts of the legislature above referred to are an innovation on the common-law rights of the husband, and it was incumbent on the plaintiff to show affirmatively and clearly that he (the husband) was divested thereby of those rights, and that she alone had become entitled to the benefits and privileges conferred by them on married women. Those facts do not appear.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the judgment should be reversed and a new trial ordered.

From: Wortman, et al. Women
in American Law

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Under common law why couldn't Mrs. Brooks sue for injury?
2. How does the law of 1860 change that?
3. In what ways are a wife's services in and out of the home treated differently from a legal point of view?
4. Why did Justice Lott dissent?

5. Which opinion, the majority or the minority, seems to be more valid?

NOTE: Five years later, in a similar case, Birkbeck v. Ackroyd (1878) 74 N.Y. 356, the dissenting opinion in the Brooks case became the majority opinion. (Birkbeck sued his employer for his own wages, and those of his wife and minor children.)

In this case, the court ruled that in the absence of a separate estate of the wife, the husband's primary interest in his wife's earnings under the common law was not altered by the 1860 Act.

The Court went on to point out that generally wives living apart from their husbands were considered to have separate estates; but a wife residing with her husband must have taken deliberate actions indicating her intent of choosing to have a separate estate before she is entitled to control her earnings.

6. What kinds of "deliberate actions" do you suppose a wife living with her husband might have taken in order to get the Courts to recognize her as having a separate estate?

LESSON 3:

WHO ABANDONED WHOM? WHO SHOULD GET THE CHILDREN?

PROCEDURE:

DAY ONE: Review the principles of common law as they apply to the following:

1. Who determined the family's domicile (permanent home)?
2. When was divorce or separation granted?
3. Who got custody of minor children in case of abandonment, separation, or divorce?

It is suggested that students prepare a chart similar to the one suggested for the lesson on property rights and wages.

Pass out the summary of *Hair v. Hair* (Handout 3A). Have students indicate how they think the court ruled. Pass out and go over the court opinion (Handout 3B). Discuss the questions that follow.

Pass out Stanton's address to the New York Legislature and the 1861 divorce liberalization bill (Handout 3C). Have students read this as homework.

DAY TWO: Discuss the questions following Stanton's address.

Pass out summary of *Barry v. Mercein* (Handout 3D). Have students indicate how they think the court ruled. Pass out and go over the court opinion. (Handout 3E) Discuss the questions that follow.

SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIVITIES:

Write editorials opposing modification of the divorce laws.
Write editorials favoring or opposing modification of the husband's absolute right of child custody under common law.

Create political cartoons that illustrate and comment on the issues raised by the legal status of women in the 19th century.

TEACHER BACKGROUND: Evolution of principles governing domicile, abandonment, divorce, separation, child custody.

Review the Teacher Background provided in the first lesson.

Under the principle of coverture the husband/father was given the responsibility of providing for his family. Because he was legally responsible for the family's economic situation, he was given absolute power to decide the family's domicile. This allowed him to move his family when he felt it was in their economic interest to do so.

The wife who refused to accompany her husband when he changed the family domicile was generally considered to have abandoned her family and the marital relationship. This was grounds for divorce, where permitted, or legal separation on conditions favorable to the husband who was viewed as the innocent party.

Equity, a body of law that grew up outside the common law, did recognize that circumstances might prevail where a wife was justified in leaving her husband; generally this was restricted to situations where there was danger of physical violence and harm to the wife. Students should understand that standards of "mental or physical cruelty" in the 19th century or earlier were quite different from today's standards. Marriage vows required wives to obey their husbands and common law endowed husbands with the right to administer corporal punishment to wives as well as to minor children.

If a court did grant a divorce or legal separation to a wronged wife, the husband was still required (at least in theory) to continue to support the wife. The husband's health and financial means as well as those of his wife's, were generally considered in setting alimony. Wives, on the other hand, were rarely required to pay alimony to their wronged husbands, unless there was some exceptional

circumstance, like a handicap or poor health, even though their work had contributed to the family's economic situation during the marriage.

Common law also gave the father sole guardianship over his children and automatic custody of them in case of abandonment, divorce, or separation, even if he was the guilty party in the marriage breakdown. Again, equity law provided for the wife or some other party to be given guardianship and/or custody, if the father was cruel.

By the 1840's in the United States this absolute control of the father over his minor children had been modified by the "tender years doctrine" which strengthened the wife's claim to custody if the child was small. By the latter part of the 19th century this had expanded into the "best interests of the child" theory that applied regardless of the child's age. In McKim v. McKim, 12 R.A. 462 (1879) this doctrine was used to grant custody to a woman who had refused to accompany her husband to a distant place under circumstances similar to those in Barry v. Mercein. In this case the court argued that although the husband's legal right to custody is supreme "evolving ideology of the home was making it increasingly difficult to believe that a proper environment for child rearing could be created where the mother was compelled to return to her husband in order to be with her child."

LESSON 3

Student Handout 3A

Hair v. Hair (S.C.) 10 Rich 163 (1858)

Note: At this time South Carolina did not permit absolute divorce. In situations where divorce might be in order had it been permitted, the courts usually ordered a legal separation. At this time the court decided the question of maintenance provisions for the wife and custody of minor children.

The plaintiff (wife) married the defendant in 1853 after exacting from him a promise that he would never force her to move from the neighborhood of her mother and friends. Four years later the husband decided he wanted to move to Louisiana where he thought he could better his family's situation. The wife refused to go, reminding the husband of his premarital promise. A period of domestic quarreling followed during which the husband said he would go without his wife (at some vague, undesignated time in the future). A short time later, unbeknownst to his wife, he rented his land, sold his crop and livestock, and one midnight seized two of his three negro servants and left for Louisiana. The wife remained behind in possession of the house, furniture, three old horses, some staples, and one negro servant.

The wife then filed a request for an injunction against the husband to restrain him from disturbing her and her possession of the property he left behind in South Carolina until he made some adequate provision for the support of her and their small child. Custody was not an issue here because the child was only one year old and the father did not seek custody.

Indicate in the space below whether you would grant a legal separation to the wife along with alimony. Defend your decision.

LESSON 3

Student Handout 3B

Hair v. Hair

(S.C.) 10 Rich 163 (1858)

The question for the court to decide is whether under the circumstances the plaintiff is entitled to a decree for alimony. We are of opinion that the decree cannot be sustained upon the principles which prevail in this Court on the subject...

In South Carolina alimony is granted for bodily injury inflicted or threatened and impending...and affecting life or health. Alimony is also granted in South Carolina for the desertion of the wife by the husband. To these may be added a third class of cases, in which, though the husband has inflicted or threatened no bodily injury upon the wife, yet practices such obscene and revolting indecencies in the family circle, and so outrages all the sentiments of delicacy and refinement characteristic of the sex, that a modest and pure minded woman would find these grievances more dreadful and intolerable to be borne than the most cruel inflictions upon her person. She would be held justifiable in fleeing from the polluting presence of that monster, with whom in an evil hour she had united her destinies...

Except in cases embraced within the three classes above commented on, I am not aware that a suit for alimony has been sustained in South Carolina. The plaintiff has sought to bring her case within the principles of the second class. She charges desertion...

No divorce has ever been granted in South Carolina. Our Courts of Equity have, from an early period, exercised the power of granting relief in cases of desertion of the wife by the husband. The relief granted is a decree for alimony which is an allowance out of the estate of the

husband proportional to its value, to be paid to the wife at stated periods during the separation.

The question is whether the plaintiff has made out a case of desertion. That the defendant left her and removed to another state, is beyond controversy and not denied. But did he leave her in an unjustifiable manner? He most earnestly solicited her for years, to accompany him. At length, upon her persistent, I may well say, obstinate, refusal, he went alone -- without his wife and child. Certainly the husband, by our laws, is lord of his own household and sole arbiter on the question as to where himself and family shall reside. But she complains that before the marriage he entered into a solemn engagement, without which the marriage would never have been solemnized...My opinion is that he made the promises in the manner charged in the bill. But they created a moral obligation only. It may be conceded to be very dishonorable to him to commit a breach of the promises he made, in order to obtain the hand of his wife in marriage...Such a promise is nullity. The contract of matrimony has its well understood and its well defined legal duties, relations and obligations, and it is not competent for the parties to interpolate into the marriage compact any condition in abridgment of the husband's lawful authority over her person, or his claim to her obedience...

Stripped of all extraneous matters, the simple question is, did the defendant desert his wife, the plaintiff? It must be a legal desertion. It is not every withdrawal of himself by the husband from the society of the wife that constitutes desertion in legal contemplation. The conduct of the wife must be blameless. If she elopes, or commits adultery or violates or omits to discharge any of the important hymeneal obligations which she has assumed upon herself the husband may abandon her without providing for her support; and this Court would sustain him in such a course of conduct.

The husband has the right without consent of the wife, to establish his domicile in any part of the world, and it is the legal duty of the wife to follow his fortunes, wheresoever he may go. The defendant, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative, had determined to make his domicile in the State of Louisiana, and wished his wife to accompany him. She, preferring the society of her mother and her relatives, refused to go -- in opposition to his wishes. Considering the relative duties and obligations of husband and wife, as defined by the law, under these circumstances, who is guilty of desertion? The wife assuredly.

What I have said would constitute a sufficient ground for refusing the prayer of the bill. Yet there is another additional and sufficient ground of defense on the part of the husband. Within a very short period after the filing of the bill, he returned to the state for the purpose, I must believe, of inviting his wife to his new home which he had established in the West. He twice visited her for this purpose. To these invitations she gave a stern, angry, and insulting refusal. To the Court, in his answer, he renews these overtures and offers to receive his wife in his new home, and to treat her with conjugal affection and tenderness. Under these circumstances the Court could not give alimony, even if he was wrong in the beginning. Though alimony has been decreed if the husband makes a bona fide offer to take back the wife whom he has deserted, and to treat her with conjugal kindness and affection, and the wife refuses, on application by the husband the Court will, if satisfied of the sincerity of the husband's offers, rescind the decree for alimony

It is ordered and decreed that the Circuit decree be reversed, and that the bill (for alimony) be dismissed.

From: Wortman, et. al. Women in American Law

LESSON 3

Student Handout 3C

Address of Elizabeth Cady Stanton on the Divorce Bill before the Judiciary Committee of the New York Senate in the Assembly Chamber, Feb. 8 1861 [Albany, 1861]

Gentlemen of the Judiciary -- In speaking to you on such delicate subjects as marriage and divorce, in the revision of laws which are found in your statute books, I must use the language I find there.

May I not, without the charge of indelicacy speak in a mixed assembly of Christian men and women, of wrongs which my daughter may tomorrow suffer in your courts, where there is no woman's heart to pity, and no woman's presence to protect?

I come not before you, gentlemen, at this time, to plead simply the importance of divorce in cases specified in your bill, but the justice of an entire revision of your whole code of laws on marriage and divorce. If civilly and politically man must stand supreme, let us at least be equals in our nearest and most sacred relations.

The contract of marriage is by no means equal. From Coke down to Kent, who can cite one law under the marriage contract where woman has the advantage? The law permits the girl to marry at twelve years of age while it requires several more years of experience on the part of the boy. In entering this compact, the man gives up nothing that he before possessed, he is a man still; while the legal existence of the woman is suspended during marriage and is known but in and through the husband. She is nameless, purseless, childless; though a woman, an heiress, and a mother.

The laws on divorce are quite as unequal as those on marriage; yes, far more so. The advantages seem to be all on one side, and the penalties on the other. In case of divorce, if the husband be the guilty party he still retains

a greater part of the property! If the wife be the guilty party she goes out of the partnership penniless (Kent, vol. 2, p. 33; Bishop on Divorce, p. 489). In New York and some other states the wife of the guilty husband can now sue for a divorce in her own name, and the costs come out of the husband's estate; but in a majority of the states she is still compelled to sue in the name of another, as she has no means of paying costs, even though she may have brought her thousands into the partnership. "The allowance to the innocent wife of ad interim alimony and money to sustain the suit is not regarded as strict right in her, but of sound discretion in the court" (Bishop on Divorce, p. 581). "Many jurists," says Kent (vol. 2, p. 88), "are of opinion that the adultery of the husband ought not to be noticed or made subject to the same animadversions as that of the wife, because it is not evidence of such entire depravity, nor equally injurious in its effects upon the morals and good order and happiness of domestic life."

Say you, these are but the opinions of men? On what else, I ask, are the hundreds of women depending who this hour demand in our courts a release from burdensome contracts? Are not these delicate matters left wholly to the discretion of the courts? Are not young women, from our first families, dragged into your public courts -- into assemblies of men exclusively? The judges all men, the jurors all men? No true woman there to shield them by her presence from gross and impertinent questionings, to pity their misfortunes or to protect against their wrongs! The administration of justice depends far more on the opinions of eminent jurists than on law alone. for law is powerless when at variance with public sentiments.

If marriage is a human institution, about which man may legislate, it seems but just that he should treat this branch of his legislation with the same common sense that he applies to all others. If it is a mere legal contract, then should it be subject to the restraints and privileges of all other contracts. A contract, to be valid in law, must be

formed between parties of mature age, with an honest intention in said parties to do what they agree. The least concealment, fraud or intention to deceive, if proved, annuls the contract. But in marriage, no matter how much fraud and deception are practised, nor how cruelly one or both parties have been misled; no matter how young or inexperienced or thoughtless the parties nor how unequal their condition and position in life, the contract cannot be annulled. Think of a husband telling a young and trusting girl, but one short month his wife, that he married her for her money; that those letters, so precious to her, that she had read and re-read, and kissed and cherished, were written by another; that their splendid home, of which, on their wedding day, her father gave to him the deed, is already in the hands of his creditors; that she must give up the elegance and luxury that now surround her, unless she can draw fresh supplies of money to meet their wants.

Do wise Christian legislators need any arguments to convince them that the sacredness of the family relation should be protected at all hazards? The family -- that great conservator of national virtue and strength -- how can you hope to build it up in the midst of violence, debauchery and excess. Call that sacred, where innocent children trembling with fear fly to the corners and dark places of the house, to hide from the wrath of drunken, brutal fathers, but forgetting their past sufferings rush out again at their mother's frantic screams, "Help! oh, help!" Behold the agonies of those young hearts as they see the only being on earth they love dragged about the room by the hair of her head, kicked and pounded and left half dead and bleeding on the floor! Call that sacred, where fathers like these have the power and legal right to hand down their natures to other beings, to curse other generations with such moral deformity and death!

Fathers, do you say, let your daughters pay a life-long penalty for one unfortunate step? How could they, on the threshold of life, full of joy and hope believing all

things to be as they seemed on the surface. judge of the dark windings of the human soul? How could they foresee that the young man, today so noble, so generous, would in a few short years be transformed into a cowardly, mean tyrant or a foul-mouthed, bloated drunkard? What father could rest at his home by night, knowing that his lovely daughter was at the mercy of a strong man, drunk with wine and passion, and that do what he might, he was backed up by law and public sentiment? The best interests of the individual, the family, the state, the nation, cry out against these legalized marriages of force and endurance.

There can be no heaven without love; and nothing is sacred in the family and home, but just so far as it is built up and anchored in purity and peace. Our newspapers teem with startling accounts of husbands and wives having shot or poisoned each other, or committed suicide. choosing death rather than the indissoluble tie, and still worse, the living death of faithless men and women, from the first families in the land, dragged from the privacy of home into the public prints and courts, with all the painful details of sad, false lives.

Now, do you believe, honorable gentlemen, that all these wretched matches were made in heaven? That all these sad, miserable people are bound together by God? But, say you, does not separation cover all these difficulties? No one objects to separation, when the parties are so disposed. To separation, there are two serious objections. First, so long as you insist on marriage as a divine institution...you make separation so odious that the most noble, virtuous and sensitive men and women choose a life of concealed misery rather than a partial, disgraceful release. Secondly, those who, in their impetuosity and despair, do, in spite of public opinion, separate, find themselves beset with many temptations to lead a false, unreal life. This isolation bears especially hard on woman...To woman as she is now educated marriage is all and everything -- her sole object in life, that for which she is taught to live, the

all-engrossing subject of all her sleeping and her waking dreams.

Now, if a noble girl of seventeen marries, and is unfortunate in her choice, because the cruelty of her husband compels separation, in her dreary isolation, would you drive her to a nunnery, and shall she be a nun indeed? Shall the penalty be visited on the heart of the only guiltless one in the transaction? By your present laws you say, though separated, she is married still; indissolubly bound to one she never loved; by whom she was never wooed or won; but by false guardians sold. And now, no matter though in the coming time her soul should for the first time wake to love, and one of God's own noblemen should echo back her choice, the gushing fountains of her young affections must all be stayed. Because some man still lives who once called her wife, no other man may give her his love; and if she love not the tyrant to whom she is legally bound, she shall not love at all.

What do our present divorce laws amount to? Those who wish to evade them have only to go into another state to accomplish what they desire. If any of our citizens cannot secure their inalienable rights in New York state, they may in Connecticut and Indiana.

Why is it that all contracts, covenants, agreements and partnerships are left wholly at the discretion of the parties, except that which of all others is considered most holy and important, both for the individual and the race?

Thus far, we have had the man-marriage, and nothing more. From the beginning man has had the whole and sole regulation of the matter. He has spoken in Scripture, and he has spoken in law. As an individual he has decided the time and cause for putting away a wife; and as a judge and legislator he still holds the entire control.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What legal inequities does Stanton point out exist in marriage laws?
2. How is a marriage contract treated different legally from other types of contracts?
3. Do you think Stanton appeals more to logic and reason or to emotion?
4. What arguments would you use to counter those of Stanton if you were opposed to liberalization of the divorce laws?
5. The Divorce Act Stanton supported is printed below. To what degree does it correct the injustices pointed out in her speech?

AN ACT IN REGARD TO DIVORCES
DISSOLVING THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Section 1. In addition to the cases in which a divorce, dissolving the marriage contract, may now be decreed by the supreme court, such a divorce may be decreed by said court in either of the cases following:

1. Where either party to the marriage shall, for the period of three years next preceding the application for such divorce, have willfully deserted the other party to the marriage, and neglected to perform to such party the duties imposed by their relation.
2. Where there is and shall have been for the period of one year next preceding the application for such divorce, continuous and repeated instances of cruel and inhuman treatment by either party, so as greatly to impair the health or endanger the life of the other party, thereby rendering it unsafe to live with the party guilty of such cruelty or inhumanity.

The foregoing sections shall not apply to any person who shall not have been an actual resident of this state for the period of five years next preceding such application for such divorce.

LESSON 3

Student Handout 3D

Barry v. Mercein (1842) 3 Hill (N.Y.) 399

John A. and Eliza A. Barry, of New York, lived the first year of their married life in Nova Scotia. They returned to New York in 1836. When John's business failed in the panic of 1837, he indicated a desire to return to Nova Scotia. Eliza refused to accompany him, preferring to remain in the home of her father, Thomas R. Mercein. At this time the couple had two minor children, a son and a daughter.

In June of 1838, because both parties still hoped for eventual reconciliation, they drew up a child custody agreement to which Thomas Mercein was also a party. It provided that Eliza was to have custody of both children for approximately one year. At the end of that period, if the family did not reunite, John was to gain custody of his son upon his request and relinquish all custody rights of his daughter to his wife upon her request.

In June of 1839 Eliza again refused to accompany her husband to Nova Scotia and John was given custody of his son. Reconciliation now seemed remote, and John changed his mind about the agreement, seeking custody of his daughter through court action. In four separate suits over a three year period, the courts allowed Eliza to retain custody due to the child's "tender years."

In 1842 John entered a plea of habeas corpus against his father-in-law, an action requiring Mercein to appear in court to argue as to why he should retain the child in his home. Besides arguing that the child's delicate health and age (the child was 4-1/2) still required maternal care, Mercein also argued that the child was not being detained by him, but by his daughter, and that he should not have been made a party to the suit.

Indicate in the space below whether you would find for the plaintiff or the defendant. On what grounds?

LESSON 3

Student Handout 3E

Barry v. Mercein (1842) 3 Hill (N.Y.) 399

Opinion of the Court.

(The Court begins with a review of the facts involved and the claims made by each party.)

.....This brings us to a consideration of the legal rights and powers of the (husband) and his wife in respect to their offspring. The principle is thus stated in 1 Blackstone Commentaries 468: "The very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband." Their relative power over the person of the child follows as a consequence, and is stated in the same book (p. 478-9) to the following effect: the legal power of the father over his child is sufficient to keep the latter in order and obedience. The father is entitled to the benefit of his child's labor while it is living with and is maintained by him; while the mother, as such, is entitled to no power over it, but only to reverence and respect...

One consequence necessarily resulting from the legal identity of the husband and wife answers Mrs. Barry's claim to the custody of the child which...arises out of the (husband's) written agreement that she should retain it. A single passage from the law shows (the futility of this argument). "A man cannot grant anything to his wife, or enter into covenant with her, for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence, and to covenant with her would be only to covenant with himself." (1 Blackstone Commentaries 468). As an agreement, therefore, the writing was void. As a delegation of power, it was revocable...and in this instance has been actually revoked.

(The Court then goes on to say that even if it ruled that the agreement between John and Eliza Barry had been legal in theory, there would be no grounds for granting separate

maintenance or custody of children to the mother as might accompany a legal separation.)

.....The father has a right to train up this child as he has his other daughters (by a previous marriage), with dispositions to serve him affectionately in the business of his household...This may indeed be essential to the child's welfare, and I am strongly inclined to believe, will be better attended to by the (husband) than by the wife. It is equally his right and his duty to see that the child shall also be properly educated in other respects. The general allegation that a daughter may be well in the hands of a mother who chooses to leave her husband would, if allowed work an entire subversion of his right.

.....Let it be taken, however, that evidence of a propensity on his part wilfully to withdraw his child beyond the reach of maternal care should form a ground for our refusing to interfere in his favor; the attempt to make out such a case on the circumstances before us is a very extraordinary one. We have seen this man for years soliciting the woman to go with the child and aid him in its nurture...He has manifested an anxiety which nothing could repress, that they should both come to the home he has prepared and the table he has spread for them. Or, if his wife's better feeling should revive (at some time in the future) and she were to follow after him and his child, he would no doubt joyfully receive her.

.....I have listened in vain for a single (argument) that there would be danger in this woman returning to the (husband). From all we can collect, I am inclined to think she would stand in as little danger from his temper as from his morals...Nothing has occurred which was legally sufficient to authorize a decree of separation...No corporal violence or menace of corporal violence has at any state of the controversy been presented...His affections have been unwarrantably trifled with; and it is by no means the least evidence in his favor that during the course of a tedious

litigation he has been the more unwavering in his suit, (hoping) that success would (lead) to a restoration of his conjugal rights.

.....Clearly...the conduct of the (husband) has been such as to leave her without excuse (for keepig the child). If she still continues in a state of separation, the consideration of a few facts will be sufficient to remove all objection against the child being restored to the husband: Indeed, dispel all fear of its welfare in his hands. That he now commands a comfortable home with adequate means for supporting the child, is (not) denied. He is at the head of an interesting family, mostly I believe, daughters, who have been bred under his care in the best manner; some of them from childhood to age. That he is qualified, and eminently so for the moral and mental instruction of this child is clear. That in his family the child can and will derive, from his daughters and other means, care and attention fully proportioned to its physical wants, we have reason to be confident. Besides, the next oldest child of the marriage with Mrs. Barry, with her consent and that of her relatives, has been left in the exclusive charge of the (husband) from an age still younger than that of the child whose custody she claims to withhold. The condition of the older child has been open to inquiry, and yet we hear not a pretense that its custody could have been more properly bestowed. In short, we know that the (husband) ranks well as a man of intellect and education. We have evidence that, though not affluent, he is yet a man of business and enterprise, in the prime of life and health, of sound morals and estimable character, with a comfortable home and every means and disposition to take proper care of the child whose custody he sues for...

.....The claim of the husband has throughout been allowed to be paramount by everybody except the wife. It has not been denied that he is the legal head of the whole family; wife and children inclusive; and I have heard it urged from no

quarter that he should be brought under subjection to a household democracy. All will agree that such a measure would extend the right of suffrage quite too far. Yet I do not see how defense can be sustained unless we are prepared to go that length. Marriage is indeed regarded by our law as a mere civil contract, but not such a one as is capable of repudiation by a majority of the family, or even the assent of the whole...Its obligations should be maintained in all their ancient rigor.

.....The merits of the case lie within a narrow compass. The (husband) is the father of the child...Mrs. Barry, who had before deserted her husband, persists in the purpose of continuing the separation and claims the right to detain the child from the custody of its father. In this she is seconded and maintained by the defendant, with whom she lives...There has been no impeachment of the moral character of the (husband) nor is there anything to show a want of capacity on his part for the proper care and training of the child. He is in all respects as well qualified as the mother for the proper discharge of parental duties, and so far as relates to a just sense of the obligation of marriage vows, he stands most decidedly on the vantage ground. The question then is, which of these parties, the father or the mother, has the best title to the custody of the child? The opinion of this court has been repeatedly expressed, that by the law of the land the claims of the father are superior to those of the mother. .

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why was the wife's father a party to the separation agreement?
2. Why did the Court declare the separation-custody agreement invalid?
3. Who did the Court consider morally and legally responsible for the breakup of this marriage? Why?

4. The Court indicates that even if it had felt Mrs. Barry was entitled to legal separation from her husband, it would have given custody of the child to Mr. Barry. Why?
5. Why do you suppose the common law gave the husband an absolute right to choose his family's domicile? Why does this have such an impact in the United States for family life?
6. Would the Court have made a different decision if the 1861 New York Divorce Bill had been passed into law at the time?

LESSON 4
WHAT'S IN A NAME?

PROCEDURE:

Have students read handouts concerning Lucy Stone's decision to use her maiden name. Discuss the following questions:

1. Why do you think Lucy Stone felt that using her married surname was a "personal mark of bondage?"
2. What kinds of social and legal problems did she encounter in trying to use her maiden name?

SUPPLEMENTAL ACTIVITIES:

Assign a student, or a group of students, to find out specific, current laws in their state concerning marriage and divorce and a woman's name.

Draw up a questionnaire concerning the idea of women retaining their maiden names upon marriage (preferably one which would indicate the degree to which the respondent holds a particular opinion). Administer the survey (perhaps to both students and adults) and compile the results; compare how different sexes and age groups feel.

Find contemporary cartoons that illustrate the idea that women often lose their identity in marriage and gain a new one based on the status and achievement of their husbands.

LESSON 4

Student Handout 4A

(After her marriage) Lucy (Stone) acted to rid herself of a personal mark of bondage. While a student at Oberlin, she had come upon the words in a textbook, "Women are more sunk by marriage than men," and when, playing devil's advocate, she asked her professor why this was so, he replied that it was because married women lost their names and became identified with their husband's families. His answer made a strong impression on Lucy; according to Antoinette Brown, she brooded over the matter for days afterward. Yet though she regarded a wife's loss of her name as a terrible injustice, she wasn't ready to do anything about it at the time of her own marriage. Instead she settled for a halfway measure: Like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who used her maiden name along with her married name, she would be called Lucy Stone Blackwell. This was the name that appeared on her wedding card, in the announcement of her marriage in The Liberator, and in various other notices of meetings she attended during the first year of her marriage. Lucy may have hesitated to take the final step and call herself Lucy Stone because, in spite of all Henry's attempts at reassurance, she harbored strong doubts as to whether she could, in fact, go on being Lucy Stone after she was married. She also may have waited until she had had an opportunity to post herself on the legal side of the question. She did consult three different lawyers and was assured that there was no law requiring a wife to take her husband's name.

Whatever the reasons for her hesitation, by July of 1856 she was ready to proclaim herself "Lucy Stone (only)." She instructed Susan B. Anthony to leave off the Blackwell from her name in the announcement of a forthcoming woman's rights convention, and when, several months later, she discovered that her request hadn't been complied with, she

reacted emotionally. To Susan she wrote: "At first it made me faint and sick until a flood of tears relieved me...O! Susan it seems to me, that it has wrought a wrong on me that it will take many years to wear out...I have lost something which has darkened all my heavens. Hereafter, I shall work, but with less of hope and courage."

The extremeness of Lucy's reaction showed how crucial to her sense of self her name was. As Lucy Stone she had defied the conventional notions of woman's sphere, first by going to college, and then by becoming a public lecturer. The name was associated with both her early struggles and later triumphs; it stood for all she had gained, and all she had feared to lose in marriage. Just when she wanted the world to know that Lucy Stone had survived marriage with her separate identity intact, it came as a cruel blow to discover that the recognition of her latest, and in many ways most important victory had been denied. Moreover, the cruelty may have been intentional, since Susan B. Anthony had never been pleased with Lucy's marriage.

No wonder then that Lucy felt wounded and betrayed, but as she had promised Susan, she continued to work for woman's rights.

From: Wheeler, Loving
Warriors, 162-3

In the summer of 1879 Henry traveled to Europe to purchase sugar refining equipment in Germany. Ever since they were first married, he and Lucy had talked of a European trip, but now as Lucy's overpowering sense of duty to the cause kept her bound to Boston and the Journal, Alice went in her place.

Lucy, meanwhile, was embroiled in a controversy connected with her refusal to use her husband's name. In nearly twenty-five years of married life, her insistence on being called Lucy Stone had created certain difficulties.

To avoid misunderstandings when she and Henry traveled together, she had to sign hotel registers as "Lucy Stone, wife of Henry B. Blackwell," and since most judges, lawyers, and other bureaucrats refused to accept her maiden name, she was forced to use this form in signing legal documents. The only administrative area where her use of her maiden name went unchallenged was that of taxes. The various states where she resided were perfectly willing to accept her tax money under whatever name she chose to use.

Although an important principle was involved in a wife's right to her name, Lucy did not publicly campaign for this right in the pages of the Journal, perhaps because she didn't want to hinder the cause of suffrage by linking it with another unpopular cause, and also because there were, in fact, no laws requiring wives to take their husbands' names. But if she thought that, in her case at least, the battle had already been won, she was proved wrong in the spring of 1879 when she tried to register to vote. In April Massachusetts passed a bill giving women the right to vote for members of the school committee. Lucy went to the assessor's office, paid the required two-dollar poll tax, and took her receipted bill to the board of registrars. However, late in May she received a communication from the assessor's office to the effect that she must amend her application to be assessed because it had been made under the name of Lucy Stone, or she couldn't register. She wrote back to say "that my name is Lucy Stone, and nothing more. I have been called by it more than 60 years, and there is no doubt whatever about it. If the use of a foot- or cart-path 20 years gives the right of way, surely the use of a name three times 20 years should secure the right to its use. There is no law requiring a wife to take her husband's name." She was perfectly right on the last point, but this didn't prevent the board of registrars from extending its decision in her case to a general ruling made in August that "a married woman must vote bearing her husband's surname."

Armed with this ruling, the board wrote to inform Lucy on November 25 that her registration as "Lucy Stone" had been annulled, and her name struck from the voting list. Only if she signed her name Lucy Blackwell would she be permitted to register. Lucy tried to circumvent the ruling by offering to use the form "Lucy Stone, wife of Henry B. Blackwell," but the Board promptly replied that her proposed form of registration was unacceptable.

The board's decision infuriated Henry as well as Lucy. Alice later said that she had never seen her father more indignant than on this occasion. He suggested that he and Alice go before the registrar and swear that they had known Lucy Stone for twenty years, and that that was her name. But aside from Lucy's written appeals first to the assessor's office, and then to the board of registrars nothing was done. Although the controversy made the headlines in the Boston and New York papers, the Journal didn't enter into it, nor did Lucy take her case to the courts. She apparently felt that school suffrage wasn't worth the fuss -- when Massachusetts extended municipal suffrage to women, then she might fight. Moreover, she was probably aware that she had little hope of winning her case should she take it to court. Public opinion remained strongly against a wife's using any name other than her husband's, and even though Lucy was admired for her suffrage work, her use of her maiden name was regarded as unfortunate. As the Boston Post editorialized: "We yield to no one in our respect for the lady who has labored with so much devotion...to break down the barriers which she has believed kept her sex from its full rights and privileges....But...we hope there will be no change in the present custom by which the wife takes the name of her husband.

From: Wheeler, Loving
Warriors, 259-61



Integrating Women into U.S. History

A Sourcebook

Part II: Women in the
20th Century

Created by the participants in the
NEH funded Summer Institute for
Secondary School History Teachers
held at Indiana University, summer 1982.
Grant #ES-1934-81

Experimental Edition

PREFACE

In 1982 the pilot version of Integrating Women into U.S. History: A Sourcebook was compiled. It contained a series of lessons aimed at supplementing the limited (or non-existent) material dealing with women's history normally found in junior and senior high school American history textbooks. The lessons in the Sourcebook were the result of an intensive summer institute dealing with women's history which was held on the Indiana University campus in July 1982. Teachers participating in the institute and contributing lessons to the Sourcebook were:

Penny A. Calto	Bruce Hunsicker
Barbara Carson-McHale	John L. Krueger
Anne Crotser	Debbie McCoy
Richard Davis	Kent O'Neil-Sprague
Rosalind Mary Fishman	E. Jean Oppenheim
Janice Guy	Anne M. Roberts
Stan Harris	Sammy Jean Ruetenik
Ellen L. Hendricks	Shelly Singer
Evelyn Holt	Marjorie Louise Smith

These teachers and their colleagues field-tested the lessons during the 1982-83 school year. Guided by the results of the testing, the Sourcebook has now been fully revised. All the lessons included in the pilot version of the Sourcebook have been included in this revised edition, though many have been expanded to cover the topics they address more fully. In addition, several new lessons have been included, and four introductory essays dealing with American women's history have been added. An historiographical essay, intended as teacher background, has also been added. The format of the Sourcebook has been revised in an effort to make using the lessons and duplicating material for students easier.

This project was funded by the National Endowment for
the Humanities.

Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana
November 1983

1982 Project Staff
D'Ann Campbell
Howard D. Mehlinger
Joan Gunderson
Linda S. Wojtan

1983 Editors
Sheila Culbert
Jane E. Gastineau

INTRODUCTION: AMERICAN WOMEN 1870-1920

The "cracks" in woman's sphere that had begun to appear before the civil war widened in the years between 1870 and 1920 as working-class women joined the wage labor force in increasing numbers, and middle- and upper-class women spearheaded programs of social reform. Women's public roles as workers and reformers continued to be defined in terms of the duties of woman's sphere, however: female workers sought wages in order to care for their families not to further personal gain, and female reformers sought to extend women's traditional moral, self-sacrificing, nurturing influence into the larger society. In other words, the "public" woman stretched but did not break the mold of the "true" woman.

Most female workers during this period were European immigrants or blacks. The largest number became domestic servants, working long hours at low wages with little or no privacy or free time. After 1890, however, fewer immigrant women entered domestic service and black women became virtually a servant class. Immigrant women, especially those who were young and unmarried, entered the industrial workforce where they were funnelled into low-wage, low-status "women's" jobs in factories and sweatshops. Their wages helped support their families - parents and brothers and sisters - in an age when few working-class individuals earned a living wage. When these young women married, they usually left the industrial labor force in favor of home work (sewing, making artificial flowers, etc.) or taking in boarders. Whether they remained in the factory or worked at home, however, working-class wives and mothers struggled under the double burden of domestic duties and wage earning.

Middle- and upper-class women stretched the boundaries of woman's sphere in other ways. This first generation of college-educated women sought an outlet for their knowledge

and energy in a number of activities that historians have called "social housekeeping." Arguing that society at large needed women's moral, nurturing influence these women established nationwide organizations to further a wide variety of social reforms. The Women's Christian Temperance Union worked not only for temperance but for passage of protective labor legislation and women's suffrage. The General Federation of Women's Clubs worked to reform municipal governments, improve slum housing conditions, and revamp the juvenile justice system. The Woman's Trade Union League, which included working-class women as well, participated in labor union activities and strikes. Women in the settlement house movement supported all these reforms and more. Through these and other organizations, women worked in the forefront of the Progressive movement.

Experience in the workforce and social reform activities led inevitably to the male domains of economic power and politics and helped make the women's suffrage issue of paramount importance to many women of all classes. In 1890 the two factions of the suffrage movement merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The NAWSA and other women's organizations worked for the next thirty years to gain the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. With its passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. With its passage in 1920 women finally stepped beyond the traditional roles of wife and mother and into a new role as woman citizen.

LABOR UNIONS 1870-1920

by Janice Guy

OVERVIEW:

The study of the rise of labor unions and labor reforms is often presented as a male phenomenon the following materials and lessons using both male and female participation are designed to be used with most high school U.S. History texts.

GRADE LEVEL: Senior High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/ SKILLS:

1. The student will be able to define some common labor terms.
2. The student will consider the need for union organization as a means of correcting labor problems for workers.
3. The student will learn the role of protective legislation on the part of the government.
4. The student will be able to examine and understand the various problems encountered during this period.
5. The student will become acquainted with materials exploring women's contributions.

SUGGESTED COURSES: U.S. History, World History, Economics, Sociology

MATERIALS:

1. handouts
2. vocabulary
3. crossword puzzle
4. resource readings
5. table

PROCEDURE: This unit may take two or three class periods.

1. First administer a pretest of fifteen words from the Vocabulary List.
2. Issue the Vocabulary Sheet that is to accompany both the text and the Reading Section.
3. Have the students read the essay "Where are the Organized Women Workers?"
 - a. Use the table at the end to show the growth of women's participation in unions.
4. Assign a biographical sketch of a person on the Vocabulary List. Research time in the library should be scheduled, if possible.
5. Have students report on their subject. Have general discussion on these people.
6. Hold a discussion based on the quotations. Some questions are included as possible starting points.
7. Hand out the material on Mother Jones and the Mill Children. Read in class and discuss the material. The students may be able to add information here on their subject. Again, some questions are included.

Discussion Questions for the Quotations

The teacher can either use these questions for an oral lesson or can assign these as a written assignment.

1. What seems to be the general attitude toward working women?
2. Why do some of the union statements seem ambiguous?
3. What seemed to be the only reasons for allowing women into the unions?
4. What do you think the acceptable roles for women were at this time? For men?
5. What seems to be the dual purpose of the suggestions for protective legislation for female workers?

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

In 1885 the American Federation of Labor (AFL) began forming skilled workers into independent craft unions. Samuel Gompers, President of the AFL, took his union on a narrow conservative approach at first. It was only when threatened by the Industrial Workers of the World and Eugene Deb's Socialist Party that Gompers expanded his union's potential and included women. His stand on women indicated that he did not want them as part of the work force. Gompers stated, "it is the so-called competition of the unorganized defenseless woman worker, the girl and the wife, that often tends to reduce the wages of the father and husband."

The irony of the statement is that Gompers and his AFL did begin to organize women around 1881. One historian suggested women were admitted only as a means of controlling them and protecting men's wages. Female organizers for the AFL such as Mary Kenney and Eva MacDonald Valesh worked to organize women, but did not have full cooperation of the male labor leaders.

An important force in organizing women came from outside the major unions. This was the Women's Trade Union League founded in 1905 and composed of upper-middle-class reformers and female unionists. Two particularly energetic women in this movement were Rose Schneiderman from the working class and Mary Dreir representing the upper class. This group was instrumental in organizing the women in the work force, in lobbying for protective legislation, and passage of women's suffrage and in helping secure the establishment of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This was one of the few organizations for women that was run by women.

In conclusion, the women workers for the most part remained an untapped source of power by the major industrial

male unions. The reasons for their rejection were: working women were unpatriotic, it was not natural for women to work, it would lead to the downfall of a nation by a foreign power, or it would cause an evolutionary backslide. Techniques used by some of the male unions to discourage women's participation included: raising women's dues, holding meetings in saloons and at unusual times, and isolating them from the male work force.

Women in the Work Force

Year	No. Women Employed	No. Women in Unions	% Female in Work Force	% Female Union Members
1890	3,704,000		17	
1900	4,999,000		18	
1910	7,789,000	76,750	21	3.5
1920	8,229,000	397,000	20	8.0
1930	10,396,000	260,000	22	7.7
1940	13,783,000	800,000	25	9.4
1944*	19,170,000	3,000,000	35	21.8
1950	17,882,000		29	
1954**	19,718,000	2,950,000	29	16.6
1960	23,200,000	3,304,000	33	18.3
1970	31,560,000	4,282,000	37	20.7
1980	45,480,000	6,700,000	42	30.0

* 1944 selected as peak of wartime employment for women

** selected as post-Korean-war slump and first year Bureau of Labor

Statistics began collecting data on women labor union members.

SOURCES: the data on women's employment through 1960 are from U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Handbook on Women Workers, 1969 (Bulletin 294, Wash. DC, 1969), for 1970 from Statistical Abstract, and 1980 from Employment and Earnings XXVIII 9 January 1981), 162.

The data on women in unions from 1910 are from Gladys Dickson's, "Women in Labor Unions", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLI (May 1947), 70-78; for 1960 and 1970 from U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States (Bulletin 1665, Washington, D.C., 1979); and for 1980 from CLUW estimates as in AFL-CIO News, November 22, 1980.

Questions for the Mother Jones Material

These questions may be used for an oral lesson or they can be selectively assigned as written work. The students may need time to think about answers.

1. What are the conditions of child labor in your area? What do you think of the restrictions placed on your ability to work?
2. What were the conditions of child labor in the Kensington mills?
3. Why were parents willing to lie about the ages and physical conditions of their children in order that they could work?
4. Why did Mother Jones exhibit the children in several large cities?
5. What effect psychologically did the children's presence have on the public? On the politicians? On the police? On the proprietors of various establishments?
6. In the reading excerpt on the mill children, what effect does Jone's description of the children have on the reader? Why did she write in this fashion?
7. Why does Mother Jones use patriotic references? What symbolic items does she use?
8. What seemed to be the power of Mother Jones? Why do you think that she was able to be so active in labor movements?
9. What is the major criticism of protective legislation? Do you agree or disagree about protective legislation?

PRETEST

Identify the following individuals and the labor terms.

1. Samuel Gompers
2. Strike
3. Jane Addams
4. Blacklist
5. Sherman Antitrust Act
6. Yellow dog contract
7. Emma Goldman
8. Pinkerton
9. Closed Shop
10. Eugene Debs

WHERE ARE THE ORGANIZED WOMEN WORKERS?

In the last half of the nineteenth century there occurred great changes in labor reform and labor organizations. The changes were made by both men and women but most texts dwell on the men with no mention of the contributions of women.

There were over 3,704,000 women employed by 1890. The realities of employment were that women worked because of economic necessity. Some were widows with families to raise, wives with maimed spouses, single women helping out the family. Wages were often so insufficient that parents and children worked and struggled for subsistence. Women were basically unskilled and had to take any job available at any wage and condition.

Some employers required female textile and garment workers to work without wages until the job was learned. Some garment industry manufacturers required the worker to buy her machine at \$.75 a week the thread at \$.50 a week (she needed four). One must also consider that this worker put in 16 to 18 hours a day, six days a week, for the grand wage of \$6.00. When you subtract a female garment worker's expenditures, you have the great sum of \$2.75. In addition, this same worker was fined for eating, laughing, singing, talking, or lateness for her job.

No matter in what industry women worked, their wages for the same hours were one third to one half those of men doing the same work. For instance, in one mill the average work week was 84 hours. The male worker made from \$9.00 to \$15.00 a week while the female counterpart made from \$2.50 to \$3.00.

To understand why these inequities existed and why established unions did nothing to correct them, one must examine some of the common ideas about women and their place in industry. One of the most common myths was that women

were only working for pin money, something with which to buy little incidentals. Another myth was that women only entered the work force temporarily. Marriage was supposedly the ultimate goal of all women. How can they then explain that after 1897, married women entered the work force in larger numbers than ever before? Much of the general population still felt the traditional female role was for women to remain in the home. One extreme argument even stated that women's place was in the home since the well-being of the state depended on the health of the future mothers. In reality, the fact is that women worked to keep their children from starving and children worked to help the family together.

The National Labor Union founded in 1866 encouraged women's trade unions. At their conventions women feminists such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton attended and spoke for not only labor reform but women's suffrage. Mrs. Stanton was representing the Woman's Suffrage Association of America while Susan Anthony representing the Women's Protective Association of New York. Unfortunately, the suffrage issue discouraged and dismayed most of the delegates until it was finally deleted as an issue. The National Labor Union was the first to formulate a resolution demanding equal pay for equal work. The National Labor Union, however, did not have any real power and was just a series of annual congresses.

Between 1860 and 1880 a number of small trade unions were formed. Only two of these admitted women. The Cigar Makers International Union was one of the first to admit women in 1867. Their stand on women members was, "No local union shall permit the rejection of an applicant for membership on account of sex or system of working." The problem was that in some locals women were hired as strikebreakers and men lost their jobs. These locals were reluctant to allow women to join the union. A second union was the International Typographical Union of New York. The

question remains, did these unions truly reflect the women's point of view when males headed the key offices?

The first large union to seek out women and encourage them to join was the Knights of Labor. This organization started in 1869 as a secret society of garment workers. Uriah Stephens planned that local unions of ten or more members could join the Knights of Labor. By 1878-1879 the Knights of Labor were advocating equal pay for equal work and prohibition of child labor under the age of fourteen years. In 1885, the Knights of Labor created a committee to collect statistics of women's work which eventually became a permanent organization. Leonora Barry became the chief investigator for the Knights. Barry traveled about the country, visiting factories, talking to the female workers, and writing her reports. Her reputation preceded her and many factories denied her entrance or threatened to fire anyone who talked to her. Visits abruptly stopped!

In an address to the Knights of Labor Leonora Barry reported:

One year ago the Knights of Labor, in convention assembled at Richmond, Virginia, elected me to a position of honor and trust - the servant and representative of thousands of toiling women...

Having no legal authority I have been unable to make as thorough an investigation in many places as I would like...consequently the facts stated in my report are not all from actual observations but from authority which I have every reason to believe truthful and reliable.

Upon the strength of my observation and experience I would ask of officers and members of this Order that more consideration be given, and more thorough educational measures be adopted on behalf of the working women of our land, the majority of whom are entirely ignorant of the economic and industrial question which is to them

of such vital importance; and they must ever remain so while the selfishness of their brothers in toil is carried to such an extent as I find it to be among those who have sworn to demand equal pay for equal work. Thus far in the history of our Order that part of our platform has been but a mockery of the principles intended...

Men! ye whose earnings count from nine to fifteen dollars a week and upward, cease, in the name of God and humanity, cease your demands and grievances and give us your assistance for a time to bring some relief to the poor unfortunate, whose week's work of eighty-four hours brings her but \$2.50 or \$3.00 a week...

It was difficult to gauge the success of the Knights of Labor on organizing women workers because actual membership does not indicate actual influence. There were 113 women's assemblies with over 50,000 members. The Knights of Labor, however, declined greatly after the Haymarket Square rally.

In 1885 the American Federation of Labor (AFL) began forming skilled workers into independent craft unions. Samuel Gompers, President of the AFL, took his union on a narrow conservative approach at first. It was only when threatened by the Industrial Workers of the World and Eugene Deb's Socialist Party that Gompers expanded his union's potential and included women. His stand on women indicated that he did not want them as part of the work force. Gompers stated, "It is the so-called competition of the unorganized defenseless woman worker, the girl and the wife, that often tends to reduce the wages of the father and husband."

The irony of the statement is that Gompers and his AFL did begin to organize women around 1881. One historian suggested women were admitted only as a means of controlling them and protecting men's wages. Female organizers for the AFL such as Mary Kenney and Eva MacDonald Valesh worked to

organize women, but did not have full cooperation of the male labor leaders.

An important force in organizing women came from outside the major unions. This was the Women's Trade Union League founded in 1905, and composed of upper-middle-class reformers and female unionists. Two particularly energetic women in this movement were Rose Schneiderman from the working class and Mary Dreir representing the upper class. This group was instrumental in organizing the women in the work force, in lobbying for protective legislation, and passage of women's suffrage and in helping secure the establishment of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This was one of the few organizations for women that was run by women.

In conclusion, the women workers for the most part remained an untapped source of power by the major industrial male unions. The reasons for their rejection were: working women were unpatriotic, it was not natural for women to work. it would lead to the downfall of a nation by a foreign power, or it would cause an evolutionary backslide. Techniques used by some of the male unions to discourage women's participation included: raising women's dues, holding meetings in saloons and at unusual times, and isolating them from the male work force.

Quotations

The following quotations demonstrate some of the feelings male workers, unions, and labor leaders had about women in industry and labor unions.

1. Cigar Makers' Journal, May 10, 1878. Adolph Strauss, the President of the International Cigar Makers Union states:

"We can not drive the females out of the trade, but we can restrict this daily quota of labor through factory laws. No girl under 18 years of age should be employed more than eight hours a day. All overwork should be prohibited; white married women should be kept out of factories at least six weeks before and six weeks after confinement."

2. "The Kingdom of God' in Modern Industry". AF 14 (August 1907): 544. Ira Howerth announces that:

"The highest courts in some of our states declare that a law limiting the hours of labor for these women is unconstitutional. It may be so, so much the worse for the state. The state or nation that permits its women to stunt their bodies and dwarf their minds by overexertion in insanitary [sic] stores and mills and factories is thereby signing its own death warrant. For the degeneracy of women is the degeneracy of the race. A people can never be any better than its mothers."

3. "The Good that Trade Unions Do". Part 1, AF 9 (July 1902) 353, 358. John Safford states:

"Respect for women is apt to decrease when they are compelled to work in the factory or the store... More

respect for women brings less degeneration and more marriages... if women labor in factories and similar institutions they bring forth weak children who are not educated to become strong and good citizens."

4. "Advancement" AF 17 (October 1910) 846. One William Gilthorpe responds:

"We stand for the principle that it is wrong to permit any of the female sex of our country to be forced to work, as we believe that the man should be provided with a fair wage in order to keep his female relatives from going to work. The man is the provider and should receive enough for his labor to give his family a respectable living."

5. "Should the Wife Help Support the Family?" AF 13 (January 1906): 36. Samuel Gompers declares:

"It is the so-called competition of the unorganized defenseless woman workers, the girl and the wife, that often tends to reduce the wages of the father and husband."

6. Women in America. At the 1900 American Federation of Labor National Convention a member offers the following resolution:

"Knowing that the encroachment of women in the field of labor is detrimental to the welfare of the American workman. Resolved. That the national committee of the American Federation of Labor draft a resolution that shall be placed before Congress and thereby have laws passed by which the Government will remove all women in its employment, and thereby encourage a precedent for the removal of women from the everyday walks of life and relegate her to the home."
(Point of interest - this was unanimously defeated).

7. WTUL Action of Policies. pp. 3, 8, box 4 accession number 55a556, WB/NA. Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor Convention. The American Federation of Labor officially acknowledged competition as a primary motivation for organizing women in 1923.

"Unorganized they constitute a menace to standards established through collective action. Not only for their protection, but for the protection of men...there should be organization of all women..."

Mary Harris "Mother" Jones

One of the most fascinating individuals in American labor history is also one of the most frequently overlooked - Mary Harris "Mother" Jones. A paradoxical character, Jones believed that women performed their major service in the home shaping the destiny of the nation by raising their children; however, she herself was one of the most effective labor organizers in the early twentieth century. She excelled in rallying wives and daughters of strikers to parade, protest, and picket on behalf of their men. An exponent of personal nonresistance and civil disobedience to unjust policies, and an advocate of nonviolent demonstrations, she urged workers to arm themselves. Her very presence and inflammatory rhetoric seemed to incite the violence she abhorred. Optimistically drawing sustenance from the gains she had seen labor win Jones believed in a future of industrial peace, supported by the rationality of intelligent employers and employees. She was, however, incarcerated innumerable times in her efforts to achieve such a utopia. A rather humble woman, her fearlessness, zeal, and personal example helped to better working conditions and inspire male workers as well as female reformers whom she so frequently scorned.¹

The March of the Mill Children

In the spring of 1903 I went to Kensington, Pennsylvania, where seventy-five thousand textile workers were on strike. Of this number at least ten thousand were little children. The workers were striking for more pay and shorter hours. Every day little children came into Union Headquarters, some with their hands off, some with their thumbs missing, some with their fingers off at the knuckle. They were stooped little things, round shouldered and

skinny. Many of them were not over ten years of age, although the state law prohibited their working before they were twelve years of age.

The law was poorly enforced and the mothers of these children often swore falsely as to their children's age. In a single block in Kensington, fourteen women, mothers of twenty-two children all under twelve, explained it was a question of starvation or perjury (since the fathers had been killed or maimed at the mines).

I asked the newspaper men why they didn't publish the facts about child labor in Pennsylvania. They said they couldn't because the mill owners had stock in the papers.

"Well, I've got stock in these little children," said I, "and I'll arrange a little publicity."

We assembled a number of boys and girls one morning in Independence Park and from there we arranged to parade with banners to the court house where we would hold a meeting.

A great crowd gathered in the public square in front of the city hall. I put the little boys with their fingers off and hands crushed on the platform. I held up their mutilated hands and showed them to the crowd and made the statement that Philadelphia's mansions were built on the broken bones, the quivering hearts and drooping heads of these children. That their little lives went out to make wealth for others. That neither state nor city officials paid any attention to these wrongs. That they did not care that these children were to be the future citizens of the nation.

The officials of the city hall were standing in the open windows. I held the little ones of the mills high up above the heads of the crowd and pointed to their puny arms and legs and hollow chests. They were light to lift.

I called upon the millionaire manufacturers to cease their moral murders, and I cried to the officials in the open windows opposite. "Someday the workers will take

possession of your city hall, and when we do, no child will be sacrificed on the altar of profit."

The officials quickly closed the windows, just as they had closed their eyes and hearts.

The reporters quoted my statement that Philadelphia mansions were built on the broken bones and quivering hearts of children. The Philadelphia papers and the New York papers got into a squabble with each other over the question. The universities discussed it. Preachers began talking. That was what I wanted. Public attention on the subject of child labor.

The matter quieted down for a while and I concluded that people needed stirring up again. The Liberty Bell that a century ago rang out for freedom against tyranny was touring the country and crowds were coming to see it everywhere. That gave me an idea. These little children were striking for some of the freedom that childhood ought to have, and I decided that the children and I would go on tour.

I asked some of the parents if they would let me have their little boys and girls for a week or ten days, promising to bring them back safe and sound. They consented. A man named Sweeney was marshall for our "army". A few men and women went with me to help with the children. They were on strike and I thought they might as well have a little recreation.

The children carried knapsacks on their backs in which was a knife and fork, a tin cup and plate. We took along a wash boiler in which to cook the food on the road. One little fellow had a drum and another had a fife. That was our band. We carried banners that said, "We want more schools and less hospitals." "We want time to play." "Prosperity is here. Where is ours?"

We started from Philadelphia where we held a great mass meeting. I decided to go with the children to see President

Roosevelt to ask him to have Congress pass a law prohibiting the exploitation of childhood. I thought that President Roosevelt might see these mill children and compare them with his own little ones who were spending the summer on the seashore at Oyster Bay. I thought, too, out of politeness we might call on Morgan in Wall Street who owned the mines where many of these children's fathers worked.

The children were very happy, having plenty to eat, taking baths in the brooks and rivers every day. I thought when the strike is over and they go back to the mills, they will never have another holiday like this. All along the line of march the farmers drove out to meet us with wagon loads of fruit and vegetables. Their wives brought the children clothes and money. The inter-urban trainmen would stop their trains and give us free rides.

Marshall Sweeny and I would go ahead to the towns and arrange sleeping quarters for the children, and secure meeting halls. As we marched on, it grew terribly hot. There was no rain and the roads were heavy with dust. From time to time we had to send some of the children back to their homes. They were too weak to stand the march.

We were on the outskirts of New Trenton, New Jersey, cooking our lunch in the wash boiler. Then the conductor on the inter-urban car stopped and told us the police were coming down to notify us that we could not enter the town. There were mills in the town and the mill owners didn't like our coming.

I said, "All right, the police will just be in time for lunch."

Sure enough, the police came and we invited them to dine with us. They looked at the little gathering of children with their apples and cups around the wash boiler. They just smile and spoke kindly to the children, and said nothing at all about not going into the city.

We went in, held our meeting, and it was the wives of

the police who took the little children and cared for them that night, sending them back in the morning with a nice lunch rolled up in paper napkins.

Everywhere we had meetings, showing up with living children, the horrors of child labor.

At one town the mayor said we could not hold a meeting because he did not have sufficient police protection. "These little children have never known any sort of protection, your honor," I said, "and they are used to going without it." He let us have our meeting.

One night in Princeton, New Jersey we slept in the big cool barn on Grover Cleveland's great estate. The heat became intense. There was much suffering in our ranks, for our little ones were not robust. The proprietor of the leading hotel sent for me. "Mother," he said, "order what you want and all you want for your army, and there's nothing to pay."

I called on the mayor of Princeton and asked for permission to speak opposite the campus of the University. I said I wanted to speak on higher education. The mayor gave me permission. A great crowd gathered, professors and students and the people; and I told them that the rich robbed these little children of any education of the lowest order that they might send their sons and daughters to places of higher education. That they used the hands and feet of little children that they might buy automobiles for their wives and police dogs for their daughters to talk French to. I said mill owners take babies almost from the cradle. And I showed those professors children in our army who could scarcely read or write because they were working ten hours a day in the silk mills of Pennsylvania.

"Here's a textbook on economics," I said, pointing to a little chap, James Ashworth, who was ten years old and who was stooped over like an old man from carrying bundles of yarn that weighed seventy-five pounds "He gets three

dollars a week and his sister who is fourteen gets six dollars. They work in a carpet factory ten hours a day while the children of the rich are getting their higher education."

That night we camped on the banks of Stony Brook where years and years before the ragged Revolutionary Army camped Washington's brave soldiers that made their fight for freedom.

From Jersey City we marched to Hoboken. I sent a committee over to the New York Chief of Police, Ebstein asking for permission to march up Fourth Avenue to Madison Square where I wanted to hold a meeting. The chief refused and forbade our entrance to the city.

I went over myself to New York and saw Mayor Seth Low. The mayor was most courteous but said he would have to support the police commissioner. I asked him what the reason was for refusing us entrance to the city and he said that we were not citizens of New York.

"Oh, I think we will clear that up, Mr. Mayor," I said. "Permit me to call your attention to an incident which took place in this nation just a year ago. A piece of rotten royalty came over here from Germany, called Prince Henry. The Congress of the United States voted \$45,000 to fill that fellow's stomach for three weeks and to entertain him. His brother was getting \$4,000,000 dividends out of the blood of the workers in this country. Was he a citizen of this land?"

"And it was reported, Mr. Mayor, that you and all the officials of New York and the University Club entertained that chap." And I repeatd. "Was he a citizen of New York?"

"No, Mother," said the mayor, "he was not."

"Well, Mr. Mayor, these are the little citizens of the nation and they also produce its wealth. Aren't we entitled to enter your city?"

"Just wait," says he, and he called the commissioner of police over to his office.

"Well, finally they decided to let the army come in. We marched up Fourth Avenue to Madison Square and police officers, captains, sergeants, roundsmen and reserves from three precincts accompanied us. But the police would not let us hold a meeting in Madison Square. They insisted that the meeting be held on Twentieth Street.

I pointed out to the captain that the single taxers were allowed to hold meetings in the square. "Yes," he said, "but they won't have twenty people and you might have twenty thousand."

We marched to Twentieth Street. I told an immense crowd of the horrors of child labor in the mills around the anthracite region and I showed them some of the children. I showed them Eddie Dunphy, a little fellow of twelve, whose job it was to sit all day on a high stool, handing in the right thread to another worker. Eleven hours a day he sat on the high stool with dangerous machinery all about him. All day long, winter and summer, spring and fall, for three dollars a week.

And then I showed them Gussie Rangnew, a little girl from whom all the childhood had gone. Her face was like an old woman's. Gussie packed stockings in a factory, eleven hours a day for a few cents a day.

We raised a lot of money for the strikers and hundreds of friends offered their homes to the little ones while we were in the city.

The next day we went to Coney Island at the invitation of Mr. Bostick who owned the wild animal show. The children had a wonderful day such as they never had in all their lives. After the exhibition of the trained animals, Mr. Bostick let me speak to the audience. There was a back drop to the tiny stage of the Roman Colosseum with the audience painted in and two Roman emperors down in front with their thumbs down. Right in front of the emperors were the empty iron cages of the animals. I put my little children in the cages and they clung to the iron bars while I talked.

I told the crowd that the scene was typical of the aristocracy of employers with their thumbs down to the little ones of the mills and factories, and people sitting dumbly by.

"We want President Roosevelt to hear the wail of the children who never have a chance to go to school but work eleven and twelve hours a day in the textile mills of Pennsylvania; who weave the carpets that he and you walk upon; and the lace curtains in your windows, and the clothes of the people. Fifty years ago there was a cry against slavery and men gave up their lives to stop the selling of black children on the block. Today the white child is sold for two dollars a week to the manufacturers. Fifty years ago the black babies were sold C.O.D. Today the white baby is sold on the installment plan."

"In Georgia where children work day and night in the cotton mills they have just passed a bill to protect song birds. What about the little children from whom all the song is gone?"

"I shall ask the president in the name of the aching hearts of these little one that he emancipate them from slavery. I will tell the president that the prosperity he boasts of is the prosperity of the rich wrung from the poor and the helpless."

"The trouble is that no one in Washington cares. I saw our legislators in one hour pass three bills for the relief of the railways but when labor cries for aid for the children they will not listen."

"I asked a man in prison once how he happened to be there and he said he had stolen a pair of shoes. I told him if he had stolen a railroad he would be a United States Senator."

"We are told that every American Boy has the chance of being president. I tell you that these little boys in the iron cages would sell their chance any day for a good square meal and a chance to play. These little toilers whom I have

taken from the mills - deformed, dwarfed in body and soul, with nothing but toil before them - have never heard that they have a chance, the chance of every American male citizen, to become the president.

"You see those monkeys in those cages over there." I pointed to a side cage. "The professors are trying to teach them to talk. The monkeys are too wise for they fear that the manufacturers would buy them for slaves in their factories."

I saw a stylishly dressed young man down in the front of the audience. I stopped speaking and pointing to him I said, "Stop your smiling, young man! Leave this place! Go home and beg the mother who bore you in pain, as the mothers of these little children bore them, go home and beg her to give you brains and a heart."

He rose and slunk out, followed by the eyes of the children in the cage. The people sat stone still and out in the rear a lion roared.

The next day we left Coney Island for Manhattan Beach to visit Senator Platt who had made an appointment to see me at nine o'clock in the morning. The children got stuck in the sand banks and I had a time cleaning the sand off the littlest ones. Now we started to walk on the railroad track. I was told that it was private property and we had to get off. Finally a saloon keeper showed us a short cut into the sacred grounds of the hotel and suddenly the army appeared in the lobby. The little fellows played "Hail, hail, the gang's all here" on their fifes and drums, and Senator Platt when he saw the little army ran away through the back door to New York.

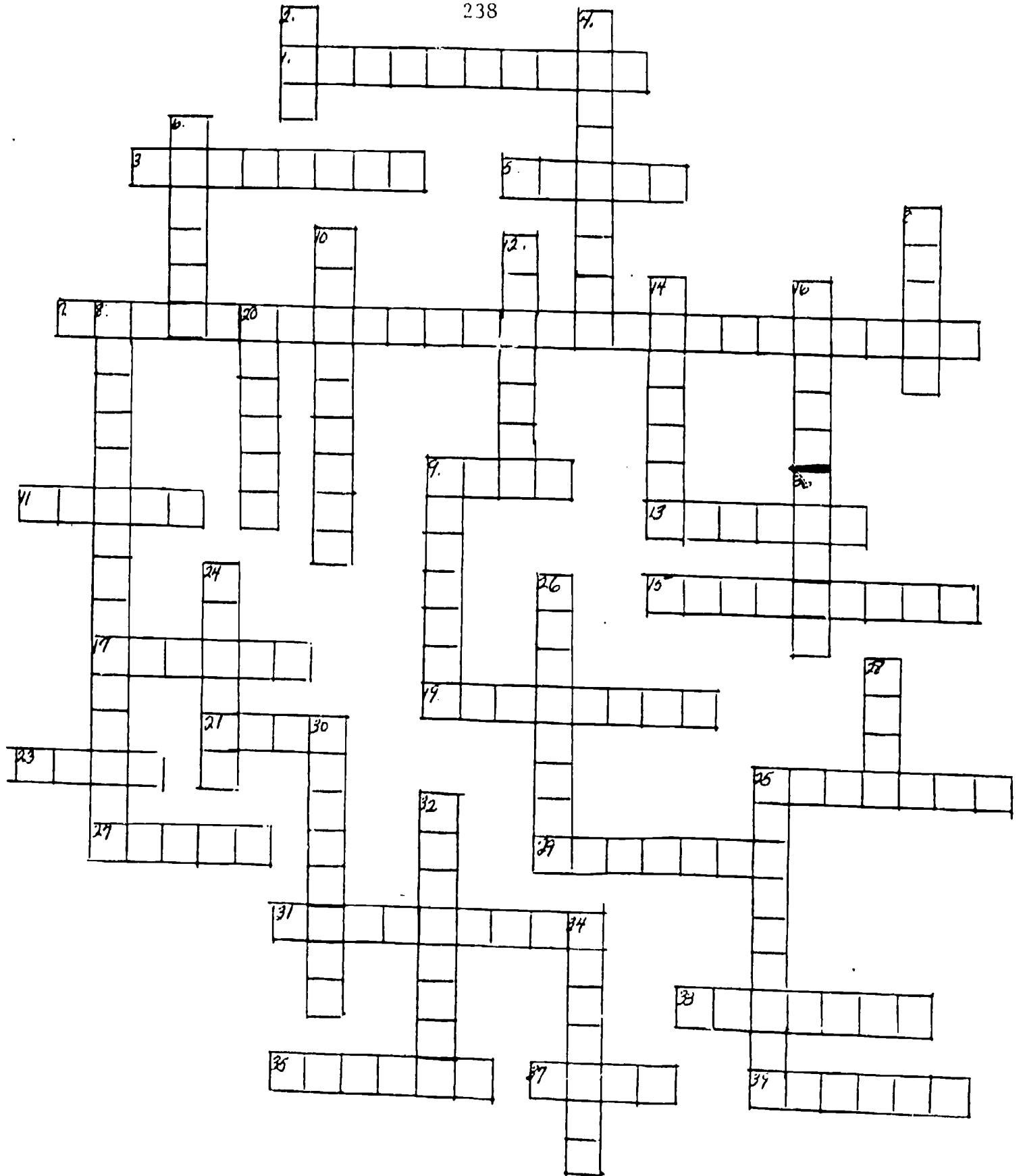
I asked the manager if he would give the children breakfast and charge it up to the Senator as we had an invitation to breakfast that morning with him. He gave us a private room and he gave those children such a breakfast as they had never had in all their lives I had breakfast too,

and a reporter from one of the Hearst papers and I charged it all up to Senator Platt.

We marched down to Oyster Bay but the President refused to see us and he would not answer any letters. But our march had done its work. We had drawn the attention of the nation to the crime of child labor. And while the strike of the textile workers in Kensington was lost and the children driven back to work, not long afterward the Pennsylvania legislature passed a child labor law that sent thousands of others from work in the factory until they were fourteen years of age.²

¹James J. Kenneally, Women and American Trade Unions (Montreal: L Eden Press Women's Publications 1981), 9.92.

²Mary Harris Jones, The Autobiography of Mother Jones (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1976), Chapter X.



CROSSWORD PUZZLE FOR VOCABULARY REVIEW

Across

1. Court order to cease and desist
3. "The People's Attorney"
5. Particular skill
7. Union for the crafts or skilled workers
9. Black _____ not hireable workers
11. Strikebreakers
13. Haymarket _____ Riot
15. Against government
17. Work Stoppage
19. _____ Shirtwaist Fire
21. President of the American Railway Union
23. _____ Addams
25. Designed railway cars
27. _____ B. Anthony
29. _____ Antitrust Act - first one
31. Contract not to join a union
33. "_____ out" - jobs or work done in the home
35. _____ Army - dissatisfied veterans
37. Abbreviation for Cigar Makers' Union
39. Agnes _____ - Women's Trade Union League

Down

2. Abbreviation for collection of industrial unions
4. Political stand of Eugene Debs
6. Mary _____ - President of WTUL in New York
9. Workers shut out of plant
10. Private police force
12. First Female Secretary of Labor
14. Samuel _____ - Head of AFL
16. Abbreviation for international Ladies Garment Workers' Union
18. Mother Jones' full name
20. _____ shop- must belong to the union

24. Forerunners of labor unions
25. Provided for a Civil Service Commission
26. Nickname for scabs
28. Abbreviation for women's labor reform society
30. Uriah _____ - founder of the Knights of Labor
32. Complete control of a business or product
34. Emma _____ - the "Red Rose" of the labor movement
36. Manager of the Homestead at the time of the strike

Crossword Puzzle Key

Across

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Injunction | 2. CIO |
| 3. Brandeis | 4. Socialist |
| 5. craft | 6. Dreier |
| 7. American Federation of
labor | 8. union |
| 9. list | 10. Pinderton |
| 11. Scabs | 12. Perkins |
| 13. square | 14. Gompers |
| 15. anarchist | 16. ILGWU |
| 17. strike | 18. Mary Harris Jones |
| 19. Triangle | 20. closed |
| 21. Debs | 24. guilds |
| 23. Jane | 26. breakers |
| 25. Pulman | 28. WTUL |
| 27. Susan | 30. Stephens |
| 29. Sherman | 32. monopoly |
| 31. yellowdog | 34. Goldman |
| 33. putting | 36. Frick |
| 35. Coxeys | |
| 37. CMIU | |
| 39. Nestor | |

People Involved in the Labor Movement.

Terence Powderly	Peter McGuire
Samuel Gompers	Adolphe Strasser
Uriah Stephens	George Pullman
Mary Harris Jones	Henry Frick
Emma Goldman	Eugene Debs
Rose Schneiderman	Louis Brandeis
Charlotte Smith	Mary Dreier
Jane Addams	Farnces Perkins
Elizabeth Morgan	Mary Stirling
Eva MacDonald Valesh	Susan B. Anthony
Agnes Nestor	Elizabeth Rogers
Leonara Barry	

Labor Terms

American Federation of Labor
 Strike
 Guilds
 National Labor Union
 "putting out"
 industrialization
 monopoly
 Pendleton Act
 Sherman Antitrust Act
 Homestead Strike
 Coxey's Army
 Women's Trade Union Leagur
 closed shop
 blacklists
 Women's Bureau
 Haymarket Squire Riot
 craft union
 Typographical Union
 arbitration
 collective bargaining
 socialist
 anarchist
 depression
 International Ladies Garment Workers' Union
 Triangle Shirtwaist Company
 lockout
 yellow dog contract
 Daughters of St. Crispin
 Cigar Makers International Union
 Congress of Industrial Organizations

SOLDIERS IN PETTICOATS: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

By Ellen L. Hendricks

OVERVIEW:

This simulation is designed to examine the arguments involved in the question of giving women the right to vote. While this packet is designed to be used in such a way as to encourage students to develop these arguments on their own, the evidence packet could be given to students from the start if the instructor wishes. Likewise, the instructor could refrain from distributing any of the evidence packet and have students do their own research in your school library. The basic intent of this simulation is to allow students a more personal understanding of the times and a greater understanding of those events' importance for today.

GRADE LEVEL: Jr. and/or Sr. High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES:

- 1) Students will better understand and identify those arguments which supported or opposed the idea of giving all American women the right to vote.
- 2) Students will examine those economic, social, religious and personal ideas which can and do affect political decisions.
- 3) Students will examine the reality vs. myth aspects of the arguments pro and con of women's suffrage for today. Given this, students can speculate whether or not the vote would be given to women today.

MATERIALS:

- 1) Instructor's Packet - activity time sheet, daily activities, directions and explanations, grades, essay questions and evaluation form for simulation ballot form, and list of possible biographical sketch ideas.
- 2) Student Packet - daily directions and explanations, grading procedures and historical context handout.
- 3) Role Identifications - twenty pseudo-personality descriptions for group factions.
- 4) Evidence Packet - information and source material for use in construction of arguments pro/con suffrage.
- 5) Suggested reading list - for use before, during or after simulation activities.

INTERDISCIPLINARY USAGE: U.S. History - women's rights, Suffrage etc., Government - Constitution, decision making, politics, Sociology - group dynamics in political or social setting, women as a minority, etc.

SOLDIERS IN PETTICOATS: INSTRUCTOR'S
PACKET OF DIRECTIONS

Note: Make sure you read through the student's handout packet since some items are covered there and may not be covered as fully in your packet.

SCENARIO: The activities are planned to simulate an event which never occurred and in point of fact could never occur in our system of government. Simulation covers the debate and vote by a group of persons as to whether or not women in the United States in 1919 should have the right to vote as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Your students will not be playing the famous women or men of this time, they will be portraying personality types of that period in order to allow students the freedom to reach their own conclusions within the historical reality of that time. The evidence packet, however, does contain thoughts, arguments and quotes by those famous persons which your students may wish to incorporate into their speeches for the debate.

EVALUATING (GRADES): Hopefully, the variation possibilities for these activities are such that you can redesign the evaluation process to fit your own needs. You may wish more grades, fewer grades or no grades for these activities. A suggested evaluation process is as follows:

a) Two page essay on a notable participant in the struggle for women's suffrage in the U.S. Up to 10 pts. bonus will be awarded at the discretion of the instructor for this report. This essay must be done and given to the instructor prior to any of the following activities.

- b) The instructor will determine a winner of the debates based upon which of the four speeches and rebuttals best present that faction's argument. It is suggested the instructor read the evidence packet to become familiar with those arguments should you be uncertain. The winning group will receive 10 pts. bonus per member of the group
- c) Final essay examination which will count 100 pts. In this way it is possible for the student to go into this exam with 20 pts. bonus, making their essay performance worth 80 pts. in reality. I prefer this method with my students since most of my students are very fearful of essay exams. In this way, I can ease them into a needed skill - writing essay exams - without extreme trauma. You may wish to alter this based upon your students' abilities and your own preferences.

PRECEDURES: Please refer to activity time sheet as well.

1) BEFORE ACTIVITIES: Explain the brief report idea to students and determine how you wish this report to apply towards a final grade. You may also wish to obtain an audio visual review of the suffrage period and movement for viewing by your students.

2) DAILY PROCEDURES:

DAY ONE

- a) Distribute student handout and go through the introductory explanations for the simulation as well as explanations for grading of activities.

- b) Assign roles by drawing them out of a hat. This will mean it is virtually a certainty that some male members of your class will receive female roles. This role reversal may be deleted if you feel your class will find it unnecessarily difficult to reverse roles. Role reversals can be very useful in helping students go beyond sex role identifications, however, you must balance this against any problems it might create for your students or the overall simulation. You are and must be the best judge of your own class.
- c) Allow students the remainder of the class period to begin formulating their arguments pro and con suffrage. Do not allow students to work in groups at this time; they will work in groups during the next class time. Suggest to the students that they imagine how the person described in their role would feel and think about the issue of suffrage. Assist your students by suggesting they consider the pro and con for each argument regardless of their role stated position. For the debate they will want to know how they feel and think about the issue of suffrage. You may wish to encourage your students to utilize the school library, the evidence packet, and their own point of view.

DAY TWO:

- a) Identify the four factions involved for the debate which will be held during the next class time. These factions are specified in the role descriptions as men who favor suffrage, men who oppose suffrage, women who favor suffrage and women who oppose suffrage.

- b) Form groups of these four factions and explain again the details of tomorrow's debate format. Each group has a 5 min. speech time, 5 min. group caucus before rebuttal, and then 3 min. each for rebuttal. You should determine which group will speak in what order by means of a draw or some other method of chance. Allow students the remainder of the class to build their arguments as a group and to write their speeches. REMIND THEM TO CONSIDER THEIR ACTIONS ETC. AS THEIR ROLE DESCRIPTION OUTLINES. You should explain at this time whether or not students may wear costumes, bring banners, etc. for tomorrow's debate.

DAY THREE:

- a) Set up four chairs at the front of the room, one for each faction's speaker. Remind participants of the time format and explain that you will closely time each. Explain that you will hold up a card when the speaker has one minute of time remaining for her or him. Groups may caucus after the speeches for 5 min. to help their speaker set up their group's rebuttal statement.
- b) Allow the debate and rebuttal to take place as planned being very careful to time each as closely and fairly as possible. Students should be permitted to participate actively by vocal support etc. but should not be allowed to disrupt the speaker or debate.
- c) Distribute ballots only to those playing male roles, and allow them to vote on the issue of suffrage for women. Try not to allow the fact that only the "male" members of the class will be voting to become general knowledge. If students ask you don't deny this fact, but don't volunteer the information.

- d) Tally the vote and report to the class, if you desire have a couple of students tally the results. Discuss any or all of the following:
- 1) How much effect, if any, did the speeches have on how you voted?
 - 2) How did those playing female roles feel about not being allowed to vote?
 - 3) How closely did your role reflect how you really feel about voting or women voting?
 - 4) Which faction had the best arguments?
 - 5) Assume a proposal was seriously made to rescind the 19th amendment, what do you think would happen and why?
- e) Assign the final essay at this time as either a take-home assignment or as an in-class exam for tomorrow. Explain that students will also be asked to evaluate the simulation tomorrow.
- 3) POST-ACTIVITIES: Complete evaluation forms and final essays. Determine the winner of the debates and announce this to the class. Closely examine student evaluations of the simulation for changes in future use of this simulation.

Note: This list is intended only as a starting point. In no way is this intended to represent a finite list of possible subjects for this brief sketch.

1. Abigail Adams
2. Jane Addams
3. Susan B. Anthony
4. Clara Barton
5. Elizabeth Blackwell
6. Amelia Bloomer
7. Carrie Chapman Catt
8. Dorothea Dix
9. Frederick Douglass
10. Margaret Fuller
11. William Lloyd Garrison
12. Emma Goldman
13. Sarah and Angelina Grimke
14. Lucretia Mott
15. Carrie Nation
16. Margaret Sanger
17. Elizabeth Cady Stanton
18. Lucy Stone
19. Sojourner Truth
20. Harriet Tubman

Suggested final exam questions for use with, "Soldiers in Petticoats"

Directions: Complete two of the following three, giving as much detail as possible for your position.

1. Outline the major arguments pro and con for suffrage. Explain how these arguments are viewed in the context of the period 1880-1920, i.e. economic, social, religious, political, etc.
2. Briefly identify the arguments which opposed giving women the right to vote. Using 1982 as your viewpoint, construct an argument which supports the idea that opposing reasons in the early 1900's were correct in the belief that women should not have the right to vote.
3. Support or oppose the argument that since the majority of the States had granted at least partial suffrage to women by 1919, a national federal amendment to the Constitution was unnecessary and woman suffrage should have remained an issue for the individual States to determine.

OFFICIAL BALLOT

RESOLVED: The rights of citizens of the U.S. to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

MARK ONE BOX ONLY WITH AN (X):

YES

NO

SIMULATION EVALUATION FORM
 **To Be Completed by Students

Class in which simulation used: _____

Sex of student completing evaluation: ___ F ___ M

1. The written directions were specific and easily understood. ___ Yes ___ No Some were, some were not
2. The activity of the debate was boring.
 ___ Yes ___ NO ___ Not for the speakers but yes for the rest.
3. I had enough background information before we started the simulation from our textbook and instructor.
 ___ Yes ___ No ___ In some ways yes, in other ways, no:
 Please Specify: _____
4. The evidence packet had enough material for building arguments pro/con suffrage. ___ Yes ___ No
5. The role descriptions really helped me look at the issue of suffrage pro/con in a more personal way.
 ___ Yes ___ No
6. The essay test questions were broad enough in scope to allow me the chance to demonstrate what I know about suffrage and how I feel about the issues involved.
 ___ Yes ___ No, If no which question was not appropriate to this task? ___ One ___ Two ___ Three
7. This simulation was most fun when: _____

8. The worst part about this simulation was: _____

9. I would change: _____

SOLDIERS IN PETTICOATS:
STUDENT HANDOUTS

IN GENERAL: Your activities for the next couple of class meetings are designed to simulate an event which never took place. The activities represent, however, an attempt to pull together the major arguments which favored or opposed giving women the right to vote in the United States. In this way it is hoped you will better understand the climate in which the 19th amendment was finally ratified and in general how social conditions, etc., can affect political decisions in history. You will receive an opportunity to demonstrate your comprehension of the issues in a variety of ways: role playing a person of that period, biographical sketch, group work and an essay examination. You are strongly urged to get into the spirit of your role, not only to help yourself to make a better grade but to make these activities more fun for you and the whole class. Your instructor may allow you to wear costumes for the debate or allow a rally for your position on the amendment. You may also wish to suggest other ways in which activities could be made more realistic and lively.

GRADES FOR THE SIMULATIONS: You may receive a grade for the activities in the following suggested manner or your instructor may suggest an alternative grading system:

1) Biographical sketch of a participant of the suffrage movement. WORTH 10 BONUS POINTS

2) Simulated role debate, winner to be determined by your instructor. WORTH 10 BONUS POINTS

3) Essay test which may be assigned as a take-home exam or as an in-class test. WORTH 100 POINTS

Your total points will either be entered as points into your point total for the grading period or may be translated by your instructor into a letter grade.

SCENARIO: A debate is to be held in Washington, D.C., to decide whether or not women in the U.S. should have the right to vote. After the debate a written vote will be taken to decide the question and allow the majority view of the country to reign. Four groups, or factions, of persons will be represented in the debates. You will become a member of one of these factions for the next few days. You will receive a brief description of your role to help you better understand the personal involvement possible in such an issue. The four represented groups are: 1) Women who favor suffrage for women, 2) Men who favor suffrage for women, 3) Women who oppose suffrage for women, and 4) Men who oppose suffrage for women. One person will speak at the debate for each group. Even though you may not get to speak for your group you will help compose the arguments for your position on the issue of women's suffrage.

DAILY PROCEDURES:

DAY ONE:

a) Read your student packet and ask any questions of your instructor if you do not understand part of this packet.

b) You will either draw by luck or receive from your instructor your identity and role for the simulation.

c) Study the historical context packet of the Woman's Suffrage Movement included in the back of your student handout.

d) Begin to construct your arguments for and against women's suffrage by using the sheet called "Battlelines." This sheet is designed to help you begin to know both sides

of the issue. Remember the best way to prepare for a debate is to know both sides of the issue and not just the side you draw.

DAY TWO:

a) You will group with others of your position on the issue of suffrage today.

b) Group in the room or an area in your school where the other groups won't be able to hear your discussion of the issue or the speech your group writes for the debate

c) Elect a spokesperson and a secretary for your group. The spokesperson will organize the discussion, read your group's speech for the debate, and state your rebuttal in the debate. The secretary will write the final draft of the speech and take notes of your group's discussion.

d) You may research facts and write your speech at this time by using the evidence packet and your school library, or your instructor may wish you to use only your library or only the packet. You may wish to divide your speech into parts in order to complete this task in this one class time. You will also want to use your "Battlelines" sheet in examining how well you've covered the issue. Remember your group will have only 5 min. to speak in the actual debate, about 5 pages of triple spaced material. You will also be allowed to refute the points of the other groups in a 3 min. rebuttal period. It is suggested that the rest of the group should take notes covering each of the other group's remarks and arguments so you can make the best possible use of your group's rebuttal time. The secretary may re-copy or type the final draft of the speech overnight, but the speech itself must be written in this one class period unless your instructor states otherwise.

DAY THREE:

a) Debate! You may vocally support your speaker and your instructor may encourage you to get into the spirit of the event in other ways like banners, costumes, etc.

Remember, if your instructor declares your group the winners of the debate, each person in your group will receive 10 pts.

b) Following debate/rebuttal the vote will take place. You will receive a paper ballot and should mark it "Yes" or "No". Fold your ballot in half lengthwise and give it to your instructor for the tally.

c) After the vote results have been announced you will discuss the result of that vote.

d) Your final essay will be given to you by your instructor as either a take-home assignment or as an in-class exam. You will be asked to complete two essays from the list of three choices. In addition, you will be asked to complete an evaluation of these simulated activities.

SOLDIERS IN PETTICOATS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The following may be repeating what you already know, but is given to aid you in getting a factual footing for the simulation

I. The Constitution

A. The 19th amendment states, "The rights of citizens of the U.S. to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any state on account of sex. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

1) This means that women could now vote in all elections in those states which denied them the right to vote previously.

2) The House of Representatives and the Senate [Congress] could pass any law necessary to make sure women were given the equal opportunity to vote as were men.

B. An amendment is an addition or change in the Constitution, our chief document of legal government in the U.S.

1) According to the Constitution, a change may be suggested if:

a) two-thirds of both houses of Congress want such a change, or

b) two-thirds of the States, by way of their legislatures, call for a convention to change the Constitution.

2) According to the Constitution, a change will be made if:

a) three-fourths of all State legislatures say "yes" to the suggested change, or

b) three-fourths of called State conventions say "yes" to the suggested change.

3) The 19th amendment received the "yes" vote of at least two-thirds of both houses of

Congress on June 4, 1919. The "yes" vote of 36 states legislatures would be necessary for women of the U.S. to legally have the right to vote. In the summer of 1920, West Virginia and Tennessee became the 35th and 36th States to approve the 19th amendment. Now the law of the U.S. said women had the right to vote in the U.S., 144 years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

II. Milestones of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the U.S.

A. Many early supporters of the women's suffrage movement were or had been active in other reform movements.

1. Many had worked from the 1820's to the 1870's for the abolition of the condition of slavery in the U.S.

2. Many supported and worked in the temperance movement, to control the sale and use of liquor.

3. Many worked for unionization of labor in industry and elsewhere.

B. 1840: Anti-Slavery Convention in London refuses to allow women to participate, tells them they may sit in the back of the hall behind a screen and may not speak or vote as delegates. Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison is one of a few men who protests this move and sits with the women refusing to participate in the convention. From this insulting experience, American women at the convention, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, begin talking about the need of women to meet in convention and discuss their needs and rights.

C. 1848: Seneca Falls, N.Y., first American Women's Rights Convention. On June 19th and 20th, over 300 people attend the convention which include the reading of the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments patterned on the Declaration of Independence by leaders Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and others. In the course of the meetings twelve resolutions are approved including the demand that women have the right to own property, earn fair wages, and be allowed freedom of speech, the right to divorce, equal opportunity in commerce, trade, education, and the professions, and the right to vote!

D. Feminists push for suffrage from 1850 until the 1880's by holding a national convention annually and by speaking on the lyceum circuit.

E. In 1860, New York legislature grants married women the right to own property and own her wages; grants married women the right to enter into a contract with their husbands' approval, or without his approval if he is an alcoholic or insane; wife becomes joint guardian of her children with her husband; and a wife's inheritance becomes hers in every legal sense at the time of her husband's death.

F. Jan. 1, 1863: Lincoln signs the Emancipation Proclamation ending slavery in rebellious states. A group of feminists forms the National Women's Loyal League, a group with just one goal at that time - to end slavery in all of the U.S. Feminists collect 400,000 signatures supporting the 13th amendment, which is passed in 1865.

G. 1868: 14th Amendment is passed. In Sec. 2 of this amendment the word "Male" appears for the first and only time in the Constitution. Feminists protest that this is done on purpose to deny women the right to vote. Some feminists begin more militant protests and civil disobedience by not paying taxes etc.

H. In 1870, the 15th amendment is passed, giving Blacks the full right to vote. By stating that voting rights may not be denied based upon, "Race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude," the Constitution leaves essentially only two kinds of people without the right to suffrage - Indians and Women.

I. Passage of the 15th amendment causes a split in the women's movement, leading to two basic groups of feminists. One group favors concentrating all efforts towards getting the right to vote for women. The second group favors working towards equality for women in all rights, not just voting.

J. 1869: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony withdraw their names and support from the Equal Rights Association and form the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). The NWSA favors fighting for women's equal rights in all areas not just voting.

K. The Revolution, NWSA mouthpiece, has as it's motto: "Men their rights and nothing more, women their rights and nothing less." Susan B. Anthony edits the paper.

L. 1874, Women's Christian Temperance Union is formed. Though the first goal involves use and abuse of alcoholic beverages. many women come to favor woman suffrage by involvement with WCTU.

M. 1870: Lucy Stone and others form the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). The AWSA favors fighting chiefly for one goal - woman suffrage; Members believe that this right must be first won before any Equal Rights Amendment could be won.

N. 1869: the territory of Wyoming gives women there the right to vote, the only legally franchised women in the world. Soon followed by other Western states like Colorado and Utah.

O. Late 19th century to early 20th century: women who favor their right to vote actively seek social and public reform. Women come out in favor of: prohibition, ending prostitution, improving prisons, poorhouses and asylums, physical education for boys and girls. installing public utilities in cities. free libraries, mass public transportation and PEACE!

P. 1900: of America's 25 million workers 20% (5 million) are women. A woman earns one-half to one-third that which is paid to a man.

Q. Suffrage movement from 1890 to 1919 concentrates on securing women's suffrage on a state by state level. By 1919 most states have at least partial suffrage for women but not in national elections.

R. 1910: Socialist Party of America officially endorses the idea of national woman's suffrage. The leading two major parties continue to avoid issue of suffrage on any serious level.

S. Final thrust to give American women the right to vote begins in 1910 when state of Washington gives their women the right to vote.

T. Around 1910, several American women bring British suffragist militant tactics into the fight. Begins the era of parades of women in white, banners, chaining of supporters to the White House gates in protest to Wilson's view of suffrage and quotes like, "For the safety of the Nation to Women give the Vote, For the Hand that rocks the cradle will never rock the boat."

U. By the end of WWI, woman suffrage is only a matter of time. Era of anti-suffrage groups using ruthless tactics such as bribery. One group, National Women's Organization to Oppose Suffrage (NWOS), claims the suffrage movement is a Bolshevik plot!

V. Jan. 10, 1918: Jeanette Rankin (Montana), first woman representative in Congress, introduces formally the proposed 19th amendment to the Constitution.

W. 1918: required vote of 273 in favor is exceeded in the House of Representatives by one vote with 136 members of the House of Representatives opposing the 19th Amendment. Almost another year and one half passes before the Senate votes for the amendment.

X. August 26, 1920: Tennessee becomes the 36th state to ratify the 19th amendment making it the law of the land. Harry Burns, 24 yr. old state legislator, casts the deciding "Yea" vote. His mother had sent

the following telegram: "Hurrah! Vote for suffrage and don't keep them in doubt ... I've been watching to see how you stood but have noticed nothing yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt [leader of NAWSA] put 'Rat' in Ratification."

144 years after the national Declaration of Independence,

137 years after the writing of the Constitution,

72 years after the Seneca Falls Convention -

WOMEN HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE!

BATTLELINES

RESOLVED: Women in the U.S. should have the privilege to vote for leaders and laws in the U.S. in an equal way with men of the U.S.

**Areas or Reasons Yes for Resolution No for Resolution
to argue:

What it would do to the family.		
What it might do to a marriage.		
How it might change the government.		
How it might change the church.		
How it might affect business.		
How it might change women.		
How it might change men.		
How it might change education.		
Other:		

**Intended only to get you started thinking. Don't stop here!

SOLDIERS IN PETTICOATS:
ROLE DESCRIPTIONS

1. You are a 21-year-old public school teacher with an average salary of \$650. This is over \$150 less than a male teacher in the same school would receive. By daring to speak out on this or any issue you may lose your job, but you support women's suffrage.

2. You are a 36-year-old mother of 5 children. You and your husband work a 120 acre farm in Iowa, making about \$463 a year. Despite the conservative nature of your home area you want your children, four of whom are females, to have equal suffrage rights with men.

3. You are a 26-year-old mother of two. Even though you worked with your father in his insurance business in Ohio, when he died everything he owned went into a trust administered for you by a male bank representative. Under the terms of the agreement, the bank official would deal with all decisions directly involving the running of the business and you would receive the profits as would your father. You believe yourself equally capable of making business decisions as the bank person. As a result of this you favor women's rights including suffrage.

4. You are an 18-year-old factory worker and make about \$1050 a year, nearly \$400 less than what a man would make doing the same job. You've watched men in your factory drinking on the job and commit dangerous actions around the machinery. They never seem to be caught by the bosses. A friend of yours on the line was talking to you about the big plans for the factory's own fair, and she was fired for talking on the line. You favor, very vocally, women's suffrage.

5. You are a 24-year-old widow with two children. To support your family you returned to work as a nurse after your husband was killed in a mining accident in Pennsylvania. You make an average salary of \$606. Your husband's will specified everything to be held in trust for you and the children by the bank. The bank is to issue you money as you need it or when the children reach the age of 18. The bank official refuses to give you any money since you can and do work. Your children are ages 10 and 12. You favor women's suffrage.

6. You are a 62-year-old widow, mother of 4 living children. Your dear dead husband left you with a cool \$1 million to do with as you see fit. You favor women's suffrage.

7. You are a mother of 5 children from Indiana. Since your husband, a civil engineer, makes a reasonably good living you work at home as a housewife. Your deeply held Baptist religious views lead to your active opposition to the right of women to vote or do anything else a man can or would do. You oppose suffrage.

8. You are the wife of a leading businessman in Tennessee. As a mother housewife, and devoted wife you oppose women's suffrage because you fear what the results might do to your husband's business and the family as an institution in society.

9. You work as a secretary/clerk in an insurance office in Chicago and your average salary is \$1,415. You oppose the women's suffrage movement because you do not believe women are interested or qualified to participate in politics or in political decisions.

10. You are a telephone operator, aged 19, but you are engaged and plan to quit your job as soon as your intended returns from duty in the Army. Your annual salary is \$906 and you are saving money to buy things for your hope chest, including the chest. You want and expect your husband to take care of you for the rest of your life, so you don't think women need any rights. You oppose women's suffrage.

11. You are a farmer from Nebraska and make about \$463 a year. While many in the Western states favor women's suffrage, you oppose the idea of women voting. Basically, you fear that women don't understand or appreciate the problems faced by a farmer and that they wouldn't vote for politicians who try to understand the farmer's problems. Therefore, you oppose women voting.

12. You are a Senator from New Jersey. You will run for re-election to the Senate in November of this year. You oppose women's suffrage basically because the liquor industry has strongly supported your campaigns in the past. You believe that if women can and do vote they won't be voting for you!

13. You are a veteran of WWI and have only recently returned home to your job as a postal employee for an average salary of \$1 618. You believe you fought the war to preserve the America you left in 1917. Women, you believe are to be protected, adored and shielded from discomfoting events and ideas. Women shouldn't have to worry their pretty little heads with politics, so you oppose suffrage.

14. You are a minister of a Lutheran church in Ohio, making an average salary of \$1,238. You strongly believe the Bible clearly dictates the role of woman as being serviant in all things to the wishes of the

man. Therefore, you oppose the notion that a woman is equal to any man, and you oppose the idea of suffrage as the work of the Devil.

15. You are a doctor in South Carolina and make an average salary of \$1,742. You believe women obtaining and exercising the right to vote will be harmful to their physical health. If society is to have healthy babies, then women must not tax or hurt their brains or any other part of their body by voting. You oppose suffrage for women.

16. You are a miner in West Virginia and the father of four girls and four boys. Your annual salary is \$1,276, and three of your sons work in the mines with you. You don't believe your daughters need to vote. If they did that they might try telling you or your sons other things, too! Your wife's and daughters' place is in the home not at the poll.

17. You are a lawyer from Massachusetts and were active in the abolition movement. You favor women's suffrage and equal rights with men because you believe the Constitution covers all persons. Recently you worked actively in a court case involving the mention of the word "male" in the 14th amendment.

18. You are a minister from Connecticut and favor women's suffrage. You believe God views all peoples as equals. True Christianity, to you, is love and respect for all people. You live the Golden rule idea and favor suffrage for women as a start to true sexual equality. Your congregation supports your active efforts in this.

19. You are a factory worker earning an average of \$1,425. You only recently returned as a WWI veteran and married your childhood sweetheart. Working side by side with some women in the factory and feeling like you just fought a war for democracy you favor women's suffrage and equal rights for women. Since you just returned from the war, you realize that death can happen at any moment. You thus favor knowing that your wife and children will have a chance to make it in the world fairly, even if you are not going to be there.

20. You are a railroad engineer making an average of \$1,477 a year. You are married and have two children, one boy and one girl. Though you have a fairly good job, you believe that your children's future will require a very good education to get a good job. You believe your daughter should be trained for a good job the same as your son so they will not have to depend on anyone but themselves if the times so demand. Thus you favor women's suffrage so your daughter can have the same opportunities as your son.

SOLDIERS IN PETTICOATS:

INDEX FOR EVIDENCE PACKET

Instructor: You may wish to duplicate each of the following in order that each group may have a set of documents.

1. General Statistics for year 1919.
2. Map indicating suffrage in the U.S. before passage of the 19th amendment.
3. Graph on Occupational Distribution of Women in years 1910, 1920, and 1977.
4. Selected quotes on women and suffrage.

The following 20 items should be include in the evidence packet. Most are easily obtainable at your local library.

1. Article: "The Cult of True Womanhood" (pp. 21-41) in Barbara Welter's Dimity Convictions.
2. Article: "The Rationale of Anti-suffragegism" (pp. 12-27) in The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement by Aileen Kraditor.
3. Article: "The Opposition Organizes" (pp. 24-27) in One Half of the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage by Anne F. and Andrew M. Scott.
4. Document: "Declaration of Sentiments" in Scott, pp. 56-59.
5. Document: "The Woman Suffrage Amendment is Introduced, 1874" in Scott, pp. 62-74.
6. Document: "Memorial to Congress on Question: Are Women Enfranchised by the 14th and 15th Amendments?" in Scott, pp. 75-80.
7. Document: "Supreme Court Says Women Are Citizens - But Not Voters" in Scott, pp. 81-89.
8. Document: "Women's Declaration of Rights" in Scott, pp. 90-95.

9. Document: "The Making of a Suffragist", in Scott, pp. 100-101.
10. Document: "Do a Majority of Women...Want the Ballot?", in Scott, pp. 106-111.
11. Document: "Carrie Chapman Catt Describes the Opposition", in Scott, pp. 114-115.
12. Document: "Merely to Stay in the Home is not Enough...". in Scott, pp. 114-115.
13. Document: "The Suffragists: A Collective Sketch", in Scott, pp. 164-165.
14. Document: "Suffrage and the Working Woman, 1871" (pp. 139-145) in Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings and Speeches edited by Ellen Carol DuBois.
15. Document: "Why Women Should Not Meddle with Politics - 1840" (pp. 338-347) in The Female Experience, ed. Carol Travis, Psychology today, Delmar, CA, 1973
16. Document: "Woodrow Wilson - A Press Release" (October 6, 1915) from Presidential Messages, Addresses and State Papers by Woodrow Wilson.
17. Document: "Wilson's Address at the Woman Suffrage Convention, Atlantic City, N.J., September 8, 1916" from Presidential Messages, Addresses and State Papers by Woodrow Wilson.
18. Document: "Letters Written to Susan B. Anthony on Suffrage", pp. 202-207 in DuBois.
19. Article: "Who opposed women's suffrage?" (pp. 298-299) in The Women's Movement by Barbara Sinclair Deckard.
20. Article: "Women Anti-Suffragists in the 1915 Massachusetts Campaign" (pp. 80-93) in The New England Quarterly, Fall 1979.

General Statistics for 1919

Population of U.S : 104,514,000

Female Population of U.S.: 51,411,000

Average Life expectancy: White woman (57 years)

Black or other woman (44 years)

Approx. number of women of legal voting age: 34,000,000

Number of employed persons: 41,230,000

Number of employed women: 8,522,000 (28.3% of total work force)

Average number of hours for housework per week: 54 hours.

Earnings and Hours Worked:

	AVERAGE HOUR EARNINGS	AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS	AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
ALL WORKERS	\$.60	48.2	\$29.39
MALE	\$.64	49.2	\$31.69
FEMALE	\$.41	43	\$17.71

1919 Retail Prices of Selected Foods*

Flour (5 lbs): \$.36

Bread: \$.10

Round Steak: \$.39

Chuck Roast: \$.27

Pork Chops: \$.42

Bacon: \$.55

Butter: \$.68

Margarine \$.41

Eggs (Dozen): \$.63

Milk (half a gallon delivered): \$.31

Oranges: \$.53

Potatoes: \$.38

Tomatoes (canned): \$.14

Navy Beans: \$.13

Coffee: \$.43

Sugar: \$.56

292

*pe · pound unless noted otherwise

* ACTIVITY TIME SHEET: SOLDIERS IN PETTICOATS

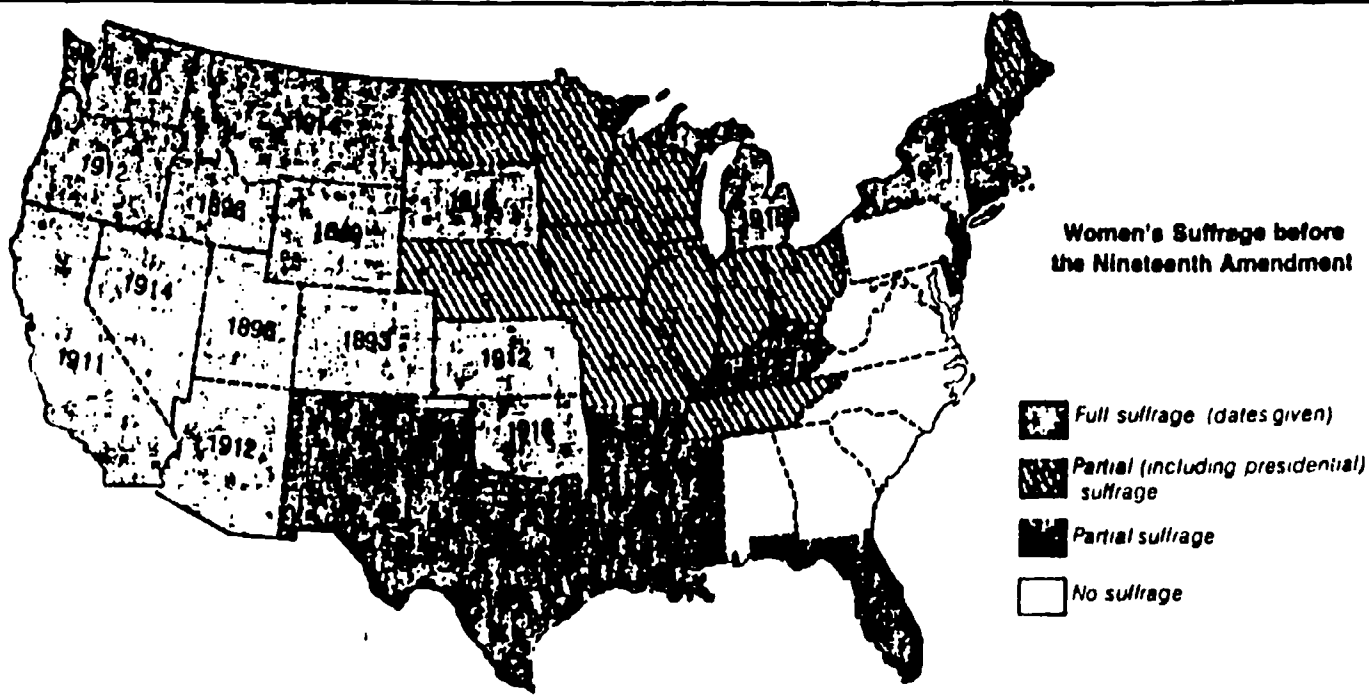
	DAY 1	DAY 2	DAY 3	
<u>PRE-ACTIVITY</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Explain idea of simulation to class. b. Go over student sheet. c. Assign roles. d. Student study time for role. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Pre-Debate meeting of the factions. b. Speech writing by the factions using the evidence packet plus any other research students develop. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Debate, four speeches of not more than 5 minutes. b. Rebuttal of each speaker of not more than 3 minutes each. c. Vote. d. Discussion of vote. 	<u>POST-ACTIVITY</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Students examine suffrage as viewed in their textbook. b. Instructor may wish an audio-visual explanation of the time period, 1880-1920. c. Students may wish to do a brief research sketch of an individual active in the suffrage movement, worth up to 10 points on final essay. 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Discuss validity of this simulation for both past and future. Was this a useful exercise to the student? b. Evaluation - did the student obtain anything from this? ESSAY

* While this setup is basically for a three/four day period, instructors may wish to vary length according to levels of abilities, class time, and exactly what you wish to use the simulation to accomplish.

274

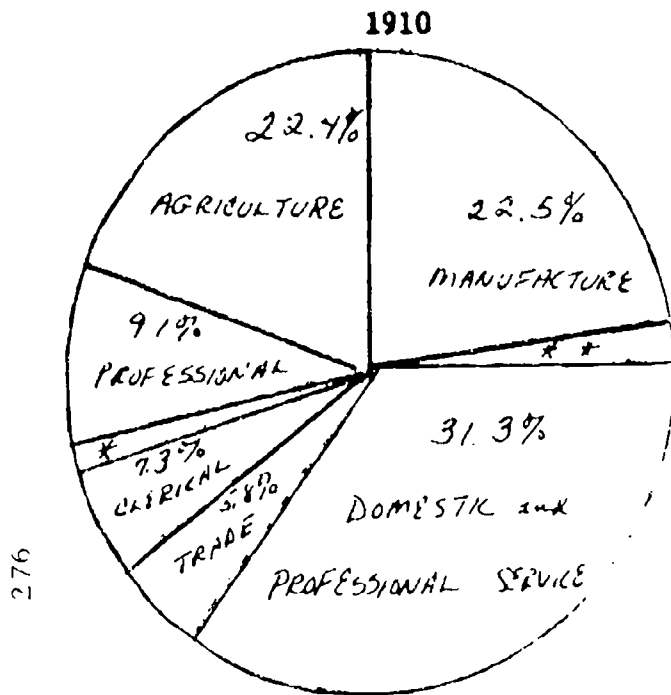
274

274



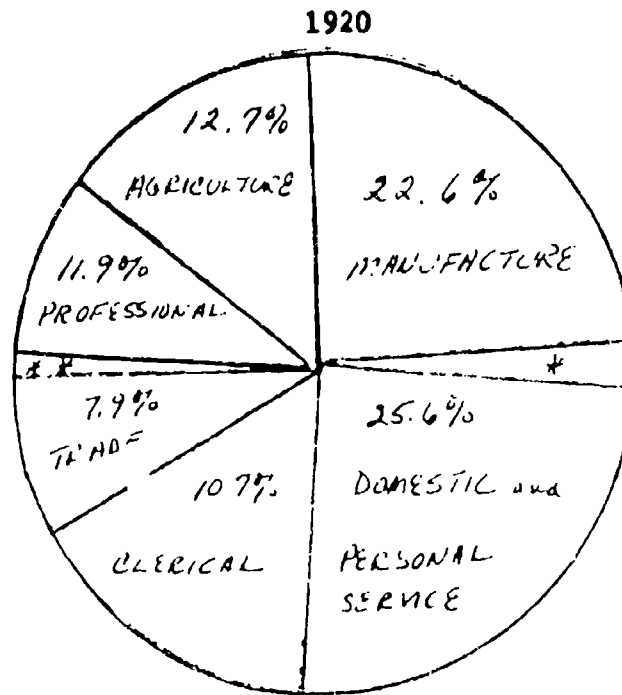
Taken from: America: Changing Times,
by Dollar et al, pg.732.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN 1910 AND 1920 AND 1977*



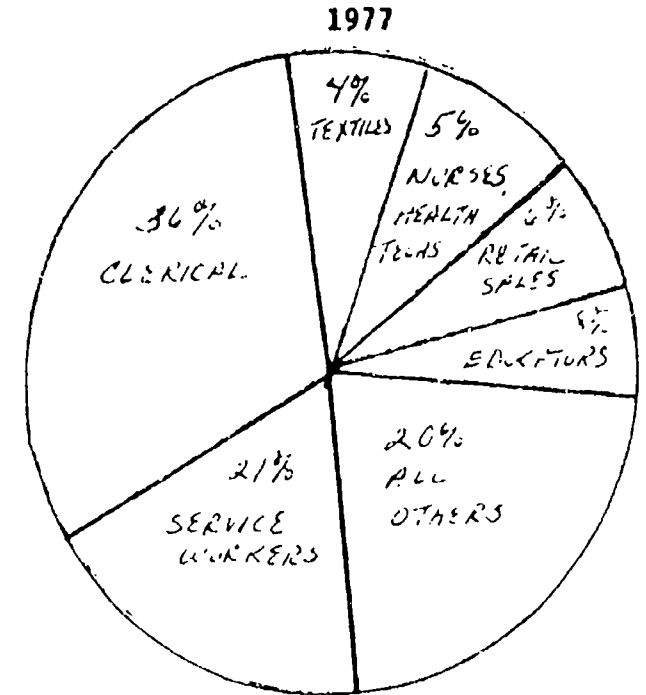
* .3% Public Service
**1.3% Transportation

Number of women gainfully employed in U. S.: 8,075,772, (23.4%) of the total work force.



*2.5% Transportation
** .2% Public Service

Number of women gainfully employed in U. S.: 8,549,511, (21.1%) of the total work force.



Number of women gainfully employed in U. S.: 28 million, (45%) of the total work force.

* 1977 is given for your students' information - as far as the simulation is concerned - (1977) is 58 years in the future.

THE CULT OF TRUE WOMANHOOD

1820-1860

The nineteenth-century American man was a busy builder of bridges and railroads, at work long hours in a materialistic society. The religious values of his forebears were neglected in practice if not in intent, and he occasionally felt some guilt that he had turned this new land, this temple of the chosen people, into one vast countinghouse. But he could salve his conscience by reflecting that he had left behind a hostage, not only to fortune, but to all the values which he held so dear and treated so lightly. Woman, in the cult of True Womanhood¹ presented by the women's magazines, gift annuals and religious literature of the nineteenth century, was the hostage in the home.² In a society where values changed frequently, where fortunes rose and fell with frightening rapidity, where social and economic mobility provided instability as well as hope, one thing at least remained the same—a true woman was a true woman, wherever she was found. If anyone, male or female, dared to tamper with the complex of virtues which made up True Womanhood, he was damned immediately as an enemy of God, of civilization and of the Republic. It was a fearful obligation, a solemn responsibility, the nineteenth-century American woman had—to uphold the pillars of the temple with her frail white hand.

The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society, could be divided into four cardinal virtues—piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Put them all together and they spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife—woman. Without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement or wealth, all was ashes. With them she was promised happiness and power.

Religion or piety was the core of woman's virtue, the source of her strength. Young men looking for a mate were cautioned to

search first for piety, for if that were there, all else would follow.³ Religion belonged to woman by divine right, a gift of God and nature. This "peculiar susceptibility" to religion was given her for a reason: "the vestal flame of piety, lighted up by Heaven in the breast of woman" would throw its beams into the naughty world of men.⁴ So far would its candle power reach that the "Universe might be Enlightened, Improved, and Harmonized by WOMAN!!"⁵ She would be another, better Eve, working in cooperation with the Redeemer, bringing the world back "from its revolt and sin."⁶ The world would be reclaimed for God through her suffering, for "God increased the cares and sorrows of woman that she might be sooner constrained to accept the terms of salvation."⁷ A popular poem by Mrs. Frances Osgood, "The Triumph of the Spiritual Over the Sensual," expressed just this sentiment, woman's purifying passionless love bringing an erring man back to Christ.⁸

Dr. Charles Meigs, explaining to a graduating class of medical students why women were naturally religious, said that "hers is a pious mind. Her confiding nature leads her more readily than men to accept the proffered grace of the Gospel."⁹ Caleb Atwater, Esq., writing in *The Ladies' Repository*, saw the hand of the Lord in female piety: "Religion is exactly what a woman needs, for it gives her that dignity that best suits her dependence."¹⁰ And Mrs. John Sandford, who had no very high opinion of her sex, agreed thoroughly: "Religion is just what woman needs. Without it she is ever restless or unhappy. . . ."¹¹ Mrs. Sandford and the others did not speak only of that restlessness of the human heart, which St. Augustine notes, that can only find its peace in God. They spoke rather of religion as a kind of tranquilizer for the many undefined longings which swept even the most pious young girl, and about which it was better to pray than to think.

One reason religion was valued was that it did not take a woman away from her "proper sphere," her home. Unlike participation in other societies or movements, church work would not make her less domestic or submissive, less a True Woman. In religious vineyards, said the *Young Ladies' Literary and Missionary Report*, "you may labor without the apprehension of detracting from the charms of feminine delicacy." Mrs. S. L. Dagg, writing from her chapter of the Society in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, was equally reassuring: "As no sensible woman will suffer her intellectual pursuits to clash with her domestic duties" she should concentrate on religious work "which promotes these very duties."¹²

The women's seminaries aimed at aiding women to be religious, as well as accomplished. Mt. Holyoke's catalogue promised to make female education "a handmaid to the Gospel and an efficient auxiliary in the great task of renovating the world."¹³ The Young Ladies' Seminary at Bordentown, New Jersey, declared its most important function to be "the forming of a sound and virtuous character."¹⁴ In Keene, New Hampshire, the Seminary tried to instill a "consistent and useful character" in its students, to enable them in this life to be "a good friend, wife and mother" but more important, to qualify them for "the enjoyment of Celestial Happiness in the life to come."¹⁵ And Joseph M' D. Mathews, Principal of Oakland Female Seminary in Hillsborough, Ohio, believed that "female education should be preeminently religious."¹⁶

If religion was so vital to a woman, irreligion was almost too awful to contemplate. Women were warned not to let their literary or intellectual pursuits take them away from God. Sarah Josepha Hale spoke darkly of those who, like Margaret Fuller, threw away the "One True Book" for others, open to error. Mrs. Hale used the unfortunate Miss Fuller as fateful proof that "the greater the intellectual force, the greater and more fatal the errors into which women fall who wander from the Rock of Salvation, Christ the Saviour."

One gentleman, writing on "Female Irreligion" reminded his readers that "Man may make himself a brute, and does so very often, but can woman brutify herself to his level—the lowest level of human nature—without exerting special wonder?" Fanny Wright, because she was godless, "was no woman, mother though she be." A few years ago, he recalls, such women would have been whipped. In any case, "woman never looks lovelier than in her reverence for religion" and, conversely, "female irreligion is the most revolting feature in human character."¹⁸

Purity was as essential as piety to a young woman, its absence as unnatural and unfeminine. Without it she was, in fact, no woman at all, but a member of some lower order. A "fallen woman" was a "fallen angel," unworthy of the celestial company of her sex. To contemplate the loss of purity brought tears; to be guilty of such a crime, in the women's magazines at least, brought madness or death. Even the language of the flowers had bitter words for it: a dried white rose symbolized "Death Preferable to Loss of Innocence."¹⁹ The marriage night was the single great event of a woman's life, when she bestowed her greatest treasure upon her

husband, and from that time on was completely dependent upon him, an empty vessel,²⁰ without legal or emotional existence of her own.²¹

Therefore all True Women were urged, in the strongest possible terms, to maintain their virtue, although men, being by nature more sensual than they, would try to assault it. Thomas Branagan admitted in *The Excellency of the Female Character Vindicated* that his sex would sin and sin again, they could not help it, but woman, stronger and purer, must not give in and let man "take liberties incompatible with her delicacy." "If you do," Branagan addressed his gentle reader, "You will be left in silent sadness to bewail your credulity, imbecility, duplicity, and premature prostitution."²²

Mrs. Eliza Farrar, in *The Young Lady's Friend*, gave practical logistics to avoid trouble: "Sit not with another in a place that is too narrow; read not out of the same book; let not your eagerness to see anything induce you to place your head close to another person's."²³

If such good advice was ignored the consequences were terrible and inexorable. In *Girlhood and Womanhood: Or Sketches of My Schoolmates*, by Mrs. A. J. Graves (a kind of mid-nineteenth-century *The Group*), the bad ends of a boarding school class of girls are scrupulously recorded. The worst end of all is reserved for "Amelia Dorrington: The Lost One." Amelia died in the almshouse "the wretched victim of depravity and intemperance" and all because her mother had let her be "high-spirited not prudent." These girlish high spirits had been misinterpreted by a young man, with disastrous results. Amelia's "thoughtless levity" was "followed by a total loss of virtuous principle" and Mrs. Graves editorializes that "the coldest reserve is more admirable in a woman a man wishes to make his wife, than the least approach to undue familiarity."²⁴

A popular and often-reprinted story by Fanny Forester told the sad tale of "Lucy Dutton." Lucy "with the seal of innocence upon her heart, and a rose-leaf on her cheek" came out of her vine-covered cottage and ran into a city slicker. "And Lucy was beautiful and trusting, and thoughtless; and he was gay, selfish and profligate. Needs the story to be told? . . . Nay, censor, Lucy was a child—consider how young, how very untaught—oh! her innocence was no match for the sophistry of a gay, city youth! Spring came and shame was stamped upon the cottage at the foot

of the hill." The baby died; Lucy went mad at the funeral and finally died herself. "Poor, poor Lucy Dutton! The grave is a blessed couch and pillow to the wretched. Rest thee there, poor Lucy!"²⁵ The frequency with which derangement follows loss of virtue suggests the exquisite sensibility of woman, and the possibility that, in the women's magazines at least, her intellect was geared to her hymen, not her brain.

If, however, a woman managed to withstand man's assaults on her virtue, she demonstrated her superiority and her power over him. Eliza Farnham, trying to prove this female superiority, concluded smugly that "the purity of women is the everlasting barrier against which the tides of man's sensual nature surge."²⁶

279 A story in *The Lady's Amaranth* illustrates this dominance. It is set, improbably, in Sicily, where two lovers, Bianca and Tebaldo, have been separated because her family insisted she marry a rich old man. By some strange circumstance the two are in a shipwreck and cast on a desert island, the only survivors. Even here, however, the rigid standards of True Womanhood prevail. Tebaldo unfortunately forgets himself slightly, so that Bianca must warn him: "We may not indeed gratify our fondness by caresses, but it is still something to bestow our kindest language, and looks and prayers, and all lawful and honest attentions on each other." Something, perhaps, but not enough, and Bianca must further remonstrate: "It is true that another man is my husband, but you are my guardian angel." When even that does not work she says in a voice of sweet reason, passive and proper to the end, that she wishes he wouldn't but "still, if you insist, I will become what you wish; but I beseech you to consider, ere that decision, that debasement which I must suffer in your esteem." This appeal to his own double standards holds the beast in him at bay. They are rescued, discover that the old husband is dead, and after "mourning a decent season" Bianca finally gives in, legally.²⁷

Men could be counted on to be grateful when women thus saved them from themselves. William Alcott, guiding young men in their relations with the opposite sex, told them that "Nothing is better calculated to preserve a young man from contamination of low pleasures and pursuits than frequent intercourse with the more refined and virtuous of the other sex." And he added, one assumes in equal innocence, that youths should "observe and

learn to admire, that purity and ignorance of evil which is the characteristic of well-educated young ladies, and which, when we are near them, raises us above those sordid and sensual considerations which hold such sway over men in their intercourse with each other."²⁸

The Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns was also impressed by female chastity in the face of male passion, and warned woman never to compromise the source of her power: "Let her lay aside delicacy, and her influence over our sex is gone."²⁹

Women themselves accepted, with pride but suitable modesty, this priceless virtue. *The Ladies' Wreath*, in "Woman the Creature of God and the Manufacturer of Society" saw purity as her greatest gift and chief means of discharging her duty to save the world: "Purity is the highest beauty—the true pole-star which is to guide humanity aright in its long, varied, and perilous voyage."³⁰

Sometimes, however, a woman did not see the dangers to her treasure. In that case, they must be pointed out to her, usually by a male. In the nineteenth century any form of social change was tantamount to an attack on woman's virtue, if only it was correctly understood. For example, dress reform seemed innocuous enough and the bloomers worn by the lady of that name and her followers were certainly modest attire. Such was the reasoning only of the ignorant. In another issue of *The Ladies' Wreath* a young lady is represented in dialogue with her "Professor." The girl expresses admiration for the bloomer costume—it gives freedom of motion, is healthful and attractive. The "Professor" sets her straight. Trousers, he explains, are "only one of the many manifestations of that wild spirit of socialism and agrarian radicalism which is at present so rife in our land." The young lady recants immediately: "If this dress has any connexion with Fourierism or Socialism, or fanaticism in any shape whatever, I have no disposition to wear it at all . . . no true woman would so far compromise her delicacy as to espouse, however unwittingly, such a cause."³¹

America could boast that her daughters were particularly innocent. In a poem on "The American Girl" the author wrote proudly:

Her eye of light is the diamond bright,
Her innocence the pearl,
And these are ever the bridal gems
That are worn by the American girl.³²

Lydia Maria Child, giving advice to mothers, aimed at preserving that spirit of innocence. She regretted that "want of confidence between mothers and daughters on delicate subjects" and suggested a woman tell her daughter a few facts when she reached the age of twelve to "set her mind at rest." Then Mrs. Child confidently hoped that a young lady's "instinctive modesty" would "prevent her from dwelling on the information until she was called upon to use it."³³ In the same vein, a book of advice to the newly-married was titled *Whisper to a Bride*.³⁴ As far as intimate information was concerned, there was no need to whisper, since the book contained none at all.

A masculine summary of this virtue was expressed in a poem "Female Charms";

I would have her as pure as the snow on the mount—
As true as the smile that to infamy's given—
As pure as the wave of the crystalline fount,
Yet as warm in the heart as the sunlight of heaven.
With a mind cultivated, not boastingly wise,
I could gaze on such beauty, with exquisite bliss;
With her heart on her lips and her soul in her eyes—
What more could I wish in dear woman than this.³⁵

Man might, in fact, ask no more than this in woman, but she was beginning to ask more of herself, and in the asking was threatening the third powerful and necessary virtue, submission. Purity, considered as a moral imperative, set up a dilemma which was hard to resolve. Woman must preserve her virtue until marriage and marriage was necessary for her happiness. Yet marriage was, literally, an end to innocence. She was told not to question this dilemma, but simply to accept it.

Submission was perhaps the most feminine virtue expected of women. Men were supposed to be religious, although they rarely had time for it, and supposed to be pure, although it came awfully hard to them, but men were the movers, the doers, the

actors. Women were the passive, submissive responders. The order of dialogue was, of course, fixed in Heaven. Man was "woman's superior by God's appointment, if not in intellectual dowry, at least by official decree." Therefore, as Charles Elliott argued in *The Ladies' Repository*, she should submit to him "for the sake of good order at least."³⁶ In *The Ladies Companion* a young wife was quoted approvingly as saying that she did not think woman should "feel and act for herself" because "When, next to God, her husband is not the tribunal to which her heart and intellect appeals—the golden bowl of affection is broken."³⁷ Women were warned that if they tampered with this quality they tampered with the order of the Universe.

The Young Lady's Book summarized the necessity of the passive virtues in its readers' lives: "It is, however, certain, that in whatever situation of life a woman is placed from her cradle to her grave, a spirit of obedience and submission, pliability of temper, and humility of mind, are required from her."³⁸

Woman understood her position if she was the right kind of woman, a true woman. "She feels herself weak and timid. She needs a protector," declared George Burnap, in his lectures on *The Sphere and Duties of Woman*. "She is in a measure dependent. She asks for wisdom, constancy, firmness, perseverance, and she is willing to repay it all by the surrender of the full treasure of her affections. Woman despises in man every thing like herself except a tender heart. It is enough that she is effeminate and weak; she does not want another like herself."³⁹ Or put even more strongly by Mrs. Sandford: "A really sensible woman feels her dependence. She does what she can, but she is conscious of inferiority, and therefore grateful for support."⁴⁰

Mrs. Sigourney, however, assured young ladies that although they were separate, they were equal. This difference of the sexes did not imply inferiority, for it was part of that same order of Nature established by Him "who bids the oak brave the fury of the tempest, and the alpine flower lean its cheek on the bosom of eternal snows."⁴¹ Dr. Meigs had a different analogy to make the same point, contrasting the anatomy of the Apollo of the Belvedere (illustrating the male principle) with the Venus de Medici (illustrating the female principle). "Woman," said the physician, with a kind of clinical gallantry, "has a head almost too small for intellect but just big enough for love."⁴²

This love itself was to be passive and responsive. "Love, in the heart of a woman," wrote Mrs. Farrar, "should partake largely of the nature of gratitude. She should love, because she is already loved by one deserving her regard."⁴³

Woman was to work in silence, unseen, like Wordsworth's Lucy. Yet, "working like nature, in secret" her love goes forth to the world "to regulate its pulsation, and send forth from its heart, in pure and temperate flow, the life-giving current."⁴⁴ She was to work only for pure affection, without thought of money or ambition. A poem, "Woman and Fame," by Felicia Hemans, widely quoted in many of the gift books, concludes with a spirited renunciation of the gift of fame:

Away! to me, a woman, bring
Sweet flowers from affection's spring.⁴⁵

"True feminine genius," said Grace Greenwood (Sara Jane Clarke) "is ever timid, doubtful, and clingingly dependent; a perpetual childhood." And she advised literary ladies in an essay on "The Intellectual Woman"—"Don't trample on the flowers while longing for the stars."⁴⁶ A wife who submerged her own talents to work for her husband was extolled as an example of a true woman. In *Women of Worth: A Book for Girls*, Mrs. Ann Flaxman, an artist of promise herself, was praised because she "devoted herself to sustain her husband's genius and aid him in his arduous career."⁴⁷

Caroline Gilman's advice to the bride aimed at establishing this proper order from the beginning of a marriage: "Oh, young and lovely bride, watch well the first moments when your will conflicts with his to whom God and society have given the control. Reverence his *wishes* even when you do not his *opinions*."⁴⁸

Mrs. Gilman's perfect wife in *Recollections of a Southern Matron* realizes that "the three golden threads with which domestic happiness is woven" are "to repress a harsh answer, to confess a fault, and to stop (right or wrong) in the midst of self-defense, in gentle submission." Woman could do this, hard though it was, because in her heart she knew she was right and so could afford to be forgiving, even a trifle condescending. "Men are not unreasonable," averred Mrs. Gilman. "Their difficulties lie in not understanding the moral and physical nature of our sex. They

often wound through ignorance, and are surprised at having offended." Wives were advised to do their best to reform men, but if they couldn't, to give up gracefully. "If any habit of his annoyed me, I spoke of it once or twice, calmly, then bore it quietly."⁴⁹

A wife should occupy herself "only with domestic affairs—wait till your husband confides to you those of a high importance—and do not give your advice until he asks for it," advised the *Lady's Token*. At all times she should behave in a manner becoming a woman, who had "no arms other than gentleness." Thus "if he is abusive, never retort."⁵⁰ *A Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of a Christian Character* suggested that females should "become as little children" and "avoid a controversial spirit."⁵¹ *The Mother's Assistant and Young Lady's Friend* listed "Always Conciliate" as its first commandment in "Rules for Conjugal and Domestic Happiness." Small wonder that these same rules ended with the succinct maxim: "Do not expect too much."⁵²

As mother, as well as wife, woman was required to submit to fortune. In *Letters to Mothers* Mrs. Sigourney sighed: "To bear the evils and sorrows which may be appointed us, with a patient mind, should be the continual effort of our sex. . . . It seems, indeed, to be expected of us; since the passive and enduring virtues are more immediately within our province." Of these trials "the hardest was to bear the loss of children with submission" but the indomitable Mrs. Sigourney found strength to murmur to the bereaved mother: "The Lord loveth a cheerful giver."⁵³ *The Ladies' Parlor Companion* agreed thoroughly in "A Submissive Mother," in which a mother who had already buried two children and was nursing a dying baby saw her sole remaining child "probably scalded to death. Handing over the infant to die in the arms of a friend, she bowed in sweet submission to the double stroke." But the child "through the goodness of God survived, and the mother learned to say 'Thy will be done.'"⁵⁴

Woman then, in all her roles, accepted submission as her lot. It was a lot she had not chosen or deserved. As Godey's said, "the lesson of submission is forced upon woman." Without comment or criticism the writer affirms that "To suffer and to be silent under suffering seems the great command she has to

obey"⁵⁵ George Burnap referred to a woman's life as "a series of suppressed emotions."⁵⁶ She was, as Emerson said, "more vulnerable, more infirm, more mortal than man."⁵⁷ The death of a beautiful woman, cherished in fiction, represented woman as the innocent victim, suffering without sin, too pure and good for this world but too weak and passive to resist its evil forces.⁵⁸ The best refuge for such a delicate creature was the warmth and safety of her home.

The true woman's place was unquestionably by her own fireside—as daughter, sister, but most of all as wife and mother. Therefore domesticity was among the virtues most prized by the women's magazines. "As society is constituted," wrote Mrs. S. E. Farley, on the "Domestic and Social Claims on Woman," "the true dignity and beauty of the female character seem to consist in a right understanding and faithful and cheerful performance of social and family duties."⁵⁹ Sacred Scripture reinforced social pressure: "St. Paul knew what was best for women when he advised them to be domestic," said Mrs. Sandford. "There is composure at home; there is something sedative in the duties which home involves. It affords security not only from the world, but from delusions and errors of every kind."⁶⁰

From her home woman performed her great task of bringing men back to God. *The Young Ladies' Class Book* was sure that "the domestic fireside is the great guardian of society against the excesses of human passions."⁶¹ *The Lady at Home* expressed its convictions in its very title and concluded that "even if we cannot reform the world in a moment, we can begin the work by reforming ourselves and our households—It is woman's mission. Let her not look away from her own little family circle for the means of producing moral and social reforms, but begin at home."⁶²

Home was supposed to be a cheerful place, so that brothers, husbands and sons would not go elsewhere in search of a good time. Woman was expected to dispense comfort and cheer. In writing the biography of Margaret Mercer (every inch a true woman) her biographer (male) notes: "She never forgot that it is the peculiar province of woman to minister to the comfort, and promote the happiness, first, of those most nearly allied to her, and then of those, who by the Providence of God are placed in a state of dependence upon her."⁶³ Many other essays in

the women's journals showed woman as comforter: "Woman, Man's Best Friend," "Woman, the Greatest Social Benefit," "Woman, A Being to Come Home To," "The Wife: Source of Comfort and the Spring of Joy."⁶⁴

One of the most important functions of woman as comforter was her role as nurse. Her own health was probably, although regrettably, delicate.⁶⁵ Many homes had "little sufferers," those pale children who wasted away to saintly deaths. And there were enough other illnesses of youth and age, major and minor, to give the nineteenth-century American woman nursing experience. The sickroom called for the exercise of her higher qualities of patience, mercy and gentleness as well as for her housewifely arts. She could thus fulfill her dual feminine function—beauty and usefulness.

The cookbooks of the period offer formulas for gout cordials, ointment for sore nipples, hiccup and cough remedies, opening pills and refreshing drinks for fever, along with recipes for pound cake, jumbles, stewed calves head and currant wine.⁶⁶ *The Ladies' New Book of Cookery* believed that "food prepared by the kind hand of a wife, mother, sister, friend" tasted better and had a "restorative power which money cannot purchase."⁶⁷

A chapter of *The Young Lady's Friend* was devoted to woman's privilege as "ministering spirit at the couch of the sick." Mrs. Farrar advised a soft voice, gentle and clean hands, and a cheerful smile. She also cautioned against an excess of female delicacy. That was all right for a young lady in the parlor, but not for bedside manners. Leeches, for example, were to be regarded as "a curious piece of mechanism . . . their ornamental stripes should recommend them even to the eye, and their valuable services to our feelings." And she went on calmly to discuss their use. Nor were women to shrink from medical terminology, since "If you cultivate right views of the wonderful structure of the body, you will be as willing to speak to a physician of the bowels as the brains of your patient."⁶⁸

Nursing the sick, particularly sick males, not only made a woman feel useful and accomplished, but increased her influence. In a piece of heavyhanded humor in *Codey's* a man confessed that some women were only happy when their husbands were ailing that they might have the joy of nursing him to recovery "thus gratifying their medical vanity and their love of

power by making him more dependent upon them."⁶⁹ In a similar vein a husband sometimes suspected his wife "almost wishes me dead—for the pleasure of being utterly inconsolable."⁷⁰

In the home women were not only the highest adornment of civilization, but they were supposed to keep busy at morally uplifting tasks. Fortunately most of housework, if looked at in true womanly fashion, could be regarded as uplifting. Mrs. Sigourney extolled its virtues: "The science of housekeeping affords exercise for the judgment and energy, ready recollection, and patient self-possession, that are the characteristics of a superior mind."⁷¹ According to Mrs. Farrar, making beds was good exercise, the repetitiveness of routine tasks inculcated patience and perseverance, and proper management of the home was a surprisingly complex art: "There is more to be learned about pouring out tea and coffee, than most young ladies are willing to believe."⁷² Godey's went so far as to suggest coyly, in "Learning vs. Housewifery" that the two were complementary, not opposed: chemistry could be utilized in cooking, geometry in dividing cloth, and phrenology in discovering talent in children.⁷³

Women were to master every variety of needlework, for, as Mrs. Sigourney pointed out, "Needle-work, in all its forms of use, elegance, and ornament, has ever been the appropriate occupation of woman."⁷⁴ Embroidery improved taste; knitting promoted serenity and economy.⁷⁵ Other forms of artsy-craftsy activity for her leisure moments included painting on glass or velvet, Poonah work, tussy-mussy frames for her own needlepoint or water colors, stands for hyacinths, hair bracelets or baskets of feathers.⁷⁶

She was expected to have a special affinity for flowers. To the editors of *The Lady's Token* "A Woman never appears more truly in her sphere, than when she divides her time between her domestic avocations and the culture of flowers."⁷⁷ She could write letters, an activity particularly feminine since it had to do with the outpourings of the heart,⁷⁸ or practice her drawingroom skills of singing and playing an instrument. She might even read.

Here she faced a bewildering array of advice. The female was dangerously addicted to novels, according to the literature of the period. She should avoid them, since they interfered with "serious

piety." If she simply couldn't help herself and read them anyway, she should choose edifying ones from lists of morally acceptable authors. She should study history since it "showed the depravity of the human heart and the evil nature of sin." On the whole, "religious biography was best."⁷⁹

The women's magazines themselves could be read without any loss of concern for the home. *Godey's* promised the husband that he would find his wife "no less assiduous for his reception, or less sincere in welcoming his return" as a result of reading their magazine.⁸⁰ *The Lily of the Valley* won its right to be admitted to the boudoir by confessing that it was "like its namesake humble and unostentatious, but it is yet pure, and, we trust, free from moral imperfections."⁸¹

No matter what later authorities claimed, the nineteenth century knew that girls *could* be ruined by a book. The seduction stories regard "exciting and dangerous books" as contributory causes of disaster. The man without honorable intentions always provides the innocent maiden with such books as a prelude to his assault on her virtue.⁸² Books which attacked or seemed to attack woman's accepted place in society were regarded as equally dangerous. A reviewer of Harriet Martineau's *Society in America* wanted it kept out of the hands of American women. They were so susceptible to persuasion, with their "gentle yielding natures" that they might listen to "the bold ravings of the hard-featured of their own sex." The frightening result: "such reading will unsettle them for their true station and pursuits, and they will throw the world back again into confusion."⁸³

The debate over women's education posed the question of whether a "finished" education detracted from the practice of housewifely arts. Again it proved to be a case of semantics, for a true woman's education was never "finished" until she was instructed in the gentle science of homemaking.⁸⁴ Helen Irving, writing on "Literary Women," made it very clear that if women invoked the muse, it was as a genie of the household lamp. "If the necessities of her position require these duties at her hands, she will perform them nonetheless cheerfully, that she knows herself capable of higher things." The literary woman must conform to the same standards as any other woman: "That her home shall be made a loving place of rest and joy and comfort for those who are dear to her, will be the first wish of every true woman's heart."⁸⁵ Mrs. Ann

Stephens told women who wrote to make sure they did not sacrifice one domestic duty. "As for genius, make it a domestic plant. Let its roots strike deep in your house. . . ."86

The fear of "blue stockings" (the eighteenth-century male's term of derision for educated or literary women) need not persist for nineteenth-century American men. The magazines presented spurious dialogues in which bachelors were convinced of their fallacy in fearing educated wives. One such dialogue took place between a young man and his female cousin. Ernest deprecates learned ladies ("A *Woman* is far more lovable than a *philosopher*") but Alice refutes him with the beautiful example of their Aunt Barbara who "although she *has* perpetrated the heinous crime of writing some half dozen folios" is still a model of "the spirit of feminine gentleness." His memory prodded, Ernest concedes that, by George, there was a woman: "When I last had a cold she not only made me a bottle of cough syrup, but when I complained of nothing new to read, set to work and wrote some twenty stanzas on consumption."⁸⁷

The magazines were filled with domestic tragedies in which spoiled young girls learned that when there was a hungry man to feed French and china painting were not helpful. According to these stories many a marriage is jeopardized because the wife has not learned to keep house. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote a sprightly piece of personal experience for *Godey's*, ridiculing her own bad housekeeping as a bride. She used the same theme in a story "The Only Daughter," in which the pampered beauty learns the facts of domestic life from a rather difficult source, her mother-in-law. Mrs. Hamilton tells Caroline in the sweetest way possible to shape up in the kitchen, reserving her rebuke for her son: "You are her husband—her guide—her protector—now see what you can do," she admonishes him. "Give her credit for every effort: treat her faults with tenderness; encourage and praise whenever you can, and depend upon it, you will see another woman in her." He is properly masterful, she properly domestic and in a few months Caroline is making lumpless gravy and keeping up with the darning. Domestic tranquillity has been restored and the young wife moralizes: "Bring up a girl to feel that she has a responsible part to bear in promoting the happiness of the family, and you make a reflecting being of her at once, and remove that lightness and frivolity of character which makes her shrink from graver studies."⁸⁸ These stories end

with the heroine drying her hands on her apron and vowing that *her* daughter will be properly educated, in piecrust as well as Poonah work.

The female seminaries were quick to defend themselves against any suspicion of interfering with the role which nature's God had assigned to women. They hoped to enlarge and deepen that role, but not to change its setting. At the Young Ladies' Seminary and Collegiate Institute in Monroe City, Michigan, the catalogue admitted few of its graduates would be likely "to fill the learned professions." Still, they were called to "other scenes of usefulness and honor." The average woman is to be "the presiding genius of love" in the home, where she is to "give a correct and elevated literary taste to her children, and to assume that influential station that she ought to possess as the companion of an educated man."⁸⁹

At Miss Pierce's famous school in Litchfield, the students were taught that they had "attained the perfection of their characters when they could combine their elegant accomplishments with a turn for solid domestic virtues."⁹⁰ Mt. Holyoke paid pious tribute to domestic skills: "Let a young lady despise this branch of the duties of woman, and she despises the appointments of her existence." God, nature and the Bible "enjoin these duties on the sex, and she cannot violate them with impunity." Thus warned, the young lady would have to seek knowledge of these duties elsewhere, since it was not in the curriculum at Mt. Holyoke. "We would not take this privilege from the mother."⁹¹

One reason for knowing her way around a kitchen was that America was "a land of precarious fortunes," as Lydia Maria Child pointed out in her book *The Frugal Housewife: Dedicated to Those Who Are Not Ashamed of Economy*. Mrs. Child's chapter "How To End Poverty" prescribed a combination of piety and knowledge—the kernel of knowledge found in a true woman's education, "a thorough religious *useful* education."⁹² The woman who had servants today, might tomorrow, because of a depression or panic, be forced to do her own work. If that happened she knew how to act, for she was to be the same cheerful consoler of her husband in their cottage as in their mansion.

An essay by Washington Irving, much quoted in the gift annuals, discussed the value of a wife in case of business reverses: "I have observed that a married man falling into misfortune is more apt to achieve his situation in the world than a single one . . . it is beauti-

fully ordained by Providence that woman, who is the ornament of man in his happier hours, should be his stay and solace when smitten with sudden calamity."⁹³

A story titled simply but eloquently "The Wife" dealt with the quiet heroism of Ellen Graham during her husband's plunge from fortune to poverty. Ned Graham said of her: "Words are too poor to tell you what I owe to that noble woman. In our darkest seasons of adversity, she has been an angel of consolation—utterly forgetful of self and anxious only to comfort and sustain me." Of course she had a little help from "faithful Dinah who absolutely refused to leave her beloved mistress," but even so Ellen did no more than would be expected of any true woman.⁹⁴

Most of this advice was directed to woman as wife. Marriage was the proper state for the exercise of the domestic virtues. "True Love and a Happy Home," an essay in *The Young Ladies' Oasis*, might have been carved on every girl's hope chest.⁹⁵ But although marriage was best, it was not absolutely necessary. The women's magazines tried to remove the stigma from being an "Old Maid." They advised no marriage at all rather than an unhappy one contracted out of selfish motives.⁹⁶ Their stories showed maiden ladies as unselfish ministers to the sick, teachers of the young, or moral preceptors with their pens, beloved of the entire village. Usually the life of single blessedness resulted from the premature death of a fiancé, or was chosen through fidelity to some high mission. For example, in "Two Sisters," Mary devotes herself to Ellen and her abandoned children, giving up her own chance for marriage. "Her devotion to her sister's happiness has met its reward in the consciousness of having fulfilled a sacred duty."⁹⁷ Very rarely, a "woman of genius" was absolved from the necessity of marriage, being so extraordinary that she did not need the security or status of being a wife.⁹⁸ Most often, however, if girls proved "difficult," marriage and a family were regarded as a cure.⁹⁹ The "sedative quality" of a home could be counted on to subdue even the most restless spirits.

George Burnap saw marriage as "that sphere for which woman was originally intended, and to which she is so exactly fitted to adorn and bless, as the wife, the mistress of a home, the solace, the aid, and the counsellor of that ONE, for whose sake alone the world is of any consequence to her."¹⁰⁰ Samuel Miller preached a sermon on women: "How interesting and important are the duties devolved

on females as WIVES . . . the counsellor and friend of the husband; who makes it her daily study to lighten his cares, to soothe his sorrows, and to augment his joys; who, like a guardian angel, watches over his interests, warns him against dangers, comforts him under trials; and by her pious, assiduous, and attractive deportment, constantly endeavors to render him more virtuous, more useful, more honourable, and more happy."¹⁰¹ A woman's whole interest should be focused on her husband, paying him "those numberless attentions to which the French give the title of *petits soins* and which the woman who loves knows so well how to pay . . . she should consider nothing as trivial which could win a smile of approbation from him."¹⁰²

Marriage was seen not only in terms of service but as an increase in authority for woman. Burnap concluded that marriage improves the female character "not only because it puts her under the best possible tuition, that of the affections, and affords scope to her active energies, but because it gives her higher aims, and a more dignified position."¹⁰³ *The Lady's Amaranth* saw it as a balance of power: "The man bears rule over his wife's person and conduct. She bears rule over his inclinations: he governs by law; she by persuasion. . . . The empire of the woman is an empire of softness . . . her commands are caresses, her menaces are tears."¹⁰⁴

Woman should marry, but not for money. She should choose only the high road of true love and not truckle to the values of a materialistic society. A story "Marrying for Money" (subtlety was not the strong point of the ladies' magazines) depicts Gertrude, the heroine, rueing the day she made her crass choice: "It is a terrible thing to live without love. . . . A woman who dares marry for aught but the purest affection, calls down the just judgments of heaven upon her head."¹⁰⁵

The corollary to marriage, with or without true love, was motherhood, which added another dimension to her usefulness and her prestige. It also anchored her even more firmly to the home. "My Friend," wrote Mrs. Sigourney, "If in becoming a mother, you have reached the climax of your happiness, you have also taken a higher place in the scale of being . . . you have gained an increase of power."¹⁰⁶ The Rev. J. N. Danforth pleaded in *The Ladies' Casket*, "Oh, mother, acquit thyself well in thy humble sphere, for thou mayest affect the world."¹⁰⁷ A true woman naturally loved her children; to suggest otherwise was monstrous.¹⁰⁸

America depended upon her mothers to raise up a whole genera-

tion of Christian statesmen who could say "all that I am I owe to my angel mother."¹⁰⁹ The mothers must do the inculcating of virtue since the fathers, alas, were too busy chasing the dollar. Or as *The Ladies' Companion* put it more effusively, the father "weary with the heat and burden of life's summer day, or trampling with unwilling foot the decaying leaves of life's autumn, has forgotten the sympathies of life's joyous springtime. . . . The acquisition of wealth, the advancement of his children in worldly honor—these are his self-imposed tasks." It was his wife who formed "the infant mind as yet untainted by contact with evil . . . like wax beneath the plastic hand of the mother."¹¹⁰

The Ladies' Wreath offered a fifty-dollar prize to the woman who submitted the most convincing essay on "How May An American Woman Best Show Her Patriotism." The winner was Miss Elizabeth Wetherell who provided herself with a husband in her answer. The wife in the essay of course asked her husband's opinion. He tried a few jokes first—"Call her eldest son George Washington," "Don't speak French, speak American"—but then got down to telling her in sober prize-winning truth what women could do for their country. Voting was no asset, since that would result only in "a vast increase of confusion and expense without in the smallest degree affecting the result." Besides, continued this oracle, "looking down at their child," if "we were to go a step further and let the children vote, their first act would be to vote their mothers at home." There is no comment on this devastating male logic and he continues: "Most women would follow the lead of their fathers and husbands," and the few who would "fly off on a tangent from the circle of home influence would cancel each other out."

The wife responds dutifully: "I see all that. I never understood so well before." Encouraged by her quick womanly perception, the master of the house resolves the question—an American woman best shows her patriotism by staying at home, where she brings her influence to bear "upon the right side for the country's weal." That woman will instinctively choose the side of right he has no doubt. Besides her "natural refinement and closeness to God" she has the "blessed advantage of a quiet life" while man is exposed to conflict and evil. She stays home with "her Bible and a well-balanced mind" and raises her sons to be good Americans. The judges rejoiced in this conclusion and paid the prize money cheerfully, remarking "they deemed it cheap at the price."¹¹¹

If any woman asked for greater scope for her gifts the magazines

were sharply critical. Such women were tampering with society, undermining civilization. Mary Wollstonecraft, Frances Wright and Harriet Martineau were condemned in the strongest possible language—they were read out of the sex. "They are only semi-women, mental hermaphrodites." The Rev. Harrington knew the women of America could not possibly approve of such perversions and went to some wives and mothers to ask if they did want a "wider sphere of interest" as these nonwomen claimed. The answer was reassuring. "NO!" they cried simultaneously, "Let the men take care of politics, *we will take care of the children!*" Again female discontent resulted only from a lack of understanding: women were not subservient, they were rather, "chosen vessels." Looked at in this light the conclusion was inescapable: "Noble, sublime is the task of the American mother."¹¹²

"Women's Rights" meant one thing to reformers, but quite another to the True Woman. She knew her rights,

The right to love whom others scorn,
The right to comfort and to mourn,
The right to shed new joy on earth,
The right to feel the soul's high worth . . .
Such women's rights, and God will bless
And crown their champions with success.¹¹³

The American woman had her choice—she could define her rights in the way of the women's magazines and insure them by the practice of the requisite virtues, or she could go outside the home, seeking other rewards than love. It was a decision on which, she was told, everything in her world depended. "Yours it is to determine," the Rev. Mr. Stearns solemnly warned from the pulpit, "whether the beautiful order of society . . . shall continue as it has been" or whether "society shall break up and become a chaos of disjointed and unsightly elements."¹¹⁴ If she chose to listen to other voices than those of her proper mentors, sought other rooms than those of her home, she lost both her happiness and her power—"that almost magic power, which, in her proper sphere, she now wields over the destinies of the world."¹¹⁵

But even while the women's magazines and related literature encouraged this ideal of the perfect woman, forces were at work in the nineteenth century which impelled woman herself to change, to play a more creative role in society. The movements for social

reform, westward migration, missionary activity, utopian communities, industrialism, the Civil War—all called forth responses from woman which differed from those she was trained to believe were hers by nature and divine decree. The very perfection of True Womanhood, moreover, carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if woman was so very little less than the angels, she should surely take a more active part in running the world, especially since men were making such a hash of things.

Real women often felt they did not live up to the ideal of True Womanhood: some of them blamed themselves, some challenged the standard, some tried to keep the virtues and enlarge the scope of womanhood.¹¹⁶ Somehow through this mixture of challenge and acceptance, of change and continuity, the True Woman evolved into the New Woman—a transformation as startling in its way as the abolition of slavery or the coming of the machine age. And yet the stereotype, the "mystique" if you will, of what woman was and ought to be persisted, bringing guilt and confusion in the midst of opportunity.¹¹⁷

The women's magazines and related literature had feared this very dislocation of values and blurring of roles. By careful manipulation and interpretation they sought to convince woman that she had the best of both worlds—power and virtue—and that a stable order of society depended upon her maintaining her traditional place in it. To that end she was identified with everything that was beautiful and holy.

"Who Can Find a Valiant Woman?" was asked frequently from the pulpit and the editorial pages. There was only one place to look for her—at home. Clearly and confidently these authorities proclaimed the True Woman of the nineteenth century to be the Valiant Woman of the Bible, in whom the heart of her husband rejoiced and whose price was above rubies.

THE RATIONALE OF ANTISUFFRAGISM

The movement of women to secure the vote was a conscious assault on ideas and institutions long accepted by most middle-class Americans. In response to the suffragist challenge, the antisuffragists made those ideas explicit and rationalized those institutions. That antisuffragism was essentially defensive is evidenced by the pattern of its organizational activity, which waxed or waned as the suffragist campaigns intensified or stagnated.¹ Unlike the suffragist movement, antisuffragism was not characterized by mass activity. The antis published several periodicals and organized many societies, but their activity was sporadic. It was their ideology that was significant. The antis defined the context within which suffragist ideas developed, posed the problems the suffragists had to solve, and asked the questions they had to answer. They even inadvertently pointed out which parts of the fortress could be taken with ease and which parts could not be captured without ingenious new weapons. Their propaganda will be examined to discover what the world, real and ideal, looked like through the antisuffragists' eyes, and what they considered woman's place in it to be.²

Close to the heart of all antisuffragist orators, particularly congressmen, was a sentimental vision of Home and Mother, equal in sanctity to God and the Constitution. Although all four entities regularly appeared in various combinations in antisuffragist propaganda, it was the link of woman to the home that underlay the entire ideology. The antis regarded each woman's vocation as determined not by her individual capacities or wishes but by her sex. Men were expected to have a variety of ambitions and capabilities, but all women

were destined from birth to be full-time wives and mothers. To dispute this eternal truth was to challenge "true" theology, "true" biology, and "true" sociology.

The commonest form of the theological argument was no argument at all, but the mere announcement that God had ordained man and woman to perform different functions in the state as well as in the home, or that he had intended woman for the home and man for the world.³ For those to whom assertion was not tantamount to proof, however, more detailed analyses of divine intentions were furnished, based mainly on Genesis and St. Paul. A clear statement of the ostensibly antisuffragist implications of Genesis was provided by Grover Cleveland, in an article that brought an avalanche of protests from women, suffragists and nonsuffragists, all over the country. The ex-president wrote that

Those who . . . [seek] to protect the old and natural order of things as they relate to women reverently appeal to the division of Divine purpose clearly shown when Adam was put in the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it, and Eve was given to him as a helpmeet and because it was not good that man should be alone . . . and . . . they . . . fortify their position by referring to the fact that, as part of the punishment visited upon their first parents for their disobedience, it was decreed that in the sweat of his face should the man eat bread, and in sorrow should the woman bring forth children.⁴

Cleveland believed that the division of labor between men and women decreed by the Creator, as far as the suffrage was concerned, happened to correspond exactly to that which existed throughout the United States in 1905 (except in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho).⁵

St. Paul was the other religious authority for antisuffragism; the relevant passages were those in the Epistles to the Corinthians and to the Galatians, in which the apostle enjoined women to silence in the church and obedience to their husbands.⁶ One scholarly essayist declared that "The first principle of religion is obedience. The woman who does not rightly obey her husband will not obey the God who enjoins her submission. Her rightsism is simply sex-atheism, and can only generate atheistic minds."⁷ But since the religious argument against woman suffrage was intended to persuade

women and must also appeal to men who approved of higher education and other nineteenth-century advances in women's status, the antis had to demonstrate that the divinely ordained division of labor and male headship in the family did not imply male superiority. How well the attempt to reconcile the antis' interpretation of the Bible with their own conception of the equality of the sexes succeeded may be judged from the following analysis:

In the origin of civilization there is every evidence (*see Genesis*) that woman was given by the Creator a position that is inseparable from and is the complement of man. She was made man's helper, was given a servient place (not necessarily inferior) and man the dominant place (not necessarily superior) in the division of labor.⁸

In fact, the antis maintained that this division, far from implying woman's inferiority, actually insured her supremacy as long as she remained in the sphere to which she had been assigned. The division of labor required men to work, govern, and protect and women to bear and raise children and create for their men a refuge from the cares of the world.⁹

The biological argument, designed to appeal to people who needed a scientific sanction for their beliefs, rested on two assumptions: that souls as well as bodies had sexual attributes, and that women were physically incapable of undertaking the various duties concomitant with voting. The first assumption underlay those antisuffragist arguments which identified femininity with inherent emotionalism and illogicality, traits inconsistent with the proper exercise of the suffrage. Octavius B. Frothingham explained the difference between masculine and feminine characteristics:

The masculine represents *judgment*, the practicable, the expedient, the possible, while the feminine represents *emotion*, what ought to be, the dream of excellence, the vision of complete beauty. . . . The predominance of sentiment in woman renders her essentially an idealist. She jumps at conclusions. . . . She can make no allowance for slowness, for tentative or compromising measures. Her reforms are sweeping. She would close all the bars and liquor saloons, and make it a crime to sell intoxicating drink.¹⁰

Antis who resorted to this argument frequently took care to disclaim any implication of contempt for illogical woman.

On the contrary, woman had a higher faculty than logic, "woman's intuition," which yielded a perception of truth beyond that possible to man, provided the intuition was employed in its proper sphere. Just as women were superior to men in the feminine sphere, so their own method of arriving at truths was also superior to men's, but was useless in the political realm.¹¹ Since feminine illogic was believed to be an attribute of sex, the antis felt that the possession of it made women especially attractive to men. A minister spoke of that "logical infirmity of mind which constitutes one of the weaknesses, and I might also say, one of the charms of the feminine constitution."¹² Thus the innate emotional differences made it imperative for women to use their "feminine intuition" and visions of abstract justice to instill the proper ideals in their young sons who would then grow up into fine citizens, employing their masculine logic and reasonableness to govern wisely, tempering idealism with practicality.

The second variety of the biological argument described woman's physical constitution as too delicate to withstand the turbulence of political life. Her alleged weakness, nervousness, and proneness to fainting would certainly be out of place in polling booths and party conventions.¹³ The following pronouncement combined both types of biological argument in charming fashion and bore the endorsement of both a scientist and a priest:

A woman's brain evolves emotion rather than intellect; and whilst this feature fits her admirably as a creature burdened with the preservation and happiness of the human species, it painfully disqualifies her for the sterner duties to be performed by the intellectual faculties. The best wife and mother and sister would make the worst legislator, judge and police.

The excessive development of the emotional in her nervous system, ingrafts on the female organization, a neurotic or hysterical condition, which is the source of much of the female charm when it is kept within due restraints. In . . . moments of excitement . . . it is liable to explode in violent paroxysms. . . . Every woman, therefore, carries this power of irregular, illogical and incongruous action; and no one can foretell when the explosion will come.¹⁴

A different sort of biological argument purported to deduce antisuffragism from the theory of evolution which was then

rapidly becoming respectable. Darwinism was cited to demonstrate that the highest forms of life were the most specialized. Therefore, the proposal that woman invade man's sphere must be retrogressive rather than progressive.¹⁵

Suffragists often expressed amused perplexity at the antis' inconsistency. The latter insisted that the eternal differences between the sexes were so great that women *could* not participate in government, and in the next breath assumed that those differences were so fragile that to preserve them women *must* not participate in government. Perhaps the antis were manifesting something more than inconsistency. They were living in a period in which the traditional roles of men and women, hitherto clearly defined and separated, were changing. Men were performing women's tasks, as chefs, tailors, and laundry operators. Women were entering the male sphere as voters, scholars, and breadwinners. The literature of anti-suffragism understandably contains few explicit statements of the widespread confusion that existed in that period as to the social implications of sex differences. But perhaps that confusion may help to explain both the antis' inconsistency and their fierce determination to maintain the traditional distinctions, whatever the source of those distinctions might be.

This "separate but equal" doctrine of the respective spheres of man and woman was a central part of the sociological argument against woman suffrage, which declared that social peace and the welfare of the human race depended upon woman's staying home, having children, and keeping out of politics. Voting implied much more than simply dropping a ballot in a box once a year. It meant on the part of woman an entire intellectual reorientation. Having the right to vote imposed the duty of exercising that right competently, which required doing whatever was necessary to become politically intelligent. At the very least it meant that women must become informed on political issues, and the inevitable discussions on such subjects between spouses would cause disagreements which in turn would raise the divorce rate.¹⁶ Woman suffrage would lead to neglect of children by politically active mothers and, thereby, to increased juvenile delinquency,¹⁷ because the franchise would inexorably draw women into political organization and even into office.¹⁸ And, of course,

women's political activity would inject sex into politics.¹⁹ To illustrate this danger, the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Committee warned that woman suffrage meant "pretty girls button-holing strange men on the streets on Election Day in behalf of the 'Handsome' candidate" and that it meant women on juries listening to shocking testimony which they would then have to discuss with strange men behind locked doors through the night; such things, the committee concluded, were of course "unthinkable."²⁰ The rewards of office, which interfered with maternal duties, would put a premium on singleness and childlessness. Women who thus invaded the masculine sphere would forfeit their right to chivalry, that mode of male behavior which ennobled society.²¹ Such activity would also encourage that specious independence of woman slyly advocated by supporters of free love and socialism.²²

To comprehend the horror with which the antis contemplated these possibilities, it is necessary to understand their belief that the unit of society was not the individual but the family.²³ A man voted not for himself alone but for all the members of his family, as their political representative. Social stability depended upon the existence of many tightly knit families, each of which was, in the antisuffragist view, a state in miniature, relatively isolated from outside influences and interests. An extreme expression of this was in a leaflet entitled "Household Hints," which read in part:

Housewifery You do not need a ballot to clean out your sink spout. A handful of potash and some boiling water is quicker and cheaper. . . . Control of the temper makes a happier home than control of elections. . . . Good cooking lessens alcoholic craving quicker than a vote on local option.

Why vote for pure food laws, when you can purify your ice box with saleratus water?

To shine cut glass, rub it over with a freshly peeled potato and then wash. . . .

Clean houses and good homes, which cannot be provided by legislation, keep children healthier and happier than any number of laws.²⁴

The head of each family was its sole link to the outside world and its spokesman in the state. The family's leader within each home was the wife and mother. To endow that wife

and mother with the franchise, therefore, would dissolve society into a heterogeneous mass of separate persons, whose individual rather than family interests would thenceforth receive political representation.²⁵ For this reason, the vote would not be merely a quantitative addition to all the other rights women had acquired in the preceding two generations. The franchise was not just another new right to add to higher education, equal guardianship of children, and ownership of one's own earnings in the march of women toward full equality with men. Suffrage meant a qualitative change in the social and familial role of women, *antis* believed, and the demand for it consequently met with more determined resistance than did women's struggles for other rights.

In working out the implications of the proper relation of the home to the state, the *antis* concluded that the welfare of society demanded that woman should restrict her "political" activity to training her sons to be good citizens and to inspiring and influencing man by being above politics rather than in it.²⁶ Members of Congress often dwelt reverently on this theme. One such oratorical flight was taken by Rep. Clark of Florida in 1915:

I do not wish to see the day come when the women of my race in my state shall trail their skirts in the muck and mire of partisan politics. I prefer to look to the American woman as she always has been, occupying her proud estate as the queen of the American home, instead of regarding her as a ward politician in the cities. As the mother, as the wife, as the sister she exercises a broader and deeper and mightier influence than she can ever exercise or hope to on the stump and in the byways of politics in this land. The American mother, the American woman, has my admiration, my respect, and my love—

THE SPEAKER. The time of the Gentleman from Florida has expired.²⁷

Suffragists were fond of noting publicly the inconsistency between man's prizing the suffrage so highly that its deprivation was considered a terrible punishment and man's ardent desire to save women from the political mire. Although this inconsistency existed, the men who wished to keep women away from dirty politics were frequently sincere idealists. Suffragists did not deny that politics was dirty; they expected to

clean it up, at least partially. The idealists among the male *antis* wished to preserve women from this disagreeable task, hoping they could clean up politics without feminine help.

It was, therefore, wrong to say that woman did not have the right to vote; rather, she had the right *not* to vote.²⁸ The suffragists erred in complaining that *antis* classed woman with idiots, aliens, and criminals; *they* were deprived of the privilege of the franchise; *she* was exempt from the burden of it.²⁹ She was exempt so that she could devote her mind and her energies to those vocations which most benefited society: in the home, bringing up her many children; outside the home, philanthropy. So many antisuffragist writers included the latter activity in the enumeration of woman's duties that it must be considered an essential element in their picture of the ideal woman and family. One tract speaks of "women who have their hands full and more than full of home and social and philanthropic duties."³⁰ Another asks sympathy for those engaged in "the charitable work, that now so fills the lives of good women that they are often overburdened, and break down beneath the strain."³¹ A group of New Hampshire women, claiming to represent "women of every station in life," stated that "with the demands of society, the calls of charity, the church, and philanthropy constantly increasing, we feel that to add the distracting forces of political campaigns would wreck our constitutions and destroy our homes."³²

What was the nature of that society from which the *antis* were so concerned to isolate the home and mother? Outside the sheltered calm of the home they saw a society racked by social unrest that convinced them that force was still, in their America, the ultimate basis of government. Peace was insured, they felt, only because the outvoted minority knew that an appeal to arms could not succeed. If women were to vote, the thesis continued, half the electorate would be incapable of enforcing its mandate and vicious elements would be encouraged to resort to violence. A vote was not simply the registering of an opinion; it was a demand and consequently would be meaningless unless exercised only by the muscular portion of the community. A Columbia University professor

of jurisprudence assured his fellow antis that history was on their side. He stated that "the consent of the governed" has meant, historically, the consent of those who were actually or potentially fighting units." He noted that throughout European history the proportion of the population which could vote had grown or diminished with the right or duty of fighting, and he concluded that "such matters should be left to the adult males."³³ This argument was sometimes linked with the theory of inherent feminine mental traits: since the minds of women worked differently from men's, it was not inconceivable that the majority of women and a few men should vote for a declaration of war, and in that case the minority (the men) would be sent to fight against their will. Anarchy, naturally, would promptly ensue.³⁴

If the electorate, in effect, constituted a militia on inactive duty, there must have been a potential internal enemy. This enemy is omnipresent in antisuffragist literature. To the Southern antis it was the Negro.³⁵ To Northeasterners it was Democratic machines, the immigrant, and the Negro. To the Western remonstrants it was prostitutes, frontier riff-raff, and political machines. Unanimously the pamphleteers pointed out that the poor, ignorant, and immoral elements in society (equating the three) already outnumbered the patrician, intelligent, and impeccably proper. Doubling the electorate would increase the preponderance of the "undesirable" voters. Typical of the dire warnings that filled antisuffragist literature is one which appeared in the periodical *Remonstrance*:

It is the influx of foreign ignorance *en masse* that threatens our country hourly. . . . There are millions of men in the world for whom despotism is a necessity, and it is this class who immigrate to us every day, who are undermining our institutions and shaking the very pillars whereon the house standeth, like their vengeful prototype. If Woman Suffrage is to be allowed, we double not only the numerical force of this threatening majority, but its moral—or immoral—influence.³⁶

The evil to be feared from this threatening majority was quite specific. One anti warned her fellow Bostonians, "If the great mass of ignorant women's votes are added to the great mass of ignorant men's votes, there will be constant demands for

work, money, bread, leisure, in short, 'all kinds of laws to favor all kinds of persons.'"³⁷ Evidently the antis' benevolent feelings toward the beneficiaries of their philanthropy were tempered by fear lest their wards render the philanthropy unnecessary. Some antis even professed to fear that suffragists would do away with the philanthropists themselves. Mrs. Caroline Fairfield Corbin, leading Illinois anti, for instance, constantly identified woman suffrage with socialism, and other antis exultantly publicized evidence that Socialists favored woman suffrage.³⁸

The preceding arguments suggested that instead of broadening the suffrage, legislatures ought to restrict it by imposing educational and property requirements. Proposals strikingly reminiscent of the old "stake-in-society" theory actually appear in anti literature as well as in the writings of those suffragists who believed that nonwhites and the foreign born were unfit to vote. Although such suffragists sometimes advocated suffrage for taxpaying women alone, for "taxation without representation is tyranny," their antisuffragist counterparts opposed suffrage for all women in order to bar from the electorate as many as possible of those citizens who did not contribute by money or muscle to the support of the state. What divided the suffragists from the antis on this subject was the suffragists' recommendation for dealing with the threat of undesirables at the polls, not their attitude toward the undesirables. Suffragists insisted that the enfranchisement of women would insure the preponderance of fit voters; the antis contended that woman suffrage would virtually hand the reins of government over to the unfit.

The antis' unanimous contempt for the unwashed multitude also found expression in their repudiation of the natural right theory which suffragists invoked to justify their demand. No, said the antis, the question is not one of principle but of expediency. "Society" bestows the franchise on that section of the population which can best exercise it in the interest of all. The question of whether women should vote is not "to be settled by the citation of any such aphorism as that which bases the powers of government on the consent of the governed."³⁹

Suppose that the populations of Turkey, the Soudan, or Zululand were to attempt to . . . govern themselves by universal popular suffrage. The consequences would be anarchy, and a quick return to despotism as a relief. . . . The air-blown theory of inalienable right is unworthy the good sense of the American people.¹⁰

The theory that only those who could fight should vote implies that when the antis spoke of *society* they meant only that section of it which had the power to enforce its decisions. There could be no natural right appeal from the bullet-backed ballots of any electorate which legally existed even if that electorate was only a small part of the population. The logic that would disfranchise women because they lacked the strength to enforce their mandate would also justify disfranchisement of any portion of the population unable to prevail by brute force over the rest. In short, only those who possessed the *might* to secure the vote had the *right* to vote. Logical analysis, however, only elucidates the implications of the antis' views; it does not explain the source of those views. In antisuffragist social philosophy, the disfranchisement of women was necessary to the governmental stability that depended upon the exclusion of "unfit" men.

Those who could not be convinced that extension of the suffrage was dangerous might be persuaded that the vote was not worth fighting for. Antis repeatedly insisted that the suffragists overestimated what the vote could accomplish. The suffrage could not help the working girl get higher wages and better working conditions, for instance, because if it could, male workers would long before have used it for that purpose. Wages and conditions were determined by the inexorable laws of supply and demand. Any legislated improvement would bring an influx of new workers into the affected industry, and the resulting competition would soon cause a reversion to the old conditions.⁴¹ Some writers advised workingwomen to shift their attention, rather, to trade unions as a means for economic betterment.⁴² None of them chose to explain why unions could affect the laws of economics when legislatures were powerless to do so. Neither did they explain the contradiction between this argument addressed to workers and the argument addressed to their own class, to the effect that workingwomen would use their votes to join with work-

ingmen to demand "work, money, bread, and leisure." The legislation which workers were told would be useless was precisely what the patricians were told would be a danger to be feared from a doubling of the working-class electorate.

The antis minimized the value of the vote also by explaining that elections did not create public policy, but simply registered decisions already formed by the evolution of public opinion.⁴³ Evidence of this was that laws which disregarded public opinion became dead letters. Hence, woman's influence on public affairs suffered no diminution from her inability to vote, since her status as mother, wife, sister, and inspirer assigned her an influential role in the creation of the consensus, which her men then registered at the polls. Thus the reformers' chronic overvaluation of the formal processes of democracy here evoked an expression of the conservatives' undervaluation of them.⁴⁴ If any skeptic had inquired how the conception of the ballot-as-registrar-of-public-opinion gibed with the theory of the ballot-as-expression-of-potential-force, he might have been met with the argument of woman's irrationality. Perhaps women voters could not be trusted to vote consistently with public opinion as already evolved, whereas men could be relied upon to vote conservatively; such a view would be consistent with the fears of antis such as Frothingham that women voters would legislate sweeping reforms. In reality, however, this contradiction between the two antisuffragist definitions of the ballot probably remained undetected, for like suffragism, antisuffragism was not a systematic ideology; it dealt with opposition arguments as they arose without much regard for consistency.

Antisuffragist women who subscribed to this view of society provided antisuffragist propaganda with the additional argument, that "women do not want to vote." The suffragists, declared the antis, were a small minority of women, and humanity was fortunate that they were, for if they were to achieve their goal, women would become large-handed, big-footed, flat-chested, and thin-lipped.⁴⁵ The qualities of emotionalism and sensitivity which disqualified most women for the political life became, when thrown into the political arena, the unlovely traits of the shrew.⁴⁶ History proved that when

women participated in government, their nations suffered; consider Cleopatra, Marie Antoinette, and Catherine de Médicis. Even Queen Elizabeth I's reputation was beginning to crumble under the weight of new historical discoveries.⁴⁷ The *womanly* woman who knew her true vocation did not want to vote. She would not insult her men by implying that they had failed to protect her interests.⁴⁸ She insisted that the American colonists' arguments against the theory of virtual representation were misapplied to this question, for woman was not a class apart but a part of every class.⁴⁹ Since she was adequately represented by her menfolk, why should two do what one could do at least as well? The colonists' argument against "taxation without representation" was likewise irrelevant, since minors, corporations, and aliens paid taxes, but did not vote. Moreover, for every taxpaying woman who would vote, there would be many nontaxpaying women whose votes would more than cancel hers.⁵⁰ For all these reasons, contended the *antis*, the majority of women did not want the ballot; to force it upon them would be undemocratic.⁵¹

A different sort of appeal to democracy was made by those *antis* who argued, in the last few years before ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, that it would be undemocratic for 36 states to force a woman suffrage amendment on 12 states, some of which had by referenda rejected similar amendments to their own constitutions. Suffragists frequently expressed pleasure upon hearing this argument, for two reasons. First, they believed that the states' rights argument was the last refuge of an anti who had exhausted all his reasons for opposing woman suffrage and was reduced to opposition to the amendment. Second, suffragists felt that the states' rights argument was the easiest to demolish, especially after the Southern congressmen who cited it most frequently became the most consistent supporters of the prohibition amendment.⁵² However, some *antis* contended that there was a principled difference between the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth amendments, the former inserting an expression of the public will into the fundamental law, and the latter changing the very basis of that public will.⁵³

When the *antis* spoke of the majority of women who did not want the suffrage, they meant the majority of middle-class, white, native-born women. That is the only interpretation which reconciles their appeal to majority will with their demand that immigrant, poor, and Negro women be prevented from voting.⁵⁴ They were saying, in effect, that the majority of that class of women who alone could use the suffrage wisely did not want it, not only because their time was already fully occupied with home and charity but also because it was unfortunately no longer possible to give *them* the vote and deny it to the others.⁵⁵ Further, the woman whose time was taken up by home and philanthropy was obviously not the beneficiary of that philanthropy. The woman who was too weak to survive the emotional and physical stresses of political campaigns could not be the woman who had to stand ten hours a day before a machine-loom. The woman who shrank from entering a polling-place filled with inelegant workers was certainly not the wife of one of them. The frequency with which *ignorant* and *poor* and *immoral* were used as equivalent terms shows that the combination fit naturally into the thinking of antisuffragist propagandists and formed an integral part of their ideology.⁵⁶ The fact that most suffragists in this period belonged to the middle class and made the same identification of poverty with vice does not deprive this central aspect of antisuffragist thinking of its significance. On the contrary, the suffragists argued most fervently that woman suffrage was the solution to the problems that suffragists and *antis* alike believed were created by the enfranchisement of Negroes and immigrants.

To understand the debate between suffragists and *antis* it is necessary to avoid two errors, each of which may be made by focusing attention on one part of a wide-ranging assortment of arguments. The debate was not merely a disguised form of a political struggle between liberals and conservatives who devised arguments on the question of woman's enfranchisement that suited their primary purposes; nor was the debate a superficial bout between women who wanted to vote and women who did not want to vote, with each group attempting to justify its position by appeals to the welfare of society and the home. Instead, the public polemics on woman

suffrage manifested profound and often unconscious differences in social philosophy and the nature of woman. Few suffragists were radicals; the vast majority of them simply wanted the right to participate more fully in the affairs of a government the basic structure of which they accepted. Within the broad area of agreement between them and the antis, there was room for widely differing conceptions of the role of women in public life. The rise of the suffrage movement challenged the antis to formulate the traditional assumptions of woman's place, and these formulations in turn defined the context of ideas within which the suffragists must plead their case.⁵⁷

3

Turning the Corner 1896-1916

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE:
THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN
SUFFRAGE, Scott

I do feel keenly that the turn of the road has come . . . I really believe that we might pull off a campaign which would mean the vote within the next six years . . . Come! my Dear Mrs. Park, gird on your armor once more . . .
Carrie Chapman Catt to Maud Wood Park,
August 20, 1916

A Period of Preparation

Suffrage historians sometimes pin the label " doldrums " on the years from 1896 to 1910, because after Colorado and Idaho no additional states adopted suffrage for fourteen years, and because the federal amendment appeared to be dead. Close examination of what was going on both within NAWSA and in many local communities shows that beneath the quiet surface the currents were running strongly, and activity which would become increasingly visible by 1910 was already building up.

It was only after a good deal of preparatory labor however, that NAWSA itself showed signs of new vitality. Lucy Stone had died in 1893. Stanton and Anthony lived on into the twentieth century, powerful presences to the end but no longer capable of active leadership. The older generation had been in charge for more than forty years; it is no wonder it took new leaders some time to take firm hold of things.

After the merger of the two organizations, pressure on the Congress had declined. In 1893 Anthony had objected to a decision to meet only alternate years in Washington, saying that "The moment you change the purpose of this great body from National to State work you have defeated its object . . ." but she was out-voted. Yet there was no offsetting increase in effectiveness in the states, and when Carrie Chapman Catt became head of the Organization Committee in 1895, ten states had no known suffrage organization. Nobody knew how many clubs there were, or who their officers were. Morale, confidence and energy seemed to be at a low ebb. Mrs. Catt, sometimes frank to the point of bluntness, told the delegates to the national convention in 1898 that the chief obstacle they faced was not antisuffragism or ignorance or conservatism but the "hopeless, lifeless, faithless members of our own organization."¹ She proposed, and carried out, an intensive organization effort. She inaugurated the idea of work conferences as part of every convention, at which a definite plan of work was given each state, including

concrete goals for the coming year. She saw this training of workers as a necessary step if the movement was to become effective. Susan Anthony was impressed, and chose Catt as her successor when she gave up the presidency of NAWSA in 1900.

For the next four years, Mrs. Catt worked hard to transform the loose, unwieldy organization into the kind of tightly knit structure she believed necessary for a major suffrage effort. This work was interrupted by her husband's ill health and subsequent death. Anna Howard Shaw took over as president in 1904 but for all her energy and great talent as an orator, she lacked administrative skill and had little capacity to channel the energy of others. The organization floundered. People paid dues and went to meetings, but little seemed to be happening in the national scene.

The Opposition Organizes

In spite of its problems the movement was potent enough to inspire an increasingly organized opposition (Document 6-b). When the first suffrage agitation had begun, opposition was so universal that no one needed to organize it. It was 1872 before the movement presented sufficient threat to inspire a formal antisuffrage group in Boston. As the suffrage movement grew, formal opposition appeared in twenty states, and in 1911 a National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was formed.²

Not so open but more politically potent than antisuffrage organizations were the economic groups which organized to oppose suffrage in many state referenda, particularly the trade organizations of brewers and distillers. A typical example of their role in a state campaign was described by the chairman of publicity for the California referendum in 1896:

Ten days before election the fatal blow came. The representatives of the Liquor Dealers' League met in San Francisco and resolved "to take such steps as were necessary to protect their interests. . . ." The following letter, signed by the wholesale liquor firms of San Francisco, was sent to saloon-keepers, hotel proprietors, druggists and grocers throughout the state:

"At the election to be held on November 3, Constitutional Amendment No. Six, which gives the right to vote to women, will be voted on.

It is to your interest and ours to vote against this amendment. We request and urge you to vote and work against it and do all you can to defeat it.

See your neighbor in the same line of business as yourself, and have him be with you in this matter."³

The Liquor Dealers were convinced that women, if they could vote, would bring about prohibition.

By the twentieth century representatives of other business interests with a strong concern for politics were also worrying about what women might do with the vote. Textile manufacturers, for example, envisioned women voters outlawing child labor and supporting an ever-increasing amount of protective legislation for workers. The chief justice of North Carolina, whose insight

may have been sharpened by the fact that his son edited the *Textile Bulletin*, was to write later:

...suffrage for women is largely a labor movement . . . The Senators who prevented the submission of the suffrage amendment . . . were almost wholly from the New England and South Atlantic states, where the cotton mill owners largely furnished the funds for the campaigns of successful parties . . .⁴

As women became increasingly prominent in all kinds of reform movement, conservative businessmen saw suffrage as one of many "social justice" reforms, all of which they opposed. It was not hard, therefore, for a lobbyist with a specific reason for opposing suffrage to find support among his fellows.

Legislative opposition was also based on the general tendency of politicians to view with alarm any significant change in the rules of the game. In the cities, women were active in municipal reform movements, and showed a disturbing interest in "cleaning up" local government. Congressmen were troubled at the thought of women inquiring too closely into their customary political arrangement, the sources of campaign funds, the uses of patronage and the like. The view of politicians presented in suffrage propaganda was not always a flattering one.

Southern members of Congress shared these general concerns and added a few of their own (Document 6-a). In many cases their opposition appeared to rest on the fear that any change in voting arrangements might upset the existing disfranchisement of black men. Woman suffrage might endanger white supremacy, they argued, and furthermore, approving a federal suffrage amendment would seem to reaffirm the validity of the Fifteenth Amendment, which many southerners hoped was a dead letter. If it were *not* dead, then the validity of grandfather clauses and poll taxes enacted to limit black voting might well be in doubt. The political hierarchies were no more sympathetic than individual members. Major parties in the American system rarely embrace a social reform until it has become widely accepted or unless, as in the case of the Fifteenth Amendment, it will directly increase the party's strength. Before 1912 no leader of either party perceived suffrage as presenting a great moral question, as involving significant public policy, or as conferring political advantage.

Underlying these specific sources of opposition was a vast reservoir of male disquiet, which surfaced whenever women appeared to be making progress toward their goals. The arguments had not changed much since the 1850s. God and St. Paul were still said to have ordained an inferior role for women. It was taken as biologically given that men were rational and women emotional. Women were also said to be too frail for the demands of politics, or in danger of being corrupted by close association with politicians. The sexual division of labor was seen as inherent in nature—and yet in danger of being destroyed if women voted. The downfall of the family was freely predicted, and socialism forecast as outcomes of woman suffrage. Or it was said that women were misled about the importance of the vote. Why should anyone capable of motherhood want so trivial a right? And so on (Document 6-b).

It is no wonder women were frustrated in the face of these contradictory and often irrational arguments. What they perhaps did not understand was that when individuals want to believe badly enough they *will* believe. Almost any argument can appear convincing. There existed a tacit agreement among many men on a range of questions having to do with women and the antisuffragists had no trouble tapping it. The point is not that the arguments were implausible but that they revealed how deep male feeling ran. Just as, for women who believed in it, "suffrage" had come to stand for a wide range of changes in woman's social role, so for men who opposed it "suffrage" meant women in pulpit and courtroom, in operating room, political caucus or board room—all traditional male strongholds. Antisuffrage cartoons revealed unconscious fears: men were pictured in kitchen and nursery harrassed with child care and household responsibilities while their wives went gaily off to public business. A social order hitherto based on male domination and female submission was being challenged.

Unfolding events looked different depending upon one's perspective. Every advance for women marked some change in the lives of men. Every victory for women was a defeat for the men who had opposed change. Women's new and better world of equality was, for some men, a world turned upside down. "Unreasoning male prejudice" was, to the holders, simple social truth (Document 6-b). And to complicate matters further, male solidarity was breaking down, as an increasing number of men were converted to the idea that broadening women's world would benefit both sexes. It is perhaps significant that onlookers jeered men in suffrage parades more vigorously than they did women.

It is easy to understand the panic white people often feel when blacks demand their rights, or the fears of an older generation when the young begin to assert themselves. Such were the fears which pervaded many male sanctuaries in 1910, fears which created a wall of opposition to woman suffrage.

3

"Declaration of Sentiments"

The Seneca Falls Declaration, read carefully, tells a good deal about the particular grievances women felt.

Document†

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 of 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.

†From: Susan B. Anthony et al *History of Woman Suffrage* (Rochester: Susan B. Anthony, 1887), vol. 1, pp. 70-71.

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 man—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 her 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 the 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 a sign 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

298

331

332

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.

Resolutions: Whereas, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that "man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone in his Commentaries remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

333

4-b

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE: THE
FIGHT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE,

Scott

The Woman Suffrage Amendment is Introduced

On May 28, 1874 the Senate was debating the formation of the Territory of Pembina (later North Dakota). Senator A.A. Sargent of California, a good friend of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and strong suffragist, introduced an amendment to provide that the legislature of the territory should not abridge the right to vote or hold office on grounds of sex, race, color or previous condition of servitude. In introducing the amendment Sargent himself developed the argument that under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments women should be permitted to vote. His opponents offered some of the prevalent antisuffrage arguments, especially that woman suffrage was a contradiction of God's will. The debate filled thirteen pages of the Congressional Record. A few excerpts provide the argument and flavor. Senators then, as now, were not given to brevity. The senators speaking in addition to Sargent were William M. Stewart of Nevada, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana and Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware.

Document†

Provided, That the Legislative Assembly shall not, at any time, abridge the right of suffrage, or to hold office, on account of sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude of any resident of the Territory.

Mr. SARGENT. In the same connection I move in the first line of section 5 to strike out the word "male," so as to read "every inhabitant of the United States."

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California.

Mr. SARGENT. At the time when the last national convention of the republican party assembled in Philadelphia which nominated the present President of the United States for his second term, there was assembled a body of able, respectable ladies of the United States, who urged upon that convention a consideration of the subject involved in the amendment which I propose; and as a concession to the demand made by those persons a plank was inserted in the platform whereby it was declared that the republican party would treat with consideration the claims of women to be admitted to additional rights. . . .

†From: U.S., Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 1st sess., pp. 4331-44.

I believe, Mr. President, that the amendment which I offer to this bill is justified by the organic law of the United States, and in fact required by that law. Before the adoption of the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States women were hedged out of the ballot-box by the use of the word "male." Since that time another rule has been prescribed by the organic law, and it is made the right of all citizens of the United States to approach the ballot-box and exercise this highest privilege of a citizen. By the fourteenth article of amendment it is provided that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." This most important declaration is now the organic law of the United States. It does not say "all males born or naturalized in the United States," but "all persons," and it cannot be contended successfully that a woman is not a person, and not a person within the meaning of this clause of the Constitution.

This being the status of all individuals, male and female, they being citizens of the United States, it is provided that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Of course if any State is prohibited from doing this, any Territory should be prohibited from doing it, because no Territory can constitutionally do that which a State itself cannot do.

Then, if women are citizens of the United States and there is no right to abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, as proclaimed by the supreme law of the land, what are these privileges and immunities? [Richard] Grant White, in his able work on Words and Their Uses, defines, on page 100, the privileges and immunities of citizens, and among them gives the right to vote and the right to hold office. Webster gives the same definition of the word "citizen" and so does Worcester, and Bouvier's Law Dictionary speaks expressly of these rights of citizens of the United States to vote, and hold office; and there is little adverse authority to these definitions. . . .

The considerations which I have urged address themselves not merely to republicans, they address themselves with great force to my democratic friends who are such sticklers for the Constitution. Although that is true, nevertheless the republican party has pledged itself especially to a respectful consideration of these demands in its last national platform, and it has control of both Houses of Congress and of the executive department.

Passing from that consideration, we have all persons born or naturalized in the United States declared by the Constitution to be citizens; and we have the meaning of the word "citizen" given by our courts, by our lexicographers, by our law commentators; we have further their "privileges and immunities" settled by all these authorities to include the right to vote and the right to hold office.

In consonance with this organic law, the policy of which is not open to discussion because it has been adopted according to all the legal forms by the

people of the United States, I offer this amendment. Were this the time and place, and were not the discussion foreclosed by the considerations which I have already advanced, I might speak at some length upon the advantages which there would be in the admission of women to the suffrage. I might point with some pride to the experiment which has been made in Wyoming where women hold office, where they vote, where they have the most orderly society of any of the Territories, where the experiment is approved by the Executive officers of the United States by their courts, by their press, and by the people generally; and if it operates so well in Wyoming, where it has rescued that Territory from a state of comparative lawlessness to one of the most orderly in the Union, I ask why it might not operate equally well in the Territory of Pembina or any other Territory? I hope the time is not far distant when some of the older States of the Union like New York or Massachusetts or Ohio may give this experiment a fuller chance. But so far as it has gone, the experiment has been entirely in favor of legislation of this character, of admitting women to the ballot-box. And I do not believe that in putting these higher responsibilities upon women we degrade their character, that we subject them to uncongenial pursuits, that we injure their moral tone, that we tarnish their delicacy, that we in any way make them less noble and admirable as women, as wives, and mothers. I believe that by realizing the intention of the Constitution, which uses words that are so fully explained by our courts and by our writers upon the uses of words, we simply open a wider avenue to women for usefulness to themselves and to society. I think we give them an opportunity, instead of traveling the few and confined roads that are open to them now, to engage more generally in the business of life under some guarantee of their success. I believe that, instead of driving them to irregular efforts like those which they recently have made in many of the States to overthrow liquor selling and consumption and its desolation of their homes, it will give them an opportunity through the ballot-box to protect their families, to break up the nefarious traffic, and purify society. As it is now, their energies in this direction are repressed, and sometimes in order to have force are compelled to be exercised even in opposition to law. I would give them an opportunity to exercise them under the forms of law, and I would enforce the law by the accession of this pure element. I do not think that they would be corrupted by it, but rather that society and politics and your laws would be purified by admitting them to the ballot-box and giving them this opportunity. . . .

Mr. STEWART. If this region is to be created into a Territory, I think it eminently proper that this amendment should be adopted. The question of female suffrage is a question that is being seriously considered by a large portion of the people of the United States. We may think lightly of it here; we may think it never will be accomplished; but there are a great many earnest people who believe if females had the ballot they could better protect themselves, be more independent, and occupy useful positions in life which are now denied to them. Whether they be correct or not, it is not necessary for us to determine in passing upon this amendment. Here is a new Territory

to be created and it is a good opportunity to try this experiment. If it works badly, when the Territory becomes a State there is nobody committed. It is not an amendment of the organic law of the nation. This is a bill simply providing for the organization of a Territory and for a preliminary government, and I should like for one to see this experiment tried up in the region near Minnesota where this new government is to be inaugurated. If it works well, it may spread elsewhere. It certainly can do no harm in that country. There are very few people there.

It is suggested by my friend on my right [Mr. Conkling] that it cannot spread unless it is catching. [Laughter.] If it works well, if it succeeds in protecting females in their rights and enabling them to assert their rights elsewhere and obtain such employment as is suitable to them, I hope it will become catching and spread all over the country, if that is the light in which it is to be treated. I am in earnest about this matter. I think this new Territory is the place to try the experiment right here. If it works badly, we can see it and no great harm will be done. If it works well, the example will be a good one and will be imitated.

Mr. MORTON. I desire simply to state my views upon this amendment, views long entertained. I am in favor of the amendment upon what I regard as the fundamental principles of our Government, upon the theory upon which we have based our Government from the beginning. The Declaration of Independence says:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The word "men" in that connection does not mean males, but it means the human family; that all human beings are created equal. This will hardly be denied. I remember it was formerly contended that the Declaration of Independence in this clause did not include black people. It was argued learnedly and frequently, in this Chamber and out of it, that the history surrounding the adoption of that declaration showed that white men only were intended. But that was not the general judgment of the people of this country. It was held to embrace all colors and all races. It embraces both sexes; not simply males, but females. All human beings are created equal. That is the foundation principle of our Government. It then goes on to say:

That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute 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.

If these rights are fundamental, if they belong to all human beings as such, if they are God-given rights, then all persons having these God-given rights have a right to use the means for their preservation. The means is government: "To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

I ask you whether the women of this country have ever given their consent to this Government? Have they the means of giving their consent to it? The colored men had not given their consent to it. Why? Because they had not the right to vote. There is but one way that the consent to government can be given, and that is by a right to a voice in that government, and that is the right to vote. . . .

What was the old theory of the common law? It was that the father represented the interests of his daughter, the husband of his wife, and the son of his mother. They were deprived of all legal rights in a state of marriage, because it was said that they were taken care of by those who stood to them in these relations; but they never were taken care of. The husband never took care of the rights of his wife at common law; the father never took care of the rights of his daughter; the son never took care of the rights of his mother. The husband at common law was a tyrant and a despot. Why, sir, he absorbed the legal existence of his wife at common law; she could not make a contract except as his agent. Her legal existence was destroyed, and the very moment the marriage was consummated he became the absolute owner of all her personal property. What was the theory of it? The old theory of the common law, as given in elementary writers, was that if the wife was allowed to own property separate from her husband it would make a distinct interest; it would break up and destroy the harmony of the marriage relation; the marriage relation must be a unit; there must be but one interest; and therefore the legal existence of the wife must be merged into that of the husband. I believe a writer as late as Blackstone laid it down that it would not do to permit the wife to hold any property in severalty from her husband, because it would give to her an interest apart from his.

We have got over that. It took us one hundred and fifty years to get past that, and from year to year in this country, especially in the last twenty-five years, we have added to the rights of the wife in regard to property and in many other respects. We now give to her a legal status in this country that she has not in England or in any European country. She has now a legal status that she had not twenty-five years ago, and progress is still going on in that direction. While it was argued by old law-writers and old law-makers that to allow women to hold property separate from their husbands was to break up the harmony of the marriage relation, we know practically that it has not worked that way. We know that as we have made women independent, recognized her legal existence as a wife, secured her rights, and not made her the mere slave of her husband, it has elevated her. We know that instead of disturbing the marriage relation, it has improved it constantly; and I believe that the woman has the same natural right to a voice in this Government that the man has. If we believe, in the theory of our Government that must be so. We say that all men, all human beings, are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that to attain these rights Governments are instituted, which derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and yet here are one-half of the people of the United States

who have no power to give their consent or their dissent. The theory of our Government is expressly violated in regard to woman. I believe that as you make woman the equal of man in regard to civil rights, rights of property, rights of person, political rights, you elevate her, you make her happier; and as you do that you elevate the male sex, her husband, her son, her brother, and her father.

Mr. BAYARD. Mr. President, it would seem scarcely credible that in the Senate of the United States an abrupt and sudden change in so fundamental a relation as that borne by the two sexes to our system of Government should be proposed as an "experiment," and that it should be gravely recommended that a newly organized Territory under act of Congress should be set aside for this "experiment" which is indirect, grossly irreverent disregard of all that we have known as our rule, our great fundamental rule, in organizing a government of laws, whether colonial, State, or Federal, in this country.

I frankly say, Mr. President, that which strikes me most forcibly is the gross irreverence of this proposition, its utter disregard of that Divine will by which man and woman were created different, physically, intellectually, and morally, and in defiance of which we are now to have this poor, weak, futile attempt of man to set up his schemes of amelioration in defiance of all that we have read, of every tradition, of every revelation, of all human experience, enlightened as it has been by Divine permission. It seems to me that to introduce so grave a subject as this, to spring it here upon the Senate without notice in the shape of an amendment to a pending measure, to propose thus to experiment with the great laws that lie at the very foundation of human society, and to do it for the most part in the trivial tone which we have witnessed during this debate, is not only mortifying, but it renders one almost hopeless of the permanence of our Government if this is to be the example set by one of the Houses of Congress, that which claims to be more sedate and deliberate, if it proposes in this light and perfunctory way to deal with questions of this grave nature and import.

Sir, there is no time at present for that preparation which such a subject demands at the hands of any sensible man, mindful of his responsibilities, who seeks to deal with it.

This is an attempt to disregard laws promulgated by the Almighty Himself. It is irreverent legislation in the simplest and strongest sense of the word. Nay, sir, not only so, but it is a step in defiance of the laws of revealed religion as given to men. If there be one institution which it seems to me has affected the character of this country, which has affected the whole character of modern civilization, the results of which we can but imperfectly trace and but partly recognize, it is the effect of the institution of Christian marriage, the mysterious tie uniting the one man and the one woman until they shall become one and not two persons. It is an institution which is mysterious, which is beyond the reach and the understanding of man, but he certainly can best exhibit his sense of duty and proper obligation when he reverently shall submit to and recognize its wisdom. All such laws as proposed by this amendment are stumbling-blocks and are meant to be stumbling-blocks in the

way of that perfect union of the sexes which was intended by the law of Christian marriage.

Under the operation of this amendment what will become of the family, what will become of the family hearthstone around which cluster the very best influences of human education? You will have a family with two heads—a "house divided against itself." You will no longer have that healthful and necessary subordination of wife to husband, and that unity of relationship which is required by a true and a real Christian marriage. You will have substituted a system of contention and difference warring against the laws of nature herself, and attempting by these new-fangled, petty, puny, and most contemptible contrivances, organized in defiance of the best lessons of human experience, to confuse, impede, and disarrange the palpable will of the Creator of the world. I can see in this proposition for female suffrage the end of all that home-life and education which are the best nursery for a nation's virtue. I can see in all these attempts to invade the relations between man and wife, to establish differences, to declare those to be two whom God hath declared to be one, elements of chaotic disorder, elements of destruction to all those things which are, after all, our best reliance for a good and a pure and an honest government.

The best protection for the women of America is in the respect and the love which the men of America bear to them. Every man conversant with the practical affairs of life knows that the fact, that the mere fact that it is a woman who seeks her rights in a court of justice alone gives her an advantage over her contestant which few men are able to resist. I would put it to any man who has practiced law in the courts of this country; let him stand before a jury composed only of men, let the case be tried only by men; let all the witnesses be men; and the plaintiff or the defendant be a woman, and if you choose to add to that, even more unprotected than women generally are, a widow or an orphan, and does not every one recognize the difficulty, not to find protection for her rights, but the difficulty to induce the men who compose the juries of America to hold the balance of justice steadily enough to insure that the rights of others are not invaded by the force of sympathy for her sex? These are common every-day illustrations. They could be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

Mr. President, there never was a greater mistake, there never was a fairer fact stated than that the women of America need any protection further than the love borne to them by their fellow-countrymen. Every right, every privilege, many that men do not attempt, many that men cannot hope for, are theirs most freely. Do not imperil the advantages which they have; do not attempt in this hasty, ill-considered, shallow way to interfere with the relations which are founded upon the laws of nature herself. Depend upon it, Mr. President, man's wisdom is best shown by humble attention, by humble obedience to the great laws of nature; and those discoveries which have led men to their chiefest enjoyment and greatest advantages have been from the great minds of those who did lay their ears near the heart of nature, listened to its beatings, and did not attempt to correct God's handiwork by their own futile attempts at improvement.

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE:
THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN
SUFFRAGE, Scott

Are Women Enfranchised by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?

On December 19, 1870, Victoria Woodhull, on her own initiative, submitted a memorial to the House and Senate in which she argued that women were citizens, and as such were protected from disfranchisement by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Her memorial was referred to the House Judiciary Committee and three weeks later she offered an address, which may have been written by Congressman Benjamin F. Butler, an able lawyer and a suffragist. The argument contained in these documents had already been suggested by Francis Minor of St. Louis, Missouri. It was welcomed by members of the National Woman Suffrage Association, who continued to use it until 1875 when the Supreme Court in *Minor v. Happerset* declared that it was not valid (See Document 4-d).

Document†

The Memorial of Victoria C. Woodhull.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, respectfully sheweth:

That she was born in the State of Ohio, and is above the age of twenty-one years; that she has resided in the State of New York during the past three years; that she is still a resident thereof, and that she is a citizen of the United States, as declared by the XIV. Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

That since the adoption of the XV. Article of the Amendments to the Constitution, neither the State of New York nor any other State, nor any Territory, has passed any law to abridge the right of any citizen of the United

347

†From: Susan B. Anthony et al., *History of Woman Suffrage* (Rochester: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), vol. II, pp. 443-48.

States to vote, as established by said article, neither on account of sex or otherwise. That, nevertheless, the right to vote is denied to women citizens of the United States by the operation of Election Laws in the several States and Territories, which laws were enacted prior to the adoption of the said XV. Article, and which are inconsistent with the Constitution as amended, and, therefore, are void and of no effect; but which, being still enforced by the said States and Territories, render the Constitution inoperative as regards the right of women citizens to vote:

And whereas, Article VI., Section 2, declares "That this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and all judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and laws of any State to the contrary, notwithstanding."

And whereas, no distinction between citizens is made in the Constitution of the United States on account of sex; but the XV. Article of Amendments to it provides that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

And whereas, Congress has power to make laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States; and to make or alter all regulations in relation to holding elections for senators or representatives, and especially to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of the said XIV. Article:

305 And whereas, the continuance of the enforcement of said local election laws, denying and abridging the right of citizens to vote on account of sex, is a grievance to your memorialist and to various other persons, citizens of the United States.

Therefore, your memorialist would most respectfully petition your honorable bodies to make such laws as in the wisdom of Congress shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the right vested by the Constitution in the citizens of the United States to vote, without regard to sex.

And your memorialist will ever pray.

New York City, Dec. 19, 1870.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

Address of Victoria C. Woodhull January 11, 1871.

To the Honorable the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States:

Having most respectfully memorialized Congress for the passage of such laws as in its wisdom shall seem necessary and proper to carry into effect the rights vested by the Constitution of the United States in the citizens to vote, without regard to sex, I beg leave to submit to your honorable body the following in favor of my prayer in said memorial which has been referred to your Committee.

The public law of the world is founded upon the conceded fact that sovereignty can not be forfeited or renounced. The sovereign power of this country is perpetually in the politically organized people of the United States, and can neither be relinquished nor abandoned by any portion of them. The people in this republic who confer sovereignty are its citizens: in a monarchy the people are the subjects of sovereignty. All citizens of a republic by rightful act or implication confer sovereign power. All people of a monarchy are subjects who exist under its supreme shield and enjoy its immunities. The subject of a monarch takes municipal immunities from the sovereign as a gracious favor; but the woman citizen of this country has the inalienable "sovereign" right of self-government in her own proper person. Those who look upon woman's status by the dim light of the common law, which unfolded itself under the feudal and military institutions that establish right upon physical power, can not find any analogy in the status of the woman citizen of this country, where the broad sunshine of our Constitution has enfranchised all.

As sovereignty can not be forfeited, relinquished, or abandoned, those from whom it flows—the citizens—are equal in conferring the power, and should be equal in the enjoyment of its benefits and in the exercise of its rights and privileges. One portion of citizens have no power to deprive another portion of rights and privileges such as are possessed and exercised by themselves. The male citizen has no more right to deprive the female citizen of the free, public, political, expression of opinion than the female citizen has to deprive the male citizen thereof.

The sovereign will of the people is expressed in our written Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land. The Constitution makes no distinction of sex. The Constitution defines a woman born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, to be a citizen. It recognizes the right of citizens to vote. It declares that 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 "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Women, white and black, belong to races, although to different races. A race of people comprises all the people, male and female. The right to vote can not be denied on account of race. All people included in the term race have the right to vote, unless otherwise prohibited. Women of all races are white, black, or some intermediate color. Color comprises all people, of all races and both sexes. The right to vote can not be denied on account of color. All people included in the term color have the right to vote unless otherwise prohibited.

With the right to vote sex has nothing to do. Race and color include all people of both sexes. All people of both sexes have the right to vote, unless prohibited by special limiting terms less comprehensive than race or color. No such limiting terms exist in the Constitution. Women, white and black, have from time immemorial groaned under what is properly termed in the Constitution "previous condition of servitude." Women are the equals of men before the law, and are equal in all their rights as citizens. Women are

debarred from voting in some parts of the United States, although they are allowed to exercise that right elsewhere. Women were formerly permitted to vote in places where they are now debarred therefrom. The naturalization laws of the United States expressly provide for the naturalization of women. But the right to vote has only lately been definitely declared by the Constitution to be inalienable, under three distinct conditions—in all of which woman is clearly embraced.

The citizen who is taxed should also have a voice in the subject matter of taxation. "No taxation without representation" is a right which was fundamentally established at the very birth of our country's independence; and by what ethics does any free government impose taxes on women without giving them a voice upon the subject or a participation in the public declaration as to how and by whom these taxes shall be applied for common public use? Women are free to own and to control property, separate and free from males, and they are held responsible in their own proper persons, in every particular, as well as men, in and out of court. Women have the same inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that men have. Why have they not this right politically, as well as men?

Women constitute a majority of the people of this country—they hold vast portions of the nation's wealth and pay a proportionate share of the taxes. They are intrusted with the most vital responsibilities of society; they bear, rear, and educate men; they train and mould their characters; they inspire the noblest impulses in men; they often hold the accumulated fortunes of a man's life for the safety of the family and as guardians of the infants, and yet they are debarred from uttering any opinion by public vote, as to the management by public servants of these interests; they are the secret counselors, the best advisers, the most devoted aids in the most trying periods of men's lives, and yet men shrink from trusting them in the common questions of ordinary politics. Men trust women in the market, in the shop, on the highway and railroad, and in all other public places and assemblies, but when they propose to carry a slip of paper with a name upon it to the polls, they fear them. Nevertheless, as citizens, women have the right to vote; they are part and parcel of that great element in which the sovereign power of the land had birth; and it is by usurpation only that men debar them from this right. The American nation, in its march onward and upward, can not publicly choke the intellectual and political activity of half its citizens by narrow statutes. The will of the entire people is the true basis of republican government, and a free expression of that will by the public vote of all citizens, without distinctions of race, color, occupation, or sex, is the only means by which that will can be ascertained. As the world has advanced into civilization and culture; as mind has risen in its dominion over matter; as the principle of justice and moral right has gained sway, and merely physical organized power has yielded thereto; as the might of right has supplanted the right of might, so have the rights of women become more fully recognized, and that recognition is the result of the development of the minds of men, which through the ages she has polished, and thereby heightened the lustre of civilization.

It was reserved for our great country to recognize by constitutional enactment that political equality of all citizens which religion, affection, and common sense should have long since accorded; it was reserved for America to sweep away the mist of prejudice and ignorance, and that chivalric condescension of a darker age, for in the language of Holy Writ, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore cast off the work of darkness and let us put on the armor of light. Let us walk honestly as in the day." It may be argued against the proposition that there still remains upon the statute books of some States the word "male" to an exclusion; but as the Constitution, in its paramount character, can only be read by the light of the established principle, *ita lex Scripta est*, and as the subject of sex is not mentioned, and the Constitution is not limited either in terms or by necessary implication in the general rights of citizens to vote, this right can not be limited on account of anything in the spirit of inferior or previous enactments upon a subject which is not mentioned in the supreme law. A different construction would destroy a vested right in a portion of the citizens, and this no legislature has a right to do without compensation, and nothing can compensate a citizen for the loss of his or her suffrage—its value is equal to the value of life. Neither can it be presumed that women are to be kept from the polls as a mere police regulation: it is to be hoped, at least, that police regulations in their case need not be very active. The effect of the amendments to the Constitution must be to annul the power over this subject in the States, whether past, present, or future, which is contrary to the amendments. The amendments would even arrest the action of the Supreme Court in cases pending before it prior to their adoption, and operate as an absolute prohibition to the exercise of any other jurisdiction than merely to dismiss the suit. 5 Dall., 382; 6 Wheaton, 405; 9 ib., 868; 3d Circ. Pa., 1832.

And if the restrictions contained in the Constitution as to color, race or servitude, were designed to limit the State governments in reference to their own citizens, and were intended to operate also as restrictions on the federal power, and to prevent interference with the rights of the State and its citizens, how, then, can the State restrict citizens of the United States in the exercise of rights not mentioned in any restrictive clause in reference to actions on the part of those citizens having reference solely to the necessary functions of the General Government, such as the election of representatives and senators to Congress, whose election the Constitution expressly gives Congress the power to regulate? S.C., 1847: Fox vs. Ohio, 5 Howard, 410.

Your memorialist complains of the existence of State laws, and prays Congress, by appropriate legislation, to declare them, as they are, annulled, and to give vitality to the Constitution under its power to make and alter the regulations of the States contravening the same.

It may be urged in opposition that the courts have power, and should declare upon this subject. The Supreme Court has the power, and it would be its duty so to declare the law: but the court will not do so unless a determination of such point as shall arise make it necessary to the

80 THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS

determination of a controversy, and hence a case must be presented in which there can be no rational doubt. All this would subject the aggrieved parties to much dilatory, expensive and needless litigation, which your memorialist prays your honorable body to dispense with by appropriate legislation, as there can be no purpose in special arguments "*ad inconvenienti*," enlarging or contracting the import of the language of the Constitution.

Therefore, Believing firmly in the right of citizens to freely approach those in whose hands their destiny is placed under the Providence of God, your memorialist has frankly, but humbly, appealed to you, and prays that the wisdom of Congress may be moved to action in this matter for the benefit and the increased happiness of our beloved country.

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE:
THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
Scott

The Supreme
Court Says
Women are
Citizens-
But Not
Voters

Virginia Louisa Minor was the first woman in Missouri to take a public stand in favor of woman suffrage. Her husband, Francis Minor, was a lawyer, and he was the first person to argue that women were enfranchised by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1872 Mrs. Minor and her husband filed suit against a St. Louis registrar who had refused to allow her to register. The lower court held against the Minors, who then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1875 the Court handed down a unanimous decision holding that suffrage was not coextensive with citizenship and that the political rights of women were to be decided by the states. The opinion did say, "If the law is wrong, it ought to be changed," but added that "the power for that is not with us."

After this ruling the National Woman Suffrage Association felt it had no alternative but to make a proposed amendment (introduced by Senator Sergeant in 1874 and for years referred to as "the Sixteenth Amendment") the focus of its agitation.

Document†

Minor v. Happerset

The CHIEF JUSTICE delivered the opinion of the court.

The question is presented in this case, whether, since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment, a woman, who is a citizen of the United States and of the State of Missouri, is a voter in that State, notwithstanding the provision of the constitution and laws of the State, which confine the right of suffrage to men alone. We might, perhaps, decide the case upon other grounds, but this question is fairly made. From the opinion we find that it was the only one decided in the court below, and it is the only one which has been argued here. The case was undoubtedly brought to this court for the sole purpose of having that question decided by us, and in view of the evident propriety there

343

†From: *Minor v. Happerset*, [U.S. Reports], 21 Wallace 162 (1875).

is of having it settled, so far as it can be by such a decision, we have concluded to waive all other considerations and proceed at once to its determination.

It is contended that the provisions of the constitution and laws of the State of Missouri which confine the right of suffrage and registration therefor to men, are in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and therefore void. The argument is, that as a woman, born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, is a citizen of the United States and of the State in which she resides, she has the right of suffrage as one of the privileges and immunities of her citizenship, which the State cannot by its laws or constitution abridge.

There is no doubt that women may be citizens. They are persons, and by the fourteenth amendment "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof" are expressly declared to be "citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." But, in our opinion, it did not need this amendment to give them that position. Before its adoption the Constitution of the United States did not in terms prescribe who should be citizens of the United States or of the several States, yet there were necessarily such citizens without such provision. There cannot be a nation without a people. The very idea of a political community, such as a nation is, implies an association of persons for the promotion of their general welfare. Each one of the persons associated becomes a member of the nation formed by the association. He owes it allegiance and is entitled to its protection. Allegiance and protection are, in this connection, reciprocal obligations. The one is a compensation for the other; allegiance for protection and protection for allegiance.

For convenience it has been found necessary to give a name to this membership. The object is to designate by a title the person and the relation he bears to the nation. For this purpose the words "subject," "inhabitant," and "citizen" have been used, and the choice between them is sometimes made to depend upon the form of the government. Citizen is now more commonly employed, however, and as it has been considered better suited to the description of one living under a republican government, it was adopted by nearly all of the States upon their separation from Great Britain, and was afterwards adopted in the Articles of Confederation and in the Constitution of the United States. When used in this sense it is understood as conveying the idea of membership of a nation, and nothing more.

To determine, then, who were citizens of the United States before the adoption of the amendment it is necessary to ascertain what persons originally associated themselves together to form the nation, and what were afterwards admitted to membership.

Looking at the Constitution itself we find that it was ordained and established by "the people of the United States," and then going further back, we find that these were the people of the several States that had before dissolved the political bands which connected them with Great Britain, and assumed a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth, and that

had by Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, in which they took the name of "the United States of America," entered into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attack made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Whoever, then, was one of the people of either of these States when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, became *ipso facto* a citizen—a member of the nation created by its adoption. He was one of the persons associating together to form the nation, and was, consequently, one of its original citizens. As to this there has never been a doubt. Disputes have arisen as to whether or not certain persons or certain classes of persons were part of the people at the time, but never as to their citizenship if they were.

Additions might always be made to the citizenship of the United States in two ways: first, by birth, and second, by naturalization. This is apparent from the Constitution itself, for it provides that "no person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President," and that Congress shall have power "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization." Thus new citizens may be born or they may be created by naturalization.

The Constitution does not, in words, say who shall be natural-born citizens. Resort must be had elsewhere to ascertain that. At common-law, with the nomenclature of which the framers of the Constitution were familiar, it was never doubted that all children born in a country of parents who were its citizens became themselves, upon their birth, citizens also. These were natives, or natural-born citizens, as distinguished from aliens or foreigners. Some authorities go further and include as citizens children born within the jurisdiction without reference to the citizenship of their parents. As to this class there have been doubts, but never as to the first. For the purposes of this case it is not necessary to solve these doubts. It is sufficient for everything we have now to consider that all children born of citizen parents within the jurisdiction are themselves citizens. The words "all children" are certainly as comprehensive, when used in this connection, as "all persons," and if females are included in the last they must be in the first. That they are included in the last is not denied. In fact the whole argument of the plaintiffs proceeds upon that idea.

Under the power to adopt a uniform system of naturalization Congress, as early as 1790, provided "that any alien, being a free white person," might be admitted as a citizen of the United States, and that the children of such persons so naturalized, dwelling within the United States, being under twenty-one years of age at the time of such naturalization, should also be considered citizens of the United States, and that the children of citizens of the United States that might be born beyond the sea, or out of the limits of the United States, should be considered as natural-born citizens. These provisions thus enacted have, in substance, been retained in all the

naturalization laws adopted since. In 1855, however, the last provision was somewhat extended, and all persons theretofore born or thereafter to be born out of the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were, or should be at the time of their birth, citizens of the United States, were declared to be citizens also.

As early as 1804 it was enacted by Congress that when any alien who had declared his intention to become a citizen in the manner provided by law died before he was actually naturalized, his widow and children should be considered as citizens of the United States, and entitled to all rights and privileges as such upon taking the necessary oath and in 1855 it was further provided that any woman who might lawfully be naturalized under the existing laws, married, or who should be married to a citizen of the United States, should be deemed and taken to be a citizen.

From this it is apparent that from the commencement of the legislation upon this subject alien women and alien minors could be made citizens by naturalization, and we think it will not be contended that this would have been done if it had not been supposed that native women and native minors were already citizens by birth.

But if more is necessary to show that women have always been considered as citizens the same as men, abundant proof is to be found in the legislative and judicial history of the country. Thus, by the Constitution, the judicial power of the United States is made to extend to controversies between citizens of different States. Under this it has been uniformly held that the citizenship necessary to give the courts of the United States jurisdiction of a cause must be affirmatively shown on the record. Its existence as a fact may be put in issue and tried. If found not to exist the case must be dismissed. Notwithstanding this the records of the courts are full of cases in which the jurisdiction depends upon the citizenship of women, and not one can be found, we think, in which objection was made on that account. Certainly none can be found in which it has been held that women could not sue or be sued in the courts of the United States. Again, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, in many of the States (and in some probably now) aliens could not inherit or transmit inheritance. There are a multitude of cases to be found in which the question has been presented whether a woman was or was not an alien, and as such capable or incapable of inheritance, but in no one has it been insisted that she was not a citizen because she was a woman. On the contrary, her right to citizenship has been in all cases assumed. The only question has been whether, in the particular case under consideration, she had availed herself of the right.

In the legislative department of the government similar proof will be found. Thus, in the pre-emption laws, a widow, "being a citizen of the United States," is allowed to make settlement on the public lands and purchase upon the terms specified, and women, "being citizens of the United States," are permitted to avail themselves of the benefit of the homestead law.

Other proof of like character might be found, but certainly more cannot be necessary to establish the fact that sex has never been made one of the

elements of citizenship in the United States. In this respect men have never had an advantage over women. The same laws precisely apply to both. The fourteenth amendment did not affect the citizenship of women any more than it did of men. In this particular, therefore, the rights of Mrs. Minor do not depend upon the amendment. She has always been a citizen from her birth, and entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizenship. The amendment prohibited the State, of which she is a citizen, from abridging any of her privileges and immunities as a citizen of the United States; but it did not confer citizenship on her. That she had before its adoption.

If the right of suffrage is one of the necessary privileges of a citizen of the United States, then the constitution and laws of Missouri confining it to men are in violation of the Constitution of the United States, as amended, and consequently void. The direct question is, therefore, presented whether all citizens are necessarily voters.

The Constitution does not define the privileges and immunities of citizens. For that definition we must look elsewhere. In this case we need not determine what they are, but only whether suffrage is necessarily one of them.

It certainly is nowhere made so in express terms. The United States has no voters in the States of its own creation. The elective officers of the United States are all elected directly or indirectly by State voters. The members of the House of Representatives are to be chosen by the people of the States, and the electors in each State must have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. Senators are to be chosen by the legislatures of the States, and necessarily the members of the legislature required to make the choice are elected by the voters of the State. Each State must appoint in such manner, as the legislature thereof may direct, the electors to elect the President and Vice-President. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives are to be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing Senators. It is not necessary to inquire whether this power of supervision thus given to Congress is sufficient to authorize any interference with the State laws prescribing the qualifications of voters, for no such interference has ever been attempted. The power of the State in this particular is certainly supreme until Congress acts.

The amendment did not add to the privileges and immunities of a citizen. It simply furnished an additional guaranty for the protection of such as he already had. No new voters were necessarily made by it. Indirectly it may have had that effect, because it may have increased the number of citizens entitled to suffrage under the constitution and laws of the States, but it operates for this purpose, if at all, through the States and the State laws, and not directly upon the citizen.

It is clear, therefore, we think, that the Constitution has not added the right of suffrage to the privileges and immunities of citizenship as they existed at the time it was adopted. This makes it proper to inquire whether

suffrage was coextensive with the citizenship of the States at the time of its adoption. If it was, then it may with force be argued that suffrage was one of the rights which belonged to citizenship, and in the enjoyment of which every citizen must be protected. But if it was not, the contrary may with propriety be assumed.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted, all the States, with the exception of Rhode Island and Connecticut, had constitutions of their own. These two continued to act under their charters from the Crown. Upon an examination of those constitutions we find that in no State were all citizens permitted to vote. Each State determined for itself who should have that power.

....

In this condition of the law in respect to suffrage in the several States it cannot for a moment be doubted that if it had been intended to make all citizens of the United States voters, the framers of the Constitution would not have left it to implication. So important a change in the condition of citizenship as it actually existed, if intended, would have been expressly declared.

But if further proof is necessary to show that no such change was intended, it can easily be found both in and out of the Constitution. By Article 4, section 2, it is provided that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." If suffrage is necessarily a part of citizenship, then the citizens of each State must be entitled to vote in the several States precisely as their citizens are.

311 This is more than asserting that they may change their residence and become citizens of the State and thus be voters. It goes to the extent of insisting that while retaining their original citizenship they may vote in any State. This, we think, has never been claimed. And again, by the very terms of the amendment we have been considering (the fourteenth), "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in the rebellion, or other crimes, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." Why this, if it was not in the power of the legislature to deny the right of suffrage to some male inhabitants? And if suffrage was necessarily one of the absolute rights of citizenship, why confine the operation of the limitation to male inhabitants? Women and children are, as we have seen, "persons." They are counted in the enumeration upon which the apportionment is to be made, but if they were necessarily voters because of their citizenship unless clearly excluded, why

inflict the penalty for the exclusion of males alone? Clearly, no such form of words would have been selected to express the idea here indicated if suffrage was the absolute right of all citizens.

And still again, after the adoption of the fourteenth amendment, it was deemed necessary to adopt a fifteenth, as follows: "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 race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The fourteenth amendment had already provided that no State should make or enforce any law which should abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. If suffrage was one of these privileges or immunities, why amend the Constitution to prevent its being denied on account of race, &c.? Nothing is more evident than that the greater must include the less, and if all were already protected why go through with the form of amending the Constitution to protect a part?

It is true that the United States guarantees to every State a republican form of government. It is also true that no State can pass a bill of attainder, and that no person can be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. All these several provisions of the Constitution must be construed in connection with the other parts of the instrument, and in the light of the surrounding circumstances.

The guaranty of a republican form of government. No particular government is designated as republican, neither is the exact form to be guaranteed, in any manner especially designated. Here, as in other parts of the instrument, we are compelled to resort elsewhere to ascertain what was intended.

The guaranty necessarily implies a duty on the part of the States themselves to provide such a government. All the States had governments when the Constitution was adopted. In all the people participated to some extent, through their representatives elected in the manner specially provided. These governments the Constitution did not change. They were accepted precisely as they were, and it is, therefore, to be presumed that they were such as it was the duty of the States to provide. Thus we have unmistakable evidence of what was republican in form, within the meaning of that term as employed in the Constitution.

As has been seen, all the citizens of the States were not invested with the right of suffrage. In all, save perhaps New Jersey, this right was only bestowed upon men and not upon all of them. Under these circumstances it is certainly now too late to contend that a government is not republican, within the meaning of this guaranty in the Constitution, because women are not made voters.

The same may be said of the other provisions just quoted. Women were excluded from suffrage in nearly all the States by the express provision of their constitutions and laws. If that had been equivalent to a bill of attainder, certainly its abrogation would not have been left to implication. Nothing less than express language would have been employed to effect so radical a change. So also of the amendment which declares that no person shall be

deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, adopted as it was as early as 1791. If suffrage was intended to be included within its obligations, language better adapted to express that intent would most certainly have been employed. The right of suffrage, when granted, will be protected. He who has it can only be deprived of it by due process of law, but in order to claim protection he must first show that he has the right.

But we have already sufficiently considered the proof found upon the inside of the Constitution. That upon the outside is equally effective.

The Constitution was submitted to the States for adoption in 1787, and was ratified by nine States in 1788, and finally by the thirteen original States in 1790. Vermont was the first new States admitted to the Union, and it came in under a constitution which conferred the right of suffrage only upon men of the full age of twenty-one years, having resided in the State for the space of one whole year next before the election, and who were of quiet and peaceable behavior. This was in 1791. The next year, 1792, Kentucky followed with a constitution confining the right of suffrage to free male citizens of the age of twenty-one years who had resided in the State two years or in the county in which they offered to vote one year next before the election. Then followed Tennessee, in 1796, with voters of freemen of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, possessing a freehold in the county wherein they may vote, and being inhabitants of the State or freemen being inhabitants of any one county in the State six months immediately preceding the day of election. But we need not particularize further. No new State has ever been admitted to the Union which has conferred the right of suffrage upon women, and this has never been considered a valid objection to her admission. On the contrary, as is claimed in the argument, the right of suffrage was withdrawn from women as early as 1807 in the State of New Jersey, without any attempt to obtain the interference of the United States to prevent it. Since then the governments of the insurgent States have been reorganized under a requirement that before their representatives could be admitted to seats in Congress they must have adopted new constitutions, republican in form. In no one of these constitutions was suffrage conferred upon women, and yet the States have all been restored to their original position as States in the Union.

Besides this, citizenship has not in all cases been made a condition precedent to the enjoyment of the right of suffrage. Thus, in Missouri, persons of foreign birth, who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, may under certain circumstances vote. The same provision is to be found in the constitutions of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, and Texas.

Certainly, if the courts can consider any question settled, this is one. For nearly ninety years the people have acted upon the idea that the Constitution, when it conferred citizenship, did not necessarily confer the right of suffrage. If uniform practice long continued can settle the construction of so important an instrument as the Constitution of the United

States confessedly is, most certainly it has been done here. Our province is to decide what the law is, not to declare what it should be.

We have given this case the careful consideration its importance demand. If the law is wrong, it ought to be changed; but the power for that is not with us. The arguments addressed to us bearing upon such a view of the subject may perhaps be sufficient to induce those having the power, to make the alteration, but they ought not to be permitted to influence our judgment in determining the present rights of the parties now litigating before us. If argument as to woman's need of suffrage can be considered. We can only act upon her rights as they exist. It is not for us to look at the hardship of withholding. Our duty is at an end if we find it is within the power of a State to withhold.

Being unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one, and that the constitutions and laws of the several States which commit that important trust to men alone are not necessarily void, we

AFFIRM THE JUDGMENT.

4-e

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE:
THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN
SUFFRAGE, Scott

Women's Declaration of Rights

The centennial celebration of 1876 was planned without reference to women, and no place had been provided for them on the program. Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Stanton decided that a protest was in order. They devised a Women's Declaration of Rights, which they planned to present, invited or not. In the *History of Woman Suffrage* they recorded how they went about it.

Document†

That historic Fourth of July dawned at last, one of the most oppressive days of that terribly heated season. Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Sara Andrews Spencer, Lillie Devereux Blake and Phoebe W. Couzins made their way through the crowds under the broiling sun to Independence Square, carrying the Woman's Declaration of Rights. This declaration had been handsomely engrossed by one of their number, and signed by the oldest and most prominent advocates of woman's enfranchisement. Their tickets of admission proved open sesame through the military and all other barriers, and a few moments before the opening of the ceremonies, these women found themselves within the precincts from which most of their sex were excluded.

The declaration of 1776 was read by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, about whose family clusters so much of historic fame. The close of his reading was deemed the appropriate moment for the presentation of the woman's declaration. Not quite sure how their approach might be met—not quite certain if at this final moment they would be permitted to reach the presiding officer—those ladies arose and made their way down the aisle. The bustle of preparation for the Brazilian hymn covered their advance. The foreign guests, the military and civil officers who filled the space directly in front of the speaker's stand, courteously made way, while Miss Anthony in fitting words presented the declaration. Mr. Ferry's face paled, as bowing low, with no word, he received the declaration, which thus became part of the day's proceedings; the ladies turned, scattering printed copies, as they deliberately walked down the platform. On every side eager hands were stretched; men stood on seats and asked for them, while General Hawley, thus defied and beaten in his audacious denial to women the right to present their declaration, shouted, "Order, order!"

†From: Susan B. Anthony et al., *History of Woman Suffrage* (Rochester: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), vol. III, pp. 31-35.

Passing out, these ladies made their way to a platform erected for the musicians in front of Independence Hall. Here on this old historic ground, under the shadow of Washington's statue, back of them the old bell that proclaimed "liberty to all the land, and all the inhabitants thereof," they took their places, and to a listening, applauding crowd, Miss Anthony read* the Declaration of Rights for Women by the National Woman Suffrage Association, July 4, 1876:

While the nation is buoyant with patriotism, and all hearts are attuned to praise, it is with sorrow we come to strike the one discordant note, on this one-hundredth anniversary of our country's birth. When subjects of kings, emperors, and czars, from the old world join in our national jubilee, shall the women of the republic refuse to lay their hands with benedictions on the nation's head? Surveying America's exposition, surpassing in magnificence those of London, Paris, and Vienna, shall we not rejoice at the success of the youngest rival among the nations of the earth? May not our hearts, in unison with all, swell with pride at our great achievements as a people; our free speech, free press, free schools, free church, and the rapid progress we have made in material wealth, trade, commerce and the inventive arts? And we do rejoice in the success, thus far, of our experiment of self-government. Our faith is firm and unwavering in the broad principles of human rights proclaimed in 1776, not only as abstract truths, but as the corner stones of a republic. Yet we cannot forget, even in this glad hour, that while all men of every race, and clime, and condition, have been invested with the full rights of citizenship under our hospitable flag, all women still suffer the degradation of disfranchisement.

The history of our country the past hundred years has been a series of assumptions and usurpations of power over woman, in direct opposition to the principles of just government, acknowledged by the United States as its foundation, which are:

First—The natural rights of each individual.

Second—The equality of these rights.

Third—That rights not delegated are retained by the individual.

Fourth—That no person can exercise the rights of others without delegated authority.

Fifth—That the non-use of rights does not destroy them.

And for the violation of these fundamental principles of our government we arraign our rulers on this Fourth day of July, 1876,—and these are our articles of impeachment:

Bills of attainder have been passed by the introduction of the word "male" into all the State constitutions, denying to women the right of suffrage, and

*During the reading of the declaration to an immense concourse of people, Mrs. Gage stood beside Miss Anthony, and held an umbrella over her head, to shelter her friend from the intense heat of the noonday sun; and thus in the same hour, on opposite side of old Independence Hall, did the men and women express their opinions on the great principles proclaimed on the natal day of the republic. The declaration was handsomely framed and now hangs in the vice-president's room in the capitol at Washington.

thereby making sex a crime—an exercise of power clearly forbidden in article I, sections 9, 10, of the United States constitution.

The writ of habeas corpus, the only protection against *lettres de cachet* and all forms of unjust imprisonment, which the constitution declares "shall not be suspended, except when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety demands it," is held inoperative in every State of the Union, in case of a married woman against her husband—the marital rights of the husband being in all cases primary, and the rights of the wife secondary.

The right of trial by a jury of one's peers was so jealously guarded that States refused to ratify the original constitution until it was guaranteed by the sixth amendment. And yet the women of this nation have never been allowed a jury of their peers—being tried in all cases by men, native and foreign, educated and ignorant, virtuous and vicious. Young girls have been arraigned in our courts for the crime of infanticide; tried, convicted, hanged—victims, perchance, of judge, jurors, advocates—while no woman's voice could be heard in their defense. And not only are women denied a jury of their peers, but in some cases, jury trial altogether. During the war, a woman was tried and hanged by military law, in defiance of the fifth amendment, which specifically declares: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases . . . of persons in actual service in time of war." During the last presidential campaign, a woman, arrested for voting, was denied the protection of a jury, tried, convicted, and sentenced to a fine and costs of prosecution, by the absolute power of a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Taxation without representation, the immediate cause of the rebellion of the colonies against Great Britain, is one of the grievous wrongs the women of this country have suffered during the century. Deploring war, with all the demoralization that follows in its train, we have been taxed to support standing armies, with their waste of life and wealth. Believing in temperance, we have been taxed to support the vice, crime and pauperism of the liquor traffic. While we suffer its wrongs and abuses infinitely more than man, we have no power to protect our sons against this giant evil. During the temperance crusade, mothers were arrested, fined, imprisoned, for even praying and singing in the streets, while men blockade the sidewalks with impunity, even on Sunday, with their military parades and political processions. Believing in honesty, we are taxed to support a dangerous army of civilians, buying and selling the offices of government and sacrificing the best interests of the people. And, moreover, we are taxed to support the very legislators and judges who make laws, and render decisions adverse to woman. And for refusing to pay such unjust taxation, the houses, lands, bonds, and stock of women have been seized and sold within the present year, thus proving Lord Coke's assertion, that "The very act of taxing a man's property without his consent is, in effect, disfranchising him of every civil right."

Unequal codes for men and women. Held by law a perpetual minor, deemed incapable of self-protection, even in the industries of the world,

woman is denied equality of rights. The fact of sex, not the quantity or quality of work, in most cases, decides the pay and position; and because of this injustice thousands of fatherless girls are compelled to choose between a life of shame and starvation. Laws catering to man's vices have created two codes of morals in which penalties are graded according to the political status of the offender. Under such laws, women are fined and imprisoned if found alone in the streets, or in public places of resort, at certain hours. Under the pretense of regulating public morals, police officers seizing the occupants of disreputable houses, march the women in platoons to prison, while the men, partners in their guilt, go free. While making a show of virtue in forbidding the importation of Chinese women on the Pacific coast for immoral purposes, our rulers, in many States, and even under the shadow of the national capitol, are now proposing to legalize the sale of American womanhood for the same vile purposes.

Special legislation for woman has placed us in a most anomalous position. Women invested with the rights of citizens in one section—voters, jurors, office-holders—crossing an imaginary line, are subjects in the next. In some States, a married woman may hold property and transact business in her own name; in others, her earnings belong to her husband. In some States, a woman may testify against her husband, sue and be sued in the courts; in others, she has no redress in case of damage to person, property, or character. In case of divorce on account of adultery in the husband, the innocent wife is held to possess no right to children or property, unless by special decree of the court. But in no State of the Union has the wife the right to her own person, or to any part of the joint earnings of the co-partnership during the life of her husband. In some States women may enter the law schools and practice in the courts; in others they are forbidden. In some universities girls enjoy equal educational advantages with boys, while many of the proudest institutions in the land deny them admittance, though the sons of China, Japan and Africa are welcomed there. But the privileges already granted in the several States are by no means secure. The right of suffrage once exercised by women in certain States and territories has been denied by subsequent legislation. A bill is now pending in congress to disfranchise the women of Utah, thus interfering to deprive United States citizens of the same rights which the Supreme Court has declared the national government powerless to protect anywhere. Laws passed after years of untiring effort, guaranteeing married women certain rights of property, and mothers the custody of their children, have been repealed in States where we supposed all was safe. Thus have our most sacred rights been made the football of legislative caprice, proving that a power which grants as a privilege what by nature is a right, may withhold the same as a penalty when deeming it necessary for its own perpetuation.

Representation of woman has had no place in the nation's thought. Since the incorporation of the thirteen original States, twenty-four have been admitted to the Union, not one of which has recognized woman's right of self-government. On this birthday of our national liberties, July Fourth,

1876, Colorado, like all her elder sisters, comes into the Union with the invidious word "male" in her constitution.

Universal manhood suffrage, by establishing an aristocracy of sex, imposes upon the women of this nation a more absolute and cruel despotism than monarchy; in that, woman finds a political master in her father, husband, brother, son. The aristocracies of the old world are based upon birth, wealth, refinement, education, nobility, brave deeds of chivalry; in this nation, on sex alone; exalting brute force above moral power, vice above virtue, ignorance above education, and the son above the mother who bore him.

The judiciary above the nation has proved itself but the echo of the party in power, by upholding and enforcing laws that are opposed to the spirit and letter of the constitution. When the slave power was dominant, the Supreme Court decided that a black man was not a citizen, because he had not the right to vote; and when the constitution was so amended as to make all persons citizens, the same high tribunal decided that a woman, though a citizen, had not the right to vote. Such vacillating interpretations of constitutional law unsettle our faith in judicial authority, and undermine the liberties of the whole people.

These articles of impeachment against our rulers we now submit to the impartial judgment of the people. To all these wrongs and oppressions woman has not submitted in silence and resignation. From the beginning of the century, when Abigail Adams, the wife of one president and mother of another, said: "We will not hold ourselves bound to obey laws in which we have no voice or representation," until now, woman's discontent has been steadily increasing, culminating nearly thirty years ago in a simultaneous movement among the women of the nation, demanding the right of suffrage. In making our just demands, a higher motive than the pride of sex inspires us; we feel that national safety and stability depend on the complete recognition of the broad principles of our government. Woman's degraded, helpless position is the weak point in our institutions to-day; a disturbing force everywhere, severing family ties, filling our asylums with the deaf, the dumb, the blind; our prisons with criminals, our cities with drunkenness and prostitution; our homes with disease and death. It was the boast of the founders of the republic, that the rights for which they contended were the rights of human nature. If these rights are ignored in the case of one-half the people, the nation is surely preparing for its downfall. Governments try themselves. The recognition of a governing and a governed class is incompatible with the first principles of freedom. Woman has not been a heedless spectator of the events of this century, nor a dull listener to the grand arguments for the equal rights of humanity. From the earliest history of our country woman has shown equal devotion with man to the cause of freedom, and has stood firmly by his side in its defense. Together, they have made this country what it is. Woman's wealth, thought and labor have cemented the stones of every monument man has reared to liberty.

And now, at the close of a hundred years, as the hour-hand of the great clock that marks the centuries points to 1876, we declare our faith in the

principles of self-government; our full equality with man in natural rights; that woman was made first for her own happiness, with the absolute right to herself—to all the opportunities and advantages life affords for her complete development; and we deny that dogma of the centuries, incorporated in the codes of all nations—that woman was made for man—her best interests, in all cases, to be sacrificed to his will. We ask of our rulers, at this hour, no special favors, no special privileges, no special legislation. We ask justice, we ask equality, we ask that all the civil and political rights that belong to citizens of the United States, be guaranteed to us and our daughters forever.

The declaration was warmly applauded at many points, and after scattering another large number of printed copies, the delegation hastened to the convention of the National Association.

5-b

The Making of a Suffragist

Belle Kearney was a Mississippi woman whom Frances Willard drew into active work for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In 1900 she published her autobiography, and explained how she came to be a strong suffragist.

Document†

The freedom of my home environment was perfect, but I recognized the fact that there were tremendous limitations of my "personal liberty" outside the family circle. An instance of it soon painfully impressed my consciousness. Three of my brothers, the comrades of my childhood, had become voting citizens. They were manly and generous enough to sympathize with my ballotless condition, but it was the source of many jokes at my expense among them. On a certain election day in November, they mounted their horses and started for the polls. I stood watching them as they rode off in the splendor of their youth and strength. I was full of love and pride for them, but was feeling keenly the disgrace of being a disfranchised mortal, simply on account of having been born a woman,—and that by no volition of my own. Surmising the storm that was raging in my heart, my second brother—who was at home from the West on a visit of over a year's duration—looking at me, smiling and lifting his hat in mock courtesy said: "Good morning, sister. You taught us and trained us in the way we should go. You gave us money from your hard earnings, and helped us to get a start in the world. You are interested infinitely more in good government and understand politics a thousand times better than we, but it is election day and we leave you at home with the Idiots and Indians, incapables, paupers, lunatics, criminals and the other women that the authorities in this nation do not deem it proper to trust with the ballot; while we, lordly men, march to the polls and express our opinions in a way that counts."

There was the echo of a general laugh as they rode away. A salute was waved to them and a good-by smiled in return; but my lips were trembling and my eyes were dim with tears. For the first time the fact was apparent that a wide gulf stretched between my brothers and me; that there was a plane, called political equality, upon which we could not stand together. We had the same home, the same parents, the same faculties, the same general

outlook. We had loved the same things and striven for the same ends and had been equals in all respects. *Now I was set aside as inferior, inadequate for citizenship, not because of inferior quality or achievement but by an arbitrary discrimination that seemed as unjust as it was unwise.* I too had to live under the laws; then why was it not equally my interest and privilege, to elect the officers who were to make and execute them? I was a human being and a citizen, and a self-supporting, producing citizen, yet my government took no cognizance of me except to set me aside with the unworthy and the incapable for whom the state was forced to provide.

That experience made me a woman suffragist, avowed and uncompromising. Deep down in my heart a vow was made that day that never should satisfaction come to me until by personal effort I had helped to put the ballot into the hands of woman. It became a mastering purpose of my life.

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE: THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, Scott

†From: Belle Kearney, *A Slaveholder's Daughter* (St. Louis: The St. Louis Christian Advocate Press, 1900), pp. 111-112.

6-b

"Do a Majority of Women... Want the Ballot?"

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE:
THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN
SUFFRAGE, Scott

Antisuffragists also used the opportunity provided by congressional committees to present their arguments and spread their propaganda. The statement of one Franklin W. Collins of Nebraska before the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee in April, 1912, is a typical example of antisuffrage arguments.

Document †

Statement of Mr. Franklin W. Collins, of Nebraska.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman and members of the honorable committee, I am opposed to the proposed amendment to the Constitution granting the privileges and burdens of the franchise to women, and, with your indulgence, shall outline my objections to the same in a series of questions, intelligent and candid answer to which would seem to dispose of the plea which has been made for this so-called relief.

Why an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the preliminary steps leading thereto, when the States possess the power to extend the suffrage to women if they will?

Do a majority of the women of the United States want the ballot?

If not, and it is no where seriously contended that they do, should it be forced upon the majority by the minority?

Would it benefit womankind to have it?

Would it be wise to thrust the ballot upon those who do not seek it or want it?

Would it benefit the country?

Is it not incumbent upon its advocates to show that it would be beneficial to womankind or country, if not both?

Are there not too many stay-at-homes among the voters as it is?

After the novelty has worn away, and the privilege of voting becomes irksome, would not women be liable to stay at home in large and ever increasing numbers?

Is not this the experience of those States and communities where the experiment has been tried?

Is it not a fact that the persons we least like to see vote are the ones who invariably vote, and those we most desire to vote are the persons who often refrain from voting? Will this be changed when women secure the ballot?

Is not the influence of woman to-day greater without the ballot than it would or could be with it?

Is she not the life and hope of th. home, the church, of charity work, and society, and are not her hands full to overflowing already?

In other words, is not the average good woman at the present time carrying all the burdens which she has the time and strength to carry?

Can she add to her responsibilities without materially subtracting from her efficiency in the home, the church, and society?

Is not her influence as a home-maker and a home-keeper far more helpful to humanity than it would be were she given the ballot, together with its accompaniments?

If she accepts a portion of the responsibility has she any right to balk at the acceptance of the whole? Is not this unequal suffrage?

Is it not "a sin against abstract justice" to take the ballot and decline to accept the responsibilities which are its inevitable accompaniments?

Is this in accord with the doctrine of "a square deal"?

Are the women of the Nation willing to accept it on such terms?

If, by her ballot, she should plunge the country into war, would she not be in honor bound to fight by the side of man—to accept the consequences of her own exercise of political power?

If not, why not? Is not power without responsibility tyranny?

Would not her embarkation upon the troubled sea of politics weaken her present position and influence in the home, the church, and society?

Does not experience teach that the good women of the country, if united, can secure anything within reason which they want without the ballot?

What substantial advantage, then, can they hope to gain by the use of the ballot?

Are not the rights of women protected and safeguarded under the present system?

If any evils there be, which are curable by legislation, and the women of the land unite to demand their correction, does not the experience of the past warrant the assertion and conclusion that they would be more speedily righted without the ballot than with it?

Statement has been made at the present hearing that, in the factories women are discriminated against by reason of their sex, and that the wages paid to men are nearly twice as high as those paid to women. Is not this statement grossly inaccurate? After a most painstaking and complete investigation, covering many years and embracing all the factories of the

317

†From: U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Woman Suffrage, 62nd Cong., 2d sess., Document no. 601, pp. 26-31.



country, made, too, in large part, to determine as to whether discrimination of the kind complained of existed, the Bureau of Labor of the United States declares most positively that the charges made are utterly unfounded, and that women for the same work receive the same wages as men. Which statement is entitled to the greater weight, that of the petitioners or that of the Bureau of Labor?

What is there to indicate that women would vote as a substantial unit on any great moral issue?

"Wisdom is justified by its fruits." Have women, when given the ballot, shown by their fruits that it has been of positive advantage to community, Commonwealth, country, or to themselves?

Judged by its fruits, has the experiment of equal suffrage proven a success in Colorado, Wyoming, or elsewhere?

Is it not unsatisfactory, particularly as tried and applied in large cities?

Is not the government of our large cities one of the very gravest, if not the gravest, of our problems?

Is not the enfranchisement of women likely to add to the seriousness of the problem, rather than take therefrom?

Is not Denver, despite the ballot in the hands of women, as badly governed as before?

Would equal suffrage accomplish for New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis what it has failed to do for Denver, to wit, clean the Augean stables?

Has the granting of the ballot to the women of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho (California being in her swaddling clothes as yet, speaking suffragetically), purified politics, uprooted fraud and corruption, or resulted in the enactment of reformatory legislation in behalf of the home or the children of the home?

One of the most effective arguments used by the advocates of female suffrage to induce the support of many women is that it will place in the hands of women the instrument with which to grind the traffic in alcoholic stimulants to powder, and that once given this opportunity, they will wipe the business of liquor selling off the map of America. After saying as they do that the abolition of this evil or its effective regulation is a total failure in the hands of man, the question is pertinent, Have the women kept their promise in this respect in a single State or community wherein they have been clothed with the suffrage? If so, would not Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho be prohibition States?

On the other hand, is it not true that in every instance in which a State or a community have banished the traffic in alcoholic stimulants the ballot has been in the hands of male voters alone?

But should it be admitted that the ballot in the hands of women has been successful in some of our Western Commonwealths, where the men largely outnumber the women, and where the percentage of illiteracy is almost nothing, and where the people are widely scattered, and the population composed almost entirely of native Americans, the foreign born among them

being of the better types in the main—hardy, self-reliant, accustomed to the wind and the rain and the sun—does it follow that the experiment would work to advantage in our Eastern States (not to speak of our Southern States, with their black belt), running over as they are with swarms of ignorant and degraded people living in the slums of our great cities—vast swarms of both sexes, appallingly vicious?

Have the women who would secure this privilege counted the cost of adding not alone the vote of the good and the cultured women to the electorate, but that of the illiterate, the ignorant, and the bad?

Even if it were susceptible of positive proof that women in the mass are more intelligent than men in the mass, nevertheless should women demand the ballot unless and until she has at least convinced herself, if not others, that the things to be gained thereby are of greater value than the things to be lost in the operation?

Have the women of the United States who are waging this campaign for the ballot weighed the possible loss as against the possible gain?

May we not answer the oft appealed to aphorism that "it is absurd to call those free who have no voice in framing the laws they are forced to obey," by inquiring if woman does not indeed and in truth have a mighty strong voice in framing the laws, if only she sees fit to exert it, and that her voice is none the less felt and followed, because she does not go to the polls or sit in the Halls of Congress?

Show me a Congress or a State legislature which would dare to overlook the wish and the will of womankind when once made known. Much has been said about the suffrage being a natural right, as, for instance, "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Is the suffrage such a right?

Is it not both a privilege and a burden imposed by the sovereignty, which is the Government of the United States, under its Constitution, upon certain of the people of the country, who possess the qualifications fixed by that Constitution, and only upon those who measure up to such requirements?

If a natural or absolute right, to which all persons without regard to race or sex or color or what not are entitled to have and hold and exercise without question, why do we deprive our men of it until they arrive at the age of 21 years, why is it this so-called right is denied to the people of the Territories and the people of the District of Columbia?

If an absolute right, by what authority or color of authority does the State of Massachusetts, as well as other States, bar from the use and enjoyment of the suffrage men who do not possess certain prescribed educational qualifications?

Is it not true that every free lover, every socialist, every communist, and every anarchist the country over is openly in favor of female suffrage?

Does not the ballot in the hands of woman seem to give aid and comfort to schemes to overthrow the family and the private home?

Is not one of the saddest problems which the country faces to-day the disintegration of the American home?

Are not too many homes torn with discord and dissension, are not the divorce courts strewn with family skeletons, thick as leaves in the forests of Valambrosa?

Will the ballot in the hands of women pour oil on the troubled domestic waters?

Will not its inevitable tendency be to furnish still another cause of friction and irritation?

Speaking very seriously, and not wishing to be thought guilty of indelicacy, is it not a fact requiring no argument to support it that woman by her very organism and temperament--so fundamentally different and so delicate as compared with man--is not fitted to blaze man's trail or do man's work in the world any more than man is fitted to fill woman's sacred place and do her work in the world?

In other words, is not the so-called reform sought a reform against nature, unscientific and unsound?

Much has been said about the emancipation of woman, as if she were held in bondage through the tyranny of man or government. Are not the women of America the freest beings of their sex on the planet, and fully able to secure any of their sovereign rights, or redress any and all of their wrongs, if they will only unite and make their wants known--that is to say, if remedy by legislative action is possible?

To the statement that men have made a mess of government and women could hardly do any worse, is it not sufficient to ask the gentler sex if she has proven "by her fruits," when put to the solemn test, that she could reduce the chaos to cosmos?

There is a growing and a distinctly alarming tendency in this country on the part of women to escape the so-called drudgery of housekeeping, and particularly the burdens of child-bearing and child-rearing, so that we find many of those who are best equipped for wifedom and motherhood refusing to listen to its sacred call, while those who are illy equipped for it answering the same call unquestioningly.

Do you not think this movement has a strong tendency to encourage this exodus from "the land of bondage," otherwise known as matrimony and motherhood?

While this honorable committee is assembled here to consider the conferring of the suffrage upon woman thousands of the bonniest youths and fairest maidens of America are taking the first downward step. In a little while they will be going at a cataract pace. Would it not seem that the same energy, determination and rare ability displayed by the advocates of this privilege and burden, of doubtful value, could be more worthily bestowed in saving the boys and girls of the land from irretrievable disaster, which, of course, means inevitably the shipwreck of country and civilization?

Is not the need of the land and the age a return to the old-fashioned, cardinal, and never-to-be-improved-upon virtues--a return to the first principles of right thinking and right living--a renaissance of the American family, which is fast being deserted by its former devotees; to speak plainly,

that woman shall not flee from her high and holy mission as though it were a plague, so that no longer the finest product of America--the children--shall, in case they are permitted to arrive at all, be turned over to the tender mercies of hirelings for their training and mothering, or be allowed to bring themselves up with the chances that in the end away they will go to perdition, across lots; but instead of that they shall be trained in their own homes by their own mothers (I never knew a father who amounted to very much in this line, though he should boost all he can in the right direction); trained in the way they should go, in the full assurance of Holy Writ that when they are old they will not depart therefrom.

Finally, gentlemen, can the good women of the land help themselves, their country, or humanity, now or hereafter, in a more effective way than by the organization of a nation-wide back-to-home movement?

Do not the present propaganda and program mean a long step in the backward direction?

Is it not emphatically a movement away from home, away from nature, and away from those exalted ideals following which man and woman have struggled upward together from the depths of barbarism to the loftiest plane of civilization and progress the world has ever known?

I thank you.

7-a

Carrie Chapman Catt Describes the Opposition

In 1915 Carrie Chapman Catt told a Senate committee how the women of New York had organized for their suffrage referendum, and how—in her view—they came to be outvoted, even though they had turned out a half-million votes for suffrage.

Document †

In contrast we may ask what have women done? Again I may say that New York is a fair example because it is the largest of the States in population and has the second city in size in the world and occupies perhaps the most important position in any land in which a suffrage referendum has been taken. Women held during the six months prior to the election in 1915, 10,300 meetings. They printed and circulated 7,500,000 leaflets or three-and-a-half for every voter. These leaflets weighed more than twenty tons. They had 770 treasuries in the State among the different groups doing suffrage work and every bookkeeper except two was a volunteer. Women by the thousands contributed to the funds of that campaign, in one group 12,000 public school teachers. On election day 6,330 women watched at the polls from 5:45 in the morning until after the vote was counted. I was on duty myself from 5:30 until midnight. There were 2,500 campaign officers in the State who gave their time without pay. The publicity features were more numerous and unique than any campaign of men or women had ever had. They culminated in a parade in New York City which was organized without any effort to secure women outside the city to participate in it, yet 20,000 marched through Fifth Avenue to give some idea of the size of their demand for the vote.

What was the result? If we take the last announcement from the board of elections the suffrage amendment received 535,000 votes—2,000 more than the total vote of the nine States where women now have suffrage through a referendum. It was not submitted in Wyoming, Utah or Illinois. Yet New York suffragists did not win because the opponents outvoted them. How did

†From: Ida Husted Harper, ed. *History of Woman Suffrage*, (New York: J. J. Little and Ives, 1922. Vol. V, p. 753.

this happen? Why did not such evidence of a demand win the vote? Because the unscrupulous men of the State worked and voted against woman suffrage, aided and abetted by the weakminded and illiterate, who are permitted a vote in New York. In Rochester the male inmates of the almshouse and rescue home were taken out to vote against the amendment. Men too drunk to sign their own names voted all over the State, for drunkards may vote in New York. In many of the polling places the women watchers reported that throughout the entire day not one came to vote who did not have to be assisted; they did not know enough to cast their own vote.

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE: THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Scott

320

377

377

7-b

"Merely to Stay in the Home is not Enough..."

After 1900 suffragists increasingly reached out in search of support from people who had not hitherto showed much interest in the movement. In the pamphlet reprinted below, Susan Walker Fitzgerald, a Bryn Mawr graduate and social worker, and veteran of outdoor campaigns in Massachusetts, appealed to women on the basis of their love of home and children. The pamphlet was designed to be read quickly and easily.

Document†

Women In The Home

By SUSAN W. FITZGERALD

We are forever being told that the place of woman is in the HOME. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she does certain things for the home. She must make the home minister, as far as her means allow, to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.

SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

SHE is responsible for the children's health.

SHE, above all, is responsible for their morals, for their sense of truth, of honesty and of decency, for what they turn out to be.

How Far Can the Mother Control These Things? She can clean her own rooms, BUT if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad airs and smells, or from being infested by vermin.

She can cook her food well, BUT if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and her refuse, BUT if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and

†From: *Political Equality*, leaflet published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection that these conditions bring.

She can take every care to avoid fire, BUT if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are insufficient or not fire-proof, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, BUT if the air is laden with infection, with tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, BUT if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot protect them from these dangers.

ALONE, she CANNOT make these things right. WHO or WHAT can?

THE CITY can do it, the CITY GOVERNMENT that is elected BY THE PEOPLE, to take care of the interests of THE PEOPLE.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

FIRST, the officials of that government; and,

SECOND, those who elect them.

DO THE WOMEN ELECT THEM? NO, the men do. So it is the MEN and NOT THE WOMEN that are really responsible for the unclean houses, unwholesome food, bad plumbing, danger of fire, risk of tuberculosis and other diseases, immoral influences of the street. In fact, MEN are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold WOMEN responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one simple way of doing this. Give them the same means that men have, LET THEM VOTE.

Women are by nature and training, housekeepers, Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.

ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE: THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Scott

373

10

The Suffragists: A Collective Sketch

Document†

What were the characteristics of the leading suffragists?

The editors of *Notable American Women* deal with eighty-nine women whose primary claim to being notable was their suffrage activity. Many other women included in this biographical dictionary were suffragists, but their primary contribution lay elsewhere. The eighty-nine provide the basis for this collective sketch. It should be added that *Notable American Women* did not include women who were alive in 1950.

These women were born between 1792 and 1886, with the heaviest concentration of births (thirty-seven) between 1841 and 1870. The decade in which the largest number were born (seventeen) was 1821-1830.

By nineteenth-century standards these suffragists were exceedingly well-educated. At a time when only a tiny percentage of all American women had been to some institution of higher learning, over fifty percent of the suffragists had. A number of those who did not have advanced schooling studied independently or were tutored by husbands or fathers, not infrequently in the law.

Three out of four of the suffragists were married at least once. The average age of marriage was twenty-four years and the modal age was twenty-two, which was very close to the national pattern. The average age of marriage is skewed upward slightly by one doughty suffragist who married for the first time at the age of eighty-seven.

Sixteen percent of the marriages ended in divorce, a higher rate than that of the population at large in 1900.

Of the sixty-seven suffragists who married, fifty-three had children. There were a number of what might be called typical nineteenth-century families of six to eight children but the average number of children was three, well below the national norm for the time.

Seventy-two of the suffragists were affiliated with a national suffrage organization: twenty-five were members of the National Woman's Suffrage

†Data drawn from: Edward and Janet James, eds., *Notable American Women* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 3 vols.

Association, fifteen of the American Woman's Suffrage Association, twenty-six of the National American (after the merger) and seven were members of the Woman's Party.

A little over half the women came from families in which the men were active in politics; a third of all the married women had husbands who were politically involved. Five had activist mothers, and five had mothers or daughters who were also included in *Notable American Women*.

The characteristics which seem to distinguish these suffragists from other middle class American women, then, are primarily education and small families. Much more detailed analysis would have to be made before we could say anything about common patterns of motivation or experience, but these facts throw some light on the rapid growth in numbers which occurred in the early twentieth century as general educational levels rose and average numbers of children declined in the middle class.

ONE HALF THE PEOPLE: THE FIGHT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Scott

DOCUMENT 11

ANTHONY, "SUFFRAGE AND THE
WORKING WOMAN," 1871

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON & SUSAN B. ANTHONY:
CORRESPONDENCE, WRITINGS AND SPEECHES,
DuBois

In this speech, different versions of which she delivered from the late 1860s through the 1890s, Anthony demanded that women be granted the twin rewards of American republicanism: equal opportunity to compete for wealth and advancement; and the ballot to protect them against injustice. The experience of recently emancipated and enfranchised Black men seemed to substantiate Anthony's case that the vote and "free labor" could bring honor and respect to previously despised classes. Anthony's relation to the wage-earning women for whom she spoke was ambiguous. On the one hand, she was clearly familiar with and sympathetic to their struggles and knew a good deal about the trade unions they had formed and the strikes they had waged. On the other hand, she understood them from the perspective of a middle-class woman, for whom work meant independence. She did not really understand the miserable and ill-paid work that many of them faced, and could only understand their aversion to wage-labor as "feminine" prejudice.

I COME to night . . . as a representative of the working women. I lay down my doctrine that the first step for the alleviation of their oppression is to secure to them pecuniary independence. Alexander Hamilton said 100 years ago "take my right over my

San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, July 13, 1871

subsistence and you possess absolute power over my moral being." That is applicable to the working women of the present day. Others possess the right over their subsistence. What is the cause of this? I will tell you. It is because of a false theory having been in the minds of the human family for ages that woman is born to be supported by man and to accept such circumstances as he chooses to accord to her. She not like him is not allowed to control her own circumstances. The pride of every man is that he is free to carve out his own destiny. A woman has no such pride.

A little circumstance happened at this hall last night which illustrates this. A mother and daughter came to the ticket office to purchase tickets, when they were confronted by a man who exclaimed, "Didn't I forbid you to come here to-night?" He had a heavy cane in his hand which he flourished over them, and finally drove them away from the hall.

I appeal to you men. If you were under such control of another man would you not consider it an absolute slavery? But you say that man was a brute. Suppose he is a brute, he is no more of a brute than the law permits him to be.

But to go back. Is it true that women are supported by men? If I was to go home with you all to-night, I should find ample proof of falsity. I should find among your homes many who support themselves. Then if I should go into your manufactories . . . I should find hundreds and thousands who support themselves by the industry of their own hands. In Boston there are 10,000 women engaged in shoemaking. You say these are extreme cases. So they are, but it is in these large cities that the hardship and wrong is most apparent. . . .

If you will take the stand with me on the main thoroughfares of New York, on the Bowery, at the ferries, you will see troops and troops of women going to their daily work. There are not quite so many as there are men, but the men think it is not disreputable to work. Not so with woman. If she makes an effort to support herself, she always makes an effort to conceal it. The young girl has her satchel as though going to the depot, or has her books as though going to school.

Some years ago we had a Woman's Benevolent Society in

New York and appointed a committee to visit all over the city among the poor. The committee visited among others a family of rag pickers. . . . In one little garret was a mother and five little children. The committee appealed to the mother to allow them to put her in a way to support her children and send them to school. They pleaded with her for some time without avail and finally she straightened herself up and exclaimed, "No indeed, ladies. I'll have you to understand my husband is a gentleman and no gentleman allows his wife to go out to work." [Laughter]

That society is wrong which looks on labor as being any more degrading to woman than to man.

It was no more ridiculous for the rag picker's wife to scout the idea of going to work out than it is for the daughter of a well-to-do farmer to scout the idea of supporting herself. . . .

I am proud of San Francisco that she is an exception to the rule, and that she has raised a woman to the position of Principal of one of the cosmopolitan schools with a full salary of \$1,200 a year. But if to-morrow, the same model girl, whom I have just referred to, were to marry a banker and live a life of idleness, with horses, carriages, and house finely furnished, able to take her trip to Europe and with all the advantages wealth could purchase, though her husband were a drunkard, a libertine and a vile and depraved wretch, the woman would never again receive pity. Now we want this rule changed.

The first result of this false theory is this: no woman is even educated to work. Sons are educated while daughters are allowed to grow up mere adornments, and when the hour of necessity comes, then comes cruelty in the extreme. The woman has to skill her hands for labor, and has to compete with men who have been skilled from boyhood; and not only this but when she has attained ability to compete with them and to do just as well in every respect she is placed at work, if at all, on half pay. Society dooms her always to a subordinate position, as an inferior. . . .

Nowhere can woman hold head offices and the reason is this, politicians can't afford to give an office to one who can't pay back in votes. If in New York the women could decide the fate

of elections, don't you think they could afford to make women County Clerks or Surrogate Clerks or even Surrogate Judges? Said a Surrogate Judge to me, "Miss Anthony, I was almost converted by your lecture last night. I have one son and one daughter. The son is at college." I asked him, "Is your son possessed of the requisite ability to place him in your position?" "No," he replied; "he will spend his days in a garrett daubing paints on a canvass. But my daughter has a splendid legal mind, and understands already much of my duties. What a pity she was not a boy!" Only think, a brain wasted because it happens to be a woman's. For this reason one half the brain in the world remain undeveloped. How will we remedy this? Give woman an equal chance to compete with men, educate her and surround her with the same legal advantages. Every one knows that the great stimulus for activity is to be paid for in having that activity recognized by promotion.

How will the ballot cure the evil? You tell me the ballot is not going to alleviate this. I will tell you how it is going to alleviate it. Never have the disfranchised classes had equal chances with the enfranchised. What is the difference between the working classes of the United States and Europe? Simply that, here the workman has the ballot and there he has not. Here, if he has the brains or energy, his chances are quite equal with the son of the millionaire. That is American Republicanism—the ballot in the hand of every man. [Applause] . . . See how it works. Take the St. Crispins for example. . . . Well these three hundred St. Crispins strike against a reduction of wages, and not only they, but twenty other St. Crispin Societies, and not only they but other workmen. Now, suppose the *New York World* denounced those men, and the Democratic party manifested prejudice, not only those 300 men would vote against the party but all the other societies: the hod carriers, brick layers, the masons, the carpenters and the tailors would vote solidly against the party which opposed them, and that party would go to the wall.

No political party can hope for success and oppose the interests of the working class. You can all see that neither of the great parties dared to put a plank in the platform directly opposed. Both wrote a paragraph on finance, but nobody knew what it

meant. They did this not because of a desire to do justice to the workmen, but simply because of the power of the workmen to do them harm. . . .

Now what do women want? Simply the same ballot. In this city, they, the women hat and cap makers, 2,000 of them, made a strike and held out three weeks, but finally they were forced to yield. Their employers said "Take that or nothing," and although "that" was *almost* "nothing" they had to take it or starve. Until two weeks ago I never heard of a successful strike among women. I'll tell you why this was successful. The employers of the Daughters of St. Crispin at Baltimore undertook to cut their wages down, and the Daughters struck. They were about to be defeated when the men St. Crispins came to the rescue and said to the employers, "If you don't accede we will strike," and they carried their point. How happened the workmen to do this? Because they are beginning to see that as long as women work, the capitalists are able to use them to undermine the workmen. . . .

In '68 the collar laundry women organized into a trades union. Their wages had once been but from \$6 to \$8 per week, but they gradually got them raised to \$11 to \$21 per week. You may all say that this is very good wages and so it was, compared with what they had been getting, but they thought they were poorly paid in proportion to the profits of their employers, and struck for an advance. Their employers said they must put a stop to this. Give women an inch and they will take an ell. The women called the men trades unions into counsel. The men said "Now is your time to make a strike; you are organized and your employers will come to terms." So one May morning in '69 the 1,000 women threw down their work. For three long months these women held out. They exhausted all their money. From all over the United States trade unions sent money to help them to carry the day. But their employers laughed at them; not a single paper advocated their cause, and they had to yield.

Not long ago I met the President of the organization and I asked her "If you were men you would have won?" "O yes," she said, "the men always win when they strike." "What was the cause of your defeat?" She said: "I guess it was the newspa-

pers. They said if the women were not satisfied, they had better get married." [Laughter] "What made the newspapers oppose you?" "I guess our employers paid them money." "How much?" "I think \$10,000." I asked her if the five hundred collar workers had had votes, would the newspapers dare to have opposed them? She said they would not. When the men strike, the employers try to bribe the newspapers in just the same way, but the newspapers dare not sell. The political editor of a party paper puts the votes in one scale and the cash in the other, and the cash knocks the beam every time. [Laughter] Simply because those five hundred women were helpless and powerless and represented the whole half of a country who were helpless and powerless, they failed. . . .

Now let me give you an example for teachers. In a certain city in the East, the women teachers petitioned for an advance of salary. The School Board finding it necessary to retrench, instead of advancing their salaries deducted from the salaries of the women intermediate teachers \$25 a month. They did not dare to reduce the salaries of the male teachers because they had votes.

I have a sister somewhat younger than I who has been in those schools for twenty years. [Laughter] Suppose six or seven women were members of the Board, do you believe the Board would have failed to receive that petition? . . .

A few years ago in this house a colored woman would not have been allowed a seat. Now the negro is enfranchised and what is the result? We see the black man walk the streets as proud as any man, simply because he has the ballot. Now black men are mayors of cities, legislators and office holders. Nobody dares to vent his spleen on negroes to-day.

We always invite the mayor and governor to our conventions, but they always have important business which keeps them from attending. The negro invites them and they come. Two years ago they did not. . . . To-day the conservative Republicans bid the negro good morning, and even the Democrats look wistfully at him.

I visited last year the Legislature of Tennessee. I inquired, "Who is that negro member?" I was answered that it was the

honorable gentleman of Lynchburg, and that is the honorable gentleman of Hampton County, and that is the honorable gentleman of somewhere else. There were 20 of them. They did not occupy the black man's corner. They were seated with the white members. One black member was sitting on the same cushion on which sat his master three or four years ago.

I thought it would be nice to ask this Legislative body to attend my lecture; and when I extended my invitation, a gentleman asked that the courtesy of the Legislature be extended to me, and that I be allowed the use of the Legislative Hall. This called forth derisive laughter. The question was put on a suspension of the rules and was lost by a vote of 18 to 38. For the benefit of the Democracy, I will state that the negroes voted in favor of the suspension. A man stood near, who, from his appearance, might have been a slave-driver, and he launched out in a tirade of oaths and ended with, "If that had been a damned nigger who wanted the House, he could have had it." [Laughter] And so he could. . . . I believe that women have now the legal right to vote, and I believe that they should go to the polls and deposit their ballot, and if refused carry the officers and inspectors before the Supreme Court.

When we get the ballot those men who now think we are angels just before election will actually see our wings cropping out. [Laughter]

You say the women and the negro are not parallel cases. The negro was a down trodden race, but for the women there is no such necessity for they are lovely and beloved, and the men will guard them from evil. I suppose they will guard their own wives and daughters and mothers and sisters, but is every man as careful to guard another man's wife, daughter, mother and sister? It is not a question of safety to women in general. It is simply "Is she *my* property?" . . . You women who have kind brothers and husband and sons, I ask you to join with us in this movement so that woman can protect herself.

THE FEMALE EXPERIENCE

LYDIA DRAKE (WESTERVELT)

63. Why women should not meddle with politics—1840

Nothing is known about the circumstances which prompted the preparation of this outline for an essay or a speech by an Oberlin College student, and little is known about her. Lydia Drake had entered Oberlin College in 1837, and she completed the college course in 1845. Oberlin in 1833 was the first college to admit female students, but these students were taught in a separate Ladies Department. In 1837 four female freshmen enrolled in the regular college course, making the institution truly coeducational. Lucy Stone, who was one of the pioneer group at Oberlin, frequently protested the discriminatory treatment of women students. In particular her determination to become a public lecturer and that of her friend and classmate Antoinette Brown to train for the ministry, were met by disapproval and dismay on the part of the faculty.

In 1840, the problems raised by coeducation and those engendered by the activities of antislavery women, who no longer seemed satisfied with taking a subservient, merely auxiliary role in their organizations, put the "woman question" at the center of controversy at Oberlin and in reform circles in general. Should women participate equally in the leadership of abolition societies? Should they work only in separate female societies? Was it proper for them to lecture in public? to become ministers? to enter medical school? Woman suffrage had not yet become a public issue; it was fully eight years before it would first be raised as a feminist demand. Even then, the woman suffrage resolution almost failed of

Lydia Drake (Westervelt), manuscript copy, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

385

acceptance by the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, because it was considered too daring.

How then can one explain the preparation of Lydia Drake's speech on woman suffrage? Chances are it was intended to answer the main objection to any demand for advancing the status of women. "If they can go to college, they'll be asking to vote next." The specter of women voting was the clinching argument of all those who objected to granting women access to higher education and professional training, and to equal participation in reform organizations and in community leadership.

Lydia Drake, in her slyly humorous rebuttal, thought to hold up all these patriarchal arguments to ridicule. She succeeded admirably. The existence of this kind of speech draft, written by a young woman in Ohio as early as 1840, indicates that the demand for woman suffrage raised at Seneca Falls was perhaps not as outrageously radical a demand as historical scholarship has made it appear.

1. Her mind is inferior to that of man, and we know that it requires the strongest of minds to become a good politician. . . .
2. It is beneath her dignity. . . .
3. She has no right to vote and there is no use in her being prepared to do intelligently what she is not permitted to do at all.
4. She has not sufficient stability of character. She would always follow the opinions of her father, brother or husband . . . and this might do more hurt than good.
5. We should soon see ladies mounted on the public stage addressing her listening audience on the subject of politics and that would not look very well.
6. She is too capricious and full of new-fangled notions.
7. Women would soon enough occupy the Presidential chair and the legislative halls of our country, and we do not know what the consequences of that might be.
8. There is no need of it. There are men enough who have nothing else to do who can transact all necessary business.

386

9. If permitted to study politics she would understand the art of governing and she might usurp the authority of men and it would be rather revolting to our feelings to see her holding it over the lords of creation.

10. It would increase her responsibility, and it is well known that she has more now than she sustains with credit.

11. She would be entirely out of her sphere. . . .

12. She has not sufficient strength of body and mind.

13. Too fond of novelty.

14. Woman is too ambitious and cruel to be invested with power. . . .

15. Has not time to attend to politics. She has enough of it to do.

16. [illegible]

17. She is talkative. . . .

18. She is too fastidious. This needs no comment.

19. It is contrary to the direction of St. Paul, who said "I suffer not woman for to usurp authority over the man. . . ."

20. It would exceedingly blunt her moral susceptibilities, her sense of propriety.

21. If woman should have the control of affairs, we should soon see woman placed in every department of office in the country, thus throwing many of our most distinguished men out of office, and of course out of employment, for they would not do anything else to support themselves, and would soon become pests to security.

22. Too whimsical.

23. She would soon be able to converse intelligently on the subject of politics, and on this subject equal men. . . .

24. There are more engaged in politics now than know what they are about.

25. She would understand the principles of government and would be constantly practicing them in her own little empire home. . . .

26. She's too fond of fashion to attend to the interests of her country.

27. If we should see ladies attending conventions,

traveling about the country in great carts drawn by many yoke of oxen, waving their pocket handkerchiefs to assembled multitudes, it would greatly shock our sensibilities.

28. It is contrary to the Bible. I know that some move forward the cases of Deborah and others to prove woman's capability, but others think that they were perfect Amazons and very different from the refined ladies.

29. Woman influences mind only when too young to have anything to do with politics. . . .

30. Ladies would attend to nightly caucus of their political party and that would be improper.

31. She was never designed for it. Her eyes were never made to be spoiled in *plodding* over political trash.

32. It would lead to the neglect of family duties.

33. She is too energetic. She would carry. . . .

34. *Veria et muta tabilis femina est.* I know that some would say, *semper*, but that would not make much difference.

35. It is not fashionable and some appear to think that we might as well be out of the world as out of fashion.

36. It would give offense to some, and it is woman's province to please not to offend.

37. She could never equal men in intellectual and political power, therefore it would be useless for her to attempt it.

38. It is contrary to public opinion, when we might as well attempt to stop the mountain torrent in its course as to stem the tide of public opinion.

39. She would lose her sense of dependence on man, and of course forfeit his protection.

40. She has not wit enough for a politician, "for wit, like wine, intoxicates the brain,—too strong for feeble woman to sustain."

I presume it would be quite as easy to give 40 times 40 reasons why gentlemen should not engage in politics with such fiery zeal that they sometimes do, as it is to give 40 why ladies should not engage in them as well.

A Press Release

October 6, 1915

I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey¹ because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the state; but I shall vote, not as the leader of my party in the nation, but only upon my private conviction as a citizen of New Jersey called upon by the legislature of the state to express his conviction at the polls. I think that New Jersey will be greatly benefited by the change. My position with regard to the way in which this great question should be handled is well known. I believe that it should be settled by the states and not by the national government, and that in no circumstances should it be made a party question; and my view has grown stronger at every turn of the agitation.²

T MS (WP, DLC).

¹ The National American Woman Suffrage Association and its New Jersey affiliate had spearheaded the campaign for a special referendum on a constitutional amendment enfranchising women. It failed at the polls on October 19 by 46,278 votes.

² There is a WWT draft of this statement in WP, DLC. Following "I think that New Jersey will be greatly benefited by the change," Wilson had added: "and my opinion in that matter has been very much strengthened by the character of the opposition to the measure." He then struck out this portion.

From: The Papers of Woodrow Wilson,
Arthur Link, et al., eds.

Woodrow Wilson, President

329

330

An Address in Atlantic City to the
National American Woman Suffrage Association

From:

The Papers of
Woodrow Wilson,
Arthur Link, et al.
eds.

September 8, 1916.

Madam President,¹ ladies of the association: I have found it a real privilege to be here tonight and to listen to the addresses which you have heard.² Though you may not all of you believe it, I would a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself, but I should feel that I was omitting a duty if I did not address you tonight and say some of the things that have been in my thoughts as I realized the approach of this evening and the duty that would fall upon me.

The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is, not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt, for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but, when you think of the cumulating force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history.

Two generations ago—no doubt, Madam President will agree with me in saying it—it was a handful of women who were fighting for this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting for it. And there are some interesting historical connections which I would like to attempt to point out to you. One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that, at the outset, it was a lawyer's history. Almost all of the questions to which America addressed itself, say a hundred years ago, were legal questions, were questions of method, not questions of what you were going to do with your government, but questions of how you were going to constitute your government—how you were going to balance the powers of the states and the federal government, how you were going to balance the claims of

¹ Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman Catt.

² Other speakers were Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Catt; Margaret Dreier (Mrs. Raymond) Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League; Owen Reed Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee; Katharine Bement Davis, chief of the Parole Commission of New York; and Julia Clifford Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

property against the processes of liberty, how you were going to make your governments up so as to balance the parts against each other so that the legislature would check the executive, and the executive the legislature, and the courts both of them put together. The whole conception of government, when the United States became a nation, was a mechanical conception of government, and the mechanical conception of government, which underlay it, was the Newtonian theory of the universe. If you pick up *The Federalist*, some parts of it read like a treatise on astronomy instead of a treatise on government. They speak of the centrifugal and the centripetal forces, and locate the President somewhere in a rotating system. And the whole thing is a calculation of power and an adjustment of parts. There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist once remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the Americans could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

And then something happened. A great question arose in this country, which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question, and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question. And is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women. Those prominent in that day were so few that you can almost name them over in a brief catalogue, but, nevertheless, they then began to play a part in writing, not only, but in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America. And, after the Civil War had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system, the life of the nation began, not only to unfold, but to accumulate. Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the Civil War. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. Stories such as Doctor Davis has told tonight were uncommon in those simpler days. The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil did not exist in America in anything like the same proportions that they exist now. And, as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities, and the cool spaces of the country have been supplanted by the feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions has

been altered. They have ceased to be legal questions; they have more and more become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another—not merely their legal relations, but their moral and spiritual relations to one another. And this has been most characteristic of American life in the last few decades. And, as these questions have assumed greater and greater prominence, the movement which this association represents has gathered cumulative force. So that, if anybody asks himself, "What does this gathering force mean?", if he knows anything about the history of the country, he knows that it means that something has not only come to stay, but has come with conquering power.

I get a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail—it is going to prevail—and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because the women are discontented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist. Because America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of the mind and of the heart. And, as visions of that sort come up to the sight of those who are spiritually minded in America, America comes more and more into her birthright and into the perfection of her development.

So that what we have to realize in dealing with sources of this sort, is that we are dealing with the substance of life itself. I have felt, as I sat here tonight, the wholesome contagion of this occasion. Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City, I came to fight somebody. I hardly know how to conduct myself when I have not come to fight against anybody, but with somebody. I have come to suggest, among other things, that, when the forces of nature are steadily working and the tide is rising to meet the moon, you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood. We feel the tide; we rejoice in the strength of it, and we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it. Because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along. The whole art and practice of government consists, not in moving individuals, but in moving masses. It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for the body to follow.

I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there was a force

behind you that will, beyond any peradventure, be triumphant, and for which you can afford a little while to wait.¹

Address of President Wilson at Suffrage Convention . . . (Washington, 1916); with corrections from the complete text in the New York Times, Sept. 9, 1916, and from TMS (National American Woman Suffrage Assoc. Papers, DLC).

¹ At a charity musicale, presumably after his address, Wilson was asked to stand and let people see his face. He drew a roar of laughter when he quoted his favorite limerick beginning "For beauty I am not a star." *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1916.

Remarks upon the Adjournment of Congress

[Sept. 8, 1916]

A very remarkable session of Congress has just closed, full, as all recent sessions of the Congress have been, of helpful and humane legislation which constitutes contributions of capital importance to the defense, the economic progress, and the wholesome life of the country.

It is to be regretted that the session could not have continued long enough to complete the program recently projected with regard to the accommodation of labor disputes between the railroads and the employes, but it was not feasible in the circumstances to continue the session any longer, and therefore only the most immediately pressing parts of the program could be completed.

The rest, it is agreed, has merely been postponed until it can be more maturely deliberated and perfected. I have every reason to believe that it is the purpose of the leaders of the two houses immediately upon the assembling of Congress to undertake this additional legislation. It is evident that the country should be relieved of the anxiety which must have been created by recent events with regard to the future accommodation of such disputes.

Printed in the *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1916.

From Willard Saulsbury

Dear Mr President, Rockland Breakwater, Me. Sept. 8, 1916

I stopped in New York at Headquarters yesterday & also saw some of our mutual friends outside

(1) McCombs will be overwhelmingly (probably) nominated on Sept. 19¹

I advise that you write him as friendly a letter of congratulation as possible on Sept 20th & give it wide publicity from the White House

(2) Wm Church Osbourne expected to get the U.S.S. nomination, is disappointed & has influence I advise that you make a place for him or have him asked to assist at Dem. Headquarters, possibly merely as a helper to some one else

I believe these 2 things are quite desirable. Will be about a week or ten days up here & enroute to Chicago.

Yours very truly Willard Saulsbury

I enclose copy of a letter I have sent Homer Cummings which may interest you²

ALS (WP, DLC).

¹ McCombs was nominated for senator from New York on September 19.

² W. Saulsbury to H. S. Cummings, Sept. 8, 1916, CCL (WP, DLC), which strongly urged Cummings to accept the nomination for senator from Connecticut.

A Memorandum by Edward Mandell House

September 8, 1916.

(1) The labor leaders did not hold up the President and Congress in order to get the legislation which the President proposed for they preferred to accomplish their purposes through a strike which they had reason to believe would be successful.

(2) Hughes had no suggestion or criticism to make at the time and there were seventy republicans who voted for it in the House without any protest from Hughes or any of the republican leaders, and the law was also permitted to go through the Senate without protest.

(3) If Hughes disagreed with the President's action, what would he have done in the circumstances—particularly since people well informed like the *Railroad Age Gazette*, a journal devoted wholly to the interests of railroad owners, thought in their issue of September 1st that "The United States is confronted with what may prove to be the greatest disaster in its history since the Civil War."

(4) Many of the railroad managers favored accepting the President's proposal because they thought the strike would be successful and they believed the President had presented the most reasonable solution.

(5) If the people will sustain the President he will urge upon Congress legislation that will take the menace of the strike from us as he has taken the menace of the panic from us.

The bankers did not want the Federal Reserve Act and there was opposition to it in commercial centers. And yet it has proved the greatest blessing that has ever been conferred upon American business.

country as they call it. What a sham is freedom. My mother, good old lady living yet most one hundred and never wrote her name in her life she said that boys must be educated so they could go out in the world smart men well they are what the world call smart judges and statesmen while I old lady not capable to do anything for my poor down troden sisters. I am so thankful there is so many capable to do something strike your best blows go to all their great conventions let them know you mean freedom if we never get it keep them stirred up that is some satisfaction if nothing more all this scribbling does not amount to much of course but I have give you my mind on the subject now you can laugh over my composition it will do that much good any way you will find my name in the list from Shellsburg Iowa was not able to write when I put it there poor show for a town of 600 inhabitants we had to work hard to get that many

ALZINA RATHBUN, Shellsburg, Iowa

Do I wish to vote? do the farm-house slaves of the north want to vote? This is a question involving a two sided problem. What has the Womens-rights movement done for us? Just this, if nothing more, raised the wages of women and girls, and opened places in shops and stores where girls may earn more in a month than the farmers wife can command in a year. Well this is good for the girls in some respects but it means death, after a short life of endless toil and care, for the poor Mother at home. Help cannot be had in the farm house, for love nor money. Our young people are all rushing to Town. "Make home attractive" says some town stomper with more guts than brains. Our homes are as pleasant as our means will admit of. The cause of this unwholesome sentiment is not in the make up of our homes, but in the endless unpaid toil of the farmer, his wife, and his children. All year round, up at four o'clock in the morning, and nine and ten o'clock at night still finds the farmer and his family hard at work and when the harvest is over, and the men-helps are paid off, the grocer bill settled, and the hands paid, the farmer's wife and children know there is not enough left of the years gains, to feed and clothe them as others are clothed and

then what is the prospect on the farm, toil, toil, without hope, ... scoffed at and scorned by our city-cousins. So away they flee to the fine prospects in town, to its corruptions and evils, to its temptations and sins, and still they go to be lost in the wild whirl-pool of gayety and fashion.

Dear Sister who can slave this terrible ... state of affairs. I would not tie any woman down to this life of unpaid toil, but justice means justice to all; and it is an undeniable fact that the condition of the farmers and their poor drudging wives, is every year becoming more intolerable; we are robbed and crowded to the wall on every side, our crop [is] taken for whatever the middlemen are of a mind to give us, and we are obliged to give them whatever they have the force to ask for their goods or go without, and this all means so much more self-denial and suffering. So much toil, and less help for the farmer's wife. But do I want to vote; yes, I do, and I would like to be Robertspere—or the heads-man just one year or till the head of every murderer, and every sin-licensing states-man had rolled down from the guillotine. This slow murder and usurpation calls for just such a bloody, unmitigated remedy.

MRS. MARY TRAVIS, Fore's Bend, Minnesota

Through a friend, whose sympathy are with us, showed me the Mind and Matter a Liberal paper publish in Philadelphia. . . .

Your Call for all woman of These United States to sign a petition or postal Card to be sent to you, from Your Mass Meeting to be sent to the Republican Presidential Convention asking them to extend to us Woman some recognition of our rights. We are your Sister though Colored still we feel in our Bosom and want of Faternal love from our White Sister of the Country. Our White men of this State of Virginia, who rule us with a rod of iron, and show themselves on every occasion the same Crole Task Master, as ever, have introduce on the Statute books right to wipp woman for any poor Discretion, that she might be guilt of. During the early part of february a poor weak colored Woman who was in the Extremes wants, stole a Over skirt Value fifty Cent, for which the presiding Magistrate Named J

LETTERS WRITTEN TO
SUSAN B. ANTHONY ON
SUFFRAGE

I BELIEVE that women should be emancipated from the accursed bondage that has kept them down for hundreds of years; laws invented by rascally men in the dark ages; knowing the women were too smart for them if they only had a chance to show what they were capable of. But now I hope the time is coming when the women can put their foot down heavy on any man that dares to trample on their rights. Women must arise in all their strength to let men know that she is his equal in all that is great and good. If Bergh in N.Y. City, can be paid to punish men for their cruelty to dumb brutes, I go for a law that will give women the power to go throughout the land to search out the poor and oppressed women, and in every case where a man ill treats his wife, I want him carried off to the Insane Asylum in Indiana or some other infernal place. I am over 76 years old; have lived in different places; have seen man's cruelty to women many times; just because they delighted to show their power over them. It must be stopped. I should be glad to say something on that great occasion and hear others; but I am a poor woman and a widow; and could not get money to come to save my life so sent my name and childrens.

MRS. A. BEAUMONT, Illinois City, Illinois

i have a disire to vote from ms Jane E. Sobers free holder and tax payer when will we have our Rights and Justice in this world. i do not know some times what to think of some of the woman of our city they are a sleep they want to be roused up in Some way i for one have Bin Struggling hard with this world Scince 1874 all Lone By my Self. i have to be man and woman boath i have to be at the helamn and look out for the Brakers i am now 48 years old. have Bin the mother of 9 children and still struggling for my freedom. Are we to have the china man to governs us and the colard man it Looks as it was fast approaching.

i feel proud that we have some noble woman to help unBar the Prison Doors for the Poor Down trodden honst hard work-

ing woman of this country. i have Suffered inJustice from the Law of this my native city. wronged and Robbed of what Did by Rights Belong to me. So good Bye you have my hand and my hart. i only wish i have the power to help you though But I hope the day will come soon. . . .

JANE E. SOBERS, Philadelphia

Withholding from feminine humanity evry natural right from infancy to death, is man's natural propensity. It is so natural that it requires more than ordinary courage in one to favor equal rights legally or morally.

So much has the world been accustomed to subjecting females (human) to all sort of penances that even female children are forced to forego nearly evry pleasure encouraged in the *MALE* sex. Bah! My blood has been brought to boiling heat while reading the contemptable pusilanimious proceedings of the late great Methodist Conference. Even now my cheek burns with contempt and disgust for the foolish virgins who unsuspectingly support them.

. Believe me, I cannot sue and plead for my *evry* natural right. But am bitter enough if it comes to that, to fight manfully for our liberty. I would, were it in my power make a destroying Angel of my self, and go from house to house and should I personally receive the treatment that I daily receive in common with other female human beings, *distroy* the man or woman who would utter against equal and unqualified rights and privileges. Words fail to convey the bitter hatred I have for the foul demagogues who would take from me the freedom they claim for themselves.

MRS. H. GRISWOLD, Leavenworth Kansas

I cannot be at the meeting although it is my greatest desire to be there. I am an old lady not able to make the journey. And what a sadness it brings over me when I look back when I was young and had to stay at home and work while my Brothers was away to school never had time nor means to educate my self. I have worked many a week for two dollars while my brothers got 2 or more a day and can this awful curse ever be wiped from our free

J. Gruchfield, Did order the poor creature 72 lashes to be well laid on. 36 lashes at the time the Other 36 in a week time and the man or, brute, went himself and saw the whipping was executed. Captain Scott a Col man became indignant went to the jail to see the poor Creature, was refused admission at first but succeed at Last. O My God, what a sight he then saw. the poor Woman Breast was Cut wide open by the lash, her poor back cut to pieces I call some woman together went to the Governor and stated the Case. he forbid the further lashing of the poor woman because the Dr. Beal said she could not live to receive further whipping. Yet the woman still have to remain in jail 12 month for stealing one over skirt Value fifty Cent and have since then been enable to enroll quite a number of Woman to gather form a Club. Our Object is to petition Lecture and to do all things wich shall so soften the heart of Mankind that they will see and must grant and respect our rights. Would and pray that the Mass Meeting may endorse or demand of the Republican Convention to be Held in Chicigo the rights of Woman to put an Amendment to the Constitution a Cumpulsory Education of Every state of this Union.

Pardon me for this long letter i must i feel let my feeling go out, so to you Dear Madam have i address you on Behalf of your Down Trodden Colored Sisters of Virginia.

LIVE PRYOR, Richmond, Virginia
President, Ladies Enterprise Club

If you have any papers or book that is of no use to you our society would feel grateful to receive them as we wish to form a library.

Although only a working woman, I have by hard work and close economy accumulated a small property that I find I have the privilege to pay taxes for, but have not right to vote for men that tax me. I also find that I am taxed for said property as much again as what many men are that have political influence. Last year I appealed against the enormous tax the assessor put on my property. But could get no resolution because I have no political influence. . . .

MRS. CALLOR, Jersey City, New York

I always come to the same conclusion, namely that our rotten marriage institution is the main obstacle in the way of womans freedom, and just as long as our girls are taught to barter the use of their bodys for a living, must woman remain the degraded thing she is. Of course the Ballot is the great lever to lift her into self esteem and independence. I am more than glad to see the women getting so in dead earnest in the matter.

MRS. L. M. R. POOL., Vermillion, Ohio

I thank God, for giving you the *moral courage* to insist, and persist, under such difficulties and discouragements, as you for so many years have, that woman should have some of the rights she for so many centuries has unjustly been deprived of; and may your life be spared, until you see *all women* in possession of the first great right, Suffrage!

With deepest Love and Gratitude, I am Yours.

(NAME ILLEGIBLE), Cleveland

P.S. I saw the notice of this call several days ago and intended to have answered immediately, but many things prevented, for I am a married woman and not free, by any means, from the cares that relationship brings: and, 56 years old. I have added this explanation, as this Monday morning, I find my hands almost too stiff to write.

May God speed this note, so one more name may be added to your list. My whole soul goes out to you with great *hopes* and *wishes*.

401

Tennessee's vote in the courts, but they failed. And the Nineteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution!

Who opposed women's suffrage?

Interests opposed were: (1) liquor businesses; (2) big-city bosses; (3) the Catholic Church; (4) southern whites; and (5) big business. The opposition organized antisuffrage organizations, led by wealthy women, as fronts for their own activity. Oppositionists spent huge amounts of money on all kinds of advertising and propaganda. They bought votes wholesale and paid bribes to steal elections. Besides sexist prejudice, they had economic and political interests to protect against possible votes by women.

The liquor industry, fearing women's votes for prohibition, spent millions against suffrage. One brewer wrote to another in 1914 that "a new anti-suffrage association . . . in Illinois . . . is a retail liquor dealer's affair."⁷⁴ But he said that the connection should be kept secret.

The big-city machines and bosses were afraid women voters would want reforms, such as no child labor, and—horrors—would want to "clean up" politics.

The Catholic Church felt that women might get out of hand if they voted and might oppose its sexist teachings on "woman's place." In 1916, a cardinal sent a message of support to an antisuffrage convention; and in many state referenda religion-oriented antisuffrage leaflets were sent to Catholic voters.

Southern white politicians denied the vote to blacks in practice. They were afraid to extend suffrage again, or to have any discussion of suffrage, because then the Fourteenth Amendment might be enforced, giving blacks the vote. In 1919, Senator Smith of South Carolina still warned his fellow southerners that votes for women would cause a new "clamor for Negro rights" and argued this could be avoided by adherence to states' rights rather than a federal amendment: "By thus adding the word 'sex' to the 15th Amendment you have just amended it to liberate them all [black women as well as white women], when it was perfectly competent for the legislatures of the several states to so frame their laws as to preserve our civilization without . . . involving women of the black race."⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 297

⁷⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 303

Although southern opposition was rooted in social conservatism and fear of blacks, the issue of child labor was also heavily involved. In the years after 1890, textile manufacturing had become of major importance in the South, and this industry depended on cheap female and child labor. Because the suffragists had become associated with child labor reform and because it was assumed that women generally would oppose child labor, cotton textile manufacturers in the South were bitterly opposed to women's suffrage. Some of the racist statements made in opposition to the amendment may even have been a cover for opposition on the basis of protecting the textile interests. In the October 1, 1918 Senate vote, one senator from Mississippi and one from Louisiana, both states with heavy black populations, voted for suffrage. The only southern states that had both senators voting against suffrage were North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—the four leading textile states.⁷⁶

Big business was worried that any change might disturb its power, and so it opposed women's suffrage as it had opposed popular election of U.S. senators (the Seventeenth Amendment) and the "communistic" income tax established by the Sixteenth Amendment. In every referendum battle women reported huge antisuffrage expenditures by the railroads, oil, and manufacturers. There were large numbers of antisuffrage lobbyists financed by the same interests in every legislative battle. A congressional investigation found that Swift and Company made secret antisuffrage contributions. An antisuffrage appeal in Nebraska in 1914 was signed by nine railroad executives, seven bankers, and two Episcopal ministers. Other anti-women interests included the Texas Business Association, Santa Fe Railroad, American Express, Portland Cement, and the Union Pacific, Illinois Central, and Southern Pacific railroads. The "Man Suffrage Association" included wives of bankers, wives of railroad and corporate executives, and the son-in-law of J. P. Morgan. The head of NAWSA's Congressional Committee wrote that some senators, who had been put in office by big-business money, "were not really in favor of our form of government. They believed in an oligarchy of the well-to-do, and they were fearful that tariff schedules might be reduced or railroad regulation extended if women had a chance to vote."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 175

⁷⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 302

WOMEN ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS IN THE
1915 MASSACHUSETTS CAMPAIGN

LOUISE L. STEVENSON*

THE debate about the Equal Rights Amendment is a reminder that not all women considered political equality desirable for their sex. In the nineteenth century, women also were divided about this issue. Catharine Beecher, for instance, disputed with the Grimké sisters about women's participation in the abolitionist movement. In the early twentieth century, the emphasis shifted to whether women should demand the vote. In these instances, however, the fundamental issue remained constant. Early twentieth-century women anti-suffragists, like their foremother Catharine Beecher and their anti-ERA daughters, argued that women had a valuable social role simply because they were women.¹

Historians of the early twentieth century suffrage campaign have neglected to credit women with their place in anti-suffragist ranks. Instead, they focused on men's involvement, such as that of anti-suffragist women activists neither thought nor acted independently. Hemon Flexnor and Andrew Sinclair thus minimized the influence of anti-suffragist women and linked the power of that cause to the liquor interests, industrialists, the Catholic church, and the urban immigrant vote. Aileen Kruttschnitt combined the arguments of men and women into one anti-suffragist rationale without appreciating the distinctiveness of the women's thought.²

To understand women anti-suffragists, it is useful to study one of their leading state organizations, the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of the Suffrage

* This essay is an extended version of a paper presented at the Third Berkshire Conference on the History of Women.

¹ Catharine Beecher, *Domestic Economy* (New York: Dover, 1955); New Haven, 1979, pp. 172-173.

² Hemon Flexnor, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement, 1837-1929* (New York, 1970), pp. 297-298; Andrew Sinclair, *The Era of Progress: 1890-1914* (New York, 1967), pp. 21, 34; Aileen Kruttschnitt, *Days of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1848-1953* (New York, 1971), originally published in 1965, pp. 14-17.

WOMEN ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

to Women (MAOFESW). In the important 1915 Massachusetts campaign the MAOFESW, in activities and arguments, provide a basis for realizing the distinctive place of anti-suffragist women in the early twentieth century.

The Massachusetts women anti-suffragists founded the MAOFESW in 1895 to help defeat a state referendum on whether women should vote in municipal elections. In 1915, the MAOFESW mobilized against a proposed amendment to the state constitution that would have given Massachusetts women, who already could vote for school committees, the right to vote in all elections.³ The MAOFESW cooperated with the men's Massachusetts Anti-Suffragist Committee. These organizations planned their strategy together; and the women referred their decisions to the paid counsel of both groups. In addition, the women appointed George Comoy of the men's committee to handle the publicity, and appointed a man to edit their paper, *The Remonstrator*.⁴

This division of labor meant that the women had relinquished the "political" aspects of the campaign to male anti-suffragists while managing its "educational" aspects. Consequently, MAOFESW members insisted that their association was not a political, but a women's, organization. The women's characterization of their organization was important, for it enabled them to consider themselves as engaging in education, a traditional womanly occupation. Just as they rationalized their part in the 1915 campaign by seeing themselves in a certain role, they also justified their activities by modifying the physical surroundings of their campaign work. These modifications permitted them to enter a political

³ For histories of anti-suffragism in Massachusetts, see James Kinnally, "The Campaign against Woman's Suffrage in Massachusetts, 1868-1920," Ph.D. Diss., Boston College, 1969; *id.*, "Catholicism and Woman Suffrage in Massachusetts," *Catholic Historical Review*, 53 (1967), 43-57; *id.*, "Woman Suffrage and the Massachusetts Referenda, 1868-1920," *The Historian*, 26, 2 (1968), 617-639.

⁴ Minutes of the Executive Committee, Feb. 26, 1915, Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of the Suffrage to Women, Records, letters, and pamphlets, Box 1, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Minutes of the Executive Committee, March 26, 1915, MAOFESW Papers; Minutes of the Executive Committee, Nov. 12, 1915, MAOFESW Papers.

⁵ *The Woman's Protest*, May, 1915, p. 16; *New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1915, p. 6.

campaign without leaving women's "proper" sphere—the home. When a *New York Times* reporter noted that the MAOFFSW headquarters resembled "a very comfortable drawing room," he testified to women "Antis'" success in this effort.⁶

From a similar homelike headquarters, the MAOFFSW attempted to educate the Massachusetts electorate. The association distributed pamphlets urging men to vote "no" on the proposed amendment and women to join in the movement.⁷ MAOFFSW members also took responsibility for organizing women from Massachusetts communities into local committees. The center for these organizations was what "Antis" called a shop or a storefront. These functioned in each town much as the main headquarters did for the state, as centers for meetings and distribution of propaganda.⁸

The appearance of these "shops" illustrates how women "Antis" managed to participate in a political campaign without violating their self-imposed domestic standards. They decorated the windows by putting a black trellis entwined with red roses, the anti-suffrage emblem, within the perimeter of the window glass. In the center of the trellis, the women pasted placards that they hoped would be "silent speeches" to passersby. Because the women "Antis" would not speak on the streets, the placards became their surrogates—the agencies through which they campaigned without leaving the extensions of their homes, the anti-suffrage shops. If passersby entered, the women pleaded their cause directly, still conforming to womanly behavior by educating the voters from within women's conventional sphere. MAOFFSW members followed a similar procedure when they campaigned at county

⁶ *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1915, p. 15.

⁷ Minutes of the Executive Committee, Oct. 1, 1915, Oct. 10, 1915, MAOFFSW Papers.

⁸ Minutes of the Education and Organization Committee, June 10, 1915, July 21, 1915, MAOFFSW Papers, Box 1.

⁹ Minutes of the Executive Committee, Jan. 1, 1915, Sept. 2, 1915; Minutes of the Education and Organization Committee, Aug. 18, 1915, MAOFFSW Papers; *The Boston Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1915.

fairs, establishing booths from which they distributed bulletins, communicating with potential supporters, and offering advice on such womanly subjects as expertise in first aid.¹⁰

Although women "Antis" did speak to mixed audiences, they never spoke at spontaneous occasions or where there might be confusion about the boundary between speaker and audience. In October when the men's committee conducted an automobile tour through the state, the men addressed crowds on the streets, while the women delivered their speeches at previously planned indoor meetings.¹¹

Suffragist women had no such compunctions. They distributed leaflets on street corners, spoke at open-air rallies, at county fairs, and—unaccompanied by men—canvassed urban neighborhoods. Some "Suffs" staged stunts like long-distance hikes that drew attention to their independence. Unlike the "Antis," "Suffs" drove their own automobiles to rallies throughout Massachusetts. As Sharon Strom has pointed out, Massachusetts women consciously departed from traditional modes of behavior when they campaigned militantly for women's suffrage in 1915.¹²

These behavioral differences were illustrated by the "Suffs'" "Victory Parade" and the "Antis'" protest against it on October 16, 1915. On that day, suffragist organizations and pro-suffragist groups—college graduates and students, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and labor unions—marched through Boston's Back Bay, past the State House, and down Huntington Avenue. In other words, the suffragists left their homes to march in public. In contrast, the MAOFFSW glorified the home by decorating houses along the parade route with red bunting and demonstrated the pri-

¹⁰ *The Boston Globe*, Oct. 31, 1915, p. 15; Minutes of the Education and Organization Committee, Aug. 18, 1915, MAOFFSW Papers; *The Brookline Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1915; *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 10, 1915, p. 11.

¹¹ *The Woman's Protest*, Sept. 1915, p. 14; Oct., 1915, p. 12.

¹² *Boston Evening Transcript*, Oct. 10, 1915; Sharon Hartman Strom, "Leadership and Tactics in the American Woman Suffrage Movement: A New Perspective from Massachusetts," *Journal of American History*, LXXI, 295-315 (Sept., 1975).

vate, self-sacrificing nature of women's work by selling roses for the benefit of children from booths in Boston hotels, which they deemed to be "extensions" of the home.¹³

The MAOFFESW arguments made explicit the message implicit in each faction's different behavior. Anti-women's arguments impugned the suffrage cause as "an imitation-of-man movement," charging that women suffered a loss of femininity when they entered a political campaign.¹⁴ In addition to the "Suffs'" conduct, their assertions that the average woman was not merely a wife and mother convinced the "Antis" that they were combatting radical, atypical women. MAOFFESW members argued that working and professional women were "an anomaly and an exception," that normal, typical women were wives and mothers, and that those words described their primary, natural functions. Hence, women who spoke from soapboxes were not representative Massachusetts women. The women who did represent the women of their state remained inside their anti-suffrage shops, opposed women's suffrage, thus upholding "the womanhood of woman."¹⁵

Having disparaged the "Suffs" as unqualified to speak for Massachusetts women, MAOFFESW members explained that womanly women opposed women's suffrage because it threatened to destroy the home, women's legitimate sphere, and fundamental social institution. In their imagery, the home was more than a mere dwelling; it was inviolable, immune from the evils of the world, and infused with feminine virtues. So potent were they that cooperation characterized all

¹³ *The Boston Herald*, Oct. 16, 1915; *The Boston Daily Globe*, Oct. 16, 1915; *The Boston Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 16, 1915.

¹⁴ Mr. A. J. George, "Suffrage Fallacies," in J. A. Haien, Editor, *Anti-Suffrage Essays by Massachusetts Women* (Boston, 1916), p. 27; Edith Mercer, "A Business Woman's View of Suffrage," in Haien, Editor, p. 11.

¹⁵ Mrs. Charles Burton Gulick, "The Imperative Demand Upon Women in the Home," in Haien, Editor, p. 133; Mrs. Henry Preston White, "The Ballot and the Woman in Industry," in Haien, Editor, p. 26; Mrs. Horace Davis, "The True Function of the Normal Woman," in Haien, Editor, p. 123; *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 10, 1915; Mrs. Augustin H. Parker, "Are Suffragists Sincere Reformers," in Haien, p. 81.

personal relationships. The aggressive competitiveness displayed by men in the working world vanished when, upon entering the home, they came under women's influence.¹⁶

Within the home, "Antis" insisted that the most valuable work performed by women was educating their children. They defined a mother's duty as the inculcation of self-control and individual responsibility, traits essential for a good society.¹⁷ As a result, women's power, although exercised only in the home, extended to the world through the influence of properly educated children. In contrast to the "Suffs'" view, this opinion denigrated the importance of social and political institutions, schools, and laws that promised to improve society by restraining individuals *externally*. Instead, women "Antis" extolled mothers' lessons that provided individuals with *internal* checks. Although both "Antis" and "Suffs" decried the destructive effects of industrial society, the women "Antis" argued for remedies—the maintenance of the home as social anodyne, and the education of self-regulated individuals as prerequisite for a reformed society. They opposed the Progressive faith in bureaucratic expertise and regulation and argued for the preservation of women's home-centered role. Consequently, women "Antis" did not expect that the ballot would enhance the power of women: by permitting them to extend it to social and political institutions. Not only was the ballot unnecessary, it was, in fact, capable of destroying women's influence by demolishing its source—the home. A MAOFFESW cartoon illustrates this effect, and its contrast with a "Suff" cartoon expresses these women's hopes and fears.

The "Suff" cartoon, titled "Women's Place," depicts "The Home" as a single-family, two-story house in a spacious yard.¹⁸

¹⁶ Jamaica Plain Women's Suffrage Association, "Anti-Suffrage Circular," MAOFFESW Papers; Mrs. Thomas Allen, "Woman Suffrage vs. Womanliness," in Haien, Editor, p. 77; Cartoon Collection, MAOFFESW Papers; Marjorie Dorman, "Sidelights of the Massachusetts Victory," *Woman's Protest*, Nov. 1915.

¹⁷ Mrs. Davis, p. 127; Mrs. Herbert Lyman, "The Anti-Suffrage Ideal," in Haien, p. 129; Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, "Suffrage and the Sex Problem," in Haien, p. 139; *Boston Globe*, Oct. 31, 1915.

¹⁸ *The Woman's Journal*, Jan. 15, 1916.

The architecture of the house suggests warmth, prosperity, and permanence—a chimney dominates the facade, fluted columns support the porch roof, and the shape is a solid square. The sizable yard, gable-hooded windows and front door shaded by a porch, imply that this home would be isolated from the world were it not for the influence of "City Hall." Its representation, the corner of a stone building, intrudes into the right foreground. From an open window, tentacles of influence emanate, entangling the home in a web of regulatory agencies: Milk Inspection, Bureau of Highways, Department of Health, Bureau of Sanitary Inspection, Factory Inspection, Inspection of Food, and School Board.

The cartoon shows that the regulatory function of municipal government instituted during the Progressive Era had linked the home and city hall. The implied question is not whether this bond should exist, but who should control the home—women or politicians? The cartoon anticipates women's suffrage as the remedy. This reform could not restore the isolation of the home, but it could give women the political means necessary to reassert control over their homes and to extend their power to society with their assumption of responsibility for municipal housekeeping.

The MAOFFSW cartoon, "Home," expresses no such optimistic vision. It depicts the interior of a working class home where the father has just returned from work and is trying vainly to comfort his daughters.¹⁹ One weeps and the other begs for attention with outstretched arms. The father barely responds—his face is impassive, one hand still holds a lunch pail, as he rests his other hand on his crying daughter's head. Just as the father cannot supply emotional sympathy, so the home cannot provide physical warmth. No curtains soften the stark rectangularity of its windows, the furniture is stiff and spare, and merely an ineffectual kerosene lamp and an empty pitcher fill the foodless table. Moreover, the children's play seems devoid of the lessons that would create self-regulated

¹⁹ Collection of Campaign Material, MAOFFSW Papers.

individuals. Blocks lie strewn on the floor, and a limp doll hangs from one girl's hand.

This home, the anti-suffrage version of Mother Hubbard's cupboard, is materially and spiritually bleak. A "Votes for Women" poster hangs over the bare table. Women's suffrage has caused the wife to neglect her duty, to abandon her children to mindless play and hunger as she pursues a chimerical reform. From the anti-suffragists' perspective, the women's vote did not presage the gain of political power; rather it boded the loss of the innate virtues that enabled a woman to transform her house into "The Home."

MAOFFSW rhetoric detailed this process of loss. Members' speeches explained how the women's vote would destroy the sanctity of the home and permit the vices of the world to penetrate women's sphere. Infected by the contagion of the world, women's virtues would succumb until the home and the world became indistinguishable. As a result, "sex antagonism" would replace cooperation between husband and wife, and children no longer would learn their mother's lessons.²⁰

This interpretation of the effects of women's suffrage meant that the MAOFFSW perceived it as a radical, revolutionary measure.²¹ It implied a personal loss for women with the ruin of their exclusive sphere. Society was thus imperiled because the home would cease to be its source of cohesion and no longer would promote a community of shared values. From a political perspective, women's suffrage threatened a revolutionary change by making the individual, not the family, the basic social and political unit.²²

These perceptions explain why women "Antis" compared

²⁰ Catherine Robinson, "Massachusetts Compared with Suffrage States," p. 115; *Anti-Suffrage Notes*, No. 70, 1915; MAOFFSW Papers; Mrs. A. J. Conger, "Why We Are Anti-Suffragists," *Woman's Protest*, Oct. 1915, p. 1.

²¹ For an analysis of the radicalism of women's suffrage based on the "Suffis" argument, see Ellen DuBois, "The Radicalization of the Woman Suffrage Movement: Notes toward a Reconstruction of Nineteenth Century Feminism," *Feminist Studies*, 10, 63 (1997), 6.

²² Mrs. Lynch, p. 121; Dorothy Godfrey Wayman, "Suffrage and the Social Worker," in *Harvard Education*, p. 97; Mrs. Ethel Leathbridge, "Campaign Manual," p. 22, MAOFFSW Papers.

women's suffrage to other radical issues of the pre-World War I world. When "Antis" compared suffragism with feminism and socialism, they were not merely introducing red herrings; they were using words whose associations expressed the extent of their feelings. For instance, women "Antis" assumed that feminists would desert their homes to enter the labor force, that working women's homes would collapse, and their children would sicken and die. "Antis" expected that children who survived such homes would lead debased lives and be prone to drunkenness.²³ Socialism portended an even worse disaster. "Antis" warned that its advent would increase the role of government and cause the substitution of public institutions for homes. As a result, anarchy would overtake society because, as every "Anti" knew, people who had not received a mother's education would lack self-control and disobey all laws.²⁴

MAOFFESW members also warned that the effect of women's suffrage would extend to women's activities in church groups, educational and charitable organizations, and women's clubs. "Antis" thought that their benevolent organizations had been effective reform agencies because they enabled women to enlist their virtues in the service of the community. However, if women voted they would be partisans and no longer capable of disinterested action. Women's partisanship would vitiate the harmony that had existed in the benevolent organizations and ruin their effectiveness as countervailing forces against the competitive social evils. The women "Antis" assumed that absence of dissension, whether in the home or benevolent societies, was a prerequisite for the strength of women's virtue. Women had power, but the special circumstances necessary for its effectiveness made it extremely fragile.²⁵

"Antis'" assessments of the effect of women's suffrage on

²³ *Anti-Suffrage Notes*, No. 70, 1915. MAOFFESW Papers.

²⁴ Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, p. 136; *Anti-Suffrage Notes*, Nos. 67 and 77. MAOFFESW Papers.

²⁵ Margaret C. Robie, on "The Home Suffrage as Menace to Social Reform," *Concord Chronicle*, Oct. 10, 1915.

benevolent organizations reveal their class prejudices. They believed that while women were disenfranchised, only women active in women's clubs influenced their communities. With women's suffrage, they feared that all women would have influence, and would be exposed to the evils of the world. They might influence women to abandon the dictates of self-control and individual responsibility, and make women vulnerable to the corrupting power of political bosses. The effect of such women's votes, "Antis" predicted, would destroy the influence of the benevolent societies. MAOFFESW members concluded that trading a known good for a doubtful reform was not a reform, but a "step backwards."²⁶

In her study of women's suffrage, Aileen Kraditor combined the men's and women's arguments to form one anti-suffrage rationale. Separately men used abstract, theologically or biologically derived arguments that demeaned women by emphasizing women's inability to participate in society and by relegating them to the home.²⁷ In contrast, the "Anti" arguments lauded women's place in the home, and urged women to oppose women's suffrage because of the loss they would suffer with the passage of the referendum. Such a positive argument, derived from an idealization of women's practical experience, shows that the MAOFFESW members had designed an appeal to other women. Women anti-suffragists were not the dupes of men or "the interests." The unique nature of the MAOFFESW tactics demonstrates that those women had planned a campaign strategy arguing for the maintenance of women's social role as Victorian Lady, and against women's suffrage as its bane. An investigation into who MAOFFESW women *really were* might lead to an understanding of their motivation.

Seventy-nine percent of the 157 members of the MAOFFESW Standing and Executive Committees were married and 153 were married to men of sufficient prominence for inclusion in *Who's Who in New England*. Of these, 36 percent were

²⁶ Leatherbee, p. 3; *Anti-Suffrage Notes*, No. 71, 1915. MAOFFESW Papers.

²⁷ Kraditor, pp. 12-16 and notes 1-18, pp. 27-30.

merchants, manufacturers, financiers, corporate executives, and Harvard-educated lawyers—indicating members in the Massachusetts upper-middle and upper classes. Allowing for unmarried MAOFFESW members, who also might have belonged to these classes, it appears that approximately 40 percent of active Massachusetts anti-suffragist women belonged to the upper classes.²⁸ It would be incorrect, however, to attribute their motivation to their class membership: Richard Jensen, in his nationwide survey of pro-suffrage women, concluded that being an upper-class socialite had little correlation with pro-suffrage sentiment.²⁹

For pro-suffrage women, Jensen discovered that a strong correlate of pro-suffrage sentiment was participation in public affairs (WCTU membership, interest in current events, membership in a professional or national organization, activity in women's clubs, and humanitarian interests).³⁰ To pursue the implications of this finding for MAOFFESW members, a sample of 620 Massachusetts women was selected from the *Woman's Who's Who in America* for 1914-1915. Fifty-one percent declared an opinion on the suffrage issue, 38 percent supported it and 13 percent were opposed. Among the declared women, pro-suffragists were more likely to have attended college (61 percent to 37 percent for anti-suffragists), more likely to have a career (65 percent to 35 percent), and to be club women (58 percent to 35 percent).³¹

Because the nature of this statistical information determined the differences that could be found, these variations in college, career, and club membership may not be the only ones that distinguished the lives of pro- and anti-suffrage women. Nevertheless, these data suggest that active anti-suf-

²⁸ *Who's Who in New England* (Chicago, 1909, 1916, 1938).

²⁹ Richard Jensen, "Family, Career, and Reform: Woman Leader of The Progressive Era" in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social Historical Perspective* (New York, 1973), p. 272 and Table 1, p. 271.

³⁰ Jensen, p. 271.

³¹ John William Foman, *Woman's Who's Who in America, 1914-1915* (New York, 1914).

fragists were less likely to have had experiences that encouraged appreciation of women's social role outside the home. For MAOFFESW members to have given speeches that extolled women's social contributions as wives and mothers was logical, as these arguments reinforced the "Antis'" self-esteem. This convergence of rhetoric with fact, however, does not account for the significant number of MAOFFESW members who had not married, had careers, or attended college. Even though participation in the 1915 campaign did not vindicate the lives of all MAOFFESW members, it should be remembered that all "Antis" campaigned for a single definition of womanhood.

Within the "Antis'" definition of womanhood lies the clue to their motivation. MAOFFESW members said repeatedly that women were wives and mothers. This description means that "Antis" were upholding a home-centered life that did not characterize all MAOFFESW members, but did describe the majority of Massachusetts women. As a result, MAOFFESW women could claim solidarity of interest with the majority of Massachusetts women, despite their membership in the upper classes. An actual minority, the MAOFFESW saw themselves identified with the majority and this identification bolstered their belief that the "Suffs" were radical and atypical, while they represented normal, womanly women.

The insistence that there was such a person as a normal woman, and that she was described as a wife and mother, shows that an essential element in the "Antis'" logic was the belief that a person's womanhood depended on her behavior. This preoccupation explains why the "Antis" conformed to supposedly womanly campaign behavior and concomitantly criticized the "Suffs" for disregarding this standard. Thus "Antis" conceded that "Suff" wives and mothers were women, but questioned their womanliness when they left their homes to act in areas not governed by evident codes. From MAOFFESW members' perspective, voting could be defined as a violation of norms of women's behavior. Therefore

in 1915, "Antis" were campaigning against the act of voting and for a definition of womanhood that the act of voting violated.

MAOFESW members thought that when a woman voted, she was not acting like a woman but like a man. As a result, casting a ballot jeopardized a woman's identity as a woman. If a woman were not a woman, the "Antis" reasoned that she could neither be a wife nor have a home, the only two roles that gave a woman's life value. For the anti-suffrage woman, the ballot logically implied not political equality, but loss of her essential womanhood and the self-esteem predicated on that identity. These dire consequences account for the MAOFESW members' adherence to rigid standards of campaign behavior and the sense of loss that resonates through their rhetoric and iconography.

Obviously the suffragist women had another means of defining sexual identity. They did not perceive the act of voting as a threat to their womanhood, but an enhancement of their power through the widening of women's influence. Moreover, suffragists felt free to use campaign tactics regardless of whether they conformed to proper standards of womanly behavior. While the women "Antis" sat in their anti-suffrage shops, the suffragists drove their own cars, canvassed, and paraded. The rhetorical, behavioral, and iconographical contrasts between the MAOFESW members and their opponents concerned a psychological, rather than a political issue—the nature of womanhood, not the right of women to vote. The MAOFESW members knew that they were women only because they acted as they believed women should; the women suffragists knew that they were women no matter what they did.

Although the women's suffrage amendment to the Massachusetts Constitution lost in 1915, MAOFESW members had not won their battle. Women's suffrage triumphed nationally five years later. That outcome was not due to either the ideas or tactics of the women suffragists. Rather, the anti-suffragists'

cause lost because their way of thinking demanded that women restrict their actions to modes that were defined as womanly. The social changes of the pre-World War I years—more women entering the labor force, attending college, and not marrying; and more expressive styles in women's dress, dance, and sports—made the women anti-suffragists' strictures increasingly irrelevant to the lives of most American women. The unpopularity of anti-suffragism and the victory of women suffrage indicated that Victorian prescriptions for women's behavior were not persuasive in the modern era.²²

²² Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," in Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner, Editors, *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York, 1974), pp. 121-122, Tables 1 and 2; David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (Ann Arbor, 1972), pp. 56-58; Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America: A Brief History* (New York, 1974), pp. 20-32; for another interpretation of this change see Peter Gabriel Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Sex Roles in Modern America* (New York, 1975), p. 103.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings and Speeches, edited by Ellen Carol Dubois.
2. The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Women's Rights Movement, Marian Purpura.
3. One Half the People: The Fight for the Right to Suffrage, Anne F. Dowd and James H. Scott.
4. A History of Women in America, Carol W. Koenig and Michael Perman.
5. The Years of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920, Helen S. Pritchett.
6. The Seneca Falls Convention: Encyclopedia of Social Reform, compiled and edited by Ellen Purpura.
7. Seneca Falls and After, Ellen Carol Dubois.
8. Seneca Falls and After, Anne F. Dowd and James H. Scott.
9. Women's Suffrage and the Constitution, Paulson E. Pass.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INTRODUCTION: WOMEN AFTER 1920

Women finally gained the vote in 1919, and the question then arose: what were they going to do with it? Many people, both those who had supported women's suffrage and those who opposed it, expected women to vote as a bloc once they had the vote. This was not to be, and was probably an unrealistic supposition in the first place. Neither did the vote solve many of the economic problems faced by women in the nineteenth century. Most women remained stuck in unskilled jobs and continued to suffer from low wages and low status. Women in 1980 earned only about 60 cents for every dollar earned by men.

Once the Equal Suffrage Amendment passed, the NAWSA transformed itself into the League of Women Voters. Under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt, the League strove to educate women to use the vote wisely. The League pushed Congress to continue passing legislation designed to protect both women and children in the work force and elsewhere. They hoped to mobilize women voters to both vote and lobby for moral and protective legislation designed to solve the nation's problems and to transform American society.

The Congressional Union had in 1916 become the Woman's Party and helped to mobilize women in those states which had woman suffrage. After 1920 the Woman's Party remained active under Alice Paul's leadership, but unlike the League of Women Voters, the WP began to push for an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution that would clearly establish women's equality once and for all. This amendment, however, was at odds with the movement for protective legislation. How would the ERA affect protective legislation that

discriminated in favor of women, giving them added protection? If women are equal, do they need protective legislation?

This remains an issue today in the continuing battle to pass the ERA. Phyllis Schlafley argues that if the ERA passes women will be treated in exactly the same manner as men, even to the point of having to share public restrooms or fight alongside men in war. But can women have full equality without the ERA and the added responsibilities it brings with it? Can the ERA exist alongside good protective legislation for all workers, male and female?

The debate over the ERA destroyed any unity left in the women's movement in the 1920s and women failed to vote as a bloc. Understandably women held many diverse points of view and so could not unite as a single interest group. In fact most women voted the same way as their husbands if they voted at all. As with men, women's votes varied with occupation and socioeconomic group and no single issue could hold them together.

Although it was unreasonable to expect women to vote as a group, it seemed likely that more women would participate in politics and government once they were enfranchised. But this also proved a disappointment, and women have largely been excluded from top government positions. Only two women have been appointed to cabinet positions since 1920, and Sandra Day O'Connor has only just become the first female Supreme Court Justice.

Women did make some economic gains in the 1920s. More women entered the professions and more began to graduate from universities. In fact, more women entered the medical profession in the 1920s than in the subsequent decades. But women have only slowly begun to make gains in the traditionally male occupations of law and medicine, and women continue to make up a high proportion of the work force in teaching and nursing.

Women in industry experienced a major boost when the

CIO began to organize women workers in 1935. The lack of union power had caused women many problems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but now women could organize and fight for better conditions. During World War II, the government began to encourage women to go into industry and even to assume male jobs in such physically demanding occupations as steelworking and shipbuilding as the men went off to war. Although rarely promoted to the top paying jobs, women in wartime industries earned more than they had before the war.

The end of the war saw the return of soldiers to their pre-war jobs and a renewed emphasis on the family and traditional values. Although women were encouraged to leave the work force many of them did not, either because they did not want to or could not afford to. Large numbers of married women had entered the work force during the war and remained there. Nevertheless, the 1950s emphasis on the family reinforced the idea that women, particularly married women with children, should remain in the home fulfilling their traditional domestic function. The baby boom gives us graphic evidence of this trend: 27.2 children for each 1,000 people were born in 1957 compared to only 17.9 in 1967.

Obviously this atmosphere did not encourage the development of feminism. Only in the 1960s with the growth of the civil rights movement and the publication of Betty Friedan's Feminine Mystique in 1963 did the modern feminist movement emerge.

HOW NEW WAS THE "NEW WOMAN" OF THE NINETEEN-TWENTIES?

by John Krueger

OVERVIEW:

The period of the 1920s - the "Jazz Age" or the "Booming" or "Roaring Twenties" - often is portrayed as a period of loose morals, especially of the "liberated" woman who had finally won the right to vote. Films portrayed the "new morality" of flappers, but usually showed a woman after a fling returning to traditional values of love and marriage. What actually were the "new women" like?

GRADE LEVEL: Senior High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/ SKILLS:

1. To discover what some 1920s authors were saying in popular periodicals about young people and women of their period
2. To practice drawing conclusions from advertisements and statistics.
3. To practice interviewing skills.
4. To gain older persons' perspectives on the younger generation and on their own times, and to compare these with students' own views.
5. To gain a partial understanding of the "new woman."

SUGGESTED COURSES & TOPICS: United States History, the 1920s
MATERIAL:

1. Article: "Men Who Understand Women" by Florence Seabury, The Nation, November 12, 1924.
2. Interview form

PROCEDURE:

1. Read text on social life of the 1920s: women's suffrage achieved, other changes for and by women. Ask students what they think is meant by the term "new woman." Who was she, what was she like, how was she any different from earlier generations? (This should help raise interest in the interviews.)
2. Explain the interviews - each student should do two. Allow about three days for completion of interviews.
3. Read "Men Who Understand Women." Discuss questions such as the following:
 - A. What are Seabury's main points?
 - B. Do you agree with the opinions of women's characteristics as expressed to the N.Y. Sun reporter? Why?
 - C. Are women still thought of mainly by their sexual function - mother, wife, daughter, sister?
 - D. Are women more tied to stereotypes than men? Do the boys in the class feel any differently about this than the girls? Do men have more freedom than women?
 - E. Regarding Mencken's ideas, is marriage a woman's best career? Do the boys in class agree with the girls? A tally might be interesting here.
 - F. From what you've learned so far, is life different now for women from what it was in the 1920s? (Bring this up again after reports from interviews.)
4. Listen to interview reports.
 - A. Make tallies of similarities.
 - B. What observations/conclusions can students make? Do older people see their own youth as better or worse than today's?

C. How did students feel about the interviews?

1) Did they feel the persons interviewed were accurate and serious about their answers?

2) Was it a worthwhile project? Why? (Do students see the benefit of comparing their perspectives on life with those of elders? Do they seem better able to understand views of older people whose views are different?)

5. Summary discussion:

A. What do you think about the "new woman" now?

B. Was she any different from earlier women? How?
(Note: Be sure to include in consideration ideas gained from any interviews with women who were young in the 1920s, if you were fortunate enough to obtain some.)

C. Was the 1920s woman different from today's woman? How?

D. If (when) the ERA passes, will it change women's lives? How? Will it change men's lives? How?

MEN WHO UNDERSTAND WOMEN

by Florence Guy Seabury, (edited)
from The Nation, November 12, 1924
pp. 516-18

If we can believe the 1920 census, a goodly number of the timid and delicate sex are toiling gloriously in the most dangerous and violent occupations. Nor are they only engaged in handling steel beams and freight, running trucks and engines, but as miners and steeple-jacks, aviators and divers, sheriffs and explorers - everything, in fact, that man ever did or thought of doing. They have proved, moreover, as successful in such new occupations as in the old one of hunting husbands, as deft in managing big business as in running a little household.

But the census bureau, compiling all the facts of feminine industry, forgot to note that women might perform these amazingly varied operations, outside the home, without changing in any measurable degree the rooted conception of her nature and activities. She may step out of skirts into knickers, cut her hair in a dozen short shapes, and even beat a man in a prize-fight, but old ideas as to her place and qualities endure. She changes nothing as set as the stereotyped image of her sex which has persisted since Eve.

The Inquiring Reporter of the New York Sun recently asked five persons whether they would prefer to be tried by a jury of men or women. "Of men," cried they all (two women and three men). "Women would be too likely to overlook the technical points of the law." "Women are too sentimental." "They are too easily swayed by an eloquent address." "Women are by nature sentimental." Ancient opinions of women's characteristics have been so widely advertised that the youngest child can chirp the whole story. Billy, aged ten, hopes fervently that this country may never have a woman President. "Women haven't the brains - it's a man's job."

A.S.M. Hutchinson, considerably older than Billy, has equally juvenile fears: that the new freedom for woman may endanger her functions in the home. Whatever and whenever the debate, the status and attributes of women are settled by neat and handy generalizations passed down from father to son and mother to daughter. For, so far, most women accept the patterns made for them and are as likely as not to consider themselves the weaker, the more emotional sex, a figure of biological utility.

Optimists are heralding a changed state in the relationship of men and women. They point to modern activities and interests as evidence that customs and traditions of past days are yielding to something freer and finer. Out of this chaos better and happier ways have been established.

It sounds plausible enough, but the trouble remains that, so far, it isn't true. The intimate relationship of men and women is about as it was in the days of Cleopatra or Zanthippe. The most brawny stevedorette leaves her freight in the air when the whistle blows and rushes home to her husband as if she were his most sheltered possession. Following the tradition of the centuries, the business woman, whose salary may double that of her mate, hands him her pay envelope and asks permission to buy a new hat. Busts and bustles are out. Flat chests and orthopedic shoes are in, while the waistline moves steadily toward the thigh - but what of it? Actualities of present days leave the ancient fantasies unchanged.

Current patterns for women, as made by the man in the street, by the movies, in women's clubs and lecture halls can be boiled down to one general cut. Whatever she actually is or does, in the stereotype she is a creature with only one function. Men are allowed diversity. Some are libertines, others are husbands; a few are lawyers, many are clerks. They wear no insignia of masculinity or badge of paternity and they are never expected to live up to being

Man or Mankind. But every woman has the whole weight of Womanhood upon her shoulders. Even in new times she must carry forward the design of the ages.

One of the quaint hang-overs of the past is that men are the chief interpreters of even the modern woman. In the voluminous literature of the changing order, masculine understanders take the lead. And the strange part of their interpretations is that they run true to ancient form. W.L. George says, "No woman values her freedom until she is married and then she is proud to surrender it to the man she has won." Or, "All women are courtesans at heart, living only to please the other sex."

H.L. Mencken, stirred by debates about the intelligence of woman and her newer activities, generously conceded brains to women. He proves his point on the evidence that they are used to ensnare men, who, weak-minded and feeble in flight, are usually bowled over in the battle of wits. "Marriage," he says, "is the best career a woman can reasonably aspire to - and in the case of very many women the only one that actually offers a livelihood." ... "A childless woman remains more than a little ridiculous and ill at ease." ... "No sane woman has ever actually muffed a chance." ... "The majority of inflammatory suffragettes of the sex-hygiene and birth-control groups are simply those who have done their best to snare a man and failed." Of woman's superior mental ability he says that it is a pity women use the ability only in the age-old game of man-hunting.

D.H. Lawrence shares this philosophy of women's chief business, and is much more gloomy about it. Woman he describes perpetually as a great magnetic womb. Man he sees as a pitiful, struggling creature, ultimately devoured by fierce maternal force. His conclusion is: "A woman only works with part of herself; the real part is covered up." This hidden part is her terrific, destructive determination to drown man in her embrace.

So it goes. There may be men who are able to think of woman apart from the pattern of female, but they are inarticulate. Most of them spend their lives associating with a symbol - the standardized design of grandmother, mother or aunt. Or, in more advanced circles, the pattern may call for bobbed hair, knickers and cigarette case. Under any form, the stereotype remains.

The old morality was built upon this body of folklore about women. Whether pictured as a chaste and beautiful angel, or a devil and the source of sin, the notion was always according to pattern. Naturally, the relationship of men and women has been built upon the design, and a great many of our social ideals and customs follow it. The angel concept led, of course, to the so-called double standard which provides for a class of Victorian dolls who personify goodness, while their sisters, the prostitutes, serve as sacrificial offerings to the wicked ways of men. The new morality has fewer class distinctions.

If several hundred babies could be brought up on an isolated island, never hearing generalizations about themselves, perhaps a different type of relationship founded upon actualities would be evolved. Real human beings might discover each other and create new and honest ways of association. As it is today, we do not know what the reactions of individuals, free from stereotypes, would be like.

It was the development of means by which beliefs could be separated from facts which brought modern science into being and freed the world from the superstitions of the ages. Not until the nature of substance could be proved in contrast to the mass of ignorant notions was the amazing mechanical, economic and scientific progress of the last century possible.

In creating a new order which will bring with it a different type of social and personal contact something similar must take place. For most of our ideas are built

upon the reactions of an alleged, not an actual human being. Men have suffered from pattern-making, but never have they been burdened with the mass of generalizations that are heaped upon women. Nobody knows what women are really like because our minds are so filled with the stereotype of woman. And this picture is chiefly one of sex, not character. It is impossible to create a satisfying relationship with a symbol. As long as women are pictured chiefly as wife, mother, courtesan, or whatnot - defining a relationship to men - nothing new or strange or interesting is likely to happen. The old order is safe.

INTERVIEW FORM

Talk with two women of different generations who are older than yourself. One of these could be your great grandmother; the other might be your grandmother or your mother. If these are not available, talk to women of about the same age as these; perhaps women in your neighborhood.

Find out the interviewee's views on the following topics:

1. Did you grow up around here? If not, where?
2. Were life and the times different then from now?
If so, how?
3. How many were in your family?
4. Did your mother work outside the home? If so, what kind of work?
5. If your mother worked outside the home, did that make any difference in your life?
6. As a girl at home, what were your jobs? If you had brothers at home, did you do the same jobs they did?
7. Did boys get treated the same at home as girls did?
If not, how were you treated differently?
8. Do you think today's teenagers have it easier or harder than you did? Explain how.
9. What did you do for recreation? Did boys do the same things?
10. Do today's teenagers behave better or worse than when you were their age? Please give an example.

Interviewer: Be sure to thank each woman you interviewed for her thoughts and her time.

WOMEN IN THE DEPRESSION: 1930s

by Sammy Ruetenik

BACKGROUND:

The Great Depression of the 1930s brought unemployment to 25 percent of the working population. There is evidence that women's overall unemployment was less affected than was that of men. This was largely a result of where women were concentrated in sex-typed "female" occupations and because women worked for less pay.

Unskilled factory work and office work had been feminized by the 1930's. Women worked as clerks, typists, telephone operators, and secretaries, all jobs with declining status and pay as women replaced men.

Women in organized union work also suffered from lower wages plus differential job classification, differentials in seniority ratings and in layoffs. Although the CIO was less hostile to women workers than the AFL, it was at best ambivalent. The executive council of AFL urge that married women whose husbands had permanent positions ... should be discriminated against in hiring. Men expected women to give up their jobs to unemployed men during the depression. Nevertheless, women worked during the depression as always, because they had to. But many families suffered at least a one-third cut in income from 1929 to 1933 due to the depression.

Despite laws prohibiting their employment married women generally suffered less unemployment than younger, single women. In fact the total female work force rose from 1930 to 1940 more than in any previous decade. Most women still carried the physical and psychological responsibility for holding their families together. Many laid-off men suffered mental depression and illness due to their unemployment and loss of status. Women were sometimes able

to approximate previous living standards by using their own labor and homemade goods, by reversing their previous consumer consumption. Home canning and sewing increased. There was a trend towards decrease of the male authoritarian attitude, an increase in "super momism," and improved equality between husband and wife.

The birth rate dropped from 21.3 live births per thousand in 1930 to 18.4 in 1933. Marriage for young people was delayed. Children were expected to help where possible. Although the frequency of desertion, the "poor men's divorce," rose, legal divorce decreased because it was expensive.

"Well organized families became more unified while the problems of unstable families were accentuated. Some families seemed to wish wistfully that the Depression had not happened to them while at the same time acknowledging that in a vague general way it might have been good for the family life."¹

1. Baxandall, Linda; Gordon, Linda; Reverby, Susan, editors. American's Working Women, A Documentary History: 1600 to the Present. New York: Vaintage books, Random House, 1976. pp. 518 and 505.

GRADE LEVEL: High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES;

1. Students will learn the role women played in their families and in the work force during the Depression.
2. Students will appreciate and understand the difficulties of living of the 1930s

PROCEDURE:

Day One

1. List on chalk board words, facts, beliefs that students have concerning the Depression.
2. Discuss the information provided in the background section and the time line.
3. List new ideas, facts, understandings gained from the discussion. Cross check against the original list for additions, inaccuracies, extensions of information, etc.
4. Have students group board listings into broad concept categories such as home, work leisure, and pay. Accept any categories students develop as long as they are consistent, relevant, and usable. Have students assign labels (names) for each category.
5. Assign short oral interviews of home members, relatives, neighbors who might have lived during the 1930s. A five- to ten-minute visit is adequate. This will prevent data overload and allow students to conduct interviews without note taking.
6. Ask some students to do outside reading from sources such as "Rank and File Organizing" in America's Working Women: A Documentary History, or 1600 to the Present by Rosalyn Baxandrell, Linda Gordon, and Susan Reverby or any of the others listed in the bibliography.

Day Two

1. Discuss readings and visits with relatives
2. Ask students to extend and correct original board listings. Categories might contain the following information:

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

HOME LIFE

WORKING LIFE

Radio

Movie

Roller Skating

Street Games

Children walk to School

Home Canning, sewing

Hand-me-down clothes

Extended Family

Limited, plain food

Mother works in office

Hours long

Work hard, boring

Father is home a lot

Part time work

Teenagers hold part time job

3. List words describing your feelings about readings and interviews.

Day Three

1. Distribute Living Expenses for 1938; Sears, Roebuck Listing; and Chicago Tribune Listing.
2. Use Question Sheet to guide usage of handouts. Students may pair in male/female groups if they can handle this. Activity will take about 30 minutes.
3. Discuss results and problems in working out decisions. Include your reactions and feelings.
4. Discuss new learnings and feelings from the activity.

Day Four

1. Show film Union Maids or With Babies and Banners.
2. Film questions:
 - a. With which woman did you identify most? Why?
 - b. Did the film make a clear statement? What was the message?
 - c. Did these women change as they aged?
 - d. How did they feel about their participation in this part of labor history?
 - e. What obstacles did men put in their way? Were the women able to overcome these obstacles?

f. What attitudes did the men display? Do you agree with them?

Activities for Enrichment or Extension:

Distribute list of Outstanding National Women of Period with the achievements deleted. Use with Questions.

Depression Time Line -- 1930s

1929 October . Stock Market collapse brought on Great Depression.

1930 Revival of ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union) organized Black, Hispanic, and Oriental woman for the first time.

One out of every six women worked; 13 percent were the sole supporters for their families; 11 million people were unemployed.

1932 State laws passed prohibiting married women's work in some areas.

Franklin Roosevelt elected President.

1933 Works Progress Administration (WPA) helps 450,000 find jobs. National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) gave government the right to regulate hours and wages.

First Hundred Days legislation passed.

1934 Women's Bureau (1920) presents demands to government to employ more women.

Labor movement membership in AFL and CIO increases 5.3 million people by 1938.

1935 National Labor Regulations Act upholds right of collective bargaining. Passage of Social Security Act.

1936 New York minimum wage laws for women declared unconstitutional; considered as special treatment for women that would prohibit equal pay for men and women.

1938 Fair Labor Standards Act abolished factory work at home

1939 Twenty-one states had no minimum-wage law; 29 did not regulate factory homework; 30 lacked 8 hour day laws.

Outstanding National Women of the Period

Frances Perkins	Secretary of Labor
Nellie Taylor Ross	Secretary of Treasury
Mary McLeod Bethune	Black Educator
Pearl Buch	author
Dorothy Parker	Short story writer
Katherine Anne Porter	Short story writer
Lillian Hellman	Playwright
Amelia Earhart	Aviatrix
Mildred Babe Kirkson Zaharis	Olympic Gold Medalist
Ruth Benedict	Anthropologist
Margaret Mead	Anthropologist
Eleanor Roosevelt	Writer, Humanitarian, United Nations Delegate
Oveta Culp Hobby	Journalist, Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare
Pauline Morton Sabin	Founder of Women's Organ- ization for National Pro- hibition Reform, Red Cross Worker

Questions

List the area of achievement for these women. Choose one you admire and read about her and her area of achievement. Include the reasons you admire this woman

LIVING EXPENSES FOR 1938*

<u>Location</u>	<u>Married Woman</u>	<u>Single Woman</u>
New York	\$1,050.08	\$1,163.17
City 10,000 to 25,000	1,123.18	1,182.51

Yearly Expenses

Home (housing, fuel, light, food)	492.16	590.25
Clothing	181.97	181.97
Recreation	109.24	109.24
Medical care	62.33	62.33
Personal care	35.80	35.80
Other essentials	95.46	95.46
Clothing & upkeep	13.12	15.06
Insurance, Savings	69.60	70.61

*Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics,
 "Living Costs of Women Workers in New York, '38," Monthly Labor
Review, XLIX, No. 2 (August 1939), p. 404-405.

Chicago Tribune Prices, September 3, 1933

General Items

Used cars:		Rooms:	
Buick	\$645.00	3 housekeeping rooms	\$ 8.00/wk
Studebaker	495.00	1 room & board	6.00/wk
Ford V8	350.00	house to rent, city	65.00
Gasoline, 6 gallons	.98	house to rent, suburbs	85.00

Recreation Items

European trip, round	\$189.00	Train fare, Chicago to Toledo	\$ 4.00
Live music show	1.50	City bus fare	.05
Movie, child	.10	Book	2.00
adult	.15 to .25	Look Magazine	.10
Burlesque show	.35 to .55	True Story Magazine	.15
Theater show (1st run)	2.50	Newspaper	.02
Cigars	.05		
Beer, stein	.10		
Four Roses Whisky, pint	1.59		
quart	3.06		

Food Items and Sundries

Bread, loaf	\$.08	Oranges, dozen	\$.25
Butter, pound	.24	Pepsi, 10 oz.	.05
Chicken, pound	.17	Razor blades, 10 for	.49
Coffee, pound	.27	Rolled roast beef, pound	.17½
Eggs, dozen	.32	Tea, pound	.89
Graham crackers, box	.18		
Ice cream, 1/5 gallon	.25		
Jello, 3 boxes	.13		
Kotex, 36 for	.57		
Leg of lamb, pound	.15		

Purchase Prices from Low Range 1927 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue

Item	Men	Women	Children
Socks, three for	\$.78	\$ 1.00	\$.48
Dress (cotton)		.98	.98
Dress (silk)		9.98	1.98
Slip		1.89	
Pajamas	1.29	1.25	.69
Underwear	.72	.59	.39
Corset		1.69	
Hat	3.98	1.49	.43
		(Clara Bow)	
Winter coat	14.45	10.50	5.45
Shoes	2.98	4.59	1.98
Suit	24.50		
Shirt	1.45		
Tie	.89		
Work pants	2.89		
Bathing suit	1.98	2.48	.68

Material for Making Clothing

Patterns	\$.17 to .23	Velvet or wool	\$ 1.98
Cotton cloth, 10 yards for	1.37	Sewing machine	27.95
Flannel (nightwear & underwear), yard	.14		

Home Furnishings*

Wool blanket	\$ 3.98	Towel	\$.25
Sheet	.76	Radio (floor model)	54.95
Pillow	1.25	Silverware (silverplate), 26-piece	12.00
Pillow case	.19	Dishes, 32-piece	4.50
Bed & dresser	33.75	Skillet	.38
Mattress	9.95	Kettle	.45
Rug, 8x10	25.95	Toaster	2.45
Vacuum	24.95	Curtains (net), pair	2.25
Carpet sweeper	3.95	Electric stove	79.50
Kitchen chair	1.59	Furnace	104.00
Dining room chair	8.25	Ironing board	2.48
Dining room table	36.75	Iron	2.55
Davenport	43.75	Shovel	.79
High chair	3.25	Lawn mower	3.98
Crib	15.45	Tire, 3-ply	10.95
Washing machine	50.00		

*Items could be purchased on time with extra charge.

 Recreation Items

Jack knife	\$1.98	Football	\$ 3.95
Child's pull toy	.89	Child's slide	18.95
Wagon	5.98	Ice skates	3.89
Toy truck	.47	Roller skates	3.25
Doll	1.98	Books	.48
Fishing rod	3.98	Records	.39
Reel	4.37	Teddy bear	1.69
Checkers	.89	Trumpet	11.95
Golf knickers	2.98		

 Miscellaneous Items

Shaving lotion	\$.39	Life Buoy soap, 12 bars	\$.79
Toilet paper, 12 rolls	.55	Face powder	.42
Fountain pen	1.48	Kotex, 12 tor	.48
Tooth brush	.17	Shampoo	.39
Bird seed, 3 pounds for	.19	Paper plates, 12 for	.08
Hershey Bars, 50 - 5c size	.98		

QUESTIONS FOR LIVING EXPENSES OF 1938

1. What major expenses are missing?
2. How would you spend your recreation money?
3. Given the stated clothing allowances, what could you buy per month? per year?
4. You are getting married. You have saved \$500.00. How long did it take you to save this? What will you choose to start your home? How will these choices impact your daily work?
5. Construct a weekly budget. How much can you spend on food? How much in each listed category? How could you cut corners to save money? What things that you do now would have to be eliminated? Why?

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. Baxandall, Linda; Gordan, Linda; Reverby, Susan, editors. America's Working Women, A Documentary History: 1600 to the Present. New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1976.
2. Berguist, Virginia. "Women's Participation in Labor Organizations," Monthly Labor Review 97 (October, 1974): 3-9.
3. Cott Nancy, and Pleck. Elizabeth, editors. A Heritage of Her Own. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979. pp. 518 and 505.
4. Gabin, Nancy. "Women Workers and the UAW in the Post-World War II Period: 1945-1954." Labor History 21 (Winter 1980): 5-30.
5. Haener, Dorothy. "What Labor is Doing About Women in the Work Force." In Women in the Work Force, p. 44. edited by Mildred Kazell and William Byhams. New York: Behavioral Publications, Inc., 1972.
6. Harris, Fran. Focus, Michigan Women, 1701-1977. Michigan Coordinating Committee of the National Commission of the Observance of Women's Year, 1977.
7. Hymowitz, Carol, and Weissman, Michael. A History of Women in America. New York: Bantam Books, 1978.
8. Millstein, Beth, and Bodin, Jeanne. We the American Woman, Textbook and workbook. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1977.
9. Mirken, Alan. 1927 Edition of the Sears, Roebuck Catalogue, The Roaring Twenties. Chicago: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1970.
10. Pruette, L. Women Workers Through the Depression. New York: MacMillan, 1934.
11. Steifer, Nancy. "Absent from the Majority (National Project on Ethnic America, American Jewish Committee, 1973)." New York Times, 25 January 1976, p. 36.
12. Tobias. Sheila, and Anderson, Lisa. "What Really Happened to Rosie the Riveter? Semobilization and the Female Labor Force, 1944-47." In Women's America, pp. 354-373. Edited by Mathews Kerberand. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
13. U.S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Living Costs of Women Workers in New York, 1938." Monthly Labor Review XLIX, No. 2 (August 1939): 404-405.

WOMEN IN AMERICAN SPORTS

by Penny Calto

OVERVIEW:

In the United States women have made impressive gains in their respective fields of athletics, largely as a result of the women's liberation movement and the rise of feminism. These gains have been hard won, however, and women have fought for equality in the sports arena during the 19th and 20th centuries. In a traditionally male dominated area, women are reaching unprecedented levels in terms of interest, participation and recognition. But they are as yet a long way from the equality they seek in the world of sports. Many of the gains in the fight for athletic equality have been made in the last 15 years. An important factor has been the implementation of Title IX, the 1972 U.S. Educational Amendment. In spite of impressive statistics, women are still facing obstacles. Students have not been made aware of the accomplishments of women in athletics, certainly an important part of our American history. The following activities will attempt to create an awareness of women's sports contributions.

GRADE LEVEL: Junior High/Senior High

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. Students will familiarize themselves with women athletes of the past and present and gain more detailed knowledge of their contributions through discussion and research.
2. Students will, through analysis and questioning of peers, examine the influence of Title IX on their individual schools and upon women's athletics in society today.

3. Students will learn to compare the sports traditionally identified with each sex and to identify the benefits associated with competitive and noncompetitive sports.
4. Students will learn to examine the literature available on women in sports with non-sexist approaches to athletic accomplishments.

MATERIALS: Student handouts (questionnaire and readings)

PROCEDURES:

1. Ask students how much they know about the history of women in sports. Do they know more about men in sports? Tell them that they will know about many women sports figures by the end of this unit.
2. Distribute Handout 1: "A Brief History of Women's Sports in the United States." Have students read this and allow time to discuss. In a general class discussion have students address the problems encountered in their mothers' and grandmothers' era (lack of funding, biological ignorance, poor uniforms, etc.). Ask the following specific questions regarding the essay:
 - a. How were golf and tennis introduced into the middle classes?
 - b. What were some traditional "safe" sports for women?
 - c. When did women first compete in the Olympics?
 - d. How has T.V. added to the inequality of the sports?
 - e. What percentage of athletes were professionals in the 1950's?
 - f. What was the most popular sport for women in the 1930's?
 - g. Why were boys encouraged to play ball? Why weren't girls?

- h. What woman had become the national heroine of the 1930's?
3. Distribute Handout 2: "Famous Men and Women in Sports." Have students read over the lists and identify as many of the sports figures as they can within a short time period. Take a count of the exact numbers that the class presents when identifying the lists. Are there more men who are familiar? (There should be.) Why do we know more about men in sports than women? Who is the most famous (well-known) person on the list? Why? This list can be used for various research assignments also. Compare the careers of two people in the same sport. Do an extensive research paper on the women who are not very well known. This would be a good assignment for the more advanced student. These lists can be used later for reference.
 4. Distribute students Handout 3: "Matching Women with Their Accomplishments." This can be used along with Handout 2 or as an independent assignment. The teacher's answer sheet is included. Students may do the entire assignment in class or take it home as a homework assignment.
 5. Distribute Handout 4: "Essay on Title IX and Amateur Athletes with Questionnaire." Have students read the essay and then take a poll of five classmates concerning Title IX and the role of high school girls' sports. Questions may be asked about the essay as well. This is to give the students some knowledge about their own school as well as the implications of Title IX for women athletes. For example, Terry Shinkwin received a basketball scholarship, no doubt as a result of Title IX. This essay and subsequent questionnaire can be tallied and the results discussed in class. The poll also includes questions regarding famous women

sports figures and a conceptual "What If" situation that can be used for discussion at a later date.

6. Distribute students Handout 5: "Running Against the Odds: Wilma Rudolph, Olympic Champion." Have students answer the following questions:
 - a. How many children were there in the Rudolph family?
 - b. What was Wilma's disability?
 - c. What sport did she participate in during her early years?
 - d. Who was Mae Faggs? What effect did she have upon Wilma's career?
 - e. Why was her trial heat record-breaking time disallowed?
 - f. What nickname did the French give her?
 - g. Why was her Clarkesville celebration such a historic event after her return from the Olympics?
 - h. What events helped to open new doors for women in sports?
 - i. What is a prerequisite for Olympic achievement? What was Wilma's other prerequisite?
 - j. Who does Rudolph say she is really competing with when she runs?

HANDOUT 1

A BRIEF HISTORY OF WOMEN'S SPORTS
IN THE UNITED STATES

The age old tradition that females were physically frail and that women's participation in sports would result in loss of femininity reached its peak in 19th century America. The emphasis was usually on being ladylike at all times. Doctors warned that too much activity unnerved females, creating everything from hysteria to "weakened degenerate offspring." Women were told to conserve the little energy they had and leave the sports to the men.

Ball playing was encouraged among young boys because it tested speed, strength, skill, and stamina, qualities which girls would never require. Girls occasionally would toss a ball, go bathing, roll hoops, or ice skate. One historian related how, during the 1850's, one woman ice skater was urged to hold her male partner's coat-tail so as to have fun without becoming tired.

Women's colleges had adopted tennis and golf in the 1880's, and middle-class women's entrance into sports came primarily as a result of female higher education.

In 1899 a group of female physical education teachers created special basketball rules designed to keep women from "over-doing" it. The court was divided into three sections and certain players were confined to each section. A player could not grab or strike a ball from another player's hands or hold it longer than three seconds. The player was not permitted to bounce the ball three consecutive times at a height lower than her knee, which must have been difficult to judge, since the clothes couldn't allow the knee to be viewed! This method of basketball was played by women with a few modifications until the 1960's.

As mentioned, the clothing which the women wore during their athletic contests was difficult to maneuver in, and the participants in bicycling, field hockey and track events were an awesome sight in long-sleeved, petticoated, ankle-length dresses. Trying to wield a hockey stick and run down a field in such attire is beyond our modern comprehension.

There were always women who involved themselves in athletics even when it was not the accepted standard of the day. Women in the early 1900's are known to have swum, played tennis, golfed, hiked, biked, and surfed. They were the exception, however, not the rule.

Competitive female athletes blossomed in the 1920's and 1930's as women entered the Olympics for the first time in 1920. To this day, though, no woman has been a member of the International Olympic Committee.

By the 1930's a knowledgeable observer claimed that basketball, played by over a million girls in the United States, was a very common female game. Women were entering the sports world at a rapid rate. It was not until Mildred "Babe" Zaharias entered the sports field and became a national heroine that women became accepted as potentially athletic "marketable" products. Money-making sports ventures benefited from women's shortened postwar clothing. The basketball coach who "discovered" Babe claimed that having women play in shorts on the basketball court increased game attendance from 150 to 5000. Women became sex objects overnight in the sports world. Athletic females from the 1930's until the 1960's had few options, however, if they wanted to avoid the masculine stereotype. Sportswriter Paul Gallico stated in 1936 that women looked beautiful in only eight out of twenty-five sports.

In the years after World War II, women improved their skills and records but not their numbers or image. A 1950 estimate was that merely 5 percent of professional athletes were female. In the recent decades women have made

tremendous gains in the sports field. Billy Jean King made sports history in 1971 by becoming the first female athlete ever to compile winnings of \$100,000 in a single season. The men's leading tennis money-winner that same year, Rod Laver, earned \$290,000, despite the fact that King won three times as many tournaments. Women still faced hostile sportwriters, poor media coverage and lack of funding for amateur athletes.

Between August 1972 and September 1973, NBC televised 366 hours of live sports, and only 1 hour of that total was devoted to women's sports. When women won 7 out of 8 U.S. Gold Metals in the Winter Olympics, a New York T.V. station devoted only 40 seconds of air time to report it, not even mentioning the women by name. Two minutes and fifteen seconds of coverage of the same program was devoted to a pancake eating contest!

The past decade has shown the nation that women are capable and that sport is no more harmful to them than it is for men. Women have entered fields such as drag racing, polo playing, karate, and weight lifting and have made impressive contributions to all. The greatest inequalities that still exist in athletics are those inequalities in social values. It is clear that until society is changed, the unequal nature of women's participation in sports will not change.

HANDOUT 2

FAMOUS WOMEN AND MEN IN SPORTS

From this list of male and female athletes, check off as many as you can recognize immediately. Complete this assignment and count how many men and how many women are known by the class. Who has the greater number, the men or the women? How do you account for the numbers? What does that tell you about women's role in sports?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. _____ Mark Spitz | 1. _____ Kathy Whitworth |
| 2. _____ Arnold Palmer | 2. _____ Peggy Fleming |
| 3. _____ Pete Rose | 3. _____ Beth Hyden |
| 4. _____ Eric Hyden | 4. _____ Gertrude Ederle |
| 5. _____ Tom Watson | 5. _____ Helen Wills |
| 6. _____ Ted Williams | 6. _____ Tracey Austin |
| 7. _____ Roger Bannister | 7. _____ Wilma Rudolph |
| 8. _____ A.J. Foyt | 8. _____ Janet Guthrie |
| 9. _____ Billy Kidd | 9. _____ Nancy Lopez |
| 10. _____ Jim Connors | 10. _____ Althea Gibson |
| 11. _____ Lee Trevino | 11. _____ Tai Babilonia |
| 12. _____ Joe Namath | 12. _____ Sonja Henie |
| 13. _____ Jack Dempsey | 13. _____ Shirley Muldowney |
| 14. _____ Eddie Arcaro | 14. _____ Jean Balukas |
| 15. _____ Red Grange | 15. _____ Cindy Meserve |
| 16. _____ Bill Rogers | 16. _____ Barb Cochran |
| 17. _____ Mario Andretti | 17. _____ Tenley Albright |
| 18. _____ Bart Starr | 18. _____ Sue Sally Hale |
| 19. _____ Stan Mikita | 19. _____ Babe Zaharias |
| 20. _____ Sugar Ray Leonard | 20. _____ Diana Nyad |

HANDOUT 3

MATCHING WOMEN WITH THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

See how many of the women on the list you can match up with their sport (use the women on the list from Handout 2).

1. _____ Driver in Indianapolis 500.
2. _____ Marathon swimmer and author.
3. _____ Figure skating champion and Olympic winner in 1970s.
4. _____ Women athlete of century, golfer, track and Olympic star.
5. _____ First woman polo player on a men's team.
6. _____ Billiard player who won the U.S. Open title.
7. _____ Drag racing star, National Champ in 1970s.
8. _____ First woman to swim the English Channel.
9. _____ Golf champ, all-time money winner of 1970s.
10. _____ First woman on a men's NCAA basketball team.
11. _____ Skier who won 1972 slalom championship.
12. _____ Pairs figure skater in 1976.
13. _____ Speed skater turned professional bike racer.
14. _____ Young tennis player champ in 1982.
15. _____ Pioneer figure skater, world champion.
16. _____ Black star of 1960 Olympics track events.
17. _____ Pro golfer who was first a tennis champ.
18. _____ Tennis player in 1950s who became M.D.
19. _____ Pioneer tennis player of 1930s.
20. _____ Mexican American golfer, gallery favorite and top golfer in 1980.

HANDOUT 3
(Teacher's Key)

MATCHING WOMEN WITH THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

See how many of the women on the list you can match up with their sport (use the women on the list from Handout 2).

1. Guthrie _____ Driver in Indianapolis 500.
2. Nyad _____ Marathon swimmer and author.
3. Fleming _____ Figure skating champion and Olympic winner in 1970s.
4. Zaharias _____ Women athlete of century, golfer, track and Olympic star.
5. Hale _____ First woman polo player on a men's team.
6. Balukas _____ Billiard player who won the U.S. Open title.
7. Muldowney _____ Drag racing star, National Champ in 1970s.
8. Ederle _____ First woman to swim the English Channel.
9. Whitworth _____ Golf champ, all-time money winner of 1970s.
10. Meserve _____ First woman on a men's NCAA basketball team.
11. Cochran _____ Skier who won 1972 slalom championship.
12. Babilonia _____ Pairs figure skater in 1976.
13. Hyden _____ Speed skater turned professional bike racer.
14. Austin _____ Young tennis player champ in 1982.
15. Henie _____ Pioneer figure skater, world champion.
16. Rudolph _____ Black star of 1960 Olympics track events.
17. Gibson _____ Pro golfer who was first a tennis champ

18. Albright _____ Tennis player in 1950s who became M.D.
19. Wills _____ Pioneer tennis player of 1930s.
20. Lopez _____ Mexican American golfer, gallery favorite and top golfer in 1980.

HANDOUT 4

ESSAY ON TITLE IX AND AMATEUR ATHLETES
WITH QUESTIONNAIRE

When Terry Shinkwin played high school basketball in Cambridge nearly four years ago, she never dreamed she would be recruited and offered a scholarship to play the sport she loved so much. But soon after her last high school game, Terry was approached by Averill Haines, then coach of the Boston University women's team. "She said she liked the way I played," says the trim athlete, who at 5 feet 5 inches guards for the Terriers. The school offered Terry a full scholarship, including tuition and books.

As recently as 7 years ago, an athletic scholarship for a female athlete was a rarity. Men's programs had the market on scholarships, equipment, and gratuities. But the situation has started to change since the passage in 1972 of the Title IX educational amendment to the Civil Rights Act. It states that "No person shall, on the basis of sex, be discriminated against in any interscholastic, intercollegiate, club or intramural athletics offered by recipient, and no recipient shall provide any such athletics on such a basis."

The number of scholarships available to female athletes has shot up dramatically since Title IX. The Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) states that in 1973-73, out of 476 member schools, only 15 offered basketball scholarships. In 1978-79, 342 out of 883 schools offered basketball scholarships. Increases in other sports such as track and volleyball, swimming and diving have increased in similar proportions. In 1973-74 women received only 1 percent of the total money allotted for scholarships. In the 1978-79 school year, women's scholarships made up 21 percent of the total athletic budget. That number is still rising.

Anyone who believes that women athletes don't take their sport as seriously as men should just talk to Terry Shinkwin. She enjoys immensely the sport she plays so well. There are workouts, games with a summer league, and weight lifting.

Terry doesn't mind all the practice. Sports have been at the top of her list for years. She played softball, volleyball and basketball all four years in high school. "We spend hours practicing," she says. "School is just books and basketball for me. It's always hard to give up part of Christmas break for practice, but it is worth it. You have to put in the hours."

Terry, who is a physical education and health major, wants to keep up her involvement in sports. She has toyed with the idea of going into pro women's basketball when she gets out of college, as several of her friends have done. She hasn't had to battle with stereotypes about women athletes as either masculine or not very smart. "I have a positive enough concept of myself not to let anything like that bother me," Terry says.

Jane Nabiger, a spokeswoman for AIAW, says that the stereotypes about female athletes are diminishing as programs expand. "The athletes are pre-med, fashion and design and nutrition majors, among others," she points out.

High-school athletes interested in college sport should realize that sports will be just one part of the educational experience, says Ms. Nabiger. She counsels budding female athletes to talk with their counselors and coaches about college programs.

Over 700 colleges and universities have athletic scholarships available for women. Each year Women's Sports magazine publishes a list of the schools with the number and value of scholarships.

You have finished reading about a modern athlete who succeeded in her sports endeavors, won a scholarship and did

not face a great deal of discrimination, perhaps because of the impact that Title IX has had upon women's participation in sports. This is not always the case, however, and sexism enters into the sports arena in many instances where equality is not always the accepted policy. How do your classmates feel about women in sports? Do they know about some of our pioneer women athletes? Do they know about Title IX? Is your own school treating the male and female athletes the same? Use the following Questionnaire to see how your friends and fellow students answer the poll regarding women in sports. Ask 5 of your classmates and bring the results to class. Tabulate your answers to see how knowledgeable the students in your school are regarding girls'/women's role in sports, past and present.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name 5 famous women sports figures who lived before 1960.
2. Do you know what Title IX is?
3. Do you think schools should have girls' varsity sports?
4. Are there certain sports in which girls should not compete at all on the varsity level?
5. What are your reasons for your answer, if "Yes," to #4?
6. Do you believe that girl athletes generally are as committed and dedicated to sports as boy athletes?
7. Do you feel attendance at a girls' varsity event is the same as a boys' varsity event? If not, why not?
8. Are there any non-contact sports you think girls should not compete in?
9. Would you be in favor of or opposed to girls playing on boys' teams in contact sports?
10. How do you think the boys on a team would react if girls competed on the same team with them against other schools?
11. Do you think the coaching the girls receive at your school is adequate? Explain your answer.
12. Do you think girls would prefer playing on their own teams or as part of a co-ed team? Explain your answer.
13. How do you react to the following concept:
A high school varsity team would be composed of one-half boys and one-half girls. The team would train and travel together, but they would compete at schools only against members of their own sex. Winning an event would be based on how the boys and girls did in their own event. The team having the highest number of points would win

Copyright c 1981 by TABS: Aids for Ending Sexism in School, a quarterly publication. For subscription information and catalog of classroom posters, write to TABS, 744 Carroll St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215. Used by permission.

RUNNING AGAINST THE ODDS

Wilma Rudolph, Olympic Champion

By Amy Glynn

UNABLE TO WALK, hindered by a crooked leg and a foot turned inward, Wilma Rudolph had a less than auspicious beginning for a track star. She remembers a childhood spent fighting off many illnesses, including scarlet fever and double pneumonia. In her autobiography, Wilma, she traces her strong competitive spirit back to those days: "I remember I started to get mad about it all. . . . I was going to beat those illnesses no matter what." This determination to succeed, born in a sickly child, would later blossom triumphantly in athletic competition. In 1960, Wilma Rudolph would become the first American woman to win three Olympic gold medals. But that glory was a long way off.

Wilma Glodean Rudolph was born June 23, 1940, the twentieth of twenty-two children. Her father worked odd jobs; her mother cleaned other people's houses. Rudolph writes, "We didn't have too much money back then, but we had everything else; especially love." Her large, supportive family was important to her, because she had few friends. Often ill, and burdened with a heavy steel leg brace, she was teased by other children and recalls a lonesome childhood in Clarksville, Tennessee.

When Wilma was six years old, specialists at the Meharry Medical School, a Black hospital in Nashville, told her parents that daily therapy was the only way to correct her disability. For the next four years, her mother used her weekly day off to take Wilma by bus to Nashville, 45 miles away. Treatment took hours and included traction, whirlpools, and exercises.

At home, Mrs. Rudolph applied heat treatments every night and massaged the leg as Wilma fell asleep. In time, older children in the family were taught the special massage techniques. Improvement was slow. By the age of eight, she had exchanged the heavy steel brace for a lighter type--a reinforced high-top shoe. She was 9½ years old when she first ventured out into public without the brace, 10 when the treatments in Nashville ended, and 12 when she discarded the brace altogether. "Then, one glorious day," she recalls in her book, "my mother wrapped up the brace and sent it back to the hospital. I was free at last."

SHE FELT LIKE a new person: "My whole life suddenly changed just as I was ending my sixth-grade year in school. No more brace; I was healthy all over my body for the first time." That summer she discovered basketball. She practiced at home in her backyard and, in seventh grade, made the school basketball team. Even though she did not play in competition for three years, her interest in the sport grew. She enjoyed the practice and travel, content to "study everything that was going on on the court. . . . I used to sit there on the bench and dream about someday becoming a star for this team, but the coach didn't know I was alive." When, in tenth grade, she was finally put into action on the basketball team,

she scored 803 points in 25 games, a record for Tennessee high school girls. Her team won the Middle East Tennessee Conference title.

It was in ninth grade that Rudolph first ran track and field. The team was newly formed and somewhat disorganized, but she won every race she ran that season. Her tenth-grade record was disappointing. In the season's main meet in Tuskegee, Alabama, she lost every race and failed to qualify in any event. Initially, she was shattered. But her spirits rallied. "I learned a very big lesson. . . ." she writes. "If you can pick up after a crushing defeat, and go on to win again, you are going to be a champion someday."

Ed Temple, the Tennessee State University track coach, had seen Rudolph play basketball and had watched her race at Tuskegee. Recognizing her potential, he invited her to Tennessee State to spend the summer training for the junior division of the national Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) meet. Rudolph concentrated on perfecting her running techniques and developing her style. She ran in nine races at the AAU meet and won them all.

AT THE END of the summer, Temple made a suggestion that would set Wilma Rudolph on a path that would lead half-way around the world and eventually to international fame. He wanted her to enter the Olympic track and field trials in Seattle, Washington. She did not hesitate, although she wasn't sure what the Olympics were: "I had no idea the games consisted of competition among countries of the world. I thought they were just some big track meet somewhere."

In Seattle, Rudolph met Mae Faggs, whom she credits as second only to Temple as inspiration for her athletic career. Faggs, a champion runner who had already won Olympic medals, was senior member of the women's team, revered by everyone on the team. She befriended Rudolph and saw that the 16-year-old was, like most teenagers, worried about fitting in and "whether so-and-so is still going to like me if I win that race." This yearning to belong often held the young runner back; she hesitated to put all she had into her stride. Carefully, Faggs encouraged Rudolph to run to please herself and not others. "Wilma, you really have the ability to perform as an individual," she would say. Fast friends by the time of the trials, Rudolph and Faggs finished the qualifying race side by side. The two were bound for the 1956 Olympics, to be held in Melbourne, Australia. In Clarksville, townspeople showed their excitement by buying the luggage and clothes she would need for the trip.

In her first race in Melbourne, the 200-meter, Rudolph made it to the semifinals but then did not qualify for the final match. Disheartened, she could not eat or sleep. She won a bronze medal in the 400-meter relay but was not

satisfied. She went home determined "to come back someday and win some more, gold ones."

During the next four years, Rudolph finished high school, became a mother, entered college, and trained for the 1960 Olympics. Marriage to her baby's father was postponed because her father forbade it and, she admits, because she "really didn't want to become a housewife at such an early age." (They married later, after Rudolph finished college.) With the support of her parents and Temple, who had offered her a scholarship to Tennessee State, she decided to keep her sights set on the Olympics. She graduated from high school in May 1958 and gave birth to a girl, Yolanda, in July. With the baby in her sister's care, she enrolled at Tennessee State that fall.

Only 18 years old, Rudolph responded well to the triple demands of parental responsibilities, academic requirements, and Olympics training. Alarmed when her sister asked to adopt Yolanda, she moved the child to her parents' home, and they assumed her care. She maintained a B-plus average in her studies, majoring in elementary education. By her sophomore year, she was running her best times ever. In the national AAU meet, she broke the world record for the 200-meter. In the trials for the 1960 Rome Olympics, she qualified in three races--the 100-meter and 200-meter, and the 400-meter relay. Coach Temple trained the team vigorously, running them three times a day. Rudolph's usual weight of 140 dropped to 129.

IN ROME, on the day before her first race, she sprained her ankle. She taped and elevated it overnight, and, to her relief, it held the next morning. She ran all her trial heats, even breaking one world record (disallowed by the officials, however, because of a wind advantage). On Saturday, Rudolph won the women's 100-meter, her first gold medal. Three days later, she won the 200-meter and her second gold medal.

Rudolph was eager for her third race, the 400-meter relay, in which she would run the final leg. She was confident that she was ready for it, and she was right. The team--Rudolph, Martha Hudson, Barbara Jones, and Lucinda Williams--set a new world record. Rudolph says it was easy and they "won it going away." But track star Jesse Owens, writing in The Saturday Evening Post in 1976, described a near-miss as the baton was passed to Rudolph and a thrilling finish in which she amazed spectators by coming from behind to win the race.

Easy or not, the race had earned Wilma Rudolph overnight fame as the first American woman to win three Olympic gold medals. She was mobbed by fans. Newspapers all over the world marveled at her graceful swift stride. The young woman who had struggled for years just to walk was called "La Gazelle" by French papers. After the Olympics, the team competed in meets in London, West Germany, and other European countries. Rudolph won every race she entered and was met everywhere by crowds of admirers.

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC welcomed Rudolph back to the United States. Parades and banquets were held in her honor; and she was deluged with letters, telegrams, phone calls, and requests for television interviews.

Most dramatic was her arrival in Tennessee. Politicians, marching bands, television cameras, and a "monstrous" crowd greeted her at the airport in Nashville. Although anxious to move on to Clarksville and see her family, she was asked to stay in Nashville a few more days. The people of Clarksville had planned a parade, but it was not quite ready. Stunned, she agreed, but late that night, when everyone thought she was asleep, Rudolph quietly made her way home, shared joyful tears with her parents, and stole back to Nashville before anyone was up. The celebration that Clarksville had prepared was the first integrated event in the history of the town: "I remember that banquet vividly because the armory was jammed with black and white people, and that had never happened before in Clarksville."

Honor and recognition came from prestigious organizations. In 1961, the AAU awarded her its Sullivan Trophy, given every year to the best American amateur athlete. The Associated Press named her Female Athlete of the Year in 1960 and 1961. Rudolph is especially proud of being invited to compete in a number of previously all-male meets, such as the New York Athletic Club meet, the Millrose Games, and the Los Angeles Times Games. "When they invited me," she explains, "they always invited six or seven other girls to run against me." She feels these events helped to open new doors to women in sports.

During the next year, Rudolph selected competitions carefully, aware that she could not top her achievement in Rome. She tied and beat more world records, winning more acclaim. Content with having reached the very top of her field, she announced that she would run one last race. She chose a meet with the Soviet Union, to be held at Stanford University. Rudolph ran in two races and won both, received a standing ovation, and afterward handed her track shoes to a small boy who asked for her autograph. "I didn't hang up my spikes," she says. "I gave them away."

TODAY, WILMA RUDOLPH lives in Clarksville and New York City. She plays tennis, and her four children, ages 11-23, all enjoy sports. Yolanda, the oldest, will soon finish college. Rudolph has taught school, coached track, and served as physical education director in several federal programs. In 1980, she was among the first athletes inducted into the brand-new traveling Women's Sports Hall of Fame sponsored by the Women's Sports Foundation.

Fame and a permanent place in the sports annals have surely been won by Wilma Rudolph, who dreamed in high school about "someday becoming a star for this team." In her autobiography, she acknowledges that "winning is great" and that a fierce competitive spirit is a requirement for Olympic achievement. But she also recalls another prerequisite--the love of sport that first drew her to running:

I loved the feeling of freedom in running, the fresh air, the feeling that the only person I'm really competing with is me. □

BACKGROUND READING

BOOKS:

1. Twin, Stephanie, Out of the Bleachers: Writings on Women and Sport, Feminist Press, Old Westbury, New York, 1979.

A unique anthology of twenty historical and contemporary essays, journalism, biography, and autobiography on women in sports.

2. Jacobs, Karen Folger, GirlSports, Bantam Books, New York, 1979.

Girl athletes ages 9 to 17 tell what it's like to train, compete, win, and lose in their respective sports.

3. Parkhouse, Bonnie, and Lapin, Jackie, Women Who Win: Exercising Your Rights in Sport, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1980.

A manual for teachers and students fighting against sex discrimination on the job and on the playing field. Despite the promise of Title IX, which mandates equality in educational programs, there are still many areas where women face discrimination.

4. Sabin, Francene, Woman Who Win, Random House, New York, 1975.

A collection of fourteen short biographies of outstanding women athletes. Some are very well known, others less so, but the women are all distinguished by their drive and ambition.

ARTICLES, JOURNALS AND BULLETINS:

1. Hogan, Candace Lyle. "Shedding Light on Title IX," WomenSports, February 1976.

In-depth discussion about the strengths and weakness of the controversial Educational Amendment.

2. Orsini, Bette, "Are Women Scoring with Title IX?" Social Issues Resources, Volume 1, Article No 71 (Reprinted from St. Petersburg Times, Floridian, August 19, 1979, pp. 9-13, 16 and 18).

3. Tabs: Aids for Ending Sexism in School. Published quarterly by the Organization for Equal Education of the Sexes. a nonprofit corporation formed to produce, publish and disseminate information and materials in support of equal education of the sexes. Published at 744 Carroll Street Brooklyn, New York 11215. Tower Press: A Women's Print Shop.

WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE

by Barbara E. Carson-McHale

OVERVIEW:

Architecture is a field in which few women have had an opportunity to participate. At a time when the percentage of women entering other traditionally male dominated fields such as law, medicine and the trades is increasing at significant rates, architecture remains an almost impenetrable field for women. This activity is designed to describe the circumstances that supported or hindered the full technical and expressive achievement of women in architecture, and to familiarize the students with some of the contributions of women to the field of architecture.

GRADE LEVEL: Senior High

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS

1. Students will be able to identify some women architects, their works and ideas.
2. Students will be able to identify and discuss the ideas of some influential female architects and architectural critics.
3. Students will be able to discuss why architectural criticism has been a field open to women.
4. Students will be able to discuss why there have been so few women architects.

PROCEDURE:

Students will engage in research, answer attached questions on the material, express their opinion in essay form, and participate in field assignments when possible.

MATERIALS:

1. "Pioneer Women Architects" by Judith Payne in Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective, ed. by Susana Torre, 1977.
2. Questions on Payne reading.
3. Readings on modern female architects and architectural critics.
4. Questions for investigation.
5. Selected bibliography.

QUESTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE

1. Why have few records of the earliest women's architecture survived?

2. Why did many women architects choose to stay inconspicuous?

3. In 1910 how many women architects were there in the U.S.? In that year how many schools of architecture denied women entrance?

4. What was the first dwelling plan patented by a woman architect? What were the advantages of this type of dwelling form?

5. Who was the first woman to graduate from a full four year architectural program?

6. In what other way than through university training could a woman receive training as an architect?

7. What was the purpose of having a woman's building at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893?

8. Who won the prize for designing the Woman's Building?

9. What role did Susan B. Anthony play in getting a Woman's Building at the Columbian Exposition?

10. What was displayed in the Woman's Building?

11. What were the unfair aspects of comparing the Woman's Building to other building at the Fair?

12. Who was the best known practicing woman architect in the 1880s and 1890s?

13. Identify the following women architects, giving biographical information, names of buildings which they designed and any important ideas with which they are identified: Marian Mohoney, Julia Morgan, Hazel Wood, and Theodate Pope Kiddle.

14. List some of the early all women's architectural firms
and some of the buildings designed by those firms. _____

WOMEN ARCHITECTURAL CRITICS

For women living a period that would have presented innumerable obstacles to their affecting architectural thought through actual practice (even if they had wanted to) the role of architectural critic permitted proper latitude because of the lack of a well developed tradition in this country for architectural criticism. Furthermore, because of the inroads made by women in other forms of journalism, this particular area was and still is accessible regardless of education, age, or sex. Because these critics could bring their special attributes to this unique role, they were able to promote and keep alive a critical consciousness much needed in America's euphoric growth of the fifties and sixties. Their insights, recognitions and sense of awareness advance the cause of architecture as a field worthy of serious attention.

CATHERINE BAUER

In 1946 Architectural Forum, one of the leading journals of architecture in the world, declared that "the name Catherine Bauer is synonymous with public housing in America." From the beginning her role was that of a housing reformer and activist. First she helped introduce the socially minded goals of the early modern European architects to the United States, in her book, Modern Housing, published in 1934. Then seizing upon the European idea of labor union sponsorship of low rent housing, she actively promoted it here. She helped formulate the legislation that led to the revolutionary U.S. Housing Act of 1937. With this bill the American government decided to implement a federal loan and subsidy policy to promote the construction of decent low income housing.

Bauer served as the Secretary of American Federation of Labor Housing and was the first person to win a Guggenheim Fellowship in the area of architecture and planning. She was later hired as the Director of Research and Information of the newly created U.S. Housing Authority. She had early foreseen the danger of urban renewal as a form of "people removal" from existing slum neighborhoods. In her article she urged a balanced clearance and relocation effort so that residents of poor neighborhoods would be able to live in the same community during the process and be guaranteed accommodations in the new housing. Furthermore, she proposed zoning to cluster different scales of housing and urged reduced property tax assessments to encourage the construction of low scale community facilities and shops.

To the end of her life Catherine Bauer never foresook her early ideas for raising the standard of housing in this country. Shortly before her death, in 1964, she observed that the poor still didn't have a minimum standard of housing.

JANE JACOBS

Jane Jacobs has achieved great distinction for her city planning theories. Her book, Life and Death of the Great American Cities, published in 1961, has forcefully redirected city planning theory away from its obsession with giant urban renewal schemes and toward a respect for the small scale buildings, close-knit neighborhoods, and street life. She has advocated the participation of community groups in city planning. The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in 1976 endorsed Jacobs' principles and city planners in the U.S. have come to accept them.

Jacobs was associate editor and then senior editor for Architectural Forum from 1952 to 1962. During that time she wrote articles in which she criticized the city planners

of Washington, D.C. for giving the city over to parking lots, and architects for spreading "governmental monumental" style all over the city. Like Catherine Bauer, Jacobs also criticized the polarization of cities for the poor and suburbs for the wealthy, blaming this polarization on the faulty relations between federal housing and local government policies.

She has criticized the development of urban high rise apartments which destroy important social networks which controlled crime in neighborhoods. One of her best known battles resulted in the defeat of an urban renewal plan for a portion of Greenwich Village in New York City. She succeeded in forcing the city to opt for low rise housing at the same scale as the rest of the community.

INVESTIGATE:

Sibyl Hoholy-Nagy and Ada Louise Huxtable are two more influential architectural critics. Can you find out information about them and summarize their ideas in a short essay? Write a short essay comparing and contrasting the main ideas of all four critics.

A BRIEF SUMMATION OF THE MAIN IDEAS OF CHLOETHIEL WOODARD SMITH, MARY OTIS STEVENS, AND DENISE SCOTT BROWN

Chloethiel Woodard Smith, like many modern architects and architectural critics is concerned with the quality of life in cities that are being transformed by urban renewal. She wants to see urban renewal "which maintains privacy, scale, and which creates a place where reasonably satisfying life can go on."

Mary Otis Stevens, in her book, World in Variation, describes projects designed in response to the urban crisis in American cities. Urban renewal, in her opinion, erased

evidences of the cultural past of cities, while propagating forms associated with values and social issues no longer considered relevant. She considers the problem of historical continuity reflected in the built environment as crucial for the rest of the century, especially the Third World countries, and suggests that a distinction be made between building for ongoing requirements and for temporary demands of a society. This, she said, would ensure the proper connection between past and future in countries creating their own cultural and economic identity through revolutionary change. Stevens designs environments for fluid and unconventional relationships between family members, closer in character to those between individuals in a communal situation than to the hierarchies and functional segregation of the traditional nuclear family.

Denise Scott Brown was a member of an architectural firm which was called in by a community group to come up with a plan which would save part of their community. The project was called the South Street project. The city of Philadelphia was attempting to construct a freeway through their community which would have destroyed the main street. Scott's plan proposed a radical alternative: the community would control local planning and receive income and profits from any land development. The plan called for refurbishing of South Street and a commercial strip center, the rehabilitation of existing buildings for low income ownership, and rental housing, the improvement of streets, sidewalks and parking. These plans were repeated in three other communities.

REACT:

Do you see a common thread of concern running through the ideas of many of the women architects and architectural critics? If so, how would you describe their common concern? Do you agree with their ideas? Do you think the city planners in your city have been influenced by their ideas? Why or why not?

INVESTIGATE:

1. How many schools of architecture are there in your state?
2. How many women architects are there in your state and in your city?
3. How many women architects are presently working in the United States? In your state?
4. How many women are currently enrolled in architectural schools in your state?
5. How many women have graduated from architectural schools in your state?
6. What are the entrance requirements for the architectural schools in your state?
7. What are starting salaries for architects in your state?
8. How do the salaries of women architects compare with the salaries of male architects?

USING THE SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY INCLUDED IN THIS UNIT FIND SOURCES THAT COULD HELP YOU ANSWER THE ABOVE QUESTIONS, AND THEN ATTEMPT TO ANSWER AS MANY OF THE QUESTIONS AS POSSIBLE.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cole, Doris. From Tipt to Skyscraper: History of Women in Architecture. Boston: i press (distributed by G. Graziller, New York), 1973.

Goldberger, Paul "Women Architects Building Influence in a Profession That is 98.8% Male." The New York Times, May 18, 1974, p. 33, col. 1ff.

Goldreich, Gloria, and Esther Goldreich, What Can She Be? An Architect. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1974. Photos by Robert Ipcar. (Juvenile Literature).

Lague, Louise, "Lady Architects Have Designs on Equality." The Washington Star, August 2, 1976.

Patterson, Anne, "Woman Architects, Why So Few?", Inland Architecture, December 1971. pp. 14-19.

The Status of Women in the Architectural Profession, a Task Force Report of the American Institute of Architects, February 1974. c. 1975 AIA.

Stern, Madeleine B. "America's First Woman Architect?" Society of Architectural Historians Journal 18 (May 1959): 66.

We the Women: Career Firsts of Nineteenth Century America. New York: Schulte Publishing Company, 1963. Chapter 3, "Three American Women Firsts in Architecture." pp. 55-76.

Torres, Susana ed. Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective. 1977.

By Judith Paine

4. Pioneer Women Architects

The general appreciation and commendation of the Woman's Building . . . and the exhibits contained within it of . . . architectural plans for the construction of houses show that they are already alert and equipped to take possession of this newly acquired territory.

Bertha Honore Palmer, President, Board of Lady Managers for the Chicago World's Fair, 1893

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women architects are obscure. Seldom mentioned in histories of American architecture or even local guides, their achievements are more nearly unknown than forgotten. Prejudice nourished anonymity. Denied advancement and frequently employment by established architectural firms, women usually practiced alone or in small offices. Either way, thorough records of clients and work rarely survived. Since their commissions tended to be private buildings for individuals of modest means, rather than public projects for large institutions, relatively few designs were published. Finally, like the first women to enter the professions of law and medicine, their abilities were questioned and their conduct scrutinized by a skeptical society. Those who departed from the Victorian code of babies, blushes, and bustles risked being labeled improper, peculiar, or both. These stigmas were especially dangerous to acquire in architecture, the practice of which depends upon securing commissions. Already twice removed from the acceptable feminine role by choosing to work outside the home and by daring to practice in a "masculine" field, women architects understood that reticence as well as competence was rewarded. Deliberately and consistently, women architects stayed inconspicuous so that their work would be judged on merit, not sex. This hesitancy to publicly promote their careers combined with the practical limitations women faced in the profession itself discouraged their contemporaries from seriously considering the work of women architects. Today most of their names are as faded as the facades they designed.

Background of Women Architects in America

Yet their accomplishments are remarkable. Expected to dabble in domestic work at best, women planned a wide range of buildings. Factories, hotels, churches, low-income housing, storeblocks, schools, and clubs were all designed by women before the turn of the century. They absorbed and applied the prevailing architectural vocabulary—Romanesque, Renaissance, classical, Queen Anne—with a stylistic eclecticism which matched that of their male counterparts. Moreover, the number of women who became architects during this period is surprisingly large. In 1880, the first woman we can identify as graduating from an architectural school received her degree from Cornell University.¹ Within a decade, another woman was not only a member but a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, a measure of respect and honor from her colleagues. By 1910, more than fifty women were trained architects, although half the existing architecture departments still denied admittance to women.

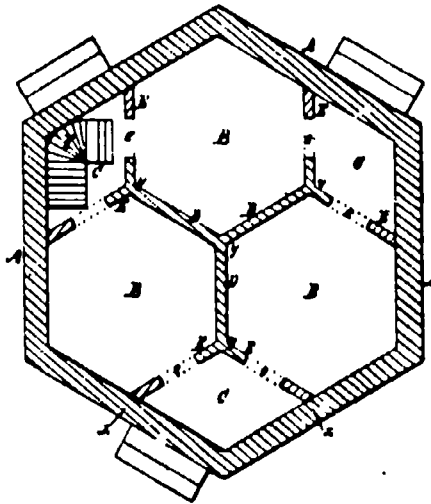
These women, then, form the first generation who consciously sought and obtained the same formal education as men and therefore achieved identical professional qualifications. Some practiced architecture, some did not. All were unusual women: determined, talented, intelligent. And all the choices they made shaped, as those of pioneers inevitably do, the opportunities available to the generation of women who followed in their footsteps.

Women have always been active in planning domestic environments. Countless, anonymous women designed or built houses for their own families. In the 19th century, the writings of Catharine Beecher epitomized the movement that considered housekeeping a science and designed for that purpose. Occasionally isolated examples have become known of women who consciously designed for a public beyond the immediate family. For example, Fanny Warner of Wisconsin built the Lake Geneva

Seminary in 1884, Mary Nolan of Missouri exhibited a prototype house of interlocking bricks at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, and Emma Kimball earned her livelihood as a draftsman during the 1870s in Massachusetts.²

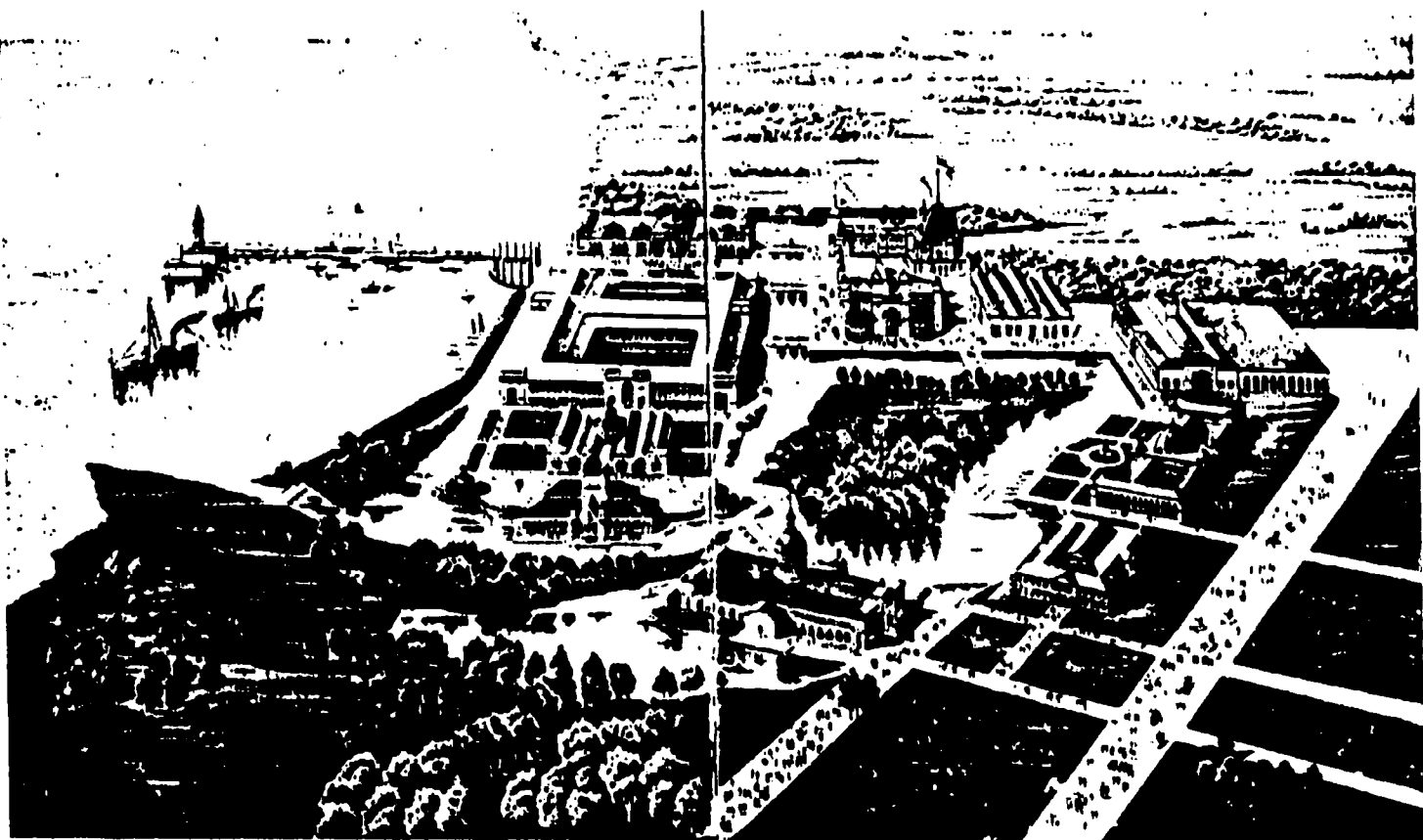
One of the most interesting early figures is Harriet Irwin of Charlotte, North Carolina. In 1869 she applied for a patent for an "Improvement in the Construction of Houses." It consisted of a hexagonal building, a form that would, she believed, economize space, materials, and heat. The elimination of an entrance hall, the use of one central chimney, and the greater amount of floor space in lozenge-shaped rather than rectangular rooms would provide a better means of both lighting and ventilation. The patent was approved, and the house, capped with a mansard roof and surrounded by a traditional veranda, was built on West Fifth Street in Charlotte, North Carolina. Later, a few other hexagonal homes were constructed nearby. More than curiosities, they are evidence of the first dwelling plan patented by an American woman and indicate an initial, crucial step toward women creating a conscious identity as architects.

Harriet Irwin had no architectural training. Increasingly, however, women began to take course in architecture departments, newly established to legitimate the distinctions between architect and builder. In New York City, Cooper Union was open to women for courses in architectural design and engineering from its founding in 1859. Eleven years after the establishment of the American Institute of Architects in 1857, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology became the first recognized school of architecture in the United States. By 1890 two women had completed the special two-year course in architecture, and a third, Sophia Hayden, was the first woman to graduate from the full four-year program. Even before women entered the architecture program at "Tech," three state universities accepted women into their fledgling architecture departments: Cornell and Syracuse universities in 1871 and the University of Illinois in 1873.³ Women had to pass rigorous



Above: Harriet M. Irwin, sketch for hexagonal building, Charlotte, North Carolina, 1869. Courtesy Archive of Women in Architecture, New York.

Left: H. Irwin, patent drawing, plan and elevation for hexagonal building, 1869 from © Doris Cole, *From Tip to Skyscraper*, 1973. Reprinted by permission.



Above: Artist's rendering, bird's-eye view of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Courtesy Judith Parr

Opposite page: Sophia Hayden, the Woman's Building, the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Courtesy Hudson River Museum.

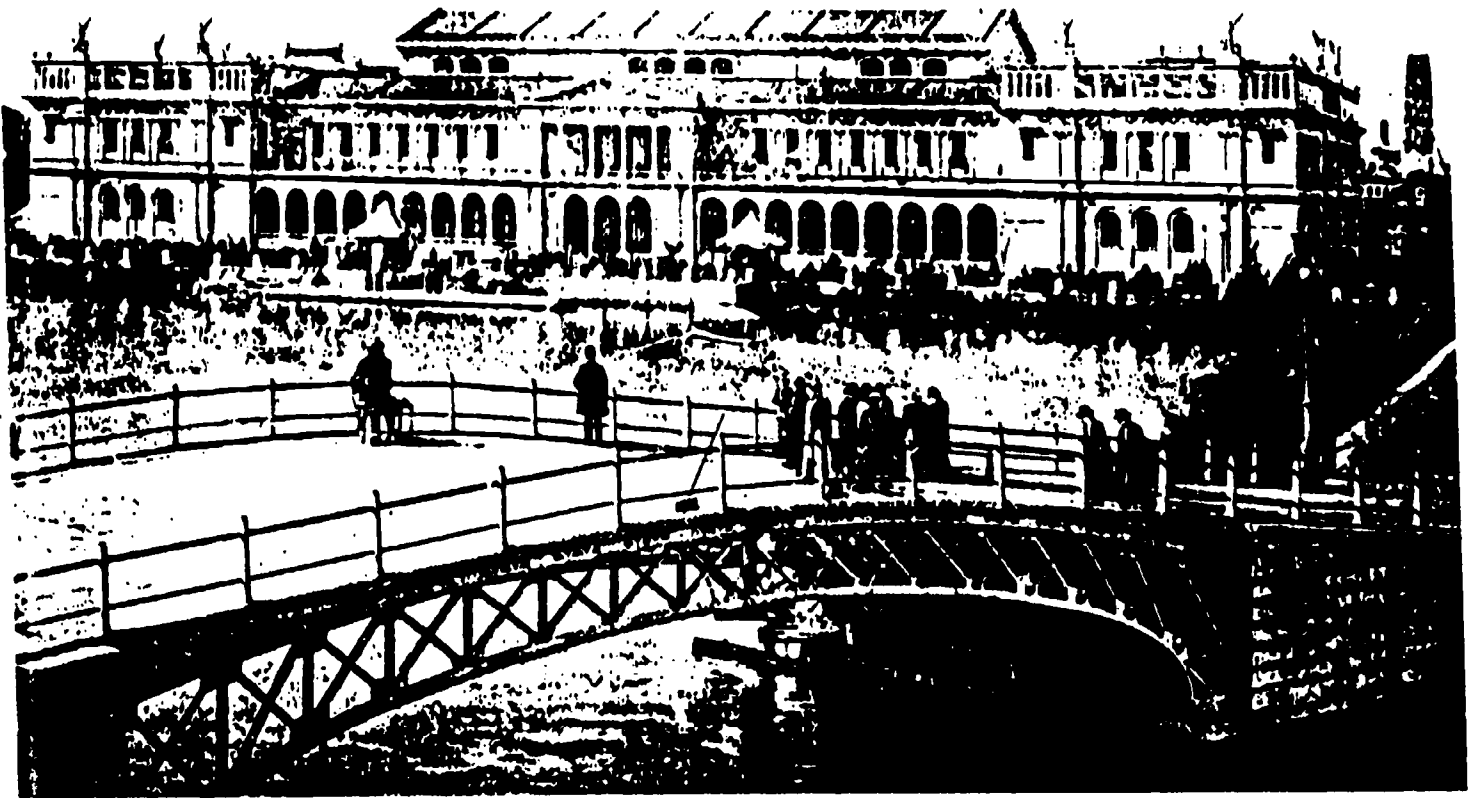
entrance requirements. At Cornell, for example, an applicant was tested in "ordinary English branches, algebra, plane and solid geometry, physics, trigonometry, and a knowledge of the rudiments of French and German."⁵ Meanwhile, a decade before the University of California officially founded its school of architecture in 1904, the most prolific architect of her generation, Julia Morgan, graduated from the department of engineering. She then continued her training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where she became the first woman to earn a degree.

In general, publicly supported schools were more open to women than private institutions. Offered federal land in exchange for providing industrial and mechanical education to residents under the Morrill Act of 1862, states were more concerned with qualifying for acreage than with the sex of the student population. Architecture departments founded at such schools as Harvard in 1895, the University of Pennsylvania in 1890, and George Washington University in 1893 had no incentive to admit women and consequently did not. Columbia University, for example, excluded women as a matter of policy

for a quarter of a century after its architecture department was founded in 1881. Even in 1910, the course bulletin announced that "Owing to the lack of suitable accommodations, women who desire to enter this school are advised to do the work of design elsewhere. . . ."⁶

However, not all women became architects by depending upon an approved academic program. Viable alternatives existed for those women resolute, lucky, or wealthy enough to use them. For example, Theodate Pope Riddle, excluded from architecture classes at Princeton in the 1890s, hired faculty members to tutor her privately. Others, at a distance from cities or educational facilities, enrolled in correspondence courses. Many continued the conventional system of apprenticeship in an office, sometimes taking over the practice when the architect retired or died.

At a time when more women began to study architecture, plans were underway for the largest exhibition held in America during the 19th century: the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. By drawing the most accomplished artists and sculptors to



Chicago and appointing the most noted architects to design buildings within a strict Beaux-Arts program, the fair has become a landmark in architectural history. It was also the setting for the most extraordinary and influential event of the century for women architects: the Woman's Building.⁶

The Influence of the Woman's Building

On February 3, 1891, Daniel Burnham, Chief of Construction of the fair, and Bertha Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers, circulated a sketch announcing a competition among women architects only for a Woman's Building. The competition would both publicize the fact that there were women in the profession and draw attention to the proposed building. Entrants had six weeks to prepare drawings and submit them with a statement of their architectural experience. The directions, prepared by Palmer, were specific:

A simple, light-colored classic type of building will be favored . . . the extreme dimensions not exceeding two

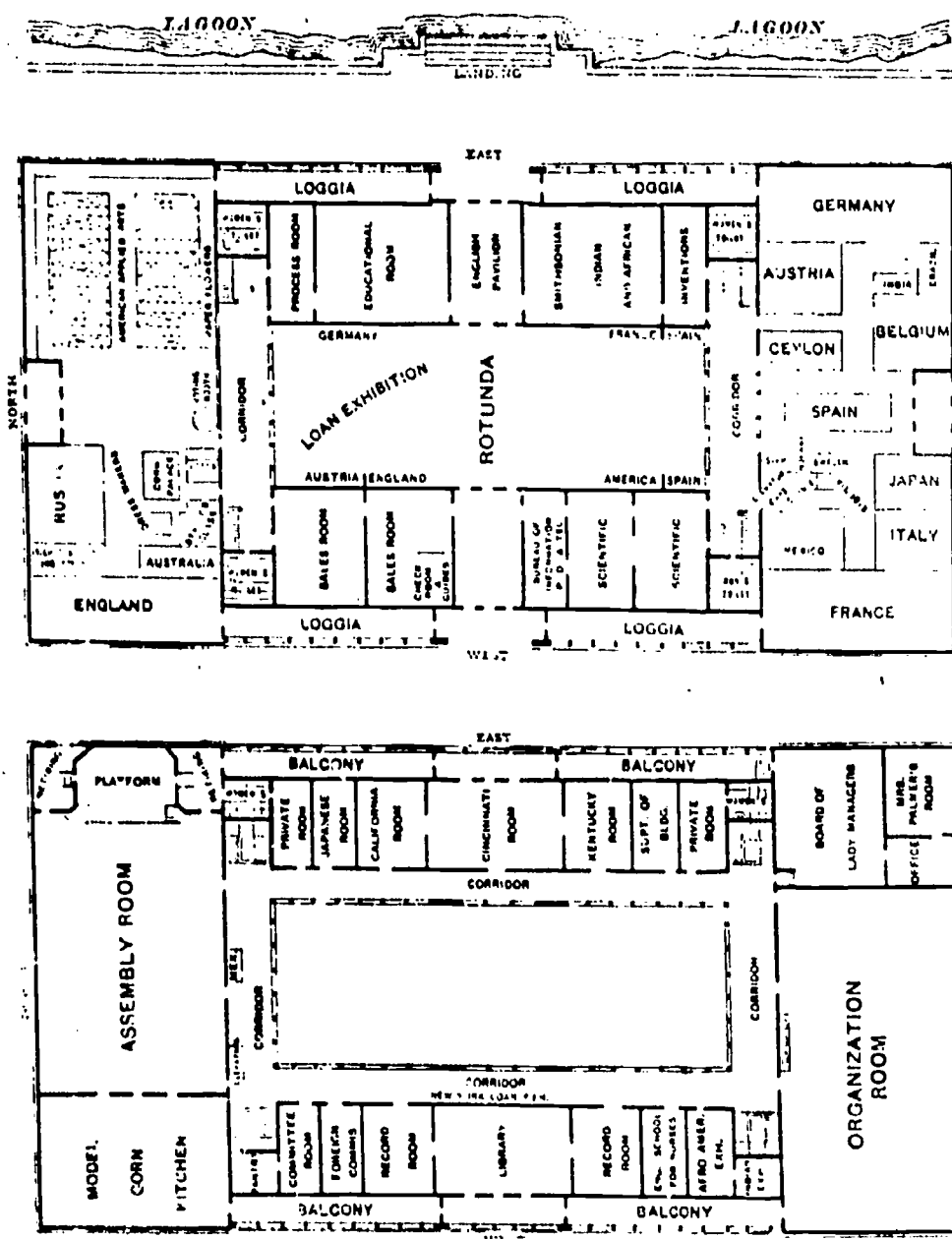
hundred by four hundred feet; exterior to be of some simple and definite style, classic lines preferred; the general effect of color to be in light tints. First story, eighteen feet high; second story, twenty-five feet high. . . . The plans should show the outline desired, leaving all detail to the ingenuity of the competing architect.⁷

Thirteen entrants from around the country sent designs to be judged. On March 25, 1891, the winners of the \$200,000 Woman's Building were announced: first prize, \$1,000 plus expenses, Sophia Hayden; second prize, \$500, Lois Howe, who had completed the special two-year architecture course at MIT; and third place, \$250, Laura Hayes of Chicago.

Hayden's design was considered to be in the Italian Renaissance style. The first story is treated as a series of bays carried on Ionic columns; the second story consists of a broad ornamented frieze supported by coupled pilasters in a modified Corinthian order; and the third contains small rooms that open on either side to roof gardens that extend over the end pavilions and that were added under pressure from the Board of Lady Managers to meet additional exhibition requirements. Inside, the main

floor was dominated by a large exhibition hall, lit by a skylight and clerestory windows. In the tympanums were two large murals: *Modern Woman* by Mary Cassatt and *Primitive Woman* by Mary Macmonnies. Upstairs, an open central court was surrounded by rooms providing dormitory facilities for women visiting the fair, committee offices, and a library full of books by female authors, whose ceiling was designed by Candace Wheeler.

The existence of the Woman's Building itself began with Susan B. Anthony's quiet insistence that women share in the planning of the Columbian Exposition.⁸ She and other notable women petitioned the Senate to that effect in January 1890 when Congress was considering the establishment of the fair. As a token gesture, a Board of Lady Managers was authorized, equal in number but not in responsibility to the Columbian Commission. Under Bertha Palmer's superb direction, the board enlarged its scope and purposes, developed a highly organized network of representatives in the United States and abroad, and weathered periods of severe frustration with the planning. The culmination of years of effort was the



S. Hayden, ground floor and gallery plans, the Woman's Building. Courtesy The Chicago Historical Society.

Woman's Building. Originally it was intended to be simply the headquarters for the women connected with the fair, but its goals expanded to present "... a complete picture of the conditions of women in every country of the world at this moment, and more particularly of those women who are breadwinners."⁹ Exhibits included records of women's progress in professional and economic status; reports from social, industrial, and cooperative associations; work from foreign countries such as lace and other handicrafts; and painting, sculpture, photography, and drawing. The library contained over 7,000 books encompassing scholarly and scientific subjects as well as poetry and fiction.

The Woman's Building also served as a center for formal conferences, such as the World's Congress of Representative Women, which met in May 1893, as well as for informal discussions of social, political, and economic issues by such notable feminists as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Julia Ward Howe. Next to the Woman's Building was the Children's Building, for which the Board of Lady Managers raised \$30,000 and which provided daycare facilities for the children visiting the fair.

Controversial from the start, the Woman's Building evoked a variety of responses. The Exhibition Jury awarded Hayden the artist's medal for "delicacy of style, artistic taste, and geniality and elegance of the interior hall."¹⁰ Richard Morris Hunt, a noted architect, sent her a letter of commendation, and Daniel Burnham encouraged her to set up practice in Chicago. Above all, the building was considered "feminine." Henry Van Brunt, a well-known architect, wrote that it had "... a certain quality of sentiment, which might be designated as ... graceful timidity or gentleness, combined however, with evident technical knowledge, which at once reveals the sex of its author."¹¹ Another critic looked at the building differently. "It is," he said, "neither worse nor better than might be achieved by either boy or girl who had two or three years' training in an architectural school."¹² And that was



Above: *Library interior, the Woman's Building, from The World's Columbian Exposition. The Rand Publishing Company, 1893.*

Top: *Mary Cassatt, mural, "The Modern Woman," the Woman's Building. Courtesy Ruth Iskin.*



Left: *Transept portal, the Woman's Building; from The World's Columbian Exposition. The Rand Publishing Company, 1893.*

ART AND HANDICRAFT IN THE WOMAN'S BUILDING



Cover of catalog for the Woman's Building; from Maud Howe Elliott, *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893*.

exactly what Sophia Hayden was, a 22-year-old graduate of MIT, who, like most of her classmates, had not yet supervised the construction of a building she had designed.

Yet the Woman's Building was inevitably compared with the other fair buildings designed by the most talented and experienced architects of the era, whose budgets were far beyond that allocated for the women's structure. To compound the issue, Hayden suffered an episode of what was termed "brain fever," known today as a nervous breakdown. The press, having reported her condition, then raised the question: Was architecture an unhealthy career for women?

It seems a question not yet answered how successfully a woman with her physical limitations can enter and engage in . . . a profession which is a very wearing one. If the building of which the women seem so proud is to mark the physical ruin of its architect, it will be a much more telling argument against the wisdom of women entering this especial profession than anything else could be.¹³

Would women's anatomy determine their architectural destiny? That idea was hardly new. What the Woman's Building did, because of its novelty and the personal circumstances surrounding it, was to bring into focus critical attitudes about the role of women as architects that had been blurred ever since women were first admitted to architecture schools and made it clear that they would seriously pursue that profession. Indeed, the arguments remain remarkably consistent through the years.

Weren't women as housekeepers and experts in household matters obviously suited to become architects? Not so! replied an editorial in 1876: "The planning of houses . . . is not architecture at all; and the ability to arrange a house conveniently does not in the least make an architect."¹⁴

Didn't women have a natural understanding of housing needs? Not at all. Domestic expertise was learned, not instinctive, and anyway, by the time women mastered a knowledge of

housekeeping, it was too late for them to study architecture.¹⁵

Was supervising construction a feminine pursuit? Certainly not. "The work of superintending would probably be found too laborious and inconvenient; and would . . . involve a change in fashion . . .; and the preparation of large working drawings would be almost equally awkward."¹⁶ Fifteen years later, another architectural journal echoed this pervasive myth when it declared that "The physical difficulties of superintending and of acquiring that practical knowledge which only comes through superintending must constitute a permanent barrier to success in this line which will always confine the number of women architects, probably, within narrow limits."¹⁷ The problem was, as Louise Bethune, an early woman architect, shrewdly observed, that those who shirk the "brick-and-mortar-rubber-boot-and-ladder-climbing period of investigative education remain at the tracing stage of draftsmanship."¹⁸

And that is clearly where they were supposed to stay—in the office as renderers and helpmates. The more talented the drawings, the more needed she might be, but her work, by its nature absorbed into the planning process, would be essentially invisible. What else would women do with their architectural training? One journal, prompted by the announcement of the Woman's Building, suggested that women architects design the following: artistic furniture, "for which the field is unlimited"; decorative detail for mantels and chimney nooks; and stair building, which would require new designs for balusters and railings.¹⁹

Some Examples of the Work of Women Architects

But some women had other ideas of their potential. How they used their skills in this era, in a less than supportive atmosphere, was crucial in defining both their personal image and their public role as architects. As part of a generation of women for whom

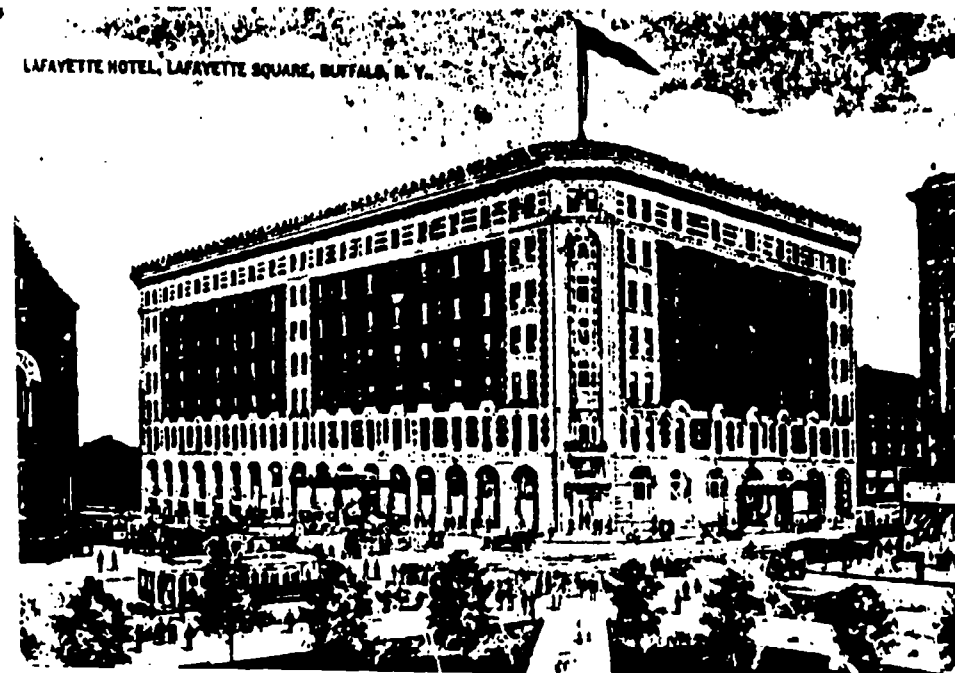
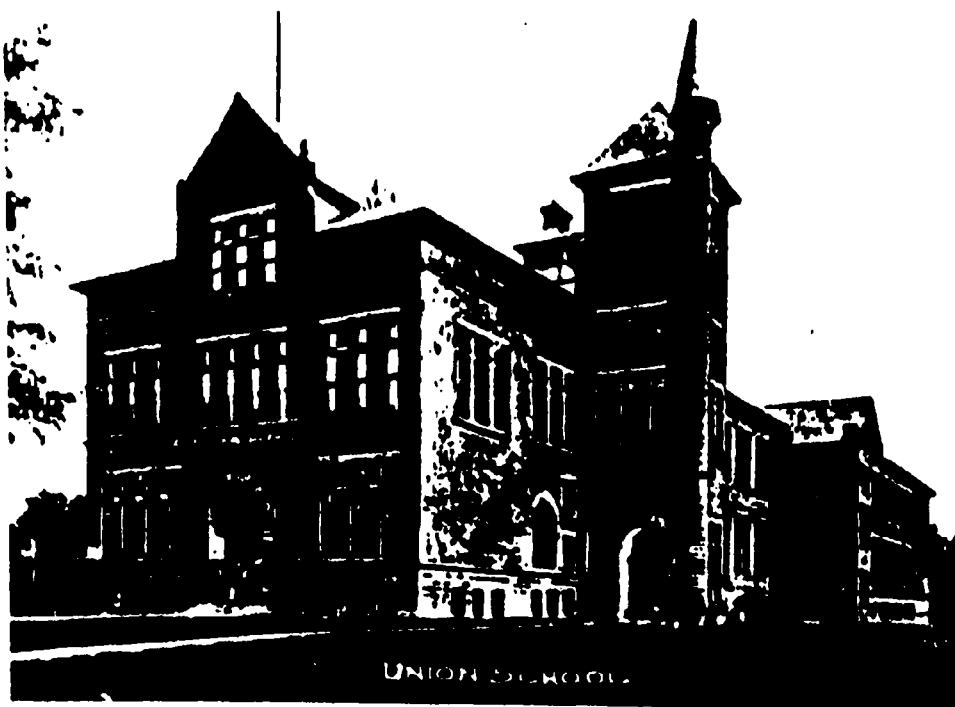
new educational opportunities inspired ambition and professional commitment, the different ways in which the individual woman, her training, and circumstances interact to create a career is especially intriguing.

Louise Blanchard Bethune (1856–1913) received an ordinary training as an apprentice in the office of Richard Waite, a Buffalo, New York, architect during the late 1870s. But instead of staying in his office, she had the temerity to open her own at the age of 25. By the time the Woman's Building opened in 1893, she had already been practicing for well over a decade. With her partner R. A. Bethune, whom she later married, the firm built a \$30,000 brick and stone apartment house in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and many buildings in the Buffalo area: flats, a block of stores for Michael Newall, the Iroquois Door Company's plant on Exchange Street, an Episcopal Chapel in nearby Kensington, and the Denton, Cottier & Daniels music store—one of the first structures built with steel frame construction and made of poured concrete slabs to resist fire.

Bethune was also responsible for designing at least 18 schools in West-

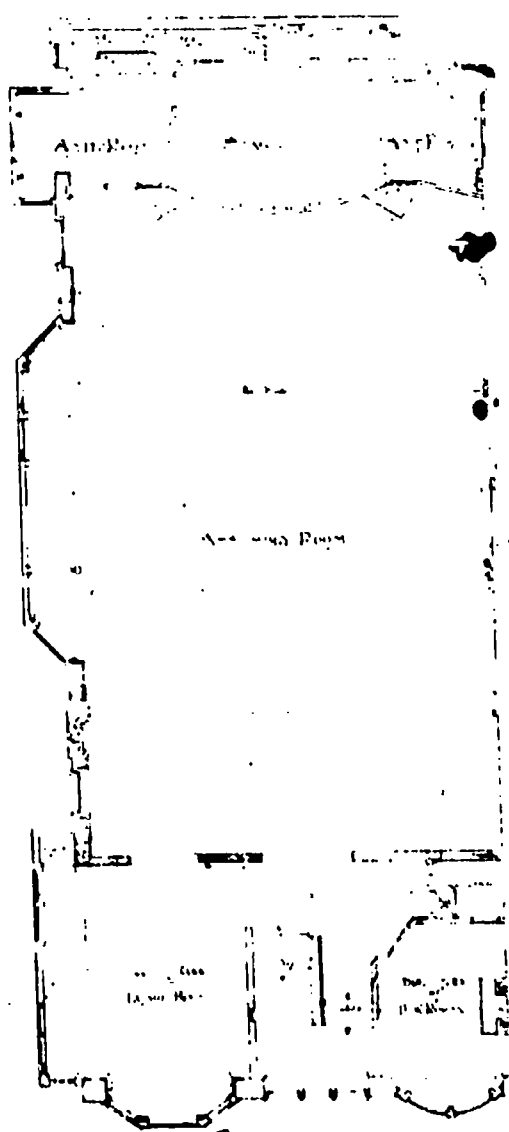
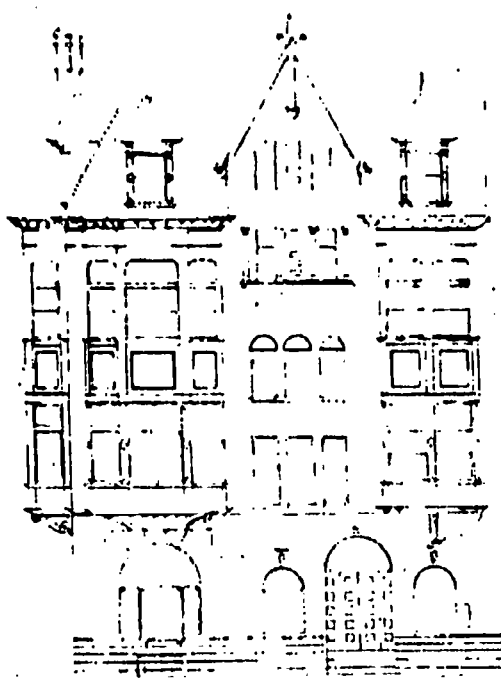


Louise Blanchard Bethune. Courtesy Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York.



Above: L. Bethune, Hotel Lafayette, Buffalo, New York, 1898–1904. Courtesy Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

Top: L. Bethune, Lockport Union High School, Lockport, New York, 1885. Courtesy Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.



ern New York State, including the Lockport Union High School. The school, made of brick and rusticated sandstone, with a wide, arched entry way, lateral turret, and broad massing, is characteristic of the Romanesque revival style in which the firm usually worked. A departure from that mode was Buffalo's 225-room Hotel Lafayette planned in the French Renaissance style and completed in 1904.

Louise Bethune eagerly joined local architectural societies. In 1888, she was elected to the American Institute of Architects. A year later, when all members of the Western Association of Architects were made Fellows of the AIA, she became the first woman Fellow.

Self-confident and outspoken, Bethune was the best-known woman practicing architecture in the 1880s and 1890s. But she refused to enter the Woman's Building competition because the winner was not awarded an honorarium proportional to those given to the male architects at the fair. She believed that "women who are pioneers in any profession should be proficient in every department," and therefore would not confine her practice to domestic work.²¹ Indeed, she said that designing homes was the worst paid work an architect ever does (which it is) and that as a special branch for women it should be "quite out of the question."²²

Minerva Parker Nichols (1861–1948), however, devoted most of her career to domestic architecture because she felt that "specialists in architecture, as in medicine, are most assured of success."²³ After she trained with Frederick Thorn, Jr., in Philadelphia as a draftsman, she took over his practice at 14 South Broad Street in 1888. In Philadelphia and its suburbs of Radnor, Cynwood, Berwyn, Germantown, and Overbrook, she designed homes in a variety of styles. In the early 1890s, she built two New Century for Women clubs—one in Philadelphia in the Renaissance style, recently demolished; another in Wilmington, Delaware, still extant.

Not all her work, however, was residential. She planned two factory buildings for the Philadelphia spa-



*Julia Morgan, James Lombard House,
Piedmont, California, 1915. Photograph
by James H. Edelen.*

*Opposite page: Minerva Parker Nichols,
front elevation and second floor plan,
New Century Club for Women, Philadel-
phia, Pennsylvania, 1893. Courtesy The
Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.*



Above: Hazel Wood Waterman, Administration Building, the Children's Home Salboa Park, San Diego, California, 1912-1925. Courtesy The San Diego Historical Society Library.

Top: J. Morgan, Allen Chickering House, Piedmont, California 1911. Photograph by James H. Edele.

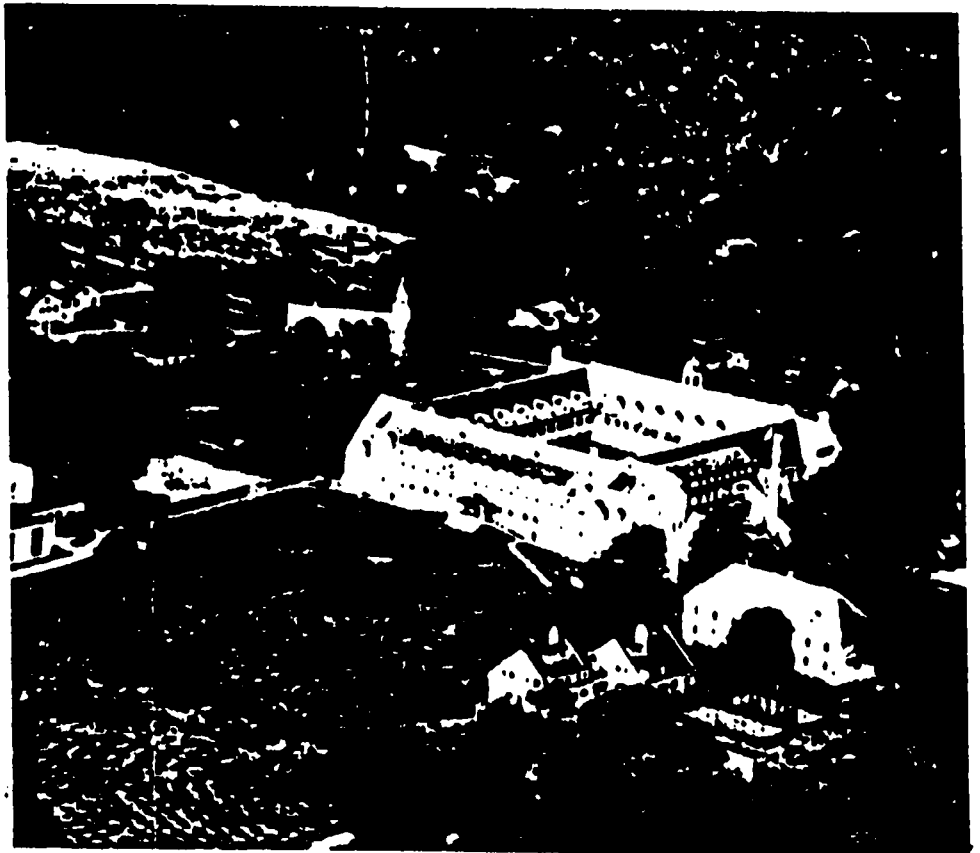
ghetti manufacturer Geano and Raggio, and a year after her marriage. In 1894, she designed the Browne and Nichols School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Her chief obstacle, she believed, was not how to practice architecture, but how to obtain the technical and architectural training necessary to do her work well.²⁴

Marion Mahony Griffin (1871-1961), one of the three women in the class of 1894 at MIT, received an excellent architectural education. As an extraordinarily talented designer, her association with Chicago avant-garde architects at the turn of the century was both stimulating and productive. From 1895 to 1909, when he departed for Europe, she worked with Frank Lloyd Wright in his Oak Park studio and became his chief draftsman. Not only did Wright respect her ability, he even acknowledged her drafting superiority.²⁵ In 1907, an exhibition of Wright's designs held at the Chicago Architectural Club became the basis for the folio of work published by Ernest Wasmuth in 1910, known today as the Wasmuth drawings. Mahony was considered the most talented of the Wright associates who contributed to the book. Her distinctive style—carefully, delicately outlined plants and trees silhouetted in the foreground, with the building viewed from a low angle of perspective as in a Japanese print—has led one authority to attribute nearly half the plates in the folio to Mahony's hand. Mahony was also involved with her own architectural commissions throughout her long life.

If Marion Mahony was the most imaginative of the pioneer women architects, then Julia Morgan (1872-1957) was the most prolific. She designed nearly a thousand buildings, most of them located in California, including residences, churches, schools, clubs, and institutional buildings. Best known for her least typical work—the estate of San Simeon designed for William Randolph Hearst—she was also the chief designer for the western branch of the YWCA, including the Asilomar Conference Grounds at Pacific Grove, California. The range of styles that she used in her residential designs reflects the ec-

ectic approach of her Beaux-Arts training, as well as the tastes of the day. Although the styles vary, underlying the differences are a great attention to detail, understated ornament, and a casual flow of interior space. Morgan was modest, diligent, and extremely thorough in her work. She refused to give interviews or have her work published in architectural journals. When she retired in 1952, she carefully destroyed her office records.

While Morgan was headquartered in San Francisco, another California woman, much less known, was working in San Diego. Hazel Wood Waterman (1865–1948) became interested in design as an art student at the University of California at Berkeley in 1882–1883, and her concern continued when she hired Irving Gill to plan the Waterman family home in 1901. Impressed with the creativity of her ideas and esthetic values, Gill suggested that she consider architecture should she ever need to make her own living. When her husband died suddenly in 1903, she remembered Gill's advice and enrolled in an International Correspondence Course. Within two years she was working as one of Gill's chief draftspersons. Her first major work was a series of three residences for Alice Lee in San Diego. In 1906, Lee, after meeting Waterman, asked Gill to have her design the houses, with the stipulation that the contract be under Gill's supervision. Although recognized as an important development in Gill's career, Waterman's design contribution was not acknowledged at the time.²⁶ In 1910, she received the commission to design the Wednesday Club, a woman's club in San Diego, and from 1912 to 1925 she worked on a series of buildings in Balboa Park, San Diego, that make up the Children's Home. The Administration Building, now destroyed, showed her concern for a cubic mass punctured by stark openings, which celebrate the use of reinforced concrete and geometric form. Waterman's work with Gill, together with her efforts to train younger women in her office such as Lilian Rice, make her an important figure in the history of women's accomplishments in the built environment of southern California.



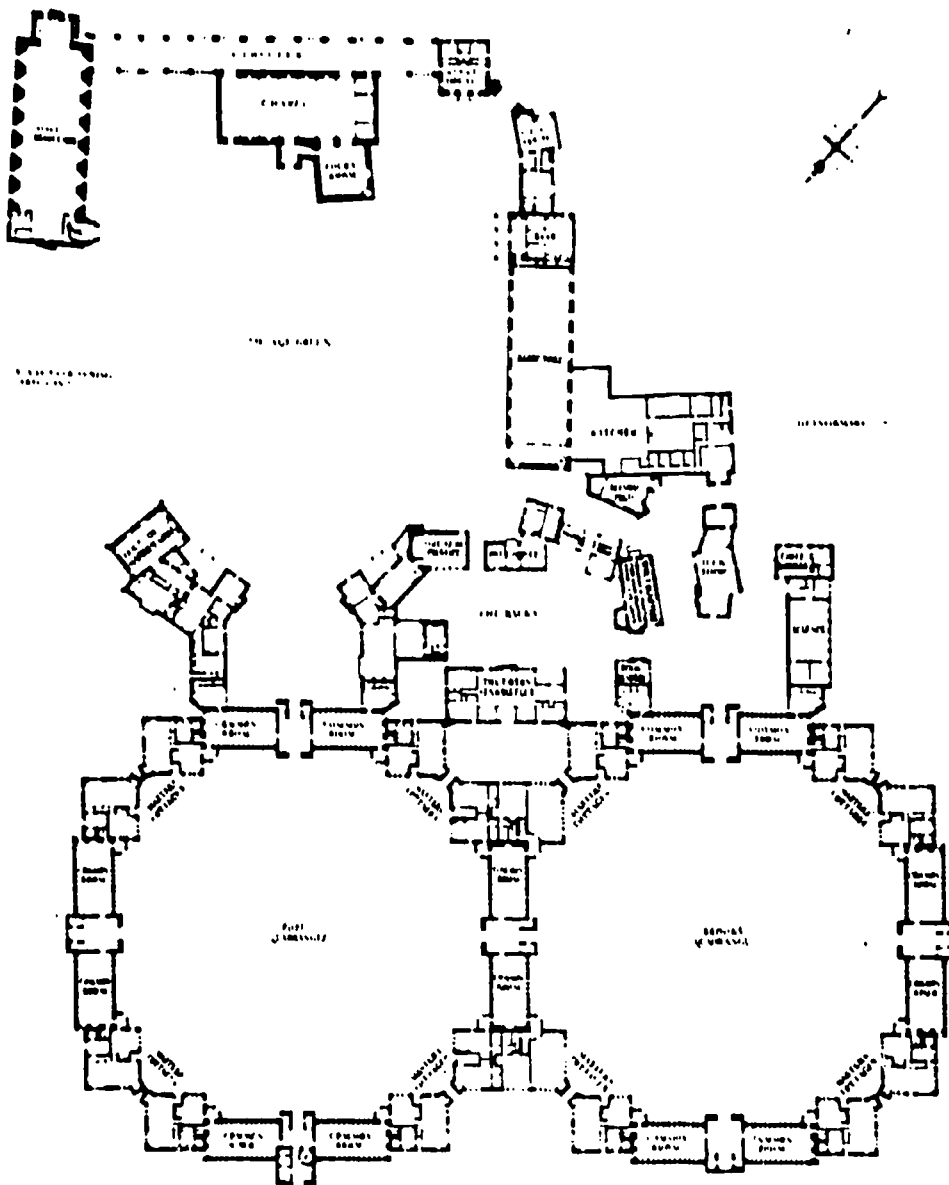
At the same time across the continent, Theodate Pope Riddle (1868–1946) was planning highly distinctive structures in Connecticut. Riddle became a registered architect in New York and Connecticut in 1910, a member of the American Institute of Architects in 1918, and a Fellow in 1926. Independently wealthy, she collaborated in 1901 with Stanford White of the firm McKim, Mead, & White in the design of Hill-Stead, the family home. Now a museum open to the public, Hill-Stead is a white clapboard, balconied country house reminiscent of Mt. Vernon. Although Riddle planned other residences, her first large commission was the Westover School in Middlebury, Connecticut, of 1909. It consists of a large building shaped in the form of a quadrangle. Cass Gilbert, the well-known architect and severe critic, considered it to be "the most beautifully planned and designed . . . girls' school in the country."²⁷

Riddle's main goal, however, was to design both the architecture and the curriculum of a boys' school. She fulfilled the architectural ambition at Avon Old Farms, which was founded as a protest against conventional educational policies by offering courses



Above: Theodate Pope Riddle. from *Phyllis Fern Cunningham, Hill-Stead Yesterdays, 1973. Courtesy Hill-Stead Museum.*

Top: Theodate Pope Riddle, aerial photograph. *Westover School, Middlebury, Connecticut, 1909. Courtesy The Westover School.*



Above: T. Riddle, plan, Avon Old Farms School Building, 1909, from Brooks Emeny, *Theodate Pope Riddle and the Founding of Avon Old Farms, 1973*. Courtesy Avon Old Farms School.

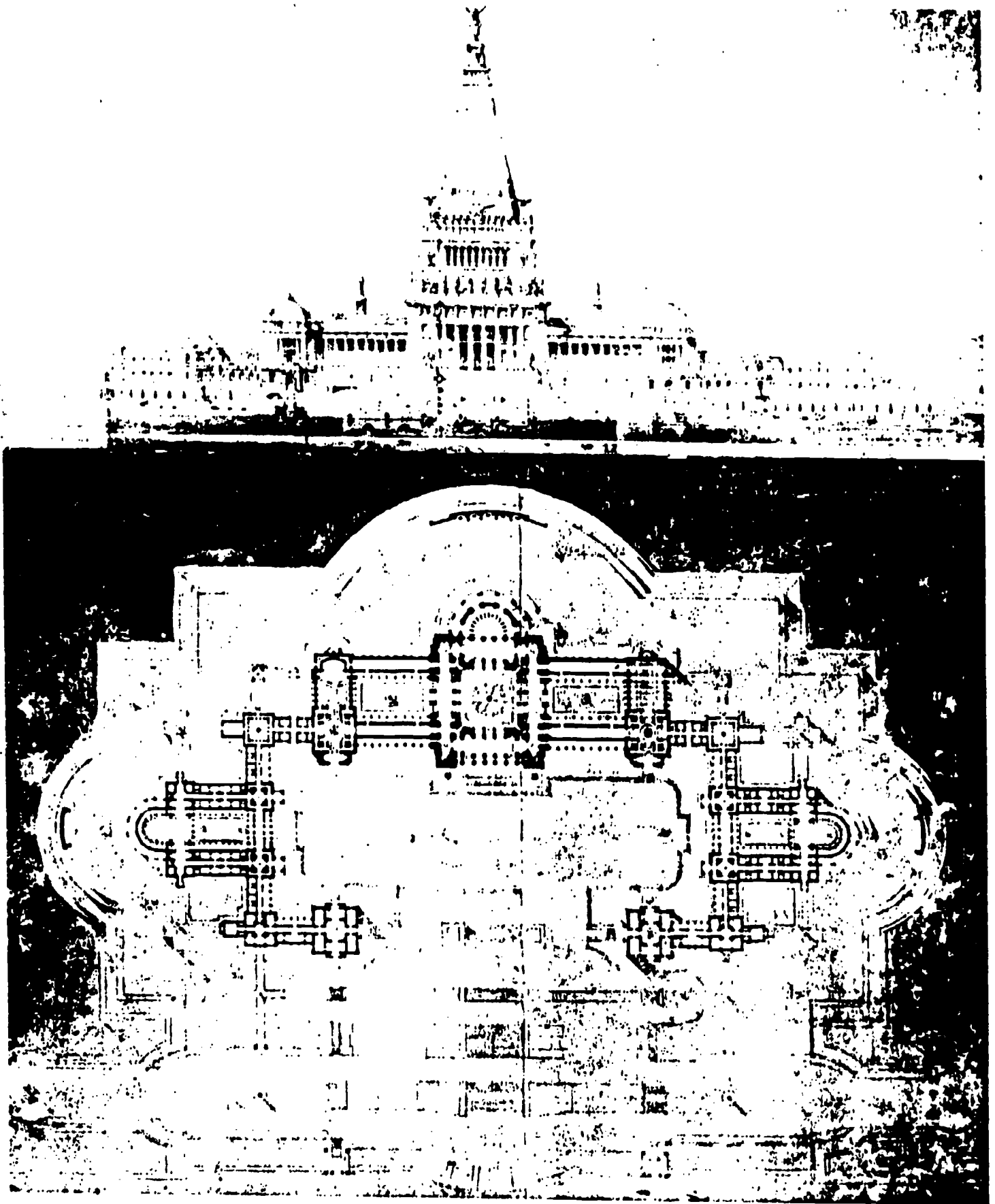
Right: T. Riddle, detail of the Pope Quadrangle, Avon Old Farms School. Photograph by Laura Rosen



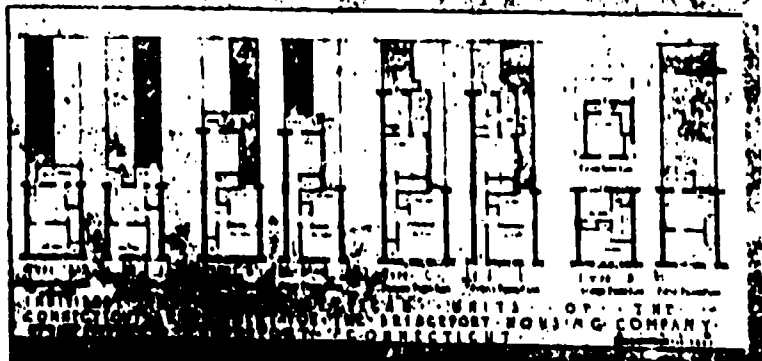
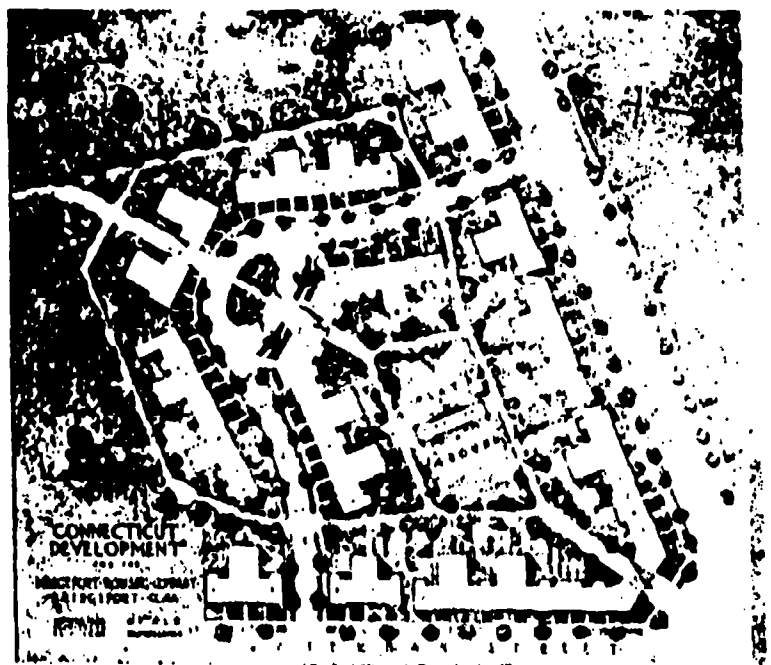
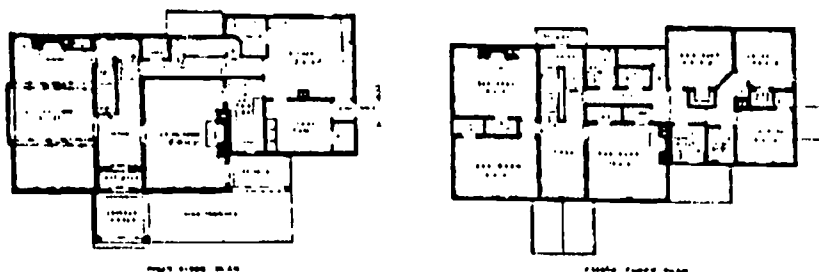
that emphasized progressive theories and manual labor. The school included a forge, carpentry shop, and wheelwright shop as well as the traditional assortment of dormitories and school buildings. Modern construction methods were shunned; instead, 16th-century tools were used by English workers who gauged levels "by the eye." The result is a series of reddish brownstone buildings with slate roofs, influenced by the popular turn-of-the-century craftsman movement that stressed the appropriate use of natural materials.

Most of the women described so far worked alone or with male architects. But with the increasing number of women graduating with degrees in architecture, women began to form their own firms. One of the earliest partnerships was that of Florence Luscomb (b. 1888), an MIT graduate of 1908, and Ida Annah Ryan (1883–1960), an MIT graduate of 1905. Ryan, who won the prestigious Travelling Fellowship from MIT for the year 1906 for her Pantheon and Home for Soldiers and Sailors, established a practice in Waltham, Massachusetts, and invited Luscomb to join her in 1909. That office continued until the outbreak of World War I.

Another firm in the Boston area that lasted for many years was formed in 1913 by MIT graduates of 1906 Lois Howe (1864–1964) and Eleanor Manning (1884–1973). Thirteen years later, Mary Almy (1883–1967), an MIT graduate of 1917, joined the office, which continued for another decade. One of the firm's special interests was low-income housing. In 1924, they were invited to build a series of homes in Mariemont, Ohio, a Cincinnati suburb known as the "National Exemplar in Town Planning."²⁸ Manning designed the first low-income public housing in Boston—Old Harbor Village—while Howe preferred to concentrate on suburban residential work such as her house for A. A. Burrage in Brookline, Massachusetts. Although the partnership dissolved in 1936 during the Depression, individual members continued to build, design, and teach



*Id. Annah Ryan, plan and elevation,
project for A Pantheon and Home for Sol-
diers and Sailors, winner of the Traveling
Fellowship for 1907, MIT. Courtesy MIT
Historical Collections.*



in the metropolitan Boston area.

The earliest known women's firm in the New York City area is Schenck & Mead, formed about 1912 and lasting until Schenck's death in 1915. Little is known about Anna Schenck, but Marcia Mead (1879-1967) had a long and active architectural career. Mead spent an extended apprenticeship in various architectural offices before entering Columbia's School of Architecture at the age of 32. During World War I, she planned housing for black war workers in Washington, D.C., as well as a series of projects for the Bridgeport Housing Company. She also designed YWCAs in Jersey City, New Jersey; Buffalo, New York; and Bridgeport, Connecticut. She was the author of *Homes of Character*, which described various architectural styles that could be adapted for small houses; a member of the United States Housing Commission; and a part-time professor at Columbia University's School of Architecture.

Top, left: Lois Howe, photograph and floor plan, Burrage House, Boston, Massachusetts, 1906, from *The American Architect and Building News*, 1906.

Left: Anna Schenck and Marcia Mead, community plan and in-it house plan, "Connecticut Development" for the Bridgeport Housing Company, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1918, from *Architectural Record*, November 1918.

The Role of the Woman in Modern Society

by Stan Harris

OVERVIEW:

The two articles presented (only portions of the articles are given) are intended to give the student a feeling for the mood of women during the feminist movement.

GRADE LEVEL: High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. To recognize the expectations and behaviors associated with the traditional female role.
2. To discuss the students' attitudes toward women and their role.
3. To recognize role conflict in women

PROCEDURE:

This is a two-day activity. Have the students read the two articles, "I Want a Wife" and "Diary of a Student-Mother-Housewife-Worker," and then proceed with the following activities. Attached tables A-1 through A-12 could aid the students and teacher with their discussion.

Activity One: Role Exploration

The purpose of this activity is to examine the different roles of women. First discuss the traditional homemaker role. Have the students list five advantages and five disadvantages of the homemaker role.

Have the students do the same thing for the career woman role.

The third phase of the activity is to have the students consider the problems of multiple roles. The students should imagine that a woman is pursuing a paid career and filling the role of homemaker. List the conflicts that might occur between the expectations of the two roles.

Activity Two: Women's Work and Men's Work

This activity should develop a picture of what society sees a women's work and men's work. Society values work, money, prestige, and power.

Have the students generate a list of typical "male" and "female" jobs. Then compare salaries, responsibilities, and training for each job. The teacher should point out ease of filling up the male column in comparison with the female column. Ask if women have as many work options as men. Point out that the capabilities for doing many jobs have little to do with sex.

With some exceptions, the list will indicate that most traditional male work involves money and prestige, but most female work involves little of either. Traditional female work is often an extension of woman's domestic role. The teacher should stress that there is nothing wrong with wanting to do traditional women's work or wanting to have a decent income. Nor is there always a direct relationship between educational level and income.

The following issues could be raised in discussion:

1. Nontraditional jobs can be attractive:
 - A. good starting pay
 - B. challenge
 - C. enjoyment of physical labor
 - D. pride in seeing results of one's efforts
2. Women hold 97 percent of all secretarial jobs in the United States.
3. Men hold 93 percent of all skilled trade jobs in the United States.

4. Generally, the more desirable jobs in our society are labeled as "unfeminine." Women who want these jobs face strong pressure and bring their sexuality into question. They face either direct or indirect accusations that if they were "real women" they wouldn't want such work.

Activity Three: Working Women

This activity provides students with the opportunity to meet with and hear from working women who have met the challenge of multiple roles. It is hope that students will have contact with good role models.

Invite women workers to class. Have each one talk briefly about her work. Encourage students to ask questions so that they can enlarge upon what they have said.

Prior to the session give a list of questions to the women to focus their presentations. Questions could include:

1. Description of job
2. What jobs did you hold before this one?
3. What education or training did it take to get this job?
4. How did you arrange for child care and other responsibilities?
5. How did you feel while going through this process? Were you supported or hindered by others?
6. Do you or your partner have any guilt or doubts about your child care arrangements?
7. How do you manage to combine work outside the home with work inside the home?
8. How do you feel about your job: Has it fulfilled your expectations? Contributed to your own development?
9. What are your future job plans and dreams?
10. Has the women's movement hindered or helped their careers.

Activity Four: Women's Work

The goal of this activity is to help students understand the value of unpaid and paid work. In our society work is defined as something one is paid for and something that is done outside the home. Raising children is work; housework is work; volunteer work is work. Because we live in a money culture people come to believe that these tasks are not work. Lack of income in this culture creates a feeling of worthlessness.

Have the students as a group develop a definition of work. Ask the students to describe work. Write ideas on the board and discuss them, using some of the points described below:

1. Women are often told that raising children is the most valuable role they can have. Why are they not paid for doing this work? This contradicts the concept that the higher the salary, the more valuable the work.
2. After the children are grown why are mothers not considered unemployed and eligible to receive unemployment benefits or Social Security?
3. Why do many people think welfare mothers are lazy and "ripping off the system" when these women are doing valuable work - "mothering"?
4. Why do people's attitudes differ regarding jobs, work and careers? Why do people approve of mothers holding part-time jobs, but not careers?
5. Women who work as mothers have difficulty working outside the home. It is difficult to find good child care. Mothers often feel guilty about leaving their children. Why is this so?
6. Women's work at home includes at least twelve jobs: nursemaid, dietician, foodbuyer, cook, dishwasher, seamstress, laundress, housekeeper, nurse, maintenance "man", gardener, and chauffeur. What other jobs can be added?

FROM "I WANT A WIFE" BY JUDY SYFERS IN
The First Ms. Reader, edited by
Francine Klagsbrun

"Not too long ago a male friend of mine appeared on the scene fresh from a recent divorce. He had one child who is, of course, with his ex-wife. He is obviously looking for another wife. As I thought about him while I was ironing one evening, it suddenly occurred to me that I, too, would like to have a wife. Why do I want a wife? (p. 23)

"I want a wife who will take care of my physical needs. I want a wife who will keep my house clean. A wife who will pick up after me. I want a wife who will keep my clothes clean, ironed, mended, replaced when need be, and who will see to it that I can find what I need the minute I need it. I want a wife who cooks the meals, a wife who is a good cook. I want a wife who will plan the menus, do the necessary grocery shopping, prepare the meals, serve them pleasantly, and then do the cleaning up while I do my studying. I want a wife who will care for me when I am sick and sympathize with my pain and loss of time from school. I want a wife to go along when our family takes vacation so that someone can continue to care for me and my children when I need a rest and change of scene. (p.24)

"And I want a wife who knows that sometimes I need a night out by myself." (p.25)

"When I am through with school and have a job, I want my wife to quit working and remain at home so that my wife can more fully and completely take care of a wife's duties. My God, who wouldn't want a wife?" (p. 25)

"Diary of a Student-Mother-Housewife-Worker"

From America's Working Women: A documentary history - 1600 to the Present, compiled and edited by Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon, Susan Reverby (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), p. 336 +.

7 rooms

2 children (1 girl, 1 year; 1 boy, 3 years)

Monday

clock starts playing loud music.

5:30 Henry wakes up to go to work. "Trucking" by Marvin Gay can be heard all over the house at full volume. I'm awake.

5:35 Henry turns the radio down just a little.

5:40 Bathroom light is on. Kitchen light is on. Hallway light is on. (Why can't he turn off these lights when he's finished in a particular room!)

6:00 Monique and Tracey are awake. (Who isn't after the troops have been called out - meaning Henry).

6:05 Gave Monique a bottle and changed her diaper.

6:15 Henry is off to the post office

6:16 Get up to cut off the lights.

6:17 Settle down for some sleep.

6:30 Tracey is up - walking around the house - scares me half to death.

6:31 Tracey starts pounding me on my back to wake up. He didn't make it to the bathroom. His pajamas are wet.

6:32 I tell Tracey I am going to beat him half to death if he doesn't change those pajamas.

6:33 Tracey gets in my bed.

6:40 We both finally doze off.

6:41 Tracey is awake again. He wants some Bosco.

6:42 I threaten him with a severe beating.

7:00 Thoroughly exhausted from scolding Tracey, I get up and make him some delicious Bosco. (Actually I feel like dumping the whole glass on top of him.)

7:05 It's no use. I can't get back to sleep. Tell Tracey to go upstairs and play with his trucks. Nothing else to do but daydream and think of what I have to do and wear.

7:25 Tracey wants a piece of pie.

7:30 I get up and turn on Tracey's TV so he can watch Little Rascals.

8:00 Monique wants to get out of her crib. I let her yell till 8:30.

8:30 I'm up and ready. The wheels begin to move into motion.

8:35 Head for bathroom - wash.

8:45 Wash Monique and Tracey. Get them dressed. Fuss with Tracey about what shoes he is going to wear. He wants to wear his cowboy boots instead of the black ones.

9:00 Feed them breakfast. Eggs. Spam and toast. Turn on Sesame Street. Tracey doesn't want his eggs. More confrontation.

9:05 Pack the kids' tote bag to take over to Grandma's. Tell Tracey he cannot take his new trucks. "Yes, I have to go to school today." Clean off kitchen table and stove after Henry and myself.

9:10 Get dressed. Make up Tracey's and Monique's beds. Go into my room and make up the bed.

9:20 Pack my schoolbooks and coat. Gather Monique's and Tracey's coats and hats.

9:25 Start towards day. Run to freezer - take something out for dinner.

9:30 Monique just messed in her pants. Back to the bathroom. Change her. Put her coat back on. Meanwhile Tracey is hollering - he wants to go.

9:40 Get in car - head for Grandma's.

9:55 Drop them off at Grandmother's

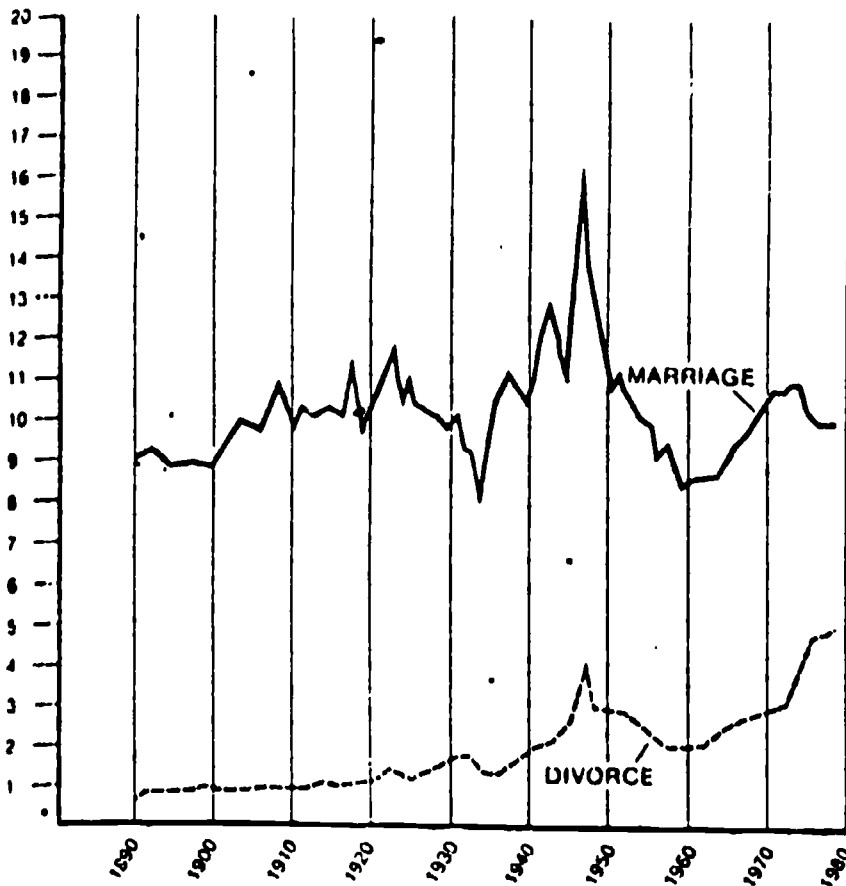
10:00 Head for expressway - another rat race.

10:30 School ...

Source: Ralph Smith, ed., The Subtle Revolution: Women at Work (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1979).

TABLE A-1

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE RATES (PER 1,000 POPULATION). U.S., 1890-1978



Sources U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, "100 Years of Marriage and Divorce Statistics, United States, 1867-1967" *Vital and Health Statistics*, series 21, no. 24, December 1973.

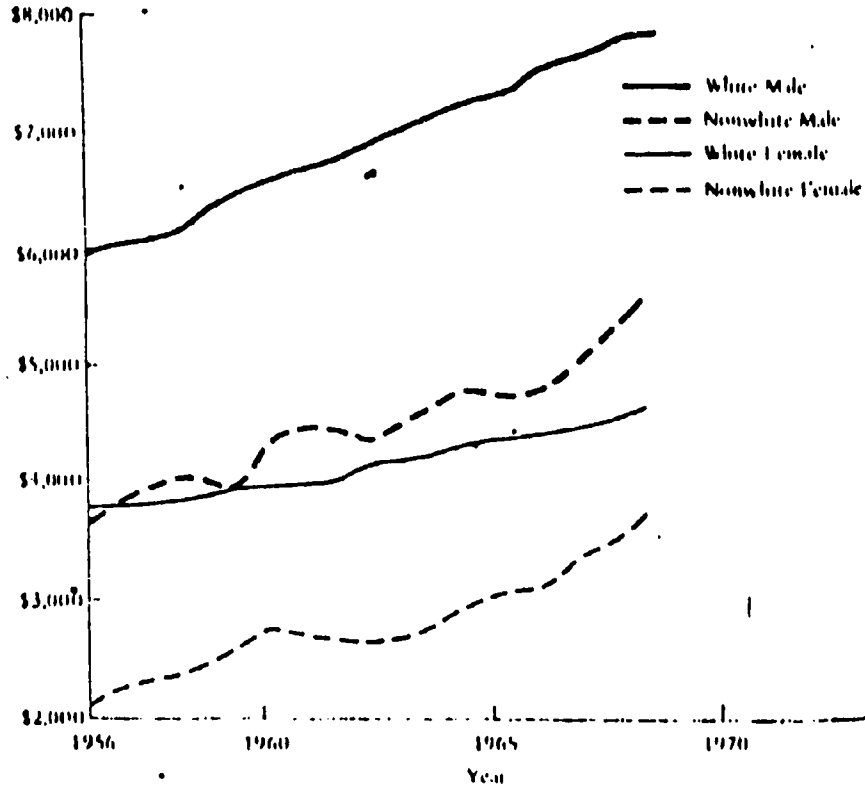
U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1977* Washington D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service "Births, Marriages, Divorces, and Deaths for June 1978" *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, vol. 27, no. 6, September 12, 1978.

Irene H. Frieze, Jacquelynne E. Parsons, Paula B. Johnson, Diane N. Ruble, and Gail L. Zellman, eds., Women and Sex Roles: A Social Psychological Perspective (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1978).

Table A-2

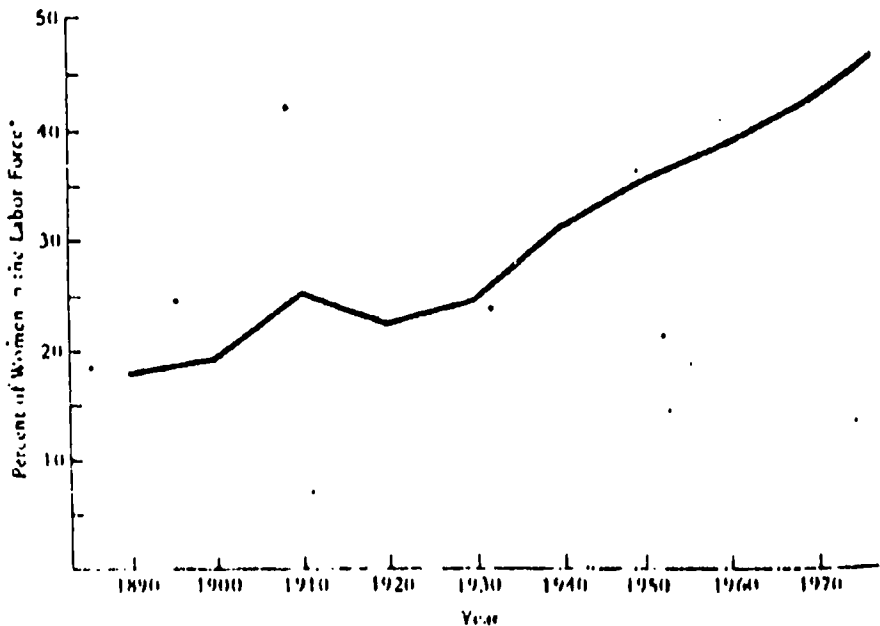
Box 8 Median Incomes for Full-Time Civilian Employees*



* Median annual money earnings of year-round full-time civilian workers by race and sex (1956-1964) and sex (1965-1970). Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, 1971.

Table A-3

Women's Participation in the Labor Force



* For 1890-1930 women fourteen years and older, for 1940-1970 women sixteen years and older. Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 1969b, 1975; and Zelnick, 1970.

Table A-4

WOMEN IN THE U.S. LABOR FORCE FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1890-1977

Year	Women in labor force (000's)	% women in total labor force	women in labor force as % of total women of working age	% of women in labor force		
				single	married	widowed or divorced
1890	3,712	17.0	18.9	68.2	13.9	17.9
1900	4,997	18.1	20.6	66.2	15.4	18.4
1910 ^a	7,640	----	25.4	60.2	24.7	15.0
1920	8,347	20.4	23.7	77.0 ^b	23.0	b
1930	10,632	21.9	24.8	53.9	28.9	17.2
1940	13,007	24.6	25.8	49.0	35.9	15.0
1944	18,429	29.2	35.0	40.9	45.7	13.4
1950	17,795	28.8	31.4	31.6	52.1	16.3
1960	22,410	32.1	34.8	24.0	59.9	16.1
1970	30,756	37.2	42.6	22.3	63.4	14.3
1977	39,374	41.0	48.0	24.1	61.3	14.8

424

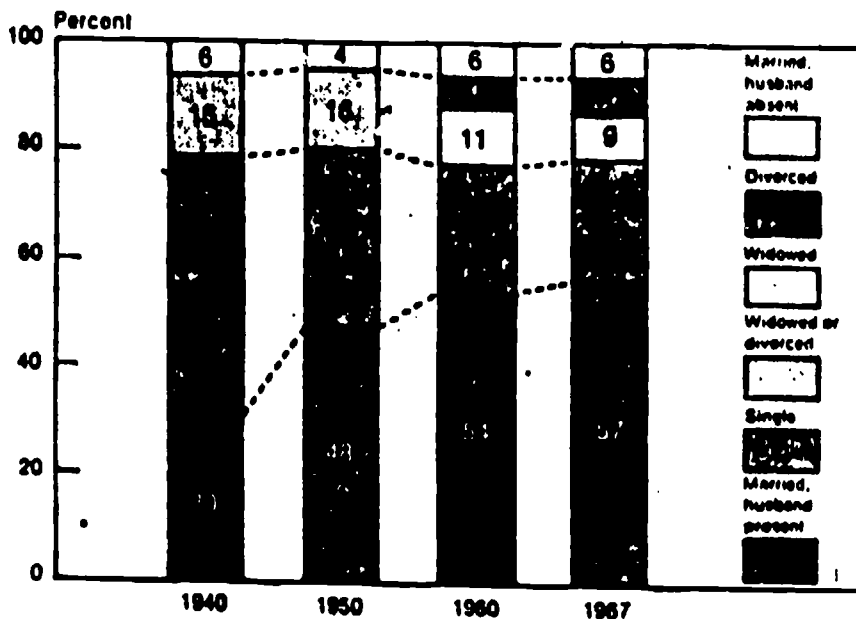
a) Data not comparable with later or earlier censuses due to difference in basis of enumeration.

b) Includes widowed and divorced

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), I, 132, 133.
 U. S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1978 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978), pp. 398, 404.

TABLE A-5

(Percent Distribution of Women in the Labor Force, by Marital Status, Selected Years, 1940-67')



'Data cover March of each year and are for women 14 years of age and over except 1967 which are for 18 and over.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

TABLE A-6

The Leading 10 Occupations of Women Workers 1870-1970

In order of size, and as reported in each census regardless of changes in definition.

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
1	Domestic Servants	Domestic Servants	Servants	Servants	Other Servants	Other Servants	Other Servants and Domestic Service	Servants (private family)	Steno-graphers, Typists and Secretaries	Steno-graphers, Typists and Secretaries	Secretaries
2	Agricultural Laborers	Agricultural Laborers	Agricultural Laborers	Farm Laborers (members of family)	Farm Laborers (home farm)	Teachers (school)	Teachers (school)	Steno-graphers, Typists and Secretaries	Other Clerical Workers	Other Clerical Workers	Sales Clerks (retail trade)
3	Tailoresses and Seamstresses	Milliners, Dressmakers and Seamstresses	Dressmakers	Dressmakers	Laundresses (not in laundry)	Farm Laborers (home farm)	Steno-graphers and Typists	Teachers (not elsewhere classified)	Saleswomen	Private Household Workers	Bookkeepers
4	Milliners, Dress and Mantua Makers	Teachers and Scientific Persons	Teachers	Teachers	Teachers (school)	Steno-graphers and Typists	Other Clerks (except clerks in stores)	Clerical and Kindred Workers	Private Household Workers	Saleswomen	Teachers (elementary school)
5	Teachers (not specified)	Laundresses	Farmers, Planters and Overseers	Laundry Work (hand)	Dressmakers and Seamstresses (not in factory)	Other Clerks (except clerks in stores)	Saleswomen	Saleswomen (not elsewhere classified)	Teachers (elementary school)	Teachers (elementary school)	Typists
6	Cotton-mill Operatives	Cotton-mill Operatives	Laundresses	Farmers and Planters	Farm Laborers (working out)	Laundresses (not in laundry)	Farm Laborers (unpaid family workers)	Operatives in Apparel and Accessories	Mistresses	Bookkeepers	Mistresses
7	Laundresses	Farmers and Planters	Seamstresses	Farm and Plantation Laborers	Cooks	Saleswomen (stores)	Bookkeepers and Cashiers	Bookkeepers, Accountants and Cashiers	Bookkeepers	Mistresses	Sewers and Stitchers
8	Woolen-mill Operatives	Tailoresses	Cotton-mill Operatives	Saleswomen	Steno-graphers and Typists	Bookkeepers and Cashiers	Laundresses (not in laundry)	Mistresses (except private family)	Sewers and Stitchers, Manu-facturing	Miscellaneous Operatives	Nurses, Registered
9	Farmers and Planters	Woolen-mill Operatives	Housekeepers and Stewards	Housekeepers and Stewards	Farmers	Cooks	Trained Nurses	Housekeepers (private family)	Nurses, Registered	Nurses, Registered	Cashiers
10	Nurses	Employers of Hotels and Restaurants (not clerks)	Clerks and Copyists	Seamstresses	Saleswomen (stores)	Farmers (general farms)	Other Cooks	Trained Nurses and Student Nurses	Telephone operators	Other Service Workers	Private Household Cleaners and Servants

(Rosalyn Beaudell, Linda Gordon and Susan Reverby, ed., America's Working Women: A Documentary History, 1600 to the Present (New York: Random House, Inc., 1976) pp. 466-7. By permission of the publisher.)

TABLE A-7

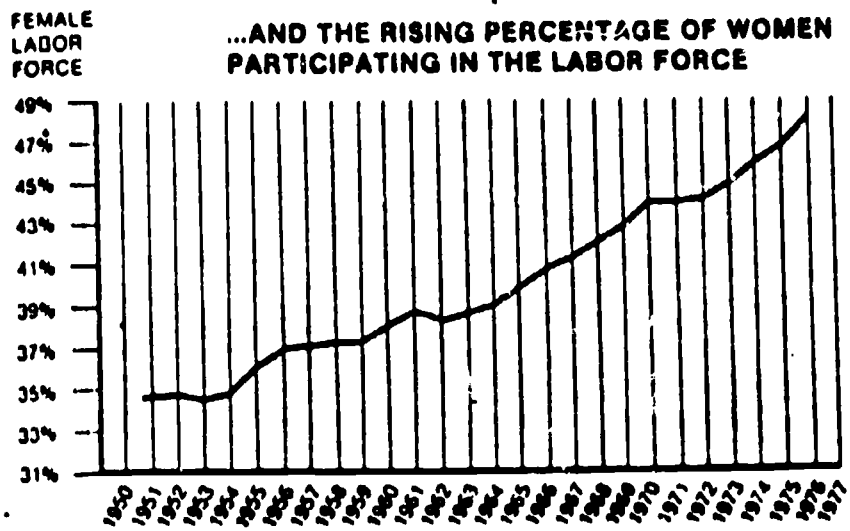
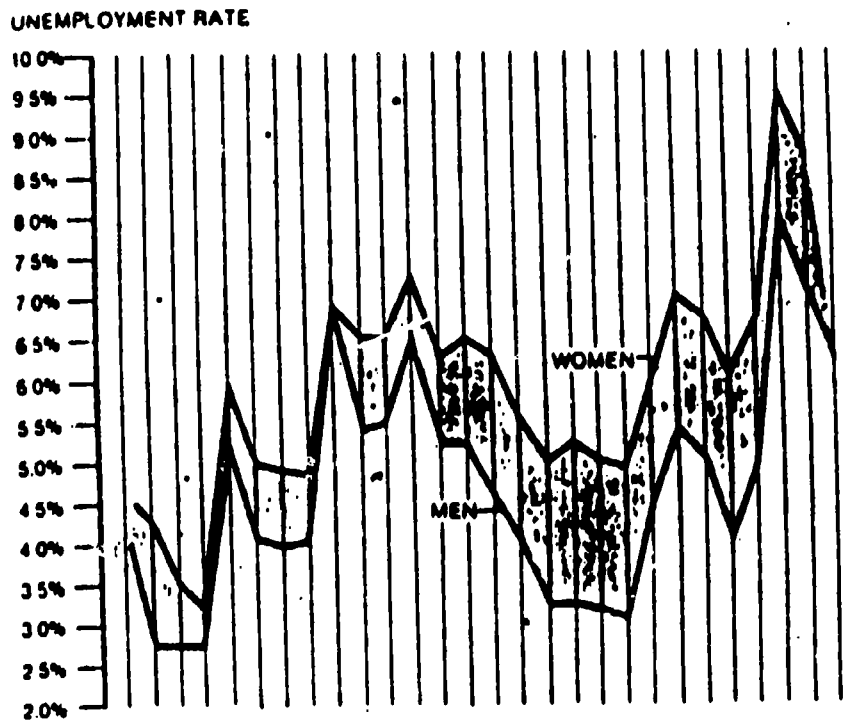
F. TABLE 6. Women as percentage of all employed persons in each job category

	1940	1959	1974	1976
Clerical workers	53	68	77	79
Service (except private household)	40	53	58	58
Operatives	26	28	32	31
Professional and technical	45	36	42	42
Private household	94	98	99	97
Sales	28	40	42	43
Managers and administrators (non-farm)	12	16	19	21
Craft	3	3	4	5

Note: In 1973, 43% of all women in professional occupations were non-college teachers. Another quarter were health workers (three quarters of them nurses.)

[Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Working Women: A Databook (1977); U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Handbook of Facts on Women Workers, Bulletin 237 (1950); and U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Handbook on Women Workers, Bulletin 297 (1975).]

Table A-8
THE GAP BETWEEN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FROM 1950 TO 1977...



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, Vol. 25 (January 1978), p. 137.

TABLE A-9

Minorities and whites: women's earnings as % of men's

	Minority women's earnings as a % of		White women's earnings as a % of	
	Minority men's	White men's	Minority men's	White men's
1939	51	23	135	61
1960	63	42	90	60
1965	66	42	93	60
1970	71	50	83	59
1973	69	50	78	56

[Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, Handbook on Women Workers, Bulletin 297 (1975).]

TABLE A-10

Median Earnings of Full-Time Year-Round Workers,¹
by Sex, 1955-70²

Year	Median earnings		Women's median earning as percent of men's
	Women	Men	
1970	\$5.323	\$8.966	59.4
1969	4.977	8.227	60.5
1968	4.457	7.664	58.2
1967	4.150	7.182	57.8
1966	3.973	6.848	58.0
1965	3.823	6.375	60.0
1964	3.690	6.195	59.6
1963	3.561	5.978	59.6
1962	3.446	5.794	59.5
1961	3.351	5.644	59.4
1960	3.293	5.417	60.8
1959	3.193	5.209	61.3
1958	3.102	4.927	63.0
1957	3.008	4.713	63.8
1956	2.827	4.466	63.3
1955	2.719	4.252	63.9

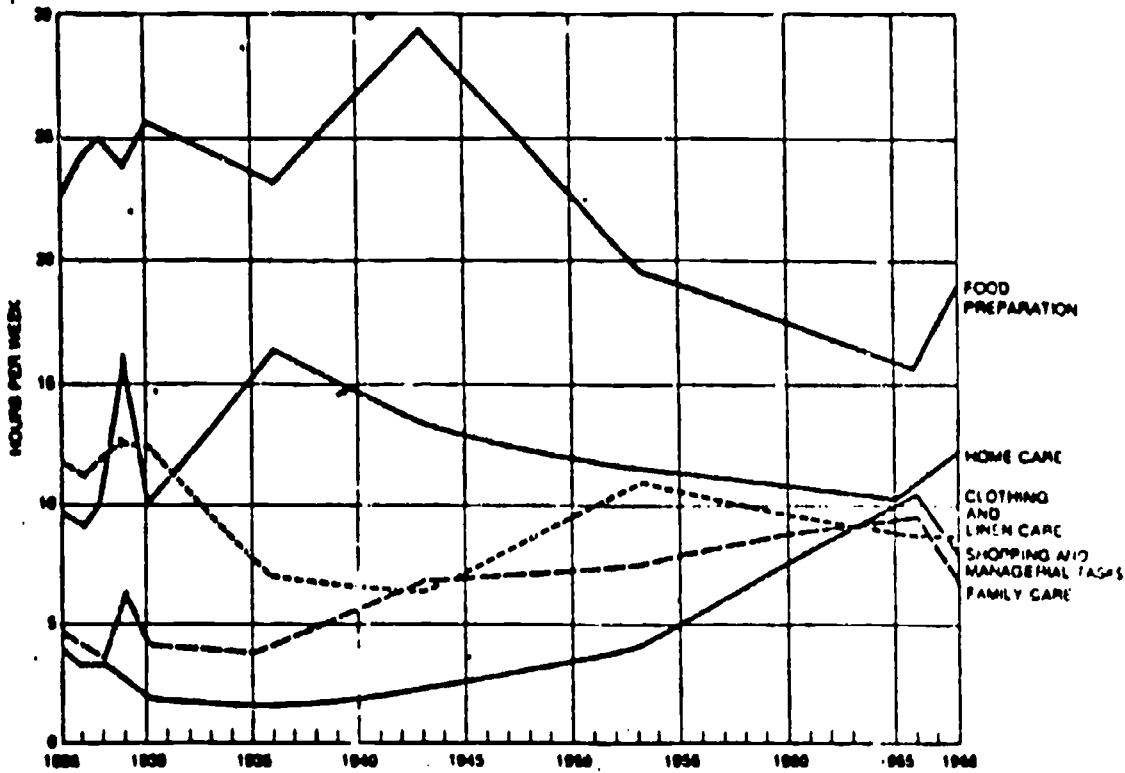
¹ Worked 35 hours or more a week for 50 to 52 weeks

² Data for 1967-70 are not strictly comparable with those for prior years, which are for wage and salary income only and do not include earnings of self-employed persons

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-60

TABLE A-11

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME AMONG VARIOUS KINDS OF HOUSEHOLD WORK

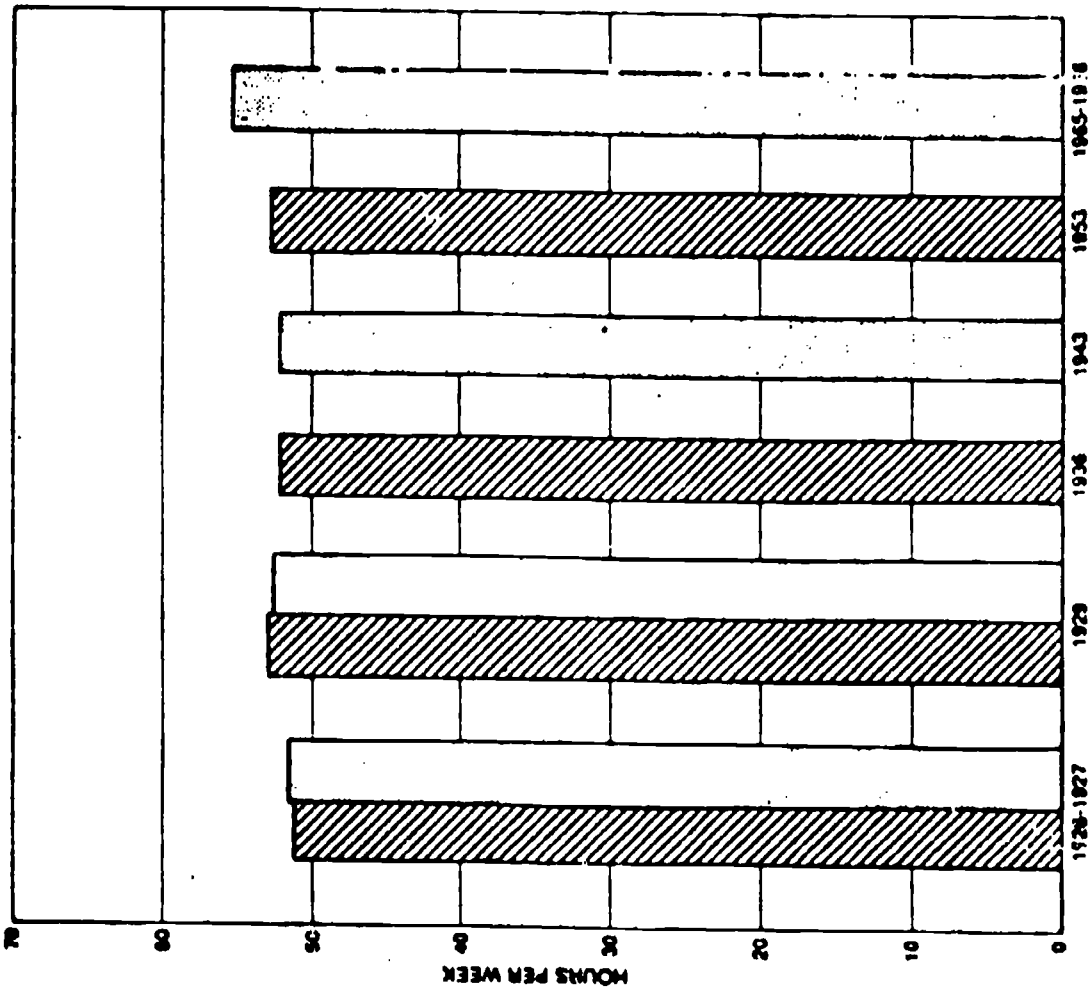


Note: The data relate only to nonemployed women, meaning women who did not have full-time jobs outside the household. Top curve includes cleaning up after meals.

Source: Joann Vanek, "Time Spent in Housework," *Scientific American*, November 1974, p. 119.

TABLE A-12

HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED TO HOUSEHOLD WORK



Note: Slanted column is hours for rural women, solid column is hours for urban women. Chart on the basis of surveys made in the years cited for women with no outside employment. Technological changes have increased women's productivity and shortened the hours necessary to do certain tasks (i.e., laundry), but the addition of new tasks and the creation of higher standards of cleanliness has meant that the hours necessary for housework have not noticeably changed.

Source: Joann Vanek, "Time Spent in Housework," *Scientific American*, November 1974, p. 119.

WOMEN IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT: 1960 TO THE PRESENT

by Sammy Ruetenik

OVERVIEW OF THE PERIOD:

Strong leadership from labor leaders and support from New Deal legislation resulted in the doubling of union membership from 34.5 million in 1930 to 7.3 million in 1940. The prostrated unions benefitted from legislation which guaranteed union membership for the period of the union contract plus gave payroll deduction of union dues in exchange for union no-strike pledges.

Women's participation in the work force had increased to 43 percent by 1974. One fifth of union memberships were held by women in the same year. This was a decline of two percent in union membership for women from 1952. This was due more to the type of work women did then in the myth of the World War II worker.

The public image of the 1940's woman worker was a glamorized "Rosie the Riveter" who worked because it was her patriotic duty not because of economic need. This concept reaffirmed old ideas that women were temporary workers and therefore unorganizable.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) had the history and reputation of an enlightened and liberal union leadership under Walter Reuther. In 1939 there were 3,130 women in the auto and transportation industries. By 1945 the UAW had one million members with 280,000 women members.

There was conflict in post war union leadership in the UAW between those who agreed with the "Rosie the Riveter" myth and those who feared that management would take advantage of this belief to replace women workers with men. The women pressured UAW to secure gains for women in anticipation of post war reconversion. The UAW responded by creating the Women's Bureau in 1947 as part of the Union's

War Policy Division. R.J. Thomas, president of UAW explained to all locals and officials that the Women's Bureau would deal with day care, enforcement of state and federal laws regulating hours and conditions of women's work, equal pay for equal work, management and worker hostility toward women workers, and encouragement of women in general union activities.

Dorothy Haener, current official of the Women's Bureau, described in 1972 what the UAW was doing to help women. Ms. Haener was a war worker who had to fight management for retention of her job. She states "UAW has always been in the forefront for the fight for equal pay for equal work, full seniority protection, maternity leave, and strong enforcement of the sex discrimination provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."¹

Haener lists the objectives of the 1970 UAW Women in Society Statement. This urged that the Fair Labor Standards Act should be amended to provide coverage under minimum wage of \$2.50 for all workers, that equal pay for comparable work should be provided under the Equal Pay Act of 1963, that UAW continue to repudiate "protective laws" which force women into lower paying jobs, that coverage for pregnancy and maternity be provided in the insurance program, and that the UAW continue to press for Federal legislation for child care centers.²

Although some of these goals are still unrealized in 1982, the Women's Department has helped the UAW in promoting needs and causes of women. The UAW collected six million dollars of 19 million owed women under the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor. It has held training courses, classes to educate and motivate women to engage in union leadership and local and state politics. Good examples of this are Olga Madar, first president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); Eddie VanHorn, member of the International Labor Union Executive Council; and

Dorothy Haener, founding mother of NOW and UAW Women's Bureau head.

In reality, although top officials of UAW supported women's issues through letters to local leadership and through the Women's Bureau, the official policies were usually blocked and/or ignored by local leaders. Mildred Jeffries, organizer for the UAW, believed that the women's movement put needed pressure on local leaders. She said, "I don't care what they (women's liberationists) did, burn bras, anything! I'm totally grateful to the young women.... The men had to be brought along kicking and screaming every step of the way. but we did it."³

In spite of increasing membership in unions, women have remained rare at governing and appointee levels of almost 177 unions. In 1972 there were only two national union presidencies held by women -- Stewards and Stewardesses Union and Veterinarian's Union. Few women were named to appointed positions. Women did hold local leadership more frequently than at the national level. Women held 7 percent of positions on governing boards. Females did better in professional unions. For example, in the National Education Association 63 percent of the top positions were held by women

In 1970 several states held AFL-CIO conferences to correct this. This led to the March 23-24, 1974, meeting of 3,200 women from 58 unions. At this meeting the Coalition of Labor Union Women was formed. CLUW had the potential to grow into a mass organization of working women. The founders insisted that CLUW membership be restricted to union women only. This has had the effect of keeping CLUW closely tied to AFL-CIO.

CLUW's stated objectives are to organize the 32 million non-unionized working women, to lobby on women's issues, to encourage women to move into policy making positions within the unions and within political parties.

Grass-roots organizing of local CLUW chapters developed immediately without waiting for the leadership to take the initiative and despite membership restrictions. Union leaders were convinced that "the emergence of CLUW proved that women's movement concerns of sexual oppression and sex stereotyping" were not just concerns of "middle-class women" but of working class women also.⁴

Today, CLUW's membership does reflect the working class and the middle class woman as included in the professional service workers -- the teachers, nurses, and social workers. There does remain a suspicion, a concern that the professional service workers are over-represented in leadership positions. These women represent the most recently organized women who have a high level of political awareness and leadership skills of speaking, organizing, and self-assertion.

A greater threat to CLUW has been the high visibility and control of CLUW by professional women union officials, leadership that is paid to participate in CLUW and as such represents "union management's" position. This has led to division on basic issues such as support for ERA. Initially AFL-CIO leadership was opposed to ERA. In 1970 Myra Wolfgang, vice president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union testified before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. Wolfgang said, "The AFL-CIO is opposed to ERA since orderly legislation is the practical way to erase ... specific ills." ERA would "jeopardize existing labor laws and standards that apply to women and create endless confusion in the wide field of laws relating to property, personal status, and marriage."⁵ By 1976 AFL-CIO had publically reversed that position and CLUW at that point became active in working for ERA passage.

Even so, CLUW has been limited in its support of ERA. On February 6-7, 1982, the National Executive Board of CLUW met in Detroit, Michigan. On Saturday evening a motion was passed to support ERA and the repeal of 3/5 motion rule in

Illinois. The Illinois legislature had been unsuccessful in passing ERA because of the requirement of a 3/5's majority vote. After consultation with union officials President Miller reopened the discussion. AFL-CIO leadership was afraid that repeal of the 3/5 rule might lead to a repeal of the Illinois right-to-work law. AFL-CIO did not want CLUW to support repeal of the voting rule. After heated debate passed, president Olga Madar led a walk-out in disgust. CLUW then voted not to press union leadership to lobby for the repeal of the 3/5 rule. Feminist leadership is convinced that lack of AFL-CIO leadership on this issue was a critical block to passage of ERA in Illinois.

Despite internal problems CLUW remains a first sign of an independent movement of women workers that includes unionized women workers of all classes.

-
1. Haener, Dorothy, "What Labor is Doing About Women in the Work Force," Kazell, Mildred and Byhams, William eds. Women in the Work Force, New York: Behavioral Publications, Inc., 1972, p. 44.
 2. Haener, p. 44. Unions are still fighting for comparable worth clause. NEA passed such a resolution at the July 1982 Los Angeles Representative Assembly.
 3. Steifer, Nancy, "Absent from the Majority (National Project on Ethnic America, American Jewish Committee, 1973), New York Times, 25 January 1976, p.36.
 4. Cott, Nancy, and Pleck, Elizabeth, eds., A Heritage of Her Own, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979, pp. 390-391.
 5. Baxandall, Linda; Gordon, Linda; and Reverby, Susan, eds., America's Working Women, A Documentary History: 1600 to the Present, New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1976, p. 378.

GRADE LEVEL: High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES:

Students will learn of the role women played in the work force, in labor unions, and in the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

MATERIALS:

Overview and time line of the period, CLUW News, Biography Sheet on Olga Madar, film Wilmar Eight.

PROCEDURE:

1. Read and discuss overview and time line.

Possible questions:

- a. Why has women's participation in the union movement been so limited?

- b. Talk to teachers about their union membership. Do all teachers feel they should belong to a union? How do they feel about agency shop? collective bargaining? strikes?

2. Show the film Wilmar Eight

- a. Why did these women picket?

- b. Why did they feel there had been discrimination against them?

- c. How did this small community react to the picketing?

- d. How did the women maintain their spirits and group identity?

- e. What happened to the women?

- f. Did their action help them? What did they gain? Were there intangible gains?

- g. What would have to be changed in the community to correct the original situation? Would this be possible? Why?

- h. Would passage of the ERA have helped these women?
3. Read about the following labor leaders or prepare a similar list for your area. Write a short biographical paragraph on one of these women.
- a. Mildred Jeffries (UAW, past president of National Women's Political Caucus, Board of Regents, Wayne State University)
- b. Myra Wolfgang (past president of Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union)
- c. Olga Madar (UAW, first woman on UAW Executive Board, vice president of International Union, past president CLUW)
- d. Betty Miller (1982 president CLUW, ACTWU)
- e. Addie Wyatt (first black officer of CLUW, 1982, YFCW)
- f. Odessa Komer (head of Women's Bureau of UAW, 1982)
- g. Eddie Van Horn (UAW, member of Executive Council of AFL-CIO International Union)
- h. Dorothy Haener (founding mother of NOW, UAW Women's Bureau)
- i. Mary Ellen Riorden (past president of Detroit, AFT)
4. Find out where local CLUW chapters in your state are. Prepare a state map locating the chapters. Invite a CLUW chairperson or member to speak on achievements and projects of the local chapter.
5. Have students prepare and conduct a public opinion poll on problems of women workers in the workplace, or problems of combining working with raising a family, or attitudes toward unions.
6. Copy and distribute CLUW News.
- a. What kinds of items are covered?
- b. What evidence is there for concerns about minority women?
- c. What project do you feel is significant? Why?
- d. In what projects and actions is CLUW involved?

7. Make a bar graph showing the growth of working women and union membership from 1920 to 1980 using ten-year intervals.

8. If possible, show the film Norma Rae.

a. Are the textile workers fully organized in the South?

b. Read about organizing problems of the J.P. Stevens Company and the union boycotts of Stevens products.

c. Read about organizing problems and working conditions at Sanderson Chicken Farms.

9. Discussion on Mother's work

a. What sort of job?

b. Why does she (or doesn't she work?

c. Does she like it?

d. Should women with children work?

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. Baxandall, Linda; Gordon, Linda; and Reverby, Susan, eds. America's Working Women, A Documentary History: 1600 to the Present. New York: Vintage Books. Random House, 1976.
2. Berquist, Virginia. "Women's Participation in Labor Organizations." Monthly Labor Review 97 (October 1914): 3-9.
3. Cott, Nancy, and Pleck, Elizabeth, eds. A Heritage of Her Own. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.
4. Gabin, Nancy. "Woman Workers and the UAW in the Post-World War II Period: 1945-1954." Labor History 21 (Winter 1980): 5-30.
5. Haener, Dorothy. "What Labor is Doing About Women in the Work Force." In Women in the Work Force, p. 44. Edited by Mildred Kazell and William Byhams. New York: Behavioral Publications, Inc. 1972.
6. Harris, Fran. Focus, Michigan Women, 1701-1977. Michigan Coordinating Committee of the Observance of Woman's Year, 1977.
7. Hymowitz Carol, and Weissman. Michaelaele. A History of Women in America. New York: Bantam Books, 1978.
8. Millstein, Beth, and Bodin, Jeanne. We the American Woman, Textbook and Workbook. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1977.

ORAL HISTORY

by Marjorie L. Smith

OVERVIEW:

Most of what we know about the past is based on written historical sources - books, diaries, letters, memoirs, and official records and documents. We know comparatively little about the history of people who for one reason or another did not produce or were not mentioned in such sources. The history of women - especially black, immigrant, rural, and working-class women - represents one field for which traditional historical sources are sparse or misleading. Much of what historians would like to know about these women and their lives has been irretrievably lost because it was not written down. One way to prevent such a loss of history for future generations is the collection of non-written sources of information about contemporary life. Oral history interviews are one such source. With a little help and planning, junior or senior high school students can "save" history for the future by conducting oral history interviews of older adults.

GRADE LEVEL: Junior/Senior High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. Students will display their ability to communicate with adults.
2. Students will demonstrate ability to use a tape recorder correctly.
3. Students will demonstrate increased factual knowledge of the recent past.

MATERIALS:

1. Tape recorders for each group of 2 to 4 students.
2. Student Handout - a. "Do's and Don'ts" b. Oral History Interview Outline one for each group.
3. Sample tape of an interview made by the teacher.

PROCEDURE:

First Day. If possible, obtain copies of Shumway and Hartley's An Oral History Primer (Salt Lake City, Utah: P.O. Box 11894, 1973 @ \$1.75) for student reference. Connect the need to collect information to a topic in the course or the students' textbook. For example, a study of the recent civil rights movement or of the feminist movement could provide a "springboard." Explain what an oral history interview is and play the sample tape. Discuss what subject(s) students could build into an interview and break them into groups corresponding to the number of tape recorders available. An alternative is to have just one interview taped by a class representative and then shared.

Second Day. Practice interviews with each other after reading the DO'S and DON'TS sheet and an interview outline. Discuss the type of person students might select to interview, the meaningfulness of the tapes and if an historical society might want them.

Final Day(s). Playing of the tapes and discussion (perhaps even verification) of the facts which were brought out in the interviews. Discussion could bring out how facts get distorted or present many different facets. This could lead into who write history and the reliability of eyewitness accounts, etc.

THE DO'S AND DON'TS OF ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES

Louis Starr, former director of the Columbia University Oral History Program, defines Oral History as "a primary source material obtained by recording the spoken words ... generally by means of planned tape-recorded interviews ... of persons deemed to harbor hitherto unavailable information worth preserving." After you have decided on your topic and possible subjects you are ready to conduct the interview but keep in mind that there is an art to interviewing. No book can tell you all you need to know about the subject. The only way you are going to be able to learn this art is by doing it. Some basic "do's" and "don'ts" are:

DO:

1. Try not to interview two people together. Be a good listener.
2. Make an outline before the interview (this should have subject headings not exact questions). Begin with easy questions.
3. Asking the right kinds of questions is very important; be sure they are open-ended questions.
4. Use props - ask your subject to look over scrapbooks and bring them to the interview.
5. Pursue topics in DEPTH - remember the how, what, when, where, who, and especially the why of history.
6. Employ cues - be specific, but at the same time act relaxed and at ease with the tape recorder even if you are not.
7. Make sure your questions solicit a response - rephrase them until you get an adequate answer.
8. Avoid off-the-record information. Explain that you cannot turn the tape recorder off and that the narrator has the right to restrict access to that portion of the interview later if he or she feels strongly about it (jot

down the tape counter number so you can find that portion easily).

9. Cross reference your interview with questions about information obtained from other interviews. This is particularly important where you are primarily relying on oral sources for your information.

10. Check the spelling of complicated names during the interview.

11. Have the narrator sign the legal release at the end of the interview or series of interviews.

12. When interviewing children, conduct a tightly controlled interview with plenty of information background prior to the interview.

13. Keep good eye contact and make notes.

DON'T

1. Interrupt - keep a note pad handy to jot down questions which come to mind as the narrator talks and refer back to them at an appropriate time.

2. Let the interviewee get off the track consistently.

3. Ask compound questions. they won't be answered.

4. Let the interviewee get away with exaggerating or outright lying to you. Let him or her know in a subtle way that you have read or heard otherwise. (PRACTICE THIS IN CLASS.)

5. Interview for longer than two hours at a stretch if possible. Even if the narrator isn't tired you most certainly will be exhausted

6. Consider the interview complete until after you have (by yourself or with another's help) replayed and indexed the tape.

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW OUTLINEChecklist: Equipment for interview

1. tape recorder: head clean; recorder works.
2. microphone: clean; works.
3. Tape
4. Spare tapes
5. Extension cord
6. Fresh batteries and spare batteries
7. Interview outline
8. Release forms and biography sheet
9. Backup tape recorder

Introduction to Interview

Upon beginning the interview, tape the following introduction:

This is an interview with Interviewee Name for the class or school oral history project "Effects of the Civil Rights Movement 1960's through 1970's" (or your project title). The interview is being conducted at (place) on (date). My name is (interviewer name). (interviewee name) does the (class or school name) have your permission to make the following interview available for public use? (interviewee response).

Tape Processing and Identification

When the interview is completed, do not forget to thank the interviewee for his or her time and contribution to the project. Label the cassette with the following information:

Project: (Name)

Interviewee: (Name)

Interviewer: (Name)

Date:

Sides:

Enclosed with the tape should be an indexing sheet listing main topics or topics of particular interest and the count on the tape where each topic begins.

INTERVIEW OUTLINE (sample)

Write out the suggested introduction with blanks filled in so you won't forget. Keep in mind that you are eliciting emotions - what do you think? - how do you feel about...? make good forms for questions.

1. What has your mother told you about your birth?
2. Childhood home: What do you remember about your house? Your room? Your neighborhood? Did you move from place to place? Reactions to moving?
3. Brothers and sisters? How many? Names? Ages? Which ones did you play with? Fight with? Are you close to them now? Were the sons and daughters raised differently in your family? In what ways?
4. Childhood activities: Playmates? Toys? Games? Girls Scouts? Summer camp, etc.?
5. Memories of parents and grandparents: What do you remember about your mother? Her activities? Her work? How she looked? What did you enjoy doing with her? Memories of father? Who was the disciplinarian in your family? Memories of grandparents?
6. Religion: Was religion important in your family life? In what ways?
7. Education: Describe your elementary school(s), favorite teachers, subjects liked and disliked. Continue the same for secondary schools and/or other kinds of formal lessons. What books did you enjoy?

8. Adolescence: How do you think adolescence was different for your generation than it is for the present generation? How is it the same?

9. Describe your close friends (male and female). What kinds of activities did you share with them as teenagers? What did people do on a date? What advice were you given and by whom?

10. Questions about events in the period of the subject's childhood and youth (effects of wars, unemployment, civil rights movement and particular events you consider outstanding). Focus in on your project's topic.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLING AS SOCIAL HISTORY

by Richard Davis

OVERVIEW:

One of the most exciting developments in the field of social history has been the use of public opinion polls by historians to gauge public sentiment on the issues of the day at a particular point in time. The public opinion polls that accompany this activity were conducted by the New York Times - CBS News polls between June 26-28, 1982 and were released for publication the day the extension of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution expired.

GRADE LEVEL: High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. Students will learn the mechanics of modern public opinion polling techniques and develop criteria for evaluating poll results published in the media.

2. Students will analyze the data from the June 1982 poll and develop their own narrative description of the status of women in America as reflected in the results of the poll.

3. Students will conduct their own poll of the community to see how well their community corresponds to the nation as a whole and to appreciate the "art/science" of modern public opinion polling techniques.

MATERIALS:

1. Explanation of "Modern Public Opinion Polls" taken from Ship of State, (pp. 169-179).

2. CBS News Poll -- Part II, June 1982. Questions 1-12.

3. Narrative of CBS News Poll - June 1982.

4. "Feelings About the Differences Between Men and Women" -- Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll (released March 1972). This poll was conducted at the close of 1971 with Harris interviewers interviewing a representative, nation-wide cross section of 3000 women and a comparable group of 1000 men.

5. Local telephone book.

PROCEDURE:

1. Handout the list of questions taken from "Modern Public Opinion Polls" and have class members read through silently. The teacher should then expand on the 12 major questions raised. The class should be able to develop the key criteria to be used to evaluate the validity of public opinion polls.

2. The class is to be divided into three groups with each group focusing on one part of the sample. One group (A) is to analyze the data from the perspective of the public as a whole and how their attitudes have changed over time. Group B is to analyze the men's opinions with emphasis on change over time (if available). Group C is to analyze the data with respect to women's opinions and not change over time

3. The CBS News Poll - Part II of June, 1982 is to be handed out to each of the groups (one copy per students, if possible). The teacher should then present the following information to the class:

This poll was conducted by telephone June 26-28, 1982 among a nation-wide random sample. A total of 1174 adults - 671 women and 503 men were interviewed. The error due to sampling could be plus or minus 4 percentage points for results based on the total sample, and plus or minus 5 percentage points for results based on total men or women.

4. Each group is to choose a spokesperson and secretary and analyze the data from its frame of reference

(see procedure 2). After a suitable period of time (15 minutes), each group is to have its spokesperson present the group's conclusions to the class as a whole. Time should be permitted for questioning from other group members.

5. The teacher should then read the narrative that accompanied the CBS poll to enable the class to compare its findings with those of the "experts."

6. The class should then conduct its own polling of community public opinion. The class may want to devise their own questions or use the questions analyzed above or the Virginia Slims poll included in the materials ("Feelings About the Differences Between Men and Women.") The class should decide how many variables it wants to include in its polling. For its initial effort, total, men and women should be sufficient. Each class member should make at least 10 interviews choosing names randomly from the pages of the telephone book (every 10th name or 20th name, etc....). Students could be assigned to tabulate the data for a particular question and report back to the class the number of responses and percentage breakdowns for each. Compare your data to that of the 1972 poll. A possible variation to attempt would be polling fellow students using the student directory and comparing these findings to the community as a whole.

7. After the experience of class polling, each student should write an essay on modern public opinion polling techniques, its strengths and weaknesses, and its value in social history.

Modern Public Opinion Polls

Public opinion polls are an important part of every phase of political life — from seeking election to making decisions. This "Backgrounder" investigates what polls are, how to "read" them, and how to conduct one.

Public opinion polls are not meant to forecast elections or determine public policy, but merely to provide a "snapshot" of public opinion at a given moment. Equally important with how scientifically a poll is conducted is the interpretation of the raw data by the pollster or by those for whom the poll was conducted. Successful opinion and attitude research is not for amateurs. While the history of polling — four decades or so of reasonably professional work — includes some magnificent blunders, by and large the science is continually refining itself.

Professional research firms tend to use the same basic steps, no matter the nature of the study at hand:

- The development of a research design or strategy.
- The drawing of a probability sample (that is, a randomly selected one) of the population being measured.
- The development of a questionnaire or interview schedule, and then a pretest or pilot study of the questionnaire, making refinements as needed.
- Carrying out the actual field work.
- Collecting the data, coding and tabulating the findings, and preparing a written report.

There is an important distinction

between the two types of polls that readers most often see. One is the public poll, run by an independent research organization — Gallup or Harris, for instance — which appears regularly in daily newspapers.

The second is the poll commissioned by an interested third party; it may be commissioned by a candidate or party in an election to help measure public approval and to help shape a campaign strategy. What is divulged normally is meant to serve the candidate's or party's interests. The poll may be conducted by a commercial organization to support a particular position (for example, research carried out by car manufacturers on emission controls). It is not unkind to suggest that the interpretation offered in such studies has a basic, biased purpose — one to which the reader must pay special attention.

Media polls

With increasing frequency, newspapers and other media themselves are commissioning independent firms to conduct polls during election campaigns. This practice raises ethical questions among some journalists who wonder about the wisdom of what they call "contrived" or "manufactured" news.

There is a tendency in political surveys to emphasize the horse-race aspect of campaigns: Who is ahead now? Who is gaining or losing, and what is he doing about it? Many newspapers caution their reporters about overemphasizing the simple numbers.

The ideal survey environment, according to many researchers, is to have the pollster conduct the poll and provide the raw, hard data only. The interpretation of that data — the conclusions — should be left to an independent party, such as an editorial department member of a newspaper who specializes in research techniques, or an impartial academic with research credentials. Such a suggestion comes from observing some pollsters as being unwilling to relinquish the interpretation role, presumably because they have special interests or positions to protect.

Checklist for polls

What modern pollsters have added to the traditional journalistic approach to an opinion survey essentially is a more systematic inquiry. Syracuse University Professor Maxwell McCombs and Professor Cleveland Wilhoit of Indiana University, in their *Handbook of Reporting Methods*, list suggested questions reporters and editors should ask about polls (they are questions that also should be kept in mind by the public when reading the latest poll results).

Their list contains some familiar keys — who, what, why, when, and where, and especially how — and others which relate to the more technical aspects of survey methods.

1. Who sponsored the survey?

This information is especially important when a survey has been conducted by a political party or candidate or when, for example, the tobacco industry sponsors an inquiry on the link between smoking and cancer. Both the journalist and the public should know who the sponsor is in order to help determine the survey's credibility.

2. Who was interviewed?

Both the entire "universe" (the people the poll results will represent) and the "sample" (those actually interviewed) should be clearly defined. If they are not, erroneous generalizations may be made. For example, results of a poll of a few hundred people in one city of a congressional district may not represent the entire population of the district.

3. How were the persons selected for interviews?

If any generalizations are going to be made about the poll results to describe the opinions of the larger group, then every person in the larger group must have an equal chance of being selected for the survey. Such a selected group is called a randomly selected sample. Since the people outside our hypothetical congressional district had no chance of being selected for the sample, the results cannot be assumed to measure their opinions.

4. How many persons were interviewed?

The reason for wanting to know this is

simple: the more people interviewed (if they were chosen randomly), the more confidence one can have in the accuracy of the results. If 1,000 residents of a town of 5,000 are interviewed, the results are going to more accurately reflect the views of all 5,000 residents than if only 100 residents had been interviewed.

5. How were the interviews conducted?

Are the interviewees contacted by mail, by telephone, or by in-person interview? This is especially important in "phone-in" polls as done by radio stations or mail questionnaires. Those people with very definite opinions on a particular subject are more likely to respond and the results will not be representative of public opinion. In-person interviews done in the home generally are considered the most accurate interviewing technique.

6. What was the response rate?

If questionnaires were mailed, what percentage of the people contacted agreed to be interviewed? How many returned questionnaires? If these percentages are small, valid reasons for the poor response should be given.

7. When were the interviews conducted?

It is important to know the date of the interviews in polls which could be affected by outside events. Any background information on events that immediately preceded or immediately followed the poll, and which could affect opinion, should be taken into consideration.

8. Who were the interviewers?

This question is important if there is any reason to suspect that the interviewers possibly may be prejudiced. If, for example, campaign volunteers conduct a survey for a political candidate, this fact should be noted.

9. What were the actual questions asked?

Minor differences in the wording of questions can produce quite different results. This is especially true of respondents who do not hold strong opinions — usually the majority. Different results, for example, will be obtained if the question asked is, "What do you think of Ronald Reagan?" rather than "What do you think of Republican President Ronald Reagan?"

10. How accurate are the results?

The larger the sample (up to roughly 1,500 people) if randomly selected, the more accurate the results will be. The degree of accuracy one can expect to achieve from samples of any size can be estimated. This estimate, called the margin of sampling error, helps assess the statistical credibility of the poll.

11. Is the headline or introductory statements accurately reflect the poll results? Temptations to oversimplify or overreach for meaning are great and often succumbed to.

Do the headline or introductory statements accurately reflect the poll results? Temptations to oversimplify or overreach for meaning are great and often succumbed to.

12. Is it clear if the results relate only to a part of the full sample?

Different results may be obtained if only one group of the full sample were asked a particular question. For example, a poll predicting the outcome of an upcoming election which is based on those people most likely to vote may produce quite different results than if all eligible voters were polled on the question.

Polling techniques

The sampling procedures used by the Gallup Poll and similar research organizations are designed to produce samples reflecting the American adult population. National survey results are based on interviews with a minimum of 1,500 adults.

All surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the difference between the poll's results and what would be obtained if the entire population had been interviewed. The reader, therefore, should make some allowance for such possible error when studying poll results. Gallup, for example, maintains that the chances are 95 in 100 that the results obtained by surveying the whole population would be within three percentage points of the findings from its limited number of interviews.

To conduct a national poll the country is stratified — divided — geographically and by size of community to reflect the latest available estimates of the population distribution. Between 200 and 300 different sampling locations are

selected on a strictly random basis. In urban areas these locations are on the city block level; at the rural level, segments of townships.

"Cluster sampling" is an excellent alternative to a simple random sample of the population. An in-person element sampling of the noninstitutionalized adult population of the United States often is both impractical and inefficient. Clustering simply means conducting a series of interviews at a sample point or interviewing area. Cluster samples generally are constructed with stratified designs.

Louis Harris and Associates employs a stratified, multistage cluster sample composed of 200 primary sampling units or cluster "points." The advantage of this approach is that it assures both maximum dispersion and maximum sampling efficiency since clusters of 13 interviews are used to generate a total sample. A larger number of assigned interviews allows for the nonreplacement of the ultimate "not-at-homes." Large, as opposed to compact, clusters tend to reduce cluster homogeneity.

Two popular methods of polling are used by pollsters. The first is the in-person interview. Interviewers have no choice whatsoever concerning the part of a city or county in which they talk to people. Approximately five interviews are conducted in each randomly selected sampling location. At each occupied dwelling, interviewers are instructed to select respondents by following a prescribed systematic method and by male-female choice. This procedure is followed until the required number of interviews is completed.

A second method is random digit dialing, the most widely used sampling technique today in the United States. This method provides a statistically efficient way of obtaining a representative sample of the general public at a reasonable cost. Responses have been shown to be comparable to those obtained from in-person interviews. Furthermore, two of the drawbacks of earlier telephone interviewing now have been substantially overcome: most American households have telephones, and unlisted numbers and new listings can be reached using random digit dialing.

FEELINGS ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

1972 Virginia Slims Poll		Women Total	Single	Married	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated	Wid- owed	Black	White	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 and Over	8th Grade	High School	College	Total Men
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1.	Women are more sensitive to the problems of the poor and the under-privileged than men are															
	Feel	71	69	71	72	74	86	69	71	71	70	72	75	74	65	68
	Don't feel	23	26	24	19	15	9	25	25	24	23	21	14	21	30	26
	Not sure	6	5	5	9	11	5	6	4	5	7	7	11	5	5	6
2.	Women have more artistic ability and appreciation of the arts than men do															
	Feel	58	53	59	50	61	64	57	53	56	58	64	61	62	51	62
	Don't feel	32	40	32	36	22	18	34	39	36	30	24	18	28	44	29
	Not sure	10	7	9	14	17	18	9	8	8	12	12	21	10	5	9
3.	Women are more emotional and less logical than men															
	Feel	55	45	56	57	63	55	56	46	55	59	64	65	59	47	64
	Don't feel	35	49	35	32	20	28	36	45	38	31	25	20	32	46	26
	Not sure	10	6	9	11	17	17	8	9	7	10	11	15	9	7	10
4.	Women attach greater value to human life than men do															
	Feel	55	58	54	65	59	71	53	56	54	56	56	61	56	51	56
	Don't feel	35	34	37	24	27	15	38	37	39	33	32	23	35	42	36
	Not sure	10	8	9	11	14	14	9	7	7	11	12	16	9	7	8

450

520

(continued)

FEELINGS ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN (continued)

		Women														
		Women Total	Single	Married	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated	Wid- owed	Black	White	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 and Over	8th Grade	High School	College	Total Men
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
5.	<u>Men have more physical stamina than women</u>															
	Feel	52	44	51	45	59	53	51	46	48	52	58	68	55	38	62
	Don't feel	42	50	43	44	32	33	44	48	47	42	34	20	39	58	30
	Not sure	6	6	6	11	9	14	5	6	5	6	8	12	6	4	8
6.	<u>Men are more aggressive than women</u>															
	Feel	51	55	50	47	58	46	51	48	50	53	53	53	50	51	58
	Don't feel	41	38	43	48	30	42	42	45	43	39	38	36	43	42	34
	Not sure	8	7	7	5	12	12	7	7	8	9	11	7	7	7	8
7.	<u>Men are better at economics and business than women</u>															
	Feel	49	43	49	45	54	39	50	41	47	55	55	56	49	45	56
	Don't feel	41	52	42	43	28	43	41	50	46	35	33	27	40	49	34
	Not sure	10	5	9	12	18	18	9	9	7	10	12	17	11	6	10

527

528

CBS NEWS POLLPART IIJUNE, 1982

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>
APPROVE	42%	36%	49%
DISAPPROVE	45	50	38
NO OPINION	13	14	13

- 2a. There has been much talk recently about changing women's status in society today. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today?

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>		<u>MEN</u>	
	<u>NOW</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1972*</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1972*</u>
FAVOR	56%	55%	48%	56%	49%
OPPOSE	30	31	36	28	36
NO OPINION	14	14	16	16	15

*Virginia Slims

- 2b. (IF FAVOR) In what area do you most want to see changes in the status of women made?

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>
JOBS	36%	37%	34%
EQUAL /BETTER PAY	26	31	20
EVERYTHING	8	5	12
POLITICAL POWER	4	4	3
GENERAL ATTITUDES	1	1	1
FAMILY STRUCTURE	1	1	-
OTHER	7	7	7
NO OPINION	52 17	14	23

3. Do you favor or oppose the Equal Rights Amendment--also known as E.R.A.--the constitutional amendment concerning women?

	TOTAL		WOMEN		MEN	
	<u>NOW</u>	<u>JUN 80</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>JUN 80</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>JUN 80</u>
FAVOR	52%	54%	51%	49%	53%	59%
OPPOSE	35	36	35	39	35	33
NO OPINION	13	10	14	12	12	8

4. Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. Do you think women have too much influence, just about the right amount of influence, or too little influence in American life and politics?

	TOTAL		WOMEN		MEN	
	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1972*</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1972*</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1972*</u>
TOO MUCH	7%	7%	7%	6%	6%	8%
ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	44	58	39	54	49	64
TOO LITTLE	43	30	49	34	36	25
NO OPINION	6	5	5	6	9	3

*University of Michigan, CPS

- 5a. In the last ten years, do you think the women's movement has caused any real changes in our society or not?

	TOTAL <u>NOW</u>	WOMEN <u>NOW</u>	MEN <u>NOW</u>
HAS CAUSED REAL CHANGE	67%	68%	67%
HAS NOT CAUSED REAL CHANGE	28	28	28
NO OPINION	5	4	5

5b. (IF CAUSED REAL CHANGE) What do you think is the most important change it has caused?

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>
JOBS	29%	30%	27%
GENERAL ATTITUDES	15	15	16
POLITICAL POWER	8	8	8
EVERYTHING	5	4	5
FAMILY STRUCTURE	2	2	2
OTHER	7	6	8
NEGATIVE EFFECT ON FAMILY	5	6	5
NEGATIVE JOB STATEMENT	3	2	5
NEGATIVE OTHER	3	4	2
NO OPINION	19	20	19

6. Do you think women could run most businesses as well as men, or not?

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>		<u>MEN</u>	
	<u>NOW</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1970*</u>	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1970*</u>
YES	72%	78%	55%	66%	45%
NO	23	17	40	29	49
NO OPINION	5	5	5	5	6

*Gallup

7. I'd like your opinion on the following:
Things will be much easier for girls growing up today than they were for girls in my time. Do you agree strongly with that, agree to a certain extent, or not at all?

	<u>WOMEN</u>	
	<u>NOW</u>	<u>1974*</u>
AGREE STRONGLY	27%	39%
AGREE TO A CERTAIN EXTENT	47	28
NOT AT ALL	24	26
NO OPINION	2	6

*Virginia Slims

		WOMEN	
		NOW	1974*
8.	All things considered, in our society today, do you think there are more advantages in being a man, or more advantages in being a women, or that there are no more advantages in being one than the other?		
	MAN	40%	31%
	WOMAN	9	8
	NO DIFFERENCE	46	56
	NO OPINION	5	5
9.	Now, if you were free to do either, would you prefer to have a job outside the home, or would you prefer to stay home and take care of a house and family?		
	HAVE A JOB	48%	35%
	STAY HOME	47	60
	NO OPINION	5	5
10a.	Are you presently employed--either full-time or part-time?		1970*
	YES, FULL-TIME	38%	18%
	YES, PART-TIME	13	11
	NO	49	71
	NO OPINION	-	-
10b.	(IF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME) Are you working primarily to support yourself, to support your family, to bring in some extra money, or for something interesting to do?		
	SUPPORT SELF	31%	23%
	SUPPORT FAMILY	29	18
	BRING IN EXTRA MONEY	25	48
	SOMETHING INTERESTING	13	9 (to keep busy)
	NO OPINION	2	2

*Virginia Slims

(ASKED OF EVERYBODY)

11. How hard to you think it is for men and women to get top executive jobs in business or government these days? Generally, is it easier for men, easier for women, or isn't there much difference?

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>
EASIER FOR MEN	67%	67%	68%
EASIER FOR WOMEN	4	3	5
NO DIFFERENCE	23	25	22
NO OPINION	6	5	5

12. What about salaries? These days, if a man and a woman are doing the same work, do you think the man generally earns more, the woman generally earns more, or that both earn the same amount?

MAN EARNS MORE	70%	73%	68%
WOMAN EARNS MORE	1	-	1
EARN THE SAME	24	22	25
NO OPINION	5	5	6

CBS NEWS

A Division of CBS Inc
52nd West 57 Street
New York New York 10019
(212) 975-4321

457

FOR RELEASE:

CBS NEWS, 6-30-82, 6:30 p.m., ET

JUNE, 1982
PART II

- 74% Think women's movement has brought changes
- 72% Think women can do a job as well as a man
- 67% Think men have easier time getting high level jobs
- 70% Believe men earn more than women for same work
- More women are working full time than in early 1970's
- Majority supports E.R.A.
- No European trip bonus for President Reagan: Job rating unchanged
- Women disapprove, men approve Reagan's job performance

This poll was conducted by telephone June 26-28, 1982 among a nation-wide random sample. A total of 1,174 adults - 671 women and 503 men were interviewed. The error due to sampling could be plus or minus 4 percentage points for results based on the total sample, and plus or minus 5 percentage points for results based on total men or women. This poll conforms to the standards of disclosure of The National Council on Public Polls.

For further information, contact Warren Mitofsky, Kathleen Frankovic, or Elda Vale at (212) 975-3320.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT BRINGS CHANGES

A large majority of Americans (67%) think the women's movement has caused major changes in American society in the last 10 years. Not only does the public think there have been changes, but their opinions about women also have changed in the last decade.

In 1970, the public had mixed feelings about whether women could run most businesses as well as men. Now, overwhelmingly, by 72-23%, they think a woman can do the job as well as a man.

In 1972, a majority (58%) thought women had just about the right amount of political power. Ten years later, the public is just as likely to think women have too little power. And, by overwhelming margins, there is recognition of discrimination against women in the workplace. Some 67% of Americans believe men have an easier time than women in getting high level jobs and 70% believe men earn more than women when both do the same work.

A plurality (29%) of those who see changes say the most important change in society that has taken place because of the women's movement is in the job market, with more women working and more opportunities for women to find jobs. And, a clear majority (56%) favor efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society, and a majority (64%) of those want to see the changes come in the workplace -- either in more job opportunities (36%) or in equal or better salaries (26%) for women. Not surprisingly, the interest in more job opportunities and equal or better salaries is stronger among women than men.

MORE WOMEN WORKING

Women have become more active in the work force in the last 12 years. In 1970, only 18% had full time jobs compared to 38% today. Women have changed, too, in their attitudes about working. In 1974 60% said they would prefer to stay home and take care of a home and family instead of working. In 1982, women were evenly divided (48-47%) between working or staying home.

The reasons working women give for having a job, however, have not changed all that much. The principal reason for women working is economic -- to support themselves or their families, or to bring extra money home. If anything, the financial stakes today are even greater than in the early 1970's. In 1970, 51% of the working women said they were working to support themselves or their families, and 48% said they were working to bring in extra money. In 1982, 60% of working women said they were working to support themselves or their families, and only 25% to bring in extra money.

Working women differ from non-working women in a number of ways. They are more in favor of continued efforts to strengthen women's status in society. They are more likely to be in favor of E.R.A., more likely to believe that women have too little political power, that men receive higher salaries for equal work, that men have it easier in getting top level jobs, and that overall, men have more advantages than women.

Some of the differences between the attitudes of working and non-working women are due to age differences. Younger women, those under the age of 44, are more likely to think that women lack political power and are more likely to support efforts to change women's status in society. These same women also are more likely to be employed than women 45 and over.

E.R.A.

A clear majority (52-35%) of Americans support the Equal Rights Amendment -- known as the E.R.A. -- virtually unchanged since we began polling on the question in 1980. Both men and women give the E.R.A almost identical support (51-35% among women, 53-35% among men).

	<u>WORKING WOMEN</u>	<u>NON-WORKING WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>
STRENGTHEN WOMEN'S STATUS			
FAVOR	60%	50%	56%
OPPOSE	30	32	28
E.R.A.			
FAVOR	57%	46%	53%
OPPOSE	30	40	35
WOMEN'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE			
TOO MUCH	4%	10%	6%
RIGHT AMOUNT	36	42	49
TOO LITTLE	58	40	36
GETTING EXECUTIVE JOBS			
EASIER FOR MEN	73%	60%	68%
EASIER FOR WOMEN	3	3	5
NO DIFFERENCE	20	29	22
SALARY FOR SAME JOB			
HIGHER FOR MEN	79%	67%	68%
HIGHER FOR WOMEN	1	-	1
NO DIFFERENCE	18	27	25
WHO HAS GREATER ADVANTAGES			
MAN	48%	33%	
WOMEN	11	7	
NO DIFFERENCE	40	53	

REAGAN APPROVAL

The American public remains evenly divided in its assessment of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job. About as many adults approve as disapprove of the President's job performance. One month ago, the CBS News/ New York Times Poll found essentially the same results.

In the interim, President Reagan made a major European trip. Traditional political wisdom suggests that Presidential journeys can enhance a President's standing with the public, at least for the short term. Any such gains for President Reagan would appear to have shrunk by the time interviewing for this poll was done, the weekend following the resignation of Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

While there appears to have been little movement in Reagan's approval/disapproval rating in recent months, there are persisting differences in how men and women evaluate his performance. These differences have existed since the 1980 Presidential campaign and show no sign of dissipating. Women clearly disapprove of the way President Reagan is handling his job; men clearly approve.

<u>REAGAN JOB RATING</u>	<u>NOW</u>			<u>MAY 1982</u>
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
APPROVE	42%	49%	36%	43%
DISAPPROVE	45	38	50	44

STEREOTYPING OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISING, 1960-1980

by Barbara E. Carson-McHale

OVERVIEW:

We are all informed, entertained, educated and affected by the mass media. From early childhood on we are exposed to television, radio, newspapers, magazines, films, and advertisements. A typical high school student upon graduation will have logged at least fifteen thousand hours before the television screen, while he or she will spend only ten thousand hours in the classroom. During this time the same student will have been exposed to at least three hundred and fifty thousand commercials.

As long as students continue to receive the preponderant amount of their information from the media it is imperative that they understand the realities that govern it. For example, it is important that they understand that the purpose of advertising may not necessarily be aimed at the consumers best interest, and in fact, may at times be misleading.

For these reasons it is important to develop in students the skills necessary to be intelligent consumers of the images presented by the mass media. Students need to become aware that advertising may represent people in inaccurate and stereotypic ways, for the purpose of selling a product.

During the past decade advertising has come under attack for its negative and depreciatory portrayals of women and minorities. This lesson can be used as an instrument to introduce the subject of stereotyping of women in advertising, as well as to familiarize students with the steps that have been taken by public and private means to influence the advertising industry into changing their portrayals of women. It could also be used as a model for

the development of lessons on advertising stereotypes during earlier periods of U.S. history.

GRADE LEVEL: SENIOR HIGH

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS:

1. Students will be able to identify examples of and explain the ways in which depictions of women in advertising have been negative and depreciatory.

2. Students will be able to identify examples of and explain the ways in which the image of women in advertising has inaccurately reflected their status and role in America in the 1960s and 1980s, and have in so doing reinforced stereotypes of a time gone by.

3. Students will be able to describe the change in advertising's depictions of women which have been brought about by public and private pressure on the media.

4. Students will be able to spell and define terms necessary for a discussion of stereotyping in advertising.

MATERIALS:

1. Access to television and magazines.

2. Copies of student materials in this lesson for distribution to the class.

3. Copies of the National Advertising Review Board List of Recommendations for distribution to the class.

PROCEDURE:

Students will read the various selections on the stereotyping of women in advertising and participate in the activities and assignments indicated in the text by the presence of asterisks (**).

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

READ:

Women have long been dissatisfied with their portrayal in advertising, but it was not until the early 1960s when public attention was focused on the civil rights of minorities, and subsequently on equal rights for women, that much criticism was vocalized about stereotypical portrayals of women.

In 1972 the National Advertising Review Board set up a panel to deal with advertising portraying or directed to women. The panel analyzed a broad sampling of current advertising as well as reviewing current literature on the subject. They found that advertisers, in selling a product, often sell a supplementary image as well, and that for the most part that image was negative and depreciatory, and did not reflect the changing status of women in the United States.

A Presidential Commission on the Status of Women also set up in the early 1970s issued a report, AMERICAN WOMAN, that included consideration of "The Portrayal of Women by the Mass Media." The report described the image of women in television commercials as "uniformly shallow, and even grotesque." Following the President's report, a preliminary United Nations report on the image of women in advertising in twenty-eight nations throughout the world castigated advertising for perpetuating the derogatory image of women as sex symbols, and as an inferior class of humans.

** List and define the words that are underlined in the above selection.

** In a paragraph or two react to the above selection. Do you agree or disagree with the opinions expressed? Why or why not? Attempt to use the underlined vocabulary in your

essay. Use examples of advertisements with which you are familiar, if possible.

** Make a brief list of advertisements that you have seen in which there are women. What product is being sold? What are the women in the advertisements doing?

FOUR MAIN STEREOTYPES OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISING

A study published in the JOURNAL OF MARKETING, in 1971 found that advertising reflected four main stereotypes of women:

A. A woman's place is in the home. Seventy-five percent of all the advertisements using females were for products found in the kitchen or bathroom; thirty-eight percent of all females in television advertisements were shown inside the home, compared to fourteen percent of the males; fifty-six percent of the women in the advertisements were judged to be (exclusively) housewives.

B. Women do not make important decisions or do important things.

C. Women are dependent on men and need their protection. The advertisements showed women as submissive, unintelligent, and adjuncts to men.

D. The primary role of women is to be a sexual object who is concerned with looking attractive to men. Advertising used women's bodies as decorations or as attention-getting devices.

** Do these descriptions of the four main stereotypes of women fit any or all of the advertisements that you earlier listed? If so, in what ways do they do so? Can you think of any other stereotypes found in advertising?

Recent research points out that these depictions of women do not accurately reflect the current status and role

READ: STATISTICS FROM THE CURRENT POPULATION REPORTS OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

FAMILIES AND FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER WITH NO HUSBAND PRESENT, 1979

Total: all ages	57,804,000	OWNER	RENTER
		74.6	25.4
		PUBLIC	PRIVATE
		2.0	23.4

 FEMALE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDERS WITH NO SPOUSE PRESENT WITH ONE OR MORE CHILDREN UNDER 18

Total Families	1960	1970	1980
	25,661,000	28,812,000	30,517,000

**Write a short essay expressing your opinion on stereotypes B and C, (listed under "Four Main Stereotypes of Women in Advertising") in light of the above statistics and information.

READ:

The teacher may want to take students to the library to find examples of type D stereotyping or ask students to bring in examples.

Are women's bodies most often used as decorative and as attention getting devices in advertisements? Do advertisements portray women as being mainly concerned with being attractive to men? Many women have stated their resentment at the use of the female body as mere decoration or as an attention getting device. They feel that such advertising diminished their own sense of worth, that it

ignored and negated other facets of their mind and spirit, and that it belittled women's other attributes and accomplishments. Many men share these reactions.

REACT:

Write a short essay expressing how you feel when you see an advertisement in which the female body is used to sell a product. Young men may also want to comment on how they feel about men's bodies being used to sell a product. Here are some things to consider: Do you compare yourself to the person in the advertisement? How do you measure up? How does that make you feel? Could the product be sold without the use of any bodies in the advertisement? Why do you think the advertisers have used a body in the advertisement? Rewrite the advertisement without using sexual stereotyping.

of women in American society. What does the research say about women's status and role? Is a woman's place in the home? In 1973 more than one-half of all women between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four were employed outside the home. It was predicted that nine out of ten young girls would be paid workers at some time during their lives.

INVESTIGATE:

Interview women in your family and/or in your neighborhoods. How many of them were working outside the home during the 1970's? Of those women who were in their teens in the 1970's, how many are now working outside the home? Does your investigation support or contradict the statistics which you have just read?

Do women make important decisions or do important things? Are women dependent on men and in need of their protection?

** List some important decisions that need to be made by the head of a household. Interview the head(s) of your household to find out the answers. What decisions do they have to make? Are there any female heads of households in your family? In your neighborhood? What other decisions, other than those having to do with the household does an adult person have to make?

STATISTICS FROM THE CURRENT POPULATION REPORTS OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

(chart)

** Write a short essay expressing your opinion on stereotypes B and C, (listed under "Four Main Stereotypes of Women in Advertising") in light of the above statistics and information.

The teacher may want to take students to the library to find examples of type D stereotyping or ask students to bring in examples.

Are women's bodies most often used as decorative and as attention-getting devices in advertisements? Do advertisements portray women as being mainly concerned with being attractive to men? Many women have stated their resentment at the use of the female body as mere decoration or as an attention-getting device. They feel that such advertising diminished their own sense of worth that it ignored and negated other facets of their mind and spirit, and that it belittled women's other attributes and accomplishments. Many men share these reactions.

Write a short essay expressing how you feel when you see an advertisement in which the female body is used to sell a product. Young men may also want to comment on how they feel about men's bodies being used to sell a product. Here are some things to consider: Do you compare yourself to the person in the advertisement? How do you measure up? How does that make you feel? Could the product be sold without the use of any bodies in the advertisement? Why do you think the advertisers have used a body in the advertisement? Rewrite the advertisement without using sexual stereotyping.

THE 1980s: A NEW STEREOTYPE IN ADVERTISING

In the 1970s critics of advertising pointed out that not only were many women working outside the home, but they were sometimes working in jobs traditionally held by men. Although women have always been employed primarily as

secretaries, sales clerks, clerical workers, and domestic workers, they pointed out that there had been a substantial increase in the number of women in professional occupations. Yet, according to a study "The Image of Women in Network T.V. Commercials," published in the 1972 JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING and based on content analyses of 986 prime time commercials, the authors concluded that women were most often viewed as decorative (sex objects) or useful (housewives). Only 18 different occupations were shown for women in contrast with 43 for men. There were no women lawyers, doctors, business executives, scientists, engineers, athletes, professors, or judges portrayed in television advertisements.

The above essay is based on opinion information gathered in 1972. Is it still an accurate statement? Use the following form to do your own content analysis of television commercials. How do the advertisements compare with those described above?

Survey the women in your family and neighborhood who work outside the home. What kinds of jobs do they hold? Ask them if they see their jobs reflected in television advertisements? If not, how do they see the difference between their jobs and those portrayed in the advertisements?

GROUP PROJECT:

Imagine that you are on an advisory committee set up to make recommendations to the advertising industry on how to improve their portrayals of women. What recommendations would you make?

TEACHER:

Pass out the National Advertising Review Board's list of recommendations. Have the students compare it to the

lists made up by their group. Discuss whether or not advertisers have complied with the National Advertising Review Board's recommendations.

NATIONAL ADVERTISING REVIEW BOARDS LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONSWHAT THE PANEL RECOMMENDS

The panel offers no hard and fast rules for dealing with advertising appealing to or portraying women. The scene is changing too rapidly. Accordingly, we have not attempted to compile a list of current ads that the Panel thinks merit praise or criticism.

Recognizing that principles are more enduring than specific cases, the Panel has distilled its many months of study into a checklist of questions for advertisers and agency personnel to consider when creating or approving an advertisement. We realize that there will probably be differences of opinion about some of the items on this checklist, but we believe that whatever discussion may be stimulated by the controversial ones will be helpful in clarifying the issues.

Checklist: Destructive Portrayals

- Am I implying in my promotional campaign that creative, athletic, and mind-enriching toys and games are not for girls as much as for boys? Does my ad, for example, imply that dolls are for girls and chemistry sets are for boys, and that neither could ever become interested in the other category?
- Are sexual stereotypes perpetuated in my ad? That is, does it portray women as weak, silly, and over-emotional? Or does it picture both sexes as intelligent, physically able, and attractive?
- Are the women portrayed in my ad stupid? For example, am I reinforcing the "dumb blonde" cliché? Does my ad portray women who are unable to balance their checkbooks? Women who are unable to manage a household without the help of outside experts, particularly male ones?

- Does my ad use belittling language? For example, "gal Friday" or "lady professor?" Or "her kitchen" but "his car?" Or "women's chatter" but "men's discussions?"
 - Does my ad make use of contemptuous phrases? Such as "the weaker sex," "the little woman," "the ball and chain," or "the war department."
 - Do my ads consistently show women waiting on men? Even in occupational situations, for example, are women nurses or secretaries serving coffee, etc., to male bosses or colleagues? And never vice versa?
 - Is there a gratuitous message in my ads that a woman's most important role in life is a supportive one, to cater to and coddle men and children? Is it a "big deal" when the reverse is shown, that is, very unusual and special -- something for which the woman must show gratitude?
 - Do my ads portray women as more neurotic than men? For example, as ecstatically happy over household cleanliness or deeply depressed because of their failure to achieve near perfection in household tasks?
- (A Note is needed here, perhaps. It is not the Panel's intention to suggest that women never be portrayed in the traditional role of homemaker and mother. We suggest instead that the role of homemaker be depicted not in a grotesque or stereotyped manner, but be treated with the same degree of respect accorded to other important occupations.)
- Do my ads feature women who appear to be basically unpleasant? For example, women nagging their husband or children? Women being condescending to other women? Women being envious or arousing envy? Women playing the "one-upmanship" game (with a sly wink at the camera?)
 - Do my ads portray women in situations that tend to confirm the view that women are the property of men or are less important than men?
 - Is there double entendre in my ads? Particularly about sex or women's bodies?

Checklist: Negative Appeals

- Do my ads try to arouse or play upon stereotyped insecurities? Are women shown as fearful of not being attractive to men or to other women, fearful of not being able to keep their husbands or lovers, fearful of an in-law's disapproval, or, for example, of not being able to cope with a husband's boss coming for dinner?
- Does my copy promise unrealistic psychological rewards for using the product? For example, that a perfume can lead to instant romance?
- Does my ad blatantly or subtly suggest that the product possesses supernatural powers? If believed literally, is the advertiser unfairly taking advantage of ignorance? Even if understood as hyperbole, does it insult the intelligence of women?

Checklist: Constructive Portrayals

- Are the attitudes and behavior of the women in my ads suitable models for my own daughter to copy? Will I be happy if my own female children grow up to act and react the way the women in my ads act and react?
- Do my ads reflect the fact that girls may aspire to careers in business and the professions? Do they show, for example, female doctors and female executives? Some women with both male and female assistants?
- Do my ads portray women and men (and children) sharing in the chores of family living? For example, grocery shopping, doing laundry, cooking (not just outdoor barbecuing), washing dishes, cleaning house, taking care of children, mowing the lawn, and other house and yard work?
- Do the women in my ads make decisions (or help make them) about the purchase of high-priced items and major family investments? Do they take an informed interest, for example, in insurance and financial matters?

- Do my ads portray women actually driving cars and showing an intelligent interest in mechanical features, not just in the color and upholstery?
- Are two-income families portrayed in my ads? For example, husband and wife leaving home or returning from work together?
- Are the women in my ads doing creative or exciting things? Older women, too? In social and occupational environments? For example, making a speech, in a laboratory, or approving an ad?

Checklist: Positive Appeals

- Is the product presented as a means for a woman to enhance her own self-esteem, to be a beautiful human being, to realize her full potential?
- Does my advertisement promise women realistic rewards for using the product? Does it assume intelligence on the part of women?

References

"Advertising Portraying or Directed to Women," Unpublished Paper: Rita Herron Heritage, Indiana University, July 1977. Women's Center Library.

Advertising and Women: National Advertising Review Board, March 1975. Women's Center Library.

Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media. Eds. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet, New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1978.

"Commercial Liberation," Denise Warren, Journal of Communication.

"Mass Media Education: A Time for Review," Michael Allen and Raymond S.H. Lee in The Social Studies, March/April 1980, Vol. 71, No. 2, pp. 52-55.

Additional Works on the Topic of Advertising Stereotypes of Women:

Gender Advertisements, Irving Goffman, Harper and Row, New York, 1976.

"Do not Stereotype Women: An Appeal to Advertisers," Journal of Home Economics, 63, 549-51, October 71. By Roslyn Willett.

John Stuteville, "Sexually Polarized Products and Advertising Strategy," Journal of Retailing, 47: 3-13, Summer 1971.

Virginia Miles, "The New Woman: Her Importance to Marketing," International Advertiser 123: 13-187, Fall, 1971

"European Women Hit Mass Media Image of Being Robots and Sex Objects." Advertising Age, 12:26, August 9, 1971.

WOMEN AND MEN: IS A REALIGNMENT UNDER WAY?

by Richard Davis

OVERVIEW:

Recent public opinion surveys have indicated a distinct divergence in women's and men's opinions with respect to war, peace, Ronald Reagan, the proper role of government, etc. In addition, issues that have historically divided the sexes, such as support for prohibition are now showing a marked shrinkage of the male-female split. This activity attempts to use public opinion polls of the past three decades to enable students to analyze differences between men's and women's attitudes and how these have changed over time.

GRADE LEVEL: High School

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES/SKILLS

1. Students will learn to use public opinion polling results to analyze men's and women's attitudes towards the issues of the day at particular points in time.

2. Students will analyze data from a distinct period and share their findings with their classmates to understand changes that have occurred and are occurring today.

3. Students will be asked to hypothesize what this realignment may mean for the future of American politics and then have an opportunity to compare their findings with those of women active in the feminist movement.

4. Students may conduct opinion polls in their communities to determine whether the divergence holds true in their home communities or not.

MATERIALS:

1. "A New Era in Men's and Women's Attitudes" (pp.21-32) Public Opinion, April/May 1982.
2. "Women Shifting Sharply Away from Reagan, Republican Party" Washington Post, March 29, 1982
3. "Are Women Different Today?" Betty Friedan and Midge Decter in Public Opinion, April/May 1982.
4. "Public Opinion Polling as Social History" (previous lesson in source book)

PROCEDURE:

1. The class is to be divided into four groups with each group focusing on one set of polls:
 - A. 1948-1952
 - B. 1960-1964
 - C. Early 70's
 - D. 1976-1977 to the Present
2. Each group needs to familiarize itself with the major issues of its time period. It is suggested that readings be assigned out of the text to make students aware of the period which they are evaluating.
3. Each member of each group should receive the polls for his/her particular period (at least one set per group). The group is to choose a spokesperson and/or secretary and analyze its data together to make an oral presentation to the class. The group should note on which issues men's and women's opinions diverged and on which ones they remained the same.
4. After each group has had the chance to present its findings to the class, the teacher should pass out to the students pp. 21 and 27 from Public Opinion: "Women and Men: Is a Realignment Under Way?" and "A New Era in Men's and Women's Attitudes." The Students should have an opportunity to read these findings and compare the analysis

with their own. "Women's Issues: The Sexes Converge" (p.32) spanning all the time periods should also be distributed and discussed.

5. "Women Shifting Sharply Away from Reagan, Republican Party," Washington Post, (March 29, 1982) should be distributed to the students as background material for an essay. The students should be assigned an essay covering the following topics:

a. Why do the differences between men and women appear to be more pronounced than they did twenty years ago?

b. Why are women less confident about the country's future?

c. Why are there negligible differences between men and women on women's issues?

d. Is it likely that these trends will continue?

e. What might these findings mean for the future of American political parties?

6. After the essays have been completed, students should be given copies of essays written for Public Opinion by Midge Decter and Betty Friedan on the same topics. Brief biographies of the two authors follow:

Midge Decter is the executive director of the Committee for the Free World in New York City. She was one of the founders of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Betty Friedan is the author of The Feminine Mystique (1963). Her new book, The Second Stage has just been published. Ms. Friedan is the founder of the National Organization for Women and the original convener of the National Women's Political Caucus.

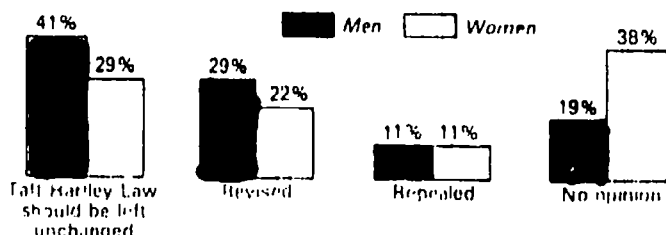
The class should critique these essays (orally or written).

7. The class may want to try its own public opinion poll of its community to see if national trends appear to be true locally. Directions for class public opinion polling can be found in the previous lesson in this source book (See "Public Opinion Polling as Social History.").

GROUP 1: 1948-1952

Women Less Likely to be Informed

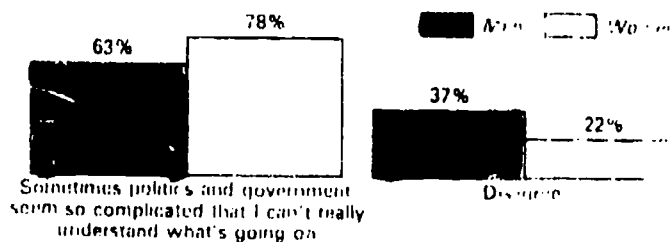
Question: Do you think the Taft-Hartley Law should be revised, repealed, or left unchanged? (Ask only of those responding "Yes" to the following question: Have you heard or read about the Taft-Hartley Law which deals with labor unions?)



National 36% 25% 11% 27%

Note: Only respondents who had heard or read about the Taft-Hartley Law. Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization on January 23-28, 1948.

Question: Now I'd like to read some of the books that people tell me when I interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. I'll read them one at a time and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

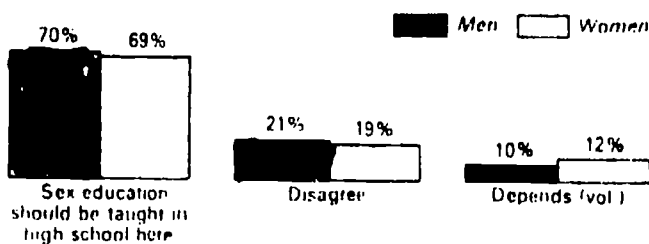


National 72%

Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Election Study 1947.

Differences in Outlook Insignificant

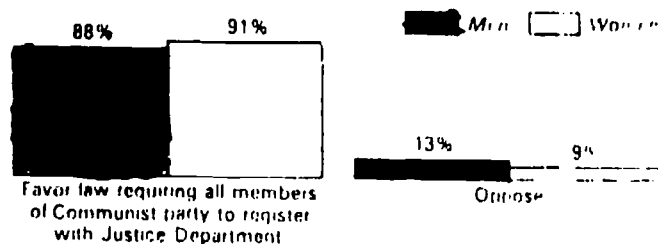
Question: Do you believe that sex education should be taught in the high school here or not?



National 70% 11% 20%

Source: Survey by the Robert R. McCormack Institute, July-August, 1950.

Question: Would you favor or oppose a law requiring all members of the Communist Party in this country to register (file their names) with the Justice Department in Washington?

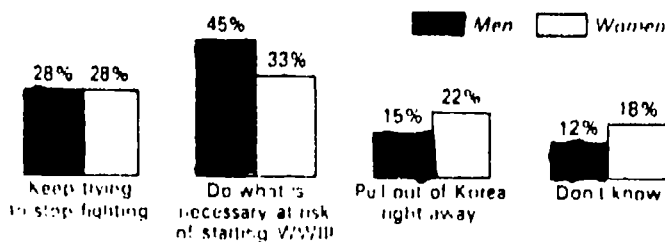


National 89% 11%

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, March 6-11, 1947.

Use of Force Splits the Sexes Early On

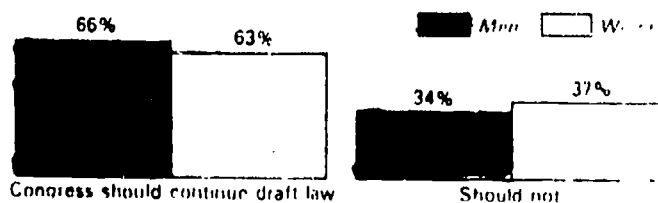
Question: What do you think we should do now in Korea. Keep trying to work out a way to stop the fighting in Korea, stop fooling around and do whatever is necessary to knock the Communists out of Korea once and for all even at the risk of starting World War III, or pull out of Korea right away and let them handle their own problems with the Communists?



National 28% 39% 18% 15%

Source: Survey by the Robert R. McCormack Institute, October 1950.

Question: The Selective Service Draft Law ends in June. Do you think Congress should or should not continue the draft law for another 3 years?



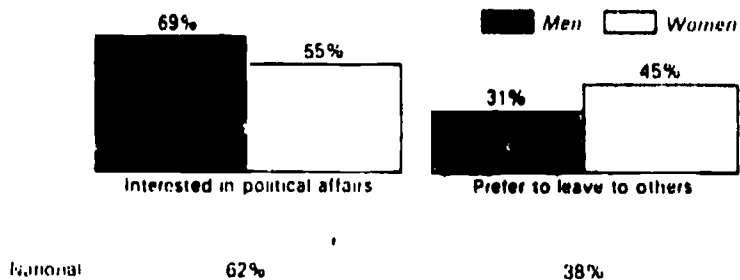
National 64% 36%

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, January 8-13, 1951.

GROUP 1: 1948-1952

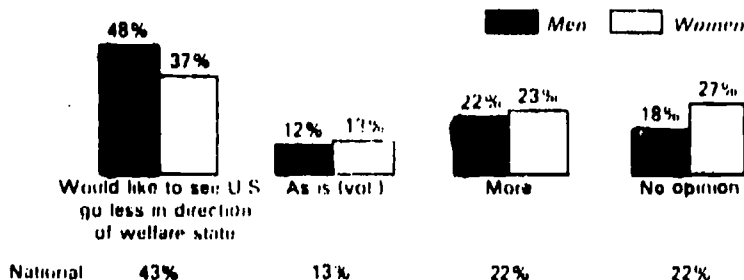
Women Less Likely to be Informed

Question: Would you say that you, yourself, are interested in political affairs in this country—or do you prefer to leave that to others?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 27, 1949

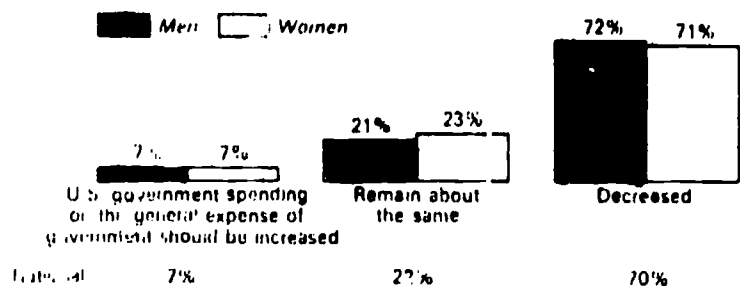
Question: Would you like to see the United States go more in the direction of a welfare state or less in the direction of a welfare state?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 27, 1949

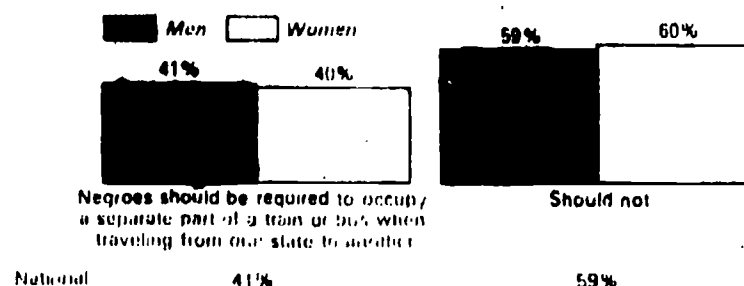
Differences in Outlook Insignificant

Question: Do you think U.S. government spending should be increased, decreased, or remain about the same on the following... General expense of government?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, March 29, 31, 1950

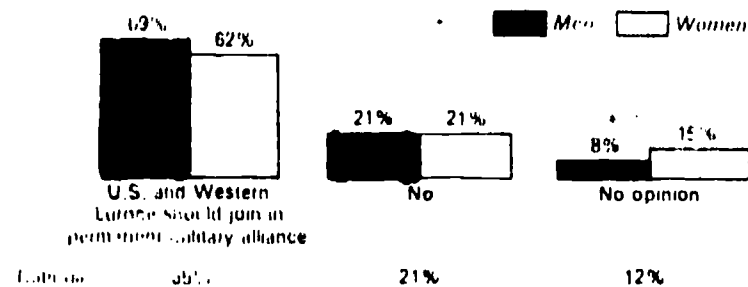
Question: Another of Truman's proposals concerns interstate travel. Do you think negroes should or should not be required to occupy a separate part of a train or bus when traveling from one state to another?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 15, 10, 1949

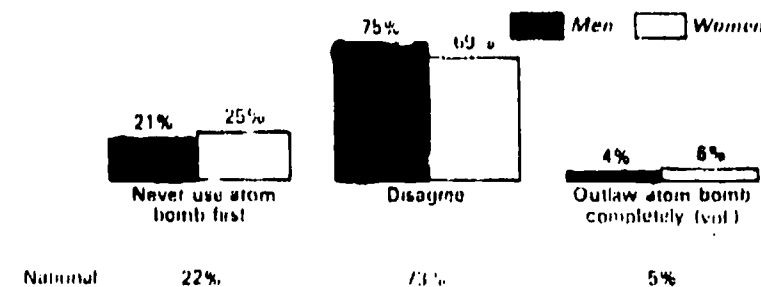
Use of Force Splits the Sexes Early On

Question: Do you think the United States and all the Western European countries participating in the Marshall Plan should join together in a permanent military alliance—that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if any one of them is attacked?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 21, 29, 1948

Question: A U.S. senator has suggested that the United States should pledge (prior use) that we will never use the atom bomb in warfare until some other nation has used it on us first. What is your opinion of this suggestion?

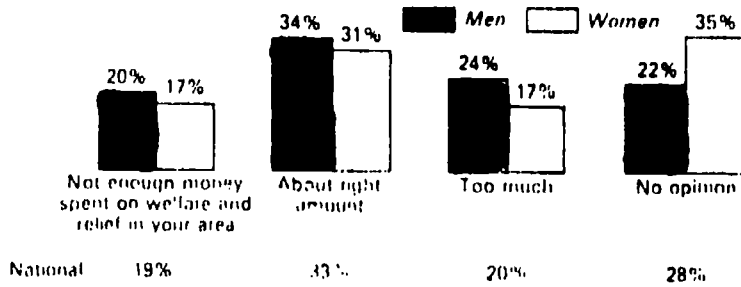


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 27, 1949

GROUP 2: 1960-1964

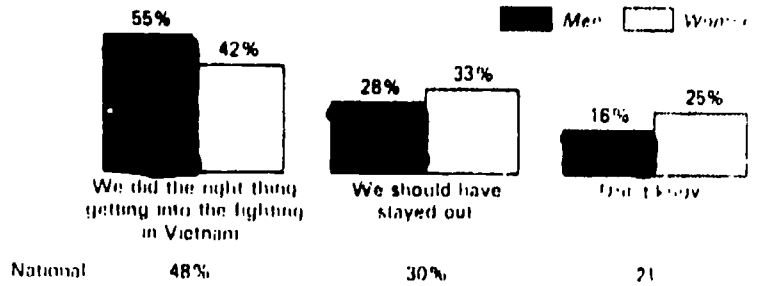
Women Still Less Likely to be Informed

Question: In your opinion, do you think that too much money, or not enough money, is being spent on welfare and relief programs in your area?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, February 29, 1964

Question: Have you been paying any attention to what is going on in Viet Nam? (If Yes, ask:) Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Viet Nam or should we have stayed out?

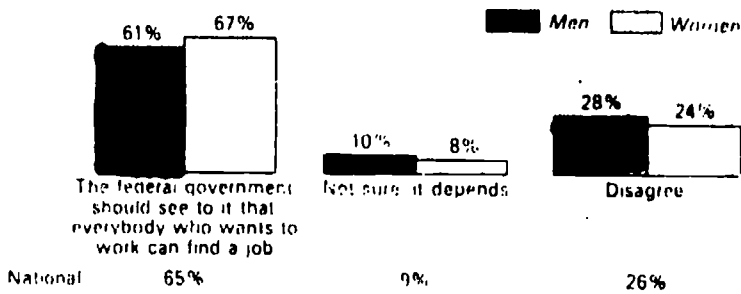


Note: The national opinion for "Other/depends" was 17% for men and 19% for women. 1%.

Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Election Study 1964

Still Insignificant Differences in Outlook

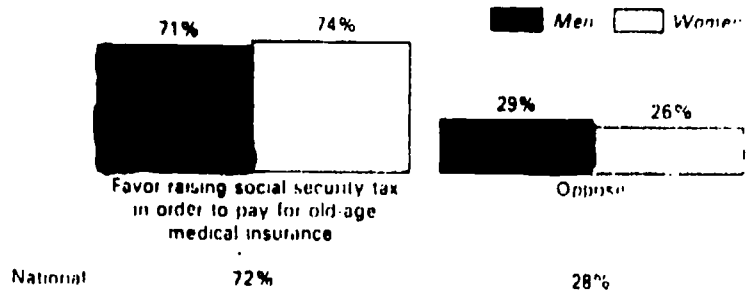
Question: The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job. Now would you have an opinion on this or not? (If yes, have opinion ask:) Do you think the government should do this?



Note: Agree - agreed strongly, Disagree - disagreed not very strongly, Disagree - disagreed strongly.

Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Election Study 1960

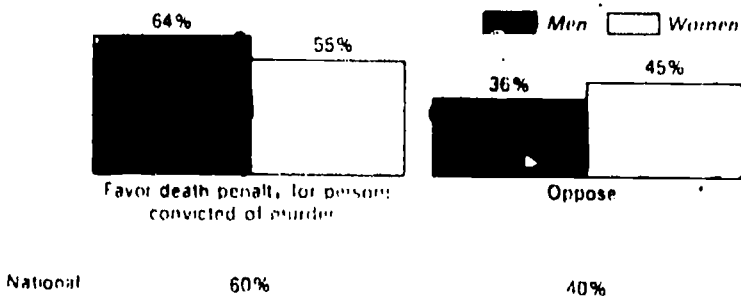
Question: Would you favor or oppose having the social security tax increased in order to pay for old-age medical insurance?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 17, 1961

Force Still Divisive Issue

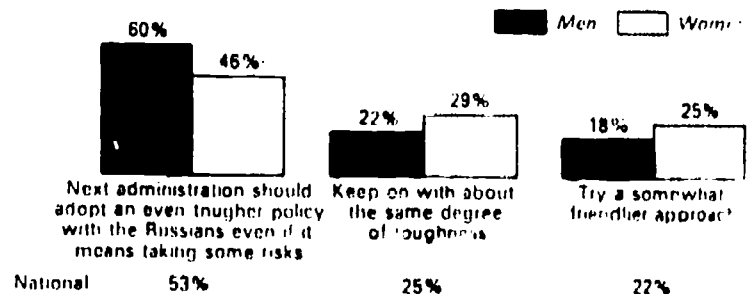
Question: Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?



Note: No opinion not calculated.

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, March 27, 1959

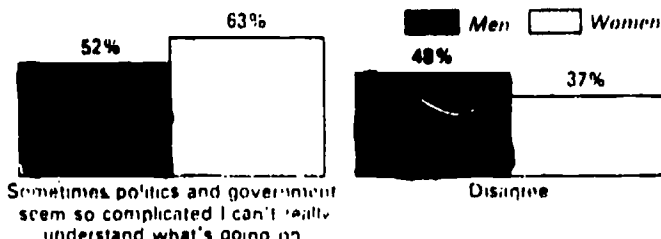
Question: There has been a good deal of discussion about what we should do about Russia. In which of these directions do you believe the next administration should go in dealing with Russia? (Hand respondent card) (a) Adopt an even tougher policy of dealing with the Russians than we have up to now--even if it means taking some risks. (b) Keep on with about the same degree of toughness we have been pursuing in the last 2-3 years. (c) try a somewhat friendlier approach in the hope that the Russians will in time learn to play fair when they know more about us and what we believe in.



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 1960

Women Still Less Likely to be Informed

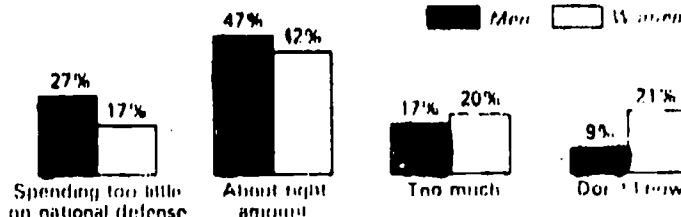
Question: Now I'd like to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. I'll read them one at a time and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree. . . . Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated I can't really understand what's going on.



National 59% 41%

Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Election Study 1960

Question: There is much discussion as to the amount this country should spend for national defense. How do you feel about this—do you think we are spending too little, too much, or about the right amount?

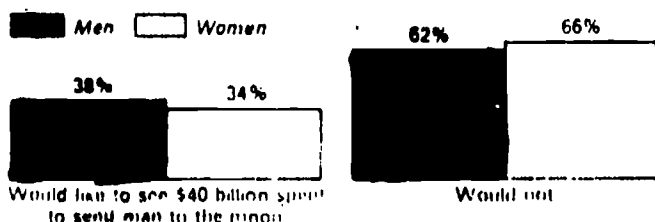


National 22% 45% 19% 14%

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, March 2-7, 1960

Still Insignificant Differences in Outlook

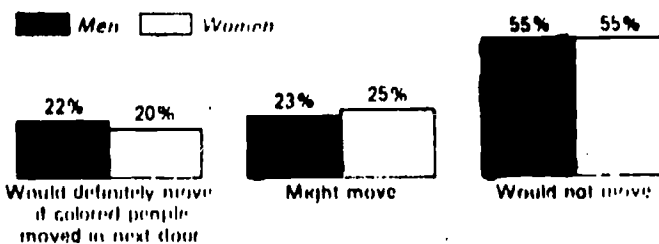
Question: It has been estimated that it would cost the United States \$40 billion—or an average of about \$225 per person—to send a man to the moon. Would you like to see this amount spent for this purpose or not?



National 36% 64%

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 17-22, 1961

Question: If colored people came to live next door would you move? (Asked of whites only.)

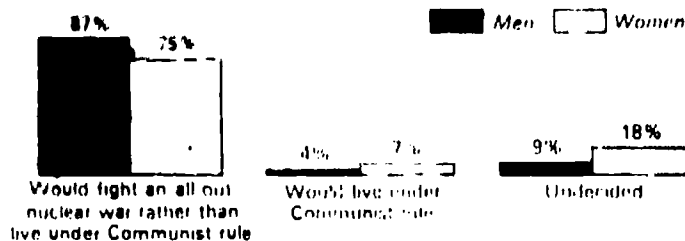


National 21% 24% 55%

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 23-28, 1963

Force Still Divisive Issue

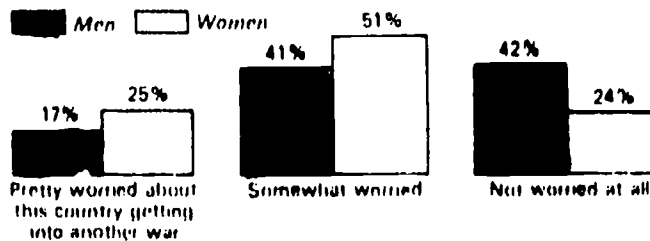
Question: Suppose you had to make the decision between fighting an all-out nuclear war or living under Communist rule—how would you decide?



National 80% 6% 14%

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, 9-21, 1961

Question: How about the chances of our country getting into war? Would you say that at the present time you are pretty worried about this country getting into another war, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?



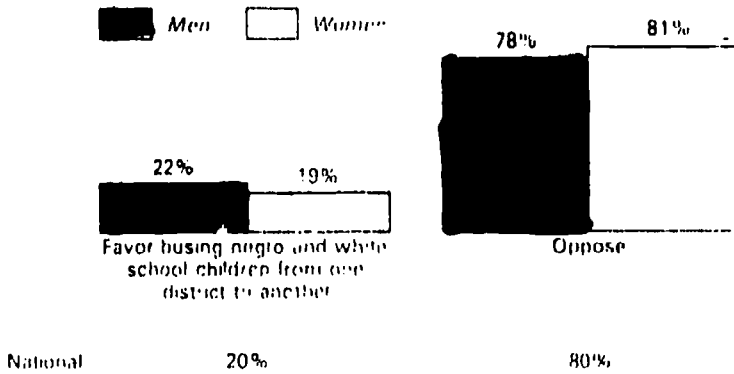
National 21% 46% 32%

Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Election Study 1960

1970-1972

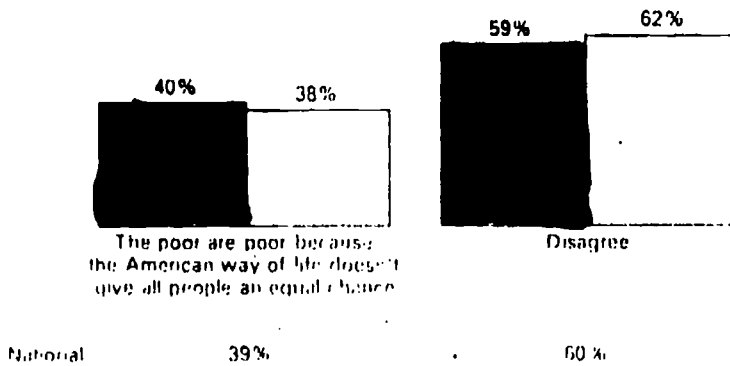
ISSUE DIFFERENCES INSIGNIFICANT

Question: In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of negro and white school children from one district to another?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 27-30, 1971

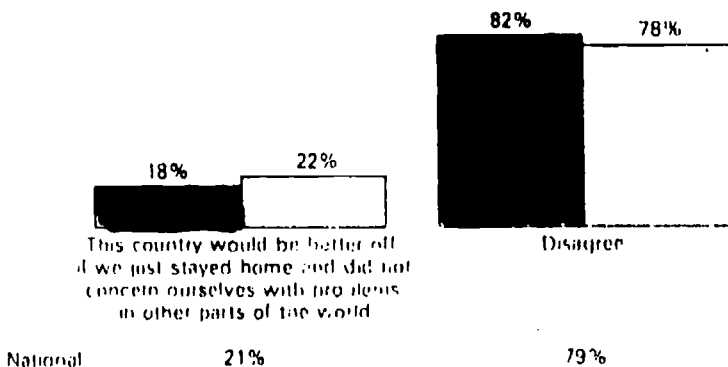
Question: As you know, even though America is a wealthy nation, there are still many people living here who are poor. I will read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so, including some things that other people don't agree with at all. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree a great deal. . . The poor are poor because the American way of life doesn't give all people an equal chance.



Note: Agree - agree a great deal or agree somewhat; Disagree - disagree somewhat or disagree a great deal.

Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, October Study, 1972.

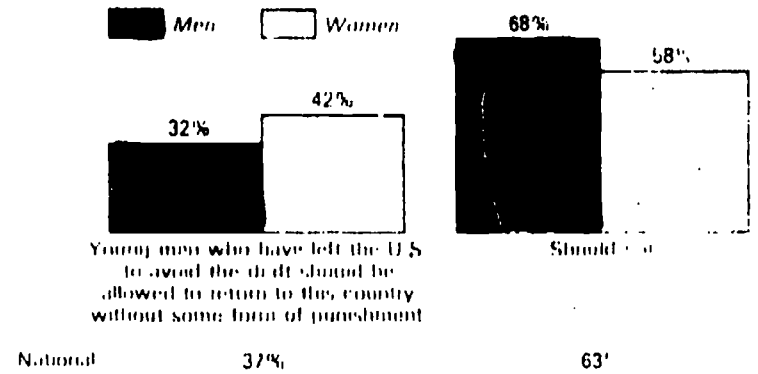
Question: I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagreed with each of these next six statements. . . This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.



Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, October Study, 1972.

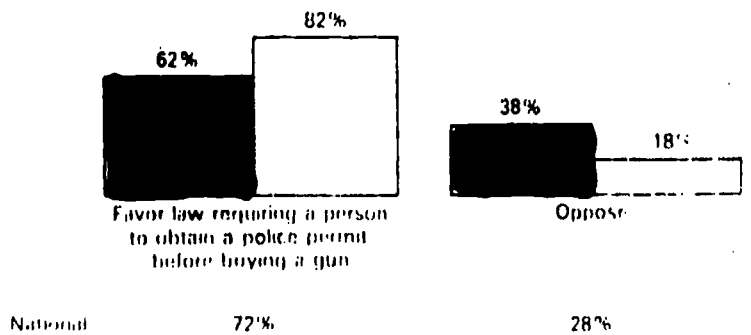
THE USE OF FORCE STILL DIVIDES THE SEXES

Question: Suppose you were voting today on each of the three propositions listed on this card—which of the two statements—(a) or (b) would you vote for? Proposition III (a) Young men who have left the United States to avoid the draft should be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment. (b) Young men who have left the United States to avoid the draft should not be allowed to return to this country without some form of punishment.



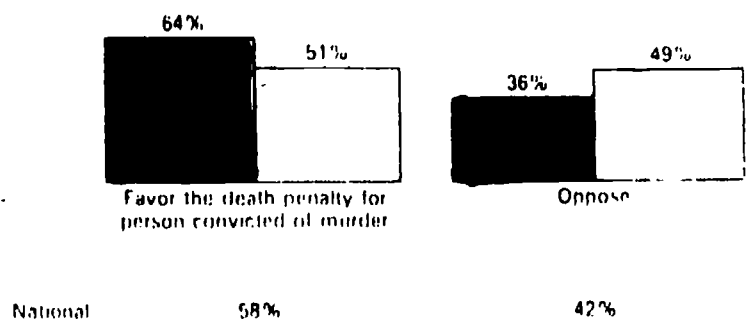
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, June 23-26, 1972

Question: Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?



Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1972.

Question: Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

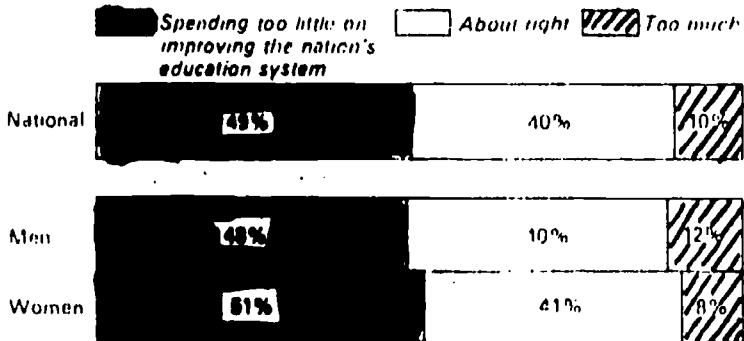


Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1972.

1976 TO THE PRESENT

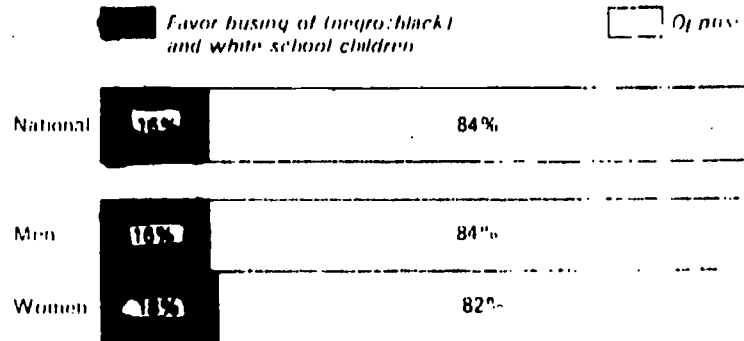
ON SOME ISSUES, DIFFERENCES ARE STILL INSIGNIFICANT

Question: We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (Read Item A) . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on . . . improving the nation's education system?



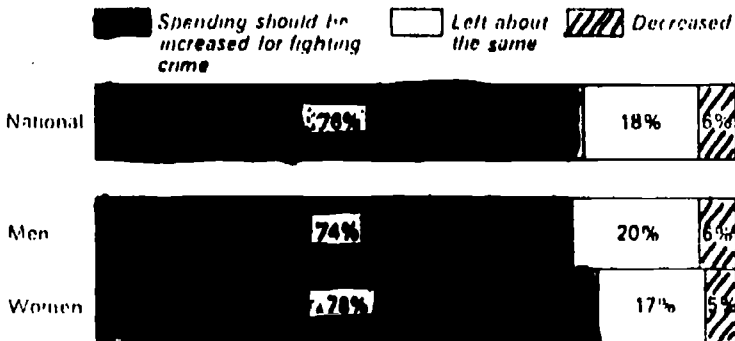
Source: Survey by National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1977

Question: In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of (negro/black) and white school children from one district to another?



Source: Survey by National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1977

Question: I am going to mention several general categories on which the federal government spends money. After each, please tell me whether you feel spending for it should be increased, decreased, or left about the same (If increase/decrease, probe:) Is that increased/decreased a great deal or somewhat . . . fighting crime?



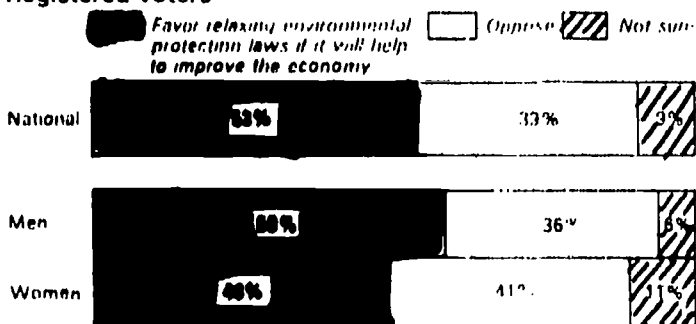
Note: Increased = increased somewhat/great deal. Decreased = decreased somewhat/great deal.

Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, February 19-20, 1981

MEN AND WOMEN ON DIFFERENT PATHS: PERCEPTIONS OF RISK

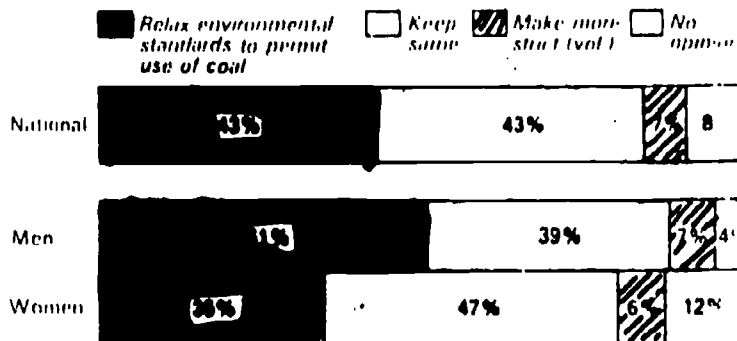
Question: Now I'd like to know how you feel about a number of important issues that face the country. Do you favor or oppose: relaxing environmental protection laws if it will help to improve the economy.

Registered voters



Source: Survey by Time/Yearbook for Children and Youth, May 12, 1982

Question: It has been recommended that wherever possible industry convert to the use of coal from oil and natural gas. Do you think environmental standards concerning air pollution should be relaxed to permit the use of coal or do you think they should be kept as they are now?



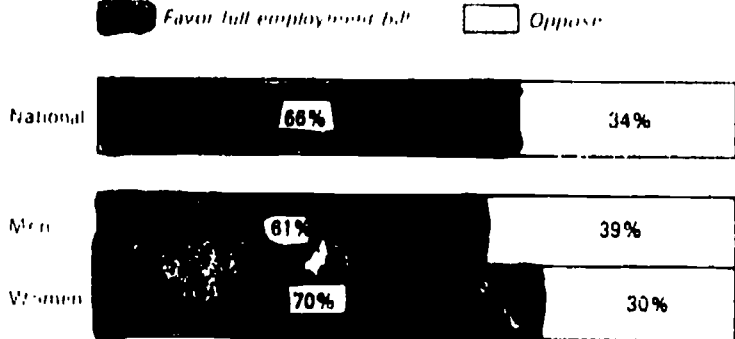
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 29-May 2, 1977

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIFFERENCES ON COMPASSION EMERGE

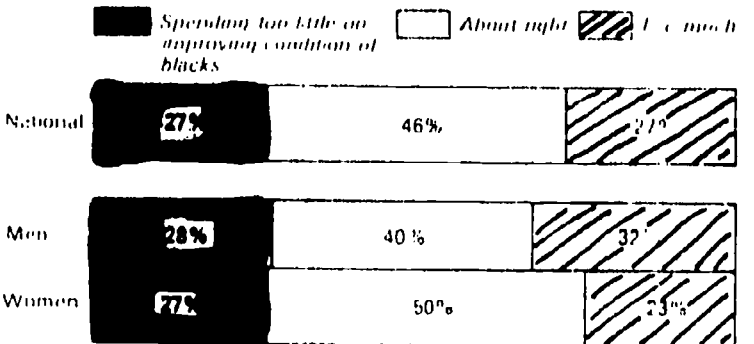
Question: Now I'd like to know how you feel about certain issues. For example, do you favor or oppose the passage of a full employment bill in which the government guarantees a job to everyone who wants to work.

Registered voters



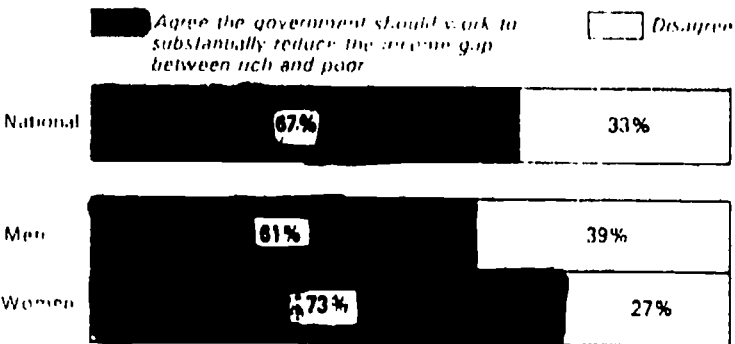
Source: Survey by Time/Yankelovich, Fall, and White, November 1977

Question: We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (Read Item A) . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (Item)? . . . Improving the condition of blacks.



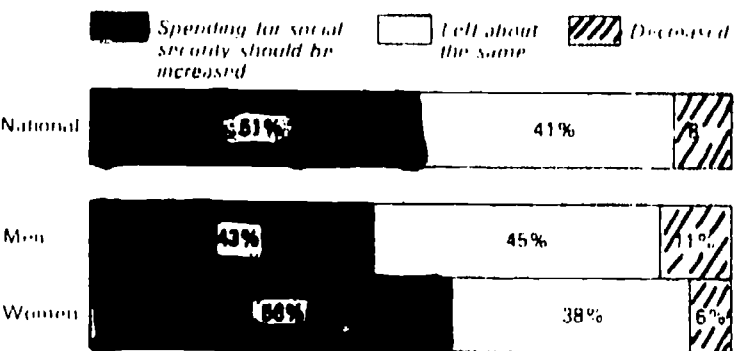
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1977

Question: I'm going to read a few statements. For each, can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it? The government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between rich and poor?



Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, February 19-20, 1981

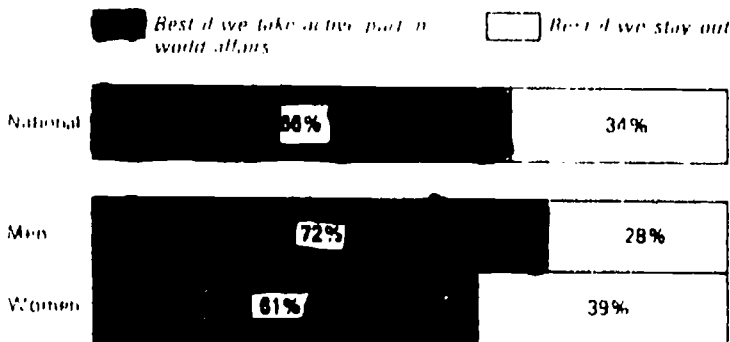
Question: Now I'd like to ask about some specific federal government programs. Again, for each, please tell me whether you feel spending for that program should be increased, decreased, or left about the same (If increase/decrease, probe: Is that increased/decreased a great deal or somewhat? . . . The social security program?



Note: Increased (increased somewhat/great deal) Decreased (decreased somewhat/great deal)
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, February 19-20, 1981

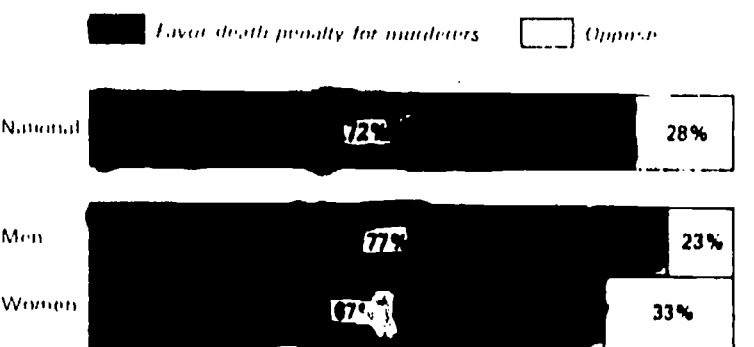
THE FORCE DIMENSION EXPANDS

Question: Do you think it will be best for the future of this country if we take an active part in world affairs, or if we stay out of world affairs?



Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1976

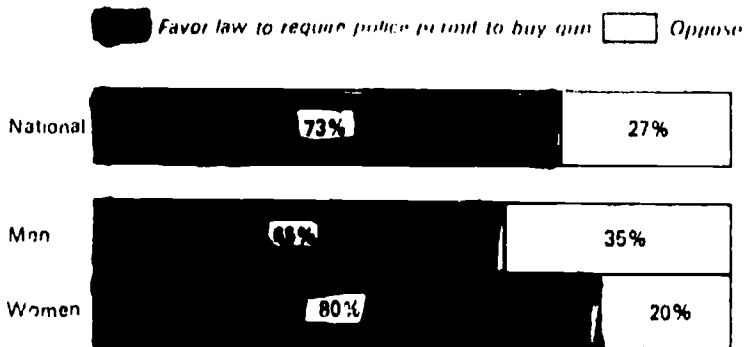
Question: Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?



Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1977

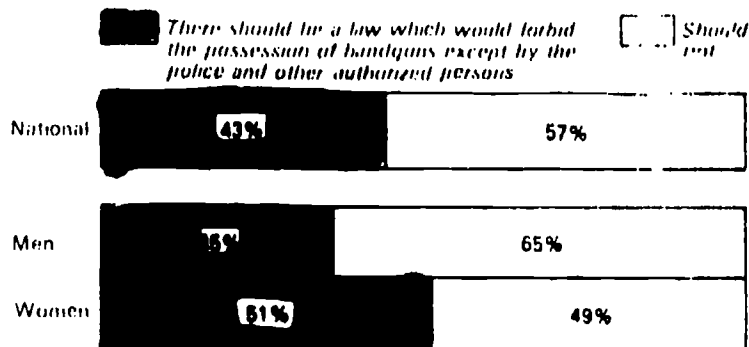
SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES ON THE USE OF FORCE

Question: Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?



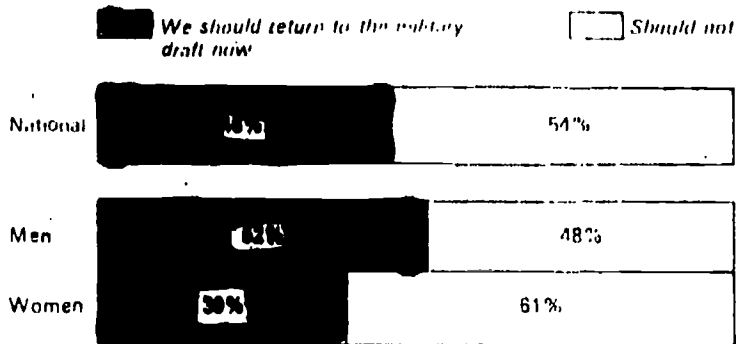
Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1977.

Question: Do you think there should or should not be a law which would forbid the possession of handguns except by the police and other authorized persons?



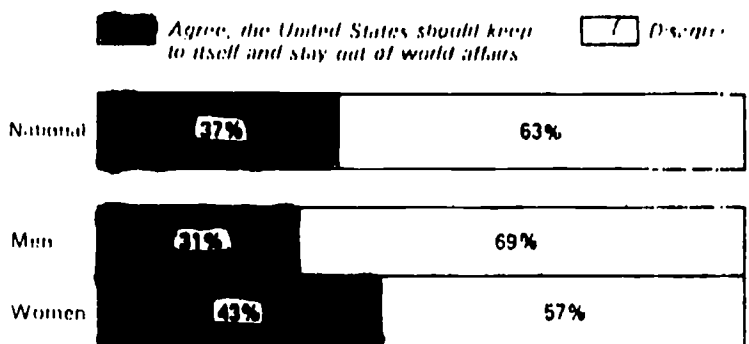
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, June 19-22, 1981

Question: Turning to another subject: Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time or not?



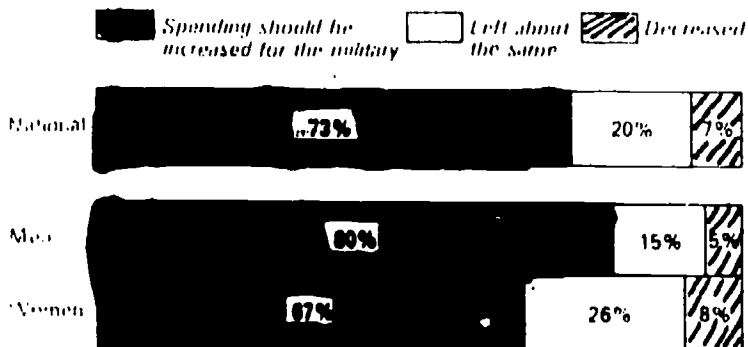
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, October 14-18, 1981.

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement about world affairs: The United States should keep to itself and stay out of world affairs. Is that agree/disagree strongly or agree/disagree somewhat?



Note: Agree = agree strongly + agree somewhat Disagree = disagree strongly + disagree somewhat
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, April 20-22, 1981

Question: I am going to mention several general categories on which the federal government spends money. After each, please tell me whether you feel spending for it should be increased, decreased or left about the same. (If increase/decrease, probe) Is that increased/decreased a great deal or somewhat? . . . the military?



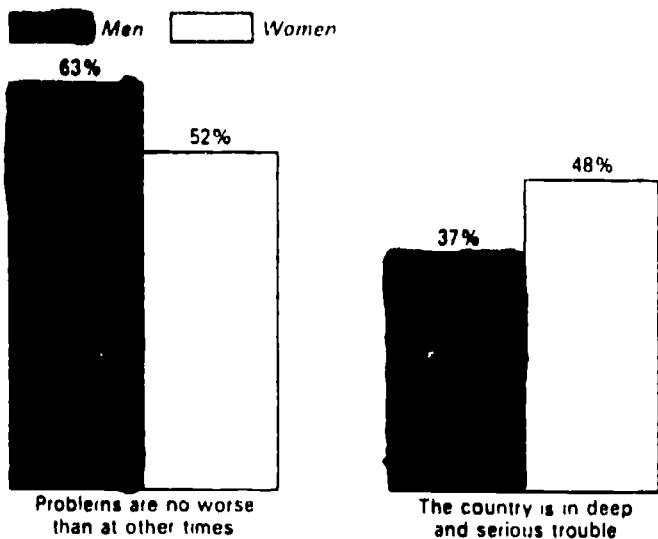
Note: Increased = increased somewhat/great deal Decreased = decreased somewhat/great deal
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, February 19-20, 1981

CONFIDENCE IN THE SYSTEM

WOMEN HAVE LESS CONFIDENCE IN COUNTRY'S FUTURE

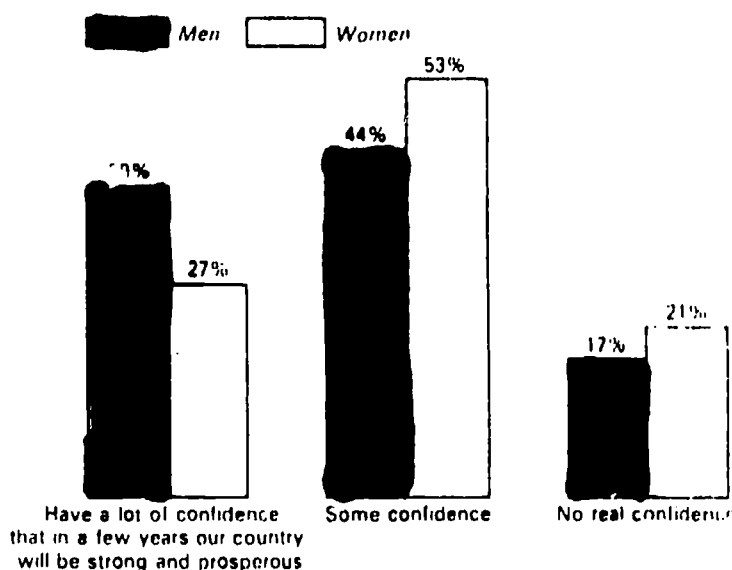
Question: In commenting on how things are going in the country some people tell us that the problems we face are no worse than at any other times in recent years. Others say the country is really in deep and serious trouble today. Which comes closest to your own feelings—the fact that:

Question: Do you have a lot of confidence, some confidence, or no real confidence that in a few years from now our country will be strong and prosperous?



National 57% 43%

Source: Survey by Time/Yankelovich, Skelly and White, November 1977



National 33% 49% 19%

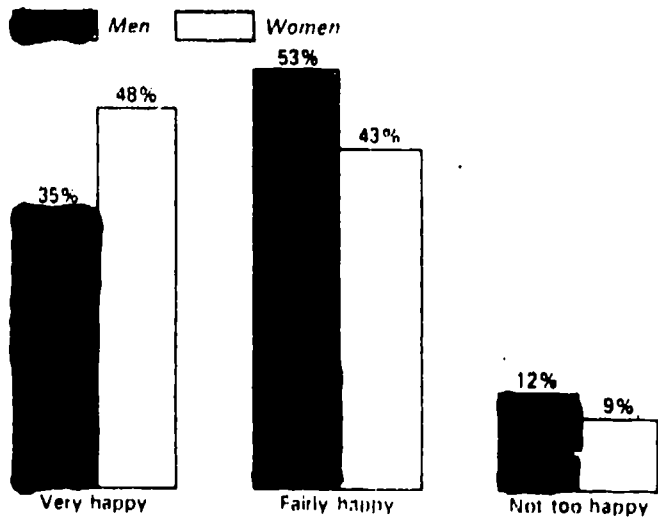
Source: Survey by Time/Yankelovich, Skelly and White, May 12-14, 1981

IN PERSONAL LIFE, WOMEN HAPPIER THAN MEN

Question: Generally speaking, how happy would you say you are—very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy?

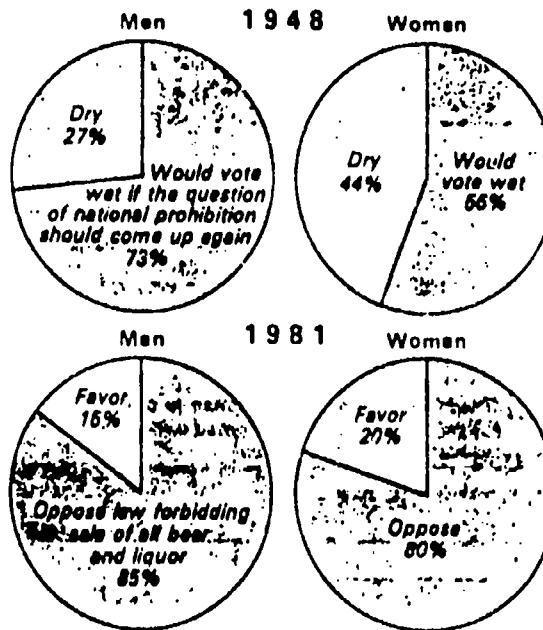
TEMPERANCE TEMPERED OVER TIME

Question: If the question of national prohibition should come up again, would you vote wet or dry? (1948)
Would you favor or oppose a law forbidding the sale of beer, wine, and liquor throughout the nation? (1981)



National 42% 48% 10%

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, November 1-7, 1977



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, October 16-21, 1948 and January 9-12, 1981

WOMEN AND MEN: IS A REALIGNMENT UNDER WAY?

Time has changed the role of women, but has it changed their minds? Recent news stories have highlighted areas where women's opinions differ from men's—war, peace, and Ronald Reagan, to name a few. Such stories led us to take a systematic, historical look at men's and women's attitudes. Where and when have they coincided and diverged? We looked at many hundreds of different questions which spanned the last thirty-five years.

1948-1952

We began our comparisons of the opinions of men and women by examining data from 1948-1952. In this period we found that (1) public opinion differences between the sexes were generally very modest. The polling data support the old textbook conclusion that there are no sustained differences in the general social and political outlook of men and women. (2) The biggest differences in this period occurred in *expressed levels of political information and interest*. On many questions asked between 1948 and 1952, the proportion of women who said they had no opinion on or no interest in political issues was significantly higher than the proportion of men giving such responses. The one large dimension where men's and women's attitudes differed consistently—though not dramatically—involved the *use of force*. For example, the possibility of war, or foreign policy questions that raised such matters as a "firm stance" against the Russians, found men and women different in overall expressed outlook. The two sexes took what the traditional stereotypes have told us are their "natural" roles.

1960-64

The next period we looked at was 1960-64. The pattern which emerged was identical to the one found in the earlier time span.

1. The differences in outlook between the sexes continued to be small and inconsistent in direction. That is, looking at the data overall, one can only conclude that there was no sustained variation in response by sex.

2. There continued to be some substantial differences in the amount of political information and political interest, with women expressing less of these.

3. The only substantive dimension where variations kept cropping up again involved the use of force. Women showed themselves more concerned about the possibility of war, more opposed to the death penalty for convicted murderers, and so on.

4. On various questions that might be called "women's issues"—involving the interests of women or matters that affect women much differently or more directly than men—there were no persistent dissimilarities. We had found the same thing in 1948-1952 and, to get ahead of our story, we found the same thing in later periods, right up to the present. On voting for a woman for president, abortion, ERA, whatever it happens to be—response differences between men and women are consistently small for all periods.

The Early Seventies

The next span for which we examined all issues was the beginning of the 1970s—1971 and 1972. Here again, the pattern initially noted in the 1940s held up. (1) Overall, men and women responded almost identically to most questions. (2) Again, the one area where we found significant divergences between the sexes involved the use of force. (3) As noted above, the differences on the "women's issues" continued to be negligible.

Our story continues on page 27.

A NEW ERA IN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S ATTITUDES

By the late 1970s, however, a big change was evident in the social and political responses of women and men. They had begun to take on the coloration of other groups in our society whose attitudes on a broad spectrum of issues are different. Differences of social and political outlook between men and women, while not huge, began appearing in a consistent pattern by the mid to late 1970s. It was the new regularity of these patterned differences that was striking. We looked at poll questions in detail for 1976 and for 1977.

1. It should be noted that on a good many questions there were still no significant differences by sex.

2. But many areas now evidenced for the first time *significant* and *sustained* variations.

3. One of these might be called the *compassion dimension*. Women were saying in 1976 and 1977 that they placed a greater emphasis on the role of government in getting jobs for people who lacked them, in helping blacks, in helping those in need generally, and so on.

4. The *risk dimension* was also one where men's attitudes contrasted with women's. For example, women were more receptive to strong governmental regulation to protect the environment.

5. The *force dimension* was still there and indeed was expanding. Thus, women were less supportive than men of high defense spending, more worried about war, less willing to support intervention in foreign affairs, more opposed to the death penalty, more in favor of gun control, and more resistant to certain other kinds of intrusions like wiretapping.

6. Some of the "traditional" issues on which men and women had long differed—such as support for prohibition or other restrictions on the use of alcohol—were now showing a marked shrinkage of the male-female split. The "wet-dry" issue is especially interesting because at earlier points in U.S. history this was the most dramatic male-female political cleavage. By the late 1970s, however, this issue

showed only the slightest trace of its historic capacity to divide the sexes.

7. On women's issues—abortion, ERA, vote for women for public office, and so on—there were still no significant men-women differences in 1976 and 1977.

8. A striking new split involved *confidence in the system*. Again and again, women said they were less sure that the country would be strong and prosperous in the future, and were less certain that the society would be able to solve its problems and function successfully. In trying to account for these differences, some possible causes can be ruled out. It isn't, for example, that women as a group are less happy or less confident about their personal lives. In fact, insofar as mass survey data can get at such an issue, women show themselves somewhat *more confident* personally. It isn't, moreover, that women reflect some great *personal complaint* against the society. And it isn't that they are more inclined to despair about the capabilities of government—compared to men, they don't see governmental officials as less competent, more dishonest, or whatever. Rather, women were just less hopeful about the performance and prospects of the society.

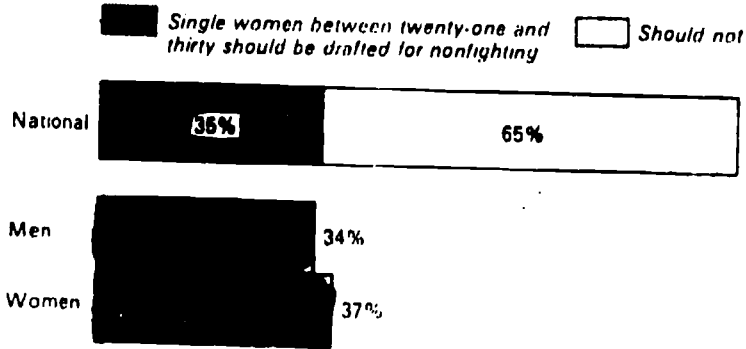
The Eighties

At the beginning of the 1980s, everything seen for 1976 and 1977 continues to hold. There are broad if not enormously deep differences in the general social and political outlook of men and women. The differences now extend far beyond a few traditional "social issues" like pornography and the use of force, to encompass a wide assortment of social and political questions. Whether these new divisions in outlook will be sustained in the years ahead, or rather will fade, remains to be seen. The question of their persistence is linked to the whole matter of causality—something which Midge Decter and Betty Friedan address on page 20 of this issue.

"WOMEN'S ISSUES": THE SEXES CONVERGE

DRAFT

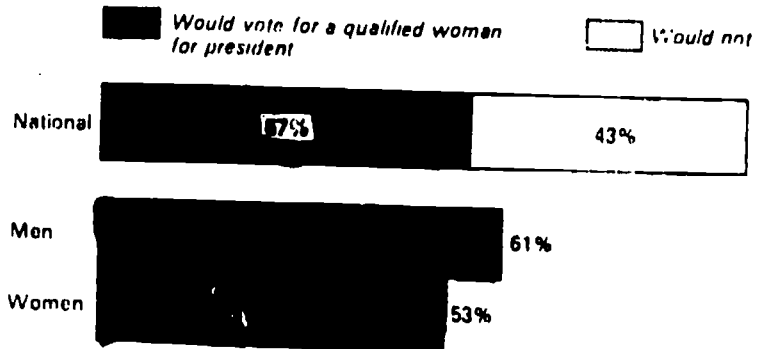
Question: Do you think that single women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty should be drafted now for nonfighting in the Army, Navy and Air Force?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 30-August 4, 1950.

WOMAN FOR PRESIDENT

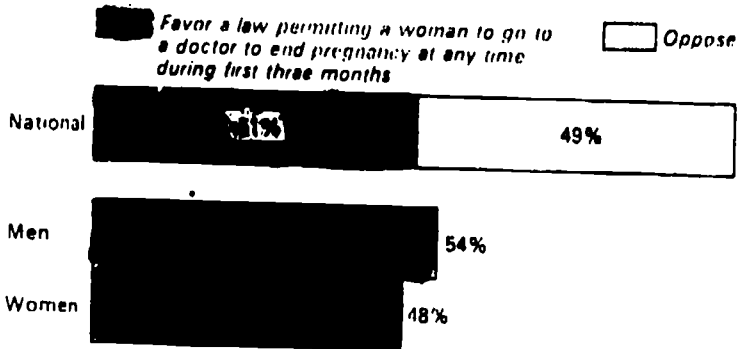
Question: If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she qualified for the job?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, August 15-20, 1961

ABORTION

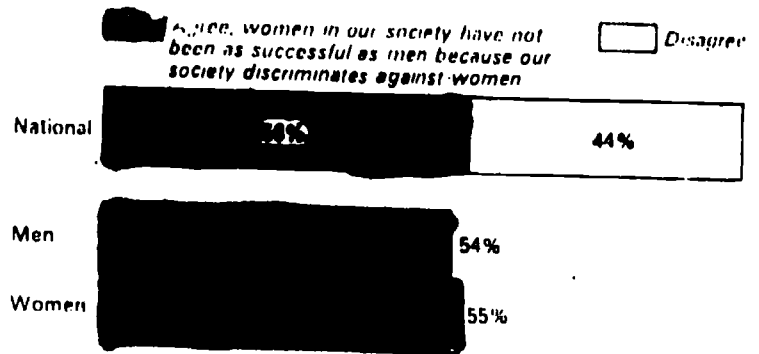
Question: Would you favor or oppose a law which would permit a woman to go to a doctor to end pregnancy at any time during the first three months?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, December 8-11, 1972

DISCRIMINATION

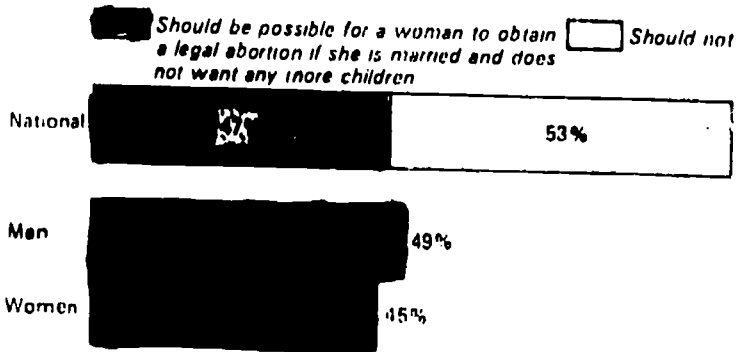
Question: In general, women in our society have not been as successful as men—in business, politics, the leadership positions in our country. I'll read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so, including some things that other people don't agree with at all. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree a great deal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree a great deal. First, our society discriminates against women.



Note: Agree — agree a great deal | agree somewhat | Disagree — disagree somewhat | disagree a great deal
Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Election Study 1972

ABORTION

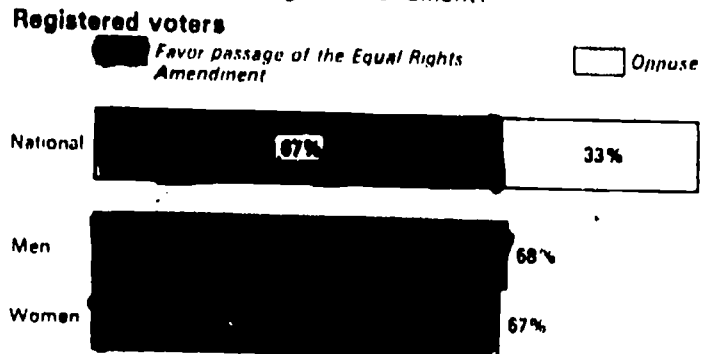
Question: Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if . . . she is married and does not want any more children?



Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, 1977

ERA

Question: Now I'd like to know how you feel about a number of important issues that face the country. Do you favor or oppose: Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment?



Source: Survey by Time/Yankelovich, Skelly and White, May 12-14, 1981

Women Shifting Sharply Away From R

By Bill Peterson
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a marked departure from historical political patterns, women have begun looking at the president and the Republican Party in a distinctly different way than men do.

The shift has taken place at a time of growing political awareness among women, when they have overtaken men as a majority of voters and when the membership of feminist groups that are critical of President Reagan has increased dramatically. The change could have a major impact on the congressional elections this year.

In the past, women and men have differed on some issues—such as war and peace, the environment and nuclear power. But, according to Gallup polls and other indexes, men and women have held similar views about every president since Dwight D. Eisenhower. And during the 1970s, there was no significant difference in party affiliation between men and women, according to the Gallup organization.

But Ronald Reagan has apparently changed all that. Since 1980, women have taken a far harsher view of Reagan than have men. And they've been far more reluctant to think of themselves as Republicans.

A recent Washington Post-ABC poll, for example, found women disapproved of the way Reagan handles his job by 50 to 43 percent. Men, by contrast, approved of the president's performance, 53 to 41 percent.

The poll, conducted the first week of March, found 45 percent of the women considered themselves Democrats, and 17 percent, Republicans. Meanwhile, the Republicans have been making inroads among men, with 33 percent identifying themselves as Democrats, and 23 percent, Republicans.

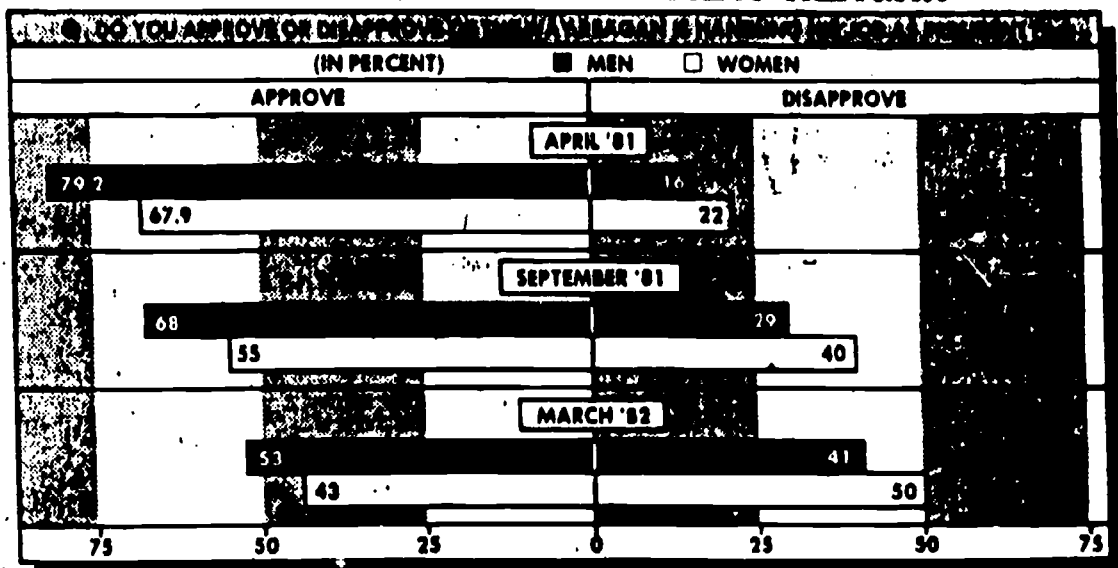
As late as November, 1979, 5 percent more women than men in a Washington Post poll said they considered themselves Republicans.

In addition, 55 percent of the women surveyed in the March Post poll said they would vote for a Democrat in next fall's congressional elections, 29 percent for a Republican.

This split between the preferences of men and women showed up in last fall's gubernatorial election in Virginia. A Post poll the week before the election found women preferred Democrat Charles S. Robb by 58 to 39 percent over Republican J. Marshall Coleman; men preferred Coleman, 49 to 46 percent.

Kathy Wilson, a Republican who chairs

HOW WOMEN AND MEN VIEW REAGAN



SOURCE: WASHINGTON POST-ABC NEWS POLL

By Oell McCrory—The Washington Post

the National Women's Political Caucus, said the Reagan administration's "alarming insensitivity" to women on a host of issues has activated feminists. "I've visited 33 states during the last year," she said. "I mean to say women really do not like Ronald Reagan out there."

But there is wide disagreement over the meaning of the shift. Republicans tend to dismiss it as an aberration that will disappear. "What women are doing is adopting a wait-and-see attitude," said Betty Heitman, co-chairman of the Republican National Committee. "I think the gap will close."

Some, like Ann F. Lewis, political director of the Democratic National Committee, see the shift as part of a major political realignment between the parties. "The only reason that it hasn't been noticed is the people involved are women," Lewis said.

"The right-wing takeover of the Republican Party" has driven moderate women from the party, she said. "The Republicans have an opportunity, which I don't think they will take, to reach out to women. It is not too late for them."

Others, like Ruth B. Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute's Center for the Study of Women in Politics at Rutgers University, think the gender gap shows that there's a potential women's voting bloc.

"It can no longer be assumed there is no difference between men and women politically," she said. "Women should realize that they are potentially powerful and that is something they've never had before."

But professional pollsters are more cautious.

Andrew Kohut, president of the Gallup

organization, said it is too early to tell if any permanent realignment is taking place. "It's very difficult to say how much of this is for the moment, or for real," he said. "Certainly it's been there throughout the Reagan administration, and women have to be big targets for Democrats in 1982."

Patrick Caddell, a Democratic pollster, agrees with that assessment. But he noted that during the past 15 years, a significant gap has developed between the views of men and women on many issues.

"What we've seen is a dramatic breaking-away of women," Caddell added. "They don't tend to follow their husbands or men in general anymore. That's a revolution of enormous political consequences."

Reagan's "women problem" first began to attract attention in 1980. He won 55 percent of the male vote and 47 percent of the female vote—a gap of 8 percentage points. The median gap in the 20 Gallup polls taken during Reagan's first year in office was 9 percentage points, almost double that of any president since Eisenhower, when Gallup began using its current sampling procedures.

Originally, pollsters attributed the gap to the "war and peace" issue. Women, traditionally more oriented toward peace, feared Reagan's election would lead to war. Those same fears linger today.

The Washington Post-ABC poll in early March found 38 percent of the women surveyed approved of Reagan's foreign policy; 49 percent disapproved. A more recent Post-ABC poll found that women, by 48 to 33 percent, disapproved of the president's handling of the El Salvador situation; men approved, 48 to 42 percent.

Are Women Different Today?



BETTY FRIEDAN

The data are fascinating. What we're seeing is that women don't necessarily follow men. When women begin to move toward real equality and a full sense of their own personhood, they don't follow men at all; they speak with their own voices. They speak from their experience—not their biology. We're moving away from polarized and unequal sex roles toward new integration.

Women, more than men, have been concerned with life, and this has given them superior values and a better sense of what's needed for the survival of the species and for human evolution. This was first apparent in the poll questions that showed women's greater sensitivity to matters of war and peace. It is

now observable in other areas, as your data show. Women are much more sensitive than men to violations of human priorities—things like Reagan's economics and the cutting of essential services. You can call it compassion or you can call it sensitivity to priorities or values of life. Issues having to do with children, the elderly, families, the sick, the quality of life, and our actual survival are values more basic to women. Now that women have a degree of independence and a new respect for their own personhood, they will assert these values politically and in the various disciplines where definitions have been made by men before. The poll data

(Continued on page 41)



MIDGE DECTER

Women's lack of confidence in the country's future, as shown in the polls, may be a response to conditions in the country. It's hard to gauge these things, but I think that there is deep personal insecurity among women today. They are enjoined from admitting it because they're supposed to have a greater sense of self-awareness and a better grip on life since more of them have careers and they are more at ease in these careers. I say this based on pure personal observation.

I suspect that women are feeling very insecure about their futures. Most of them—particularly younger women—are at this moment caught in a terrible conflict about what they want. One might call it bias or prejudice on my part, but I just can't believe that any expression of self-confidence from women is sincere. It may be that women do not recognize their inner turmoil for what it is.

If you ask women today if they're feeling more confident about their own

futures, as the pollsters do, and they say yes, their response may be ideological rather than genuine. The sense of insecurity in the future of the country may itself be an ideological projection. Women are saying they feel better about the way their lives are going because they've been *told* to feel better about it. There are all kinds of conclusions to be drawn not by polling them but by *looking* at them, by observing their conduct. There is evidence that they are not nearly as cheerful as they say about the way their own lives are going.

Dovish Tendencies

The standard datum about women's historic "dovish" inclination seems to me to be perfectly natural. They're the ones who are occupied all the time with keeping things running. It's like that old joke about the small decisions and the big decisions. Women are used to making small decisions. Their role in life, particularly as mothers, is to spend most of their waking hours trying to prevent various forms of harm from

(Continued on page 41)

Editor's Note: In March, the editors began reviewing hundreds of polls on the attitudes of women and men. The findings are discussed on pages 21 and 27 of Opinion Roundup. The data are shown on pages 22-32.

We asked Betty Friedan and Midge Decter to comment on the data. Why do the differences between men and women appear to be more pronounced than they did twenty years ago? Why are women less confident about the country's future? Why are there negligible differences between men and women on "women's issues"? And finally, will the new trends continue? Assistant Editor Nicola Furlan conducted the interviews from which these remarks are excerpted.

Friedan (Continued from page 20)

are very important signs.

Women's concern for pollution of the environment and the hazards of nuclear radiation does not indicate a conservatism or unwillingness to take risks, as you imply. It means that women have more sense about life and no-win ventures that are lethal to life.

Charting the High Ground

Women used to follow men. At first, they simply voted like their husbands; men charted the high ground politically and women followed. Now, women are charting the high ground. The polls indicate that women are the first to be sensitive to new issues, such as the environment and the danger of the nuclear buildup. They are showing the courage that is making women leave the Republican party and is leading to a large difference between men and women on Reagan's performance. Where women are today, men will be tomorrow—by 1982, and certainly by 1984. It used to be that you could say, "As men are today, women will fol-

low.

If you define women's issues narrowly—that is, only as women's rights—that shows you are still in the first stage. When did life cease to be a women's issue? When did the economy cease to be a women's issue? Women's rights are not the only issues having to do with women. Women are getting confident enough to assert their own voice in their political values. As we move into the "second stage," women's rights or the movement toward equality are of as much concern to men as they are to women.

There are some women—the minority, but some women—who are still playing the male game and are afraid of equality. But, as these polls show, there is an enormous majority in favor of equal rights. That majority is composed of a majority of women and an almost equal majority of men. A minority of men and a minority of women—a reactionary, fearful minority—are opposed to equal rights. But they are not the front edge. The majority of men are now moving to the position that both sexes have a stake in equality.

The gap between men and women on certain political values—the human priorities—will close. My hunch—my hope—is that if politicians read things correctly, they'll pay more attention to these values than they have been. They're stupid if they don't. The Republican party is probably going to lose control of the Senate and lose control of the presidency because it has been violating those fundamental human values and personal concerns that women were and are sensitive to first. The Democrats, of course, have had more concern for these values. If politicians studied these poll figures, they would be more aggressive in championing human values, not looking to the past but toward the future—toward the new questions women are tuned into earlier.

The fact that some women's attitudes now are so different from men's is a direct result of the women's movement. Women now have enough self-respect, independence, and sense of their own personhood to assert their values politically instead of keeping quiet, figuring that the men are always right. Now women know *they* are right.

Friedan (Continued from page 20)

...moving to those they are looking after. It's a natural inclination.

Women have a lower overall opinion of Reagan because he is perceived as dragging the country closer to war. It is because of their dovishness that women tend to be anxious about Reagan and give him lower ratings.

On the "fisk" and "compassion" issues, one set of attitudes often entails another. It is a projection of their dovishness. I think women have more of a natural inclination to be "liberal" than men. It's not their job to be occupied with the "duty-ness" and concreteness of family life.

The change in women's attitudes over the past decade has had much to do with the women's movement itself. The ideology of the movement, which has had a profound influence on women's opinions, was far more liberal/left than people generally understood. The women's movement used the so-called women's issues as a platform from which to critique our society from a very liberal view. There is some irony in the result. The liberal attitudes and the traditional virtues—nurturance and compassion—are virtually identical. Thus, in accepting a liberal women's program, women have become politically

influenced to take more traditionally feminine attitudes. In other words, the movement has made them more feminine ideologically. It's very funny.

Men Are Lying

The reason there is no real difference between men's and women's attitudes on the so-called women's issues is a simple one: men are lying. They've been brainwashed. They're lying out of fear and what they think is a proper sense of courtesy. The minute women expressed dissatisfaction, the men simply jumped right in and adopted the arguments as pieties. When you ask men these questions about ERA and discrimination against women, before they've even thought about it they tend to nod and to be very pious. The idea has been socially imposed, and men took it on without even thinking about it, perhaps because thinking about it would have gotten them into a lot of trouble. Men have completely collapsed, without the slightest show of resistance, under a major league assault on them. They've collapsed socially, intellectually, and politically.

When men tell pollsters they're for the ERA, they believe they believe it, but they haven't really thought about it. It's like the Ten Commandments or

Mother's Day. They know that this is what a nice man says, and of course, everyone wants to be a nice person.

It's not unlike the change in attitudes toward racial issues, except of course, that change took a lot longer. But even in the heyday of Jim Crow, you probably would have been hard put to find someone who would say openly that he believed one race is inferior to another. The women's questions have assumed that character for men. They have adopted the whole thing and looked away.

Current differences in attitudes of the sexes are a temporary phenomenon. I don't think it's natural; it's been culturally induced. The split that we began to notice in the mid-to-late seventies represents the coming of age of men and women who have been socialized by a new definition of the relations between the sexes. That in itself has been important in shaping attitudes.

The gap may widen, but eventually it will disappear. I don't know how long it will take—possibly not very long. It will depend in part on political events. But these attitudes are themselves secondary derivations of cultural *fashion*, rather than serious, deep-rooted cultural developments. And fashion, as we all know, comes and goes.