Handout 2A

The Growing Role of Women in America

In 1828, America was still a young country. The creation of a new constitution, foreign invasion, and westward expansion were just some of the many challenges the infant nation navigated through in just over 50 years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. And for a nation that prided itself on a vision of equality unlike any other seen throughout the world, there were even more challenges to overcome. Just one of these was the expansion of democracy, a growing theme that helped to elect Andrew Jackson, the so-called champion of the common man, to the presidency in 1828.

One may ask what exactly the expansion of democracy is. To answer this question, some context is needed. Think back to the United States Constitution. Is there any guarantee of a citizen's ability to vote? Surprisingly, the answer is no. Instead, throughout the United States, land ownership was often a requirement for citizens to vote. Not only did someone have to own land, but they also needed to be a male and white. So again, the same nation that claimed to value equality did not have equal standards among its populace. This inequality was gradually starting to change around Jackson's election, and by 1830, ten states provided for universal white male suffrage, compared to just three states in 1800 (New Hampshire, Vermont, and Kentucky). Thus, more voices began to be heard on election days over the years.

Coupled with the lack of equal access to the polls was the lack of equality in many other spheres. Two of the greatest challenges to this were the "peculiar institution" of slavery and the lack of women's rights, specifically the denial of women's suffrage. Proponents of both abolition and women's suffrage often asked how a nation that declared its independence with the famous quote that "all men are created equal" could deny the fundamental rights of freedom and equal application of the laws.

Given the lack of true equality, reformers had to seek other modes of civic participation in the absence of the right to vote. Throughout the antebellum period, many women came to find their voice through one of nearly a dozen different social reform movements. Public education, mental health, temperance, and treatment of prisoners, in

¹ Steven Mintz. "Winning the Vote: A History of Voting Rights." The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, n.d. Web. 29 Dec. 2016.

addition to abolition and women's suffrage, were just some of the many movements that drew individuals from all parts of American society to their cause. Even though they could not vote for a certain candidate, women could contribute to the causes they felt passionately about by attending rallies, publishing written works, boycotting goods, or purchasing others that guaranteed some profits to go towards supporting a cause.

Naturally, suffrage had a sacred place in the hearts of many Massachusetts women. Many questioned why, in an age that was focused on expanding democracy, women's suffrage was not a given. In 1848, the famed Seneca Falls Convention met in Seneca Falls, New York. This convention, which was more of a regional convention, inspired similar ones like it. In 1850, the first national convention was held in Worcester, Massachusetts, at which many Massachusetts women's rights advocates spoke. However, the 1850s was a tumultuous time in the nation as the debate over slavery intensified, and while the causes of suffrage and abolition were often joined, abolition became the more pressing issue in the eyes of many reformers at that time. The Civil War put women's suffrage on hold, and it would not gain traction again until the dawn of the Progressive Era in the 1890s.

In many ways, the Progressive Era continued the unfinished work of the age of the common man. Women throughout the United States campaigned tirelessly for what they saw as their right to vote. Some towns and cities across the country began to grant suffrage to women in municipal elections. In 1890, the state of Wyoming was admitted to the Union with a state constitution that provided for women's suffrage, thus becoming the first state to grant suffrage to all regardless of gender. Then, in 1893, Colorado granted suffrage to women. Other states continued to follow suit, but in those where the measure did pass through a ballot referendum, success was often by a narrow margin. In 1915, the voters of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts voted against women's suffrage.²

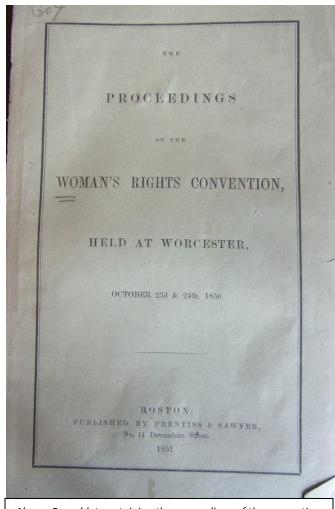
The efforts of the suffragists ultimately paid off in 1920 with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. The wording of the amendment was the same as it was in 1878, the first time the amendment was proposed in Congress.³

Handout 2B

² "Woman Suffrage Timeline (1840-1920)." *National Women's History Museum*. n.p. Web. 30 Dec 2016. https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/history/woman-suffrage-timeline ibid.

The First National Woman's Rights Convention Worcester, MA October 23-24, 1850

Held in Brinley Hall in Worcester, MA, the first national woman's rights convention commenced with a call to order delivered by the President pro tempore, Ms. Paulina W. Davis of Rhode Island. While the first women's rights convention in the United States had been held two years prior in Seneca Falls, NY, Worcester's convention was unique in that it invited women from all over the nation and even other nations to take part, while the convention at Seneca Falls had been more of a regional effort. In her call to order, Davis stated that those at the convention had met, "...to consider the great question of Woman's Rights, Duties, and Relations; and the Men and Women of our country who feel sufficient interest in the subject, to give an earnest thought and effective effort to its rightful adjustment. are invited to meet each other in free conference at the time and place appointed."4 Expanding upon the convention's goals, Davis went on to state that, "Of the many points now under discussion and demanding a just settlement, the general question of Woman's Rights and Relations comprehends these: Her EDUCATION, *Literacy, Scientific, and Artistic;* - Her AVOCATIONS, Industrial, Commercial, and Professional; - Her INTERESTS, Pecuniary,



Above: Pamphlet containing the proceedings of the convention (Massachusetts Historical Society)

Civil, and *Political;* in a word – Her RIGHTS as an *Individual,* and her FUNCTIONS as a *Citizen."*⁵ Thus, the objectives of the convention were clearly stated to include not just an address of the necessity of extending suffrage to women, which would eventually become the focal point of the nineteenth-century women's rights movement, but also other aspects of a woman's life, including educational and occupational opportunities.

The proceedings of the convention indicate that committees had been established to head certain aspects of the convention. Many Massachusetts women served on these

 $^{^4}$ "The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 23d & 24th, 1850," [unpublished pamphlet], page 3, Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁵ ibid, page 4.

committees. Below is a list of the committees and the women from Massachusetts who served on them:

- **Central Committee:** Sarah H. Earle (Worcester; served as secretary of committee), Lucy Stone (West Brookfield), Abby K. Foster (Worcester), Abby H. Price (Hopedale)

PAULINA W. DAVIS, Providence, R. I., Chairman. SARAH H. EARLE, Wolcestor, Mass., Secretary. of the care CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston, Mass. Ch. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston, Mass., Treasurer, A. 70 PHILINDA JONES, Worcester, Mass., Secretory, HARRIET K. HUNT, Boston, Mass. MARY A. W. JOHNSON, Salem, Ohio, WILLIAM H. CHANNING, Boston, Mass. ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, London, England, BENJAMIN S. TREANOR, Boston, Mass.

EBENEZER D. DRAPER, Hopedale, Millord, Mass. GERRIT SMITH, Peterboro', N. Y. JOHN G. FORMAN, West Bridgewater, Mass. PHEBE GOODWIN, Delaware Co., Penn. MARTHA H. MOWRY, Providence, R. L. ALICE JACKSON, Avondele, West Chester Co., Penn. LUCY STONE, West Brookfield, Mess.

JOSEPH C. HATHAWAY, Farmington, N. Y.

ABBY K. FOSTER, Worcester, Mass.

PLINY SEXTON, Palmyra, N. Y.

ERNESTINE L. ROSE, New York, Chrisman.

LUCY STONE, West Brookfield, Mess., Secretary. J. ELIZABETH JONES, Salem, Ohio.

WILLIAM ELDER, Philadelphia, Penn.

WILLIAM STEDMAN, Randolph, Stark Co., Ohio.

HANNAH STICKNEY, Philadelphia, Penn.

SARAH HALLOCK, Milton, N. V. SARAH HALLOCK, Milton, N. Y.
ABBY K. FOSTER, Worcester, Mass. EMILY ROBINSON, Marlborough, " " ABBY H. PRICE, Hopedale, Mass. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Plainfield, Conn. WILLIAM L. GARRISON, Boston, Mass. LIAM L. GARRISON, Boston, Mass.

ELIZABETH C. STANTON, Sence Falls, N. Y.

WILLIAM L. GARRISON, Boston, Mass. COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION. COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RELATIONS. ELIZA BARNEY, Nantucket, Mass., Chairman. MARIAN BLACKWELL, Cincinnati, Ohio, Secretary. LUCRETIA MOTT, Philadelphia, Penn., Chairman. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, Boston, Mass., Sceretary. ELIZABETH C. STANTON, Scneca Falls, N. Y.

ELIZA TAFT, Dedham, Mass.

WILLIAM H. CHANNING, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. FISH, Hopedale, Milford. 1 WILLIAM H, FISH, Hopedale, Milford, Mass. C. I. H. NICHOLS, Brattleboro', Vt. REBECCA PLUMLEY, Philadelphia, Penn. ELIZABETH B. CHASE, Valley Falls, R. L. CALVIN FAIRBANKS, Maine. HANNAH DARLINGTON, Kenuet Square, Penn. JOHN G. FORMAN, West Bridgewater, Mass. ANN ELIZA BROWN, Brattleboro', Vt. HENRY FISH, Hopedale, Milford, Mass. MARY GREW, Philadelphia, Penn. to and with and with which Parsons (Boston)

- Committee on
Education: Eliza Barney
(Nantucket; served as chairman
of committee), Eliza Taft
(Dedham)

- Committee on Industrial Avocations:
Philinda Jones (Worcester; served as secretary of committee), Harriet K. Hunt

(Boston)

- Committee on Civil and Political Functions: Lucy Stone (West Brookfield; served as secretary of committee), Abby K. Foster (Worcester)

- **Committee on Social Relations**: Anna Q. T.

Above: Complete list of committee members at the Woman's Rights Convention, 1851 (Massachusetts Historical Society)

Once the committee members were identified, an opening address was delivered by Mrs. Abby H. Price of

Hopedale, MA. She presented three propositions, which mirrored those laid out by Davis in her opening remarks:

- 1. That women ought to have equal opportunities with men for suitable and *well compensated* employment.
- 2. That women ought to have equal opportunities, privileges, and *securities* with men for rendering themselves *pecuniarily* [sic] *independent*.
- 3. That women ought to have equal legal and political rights, franchises, and advantages with men.⁶

In her lengthy address, Price spent time explaining each of her propositions. When she came to the third proposition, she asserted:

Women ought to have equal legal and political rights, franchises, and advantages with men. Why not? Our laws ought to respect and protect all their *rights*. They

⁶ "The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 23d & 24th, 1850," [unpublished pamphlet], page 21, Massachusetts Historical Society.

ought to have an equal voice in constituting government, in administering it, in making and executing laws. Why not? This follows as the climax of what we have contended for. There may be some offices more suitable to males than females, and let matters be arranged accordingly.⁷

In response to this contradiction, Price points out that there can only be two options for why women do not have political rights in political society. Either a) women are disinterested in politics or b) they are incapable of political participation due to some kind of inferior intelligence. Price disproves these arguments, providing quotes from other writers throughout, and eventually says that ancient history is rife with examples of women who were involved in political society in some way and were still able to fulfill their duties as wives and mothers; therefore, the idea that political participation will somehow distract women from their traditional responsibilities was faulty.⁸

Towards the end of her address, Price turns her attention to the overall plight in which the nineteenth-century woman found herself:

I think you must all feel that women's rights as human beings are greatly encroached upon, that they suffer a degree of tyranny the world over, unworthy the nineteenth century, that in view of their degraded position, women are called upon loudly to remonstrate, that patience has ceased to be a virtue, that it is time we demand our rights. Are we willing to be denied every post of honor and every lucrative employment - to be reckoned as the inferior sex, and but half paid for what we do – to feel that we are a proscribed caste, in all our aspirations for excellence and great and noble exertion, and to receive in return the fulsome, the sickening flattery of perverted taste – to be complimented about our shrinking delicacy, our feminine weakness, our beautiful dependence! And shall we with complacency receive and smile on such praise, bought by the sacrifice of our rights, our noblest endowments, while we know that he who thus compliments us for shrinking and dependence, is but a frail mortal like ourselves, and that to cower before man is to be recreant to God, false to our higher angel natures, and basely slaves! Is there a woman here, who is willing to be disfranchised to be taxed without representation, to feel that she has no part or lot in the Government under which she lives – that she is a mere thing!9

In closing her remarks, Price transitions to an appeal to the men in the audience; after all, they were the ones with the political power to actually affect change for women in society. Calling out to their familial connections to women, Price proclaims:

If the affairs of the nation demand the attention of our fathers, our husbands, and our brothers, allow us to act with them for the right, according to the dictates of our own consciences. Then we will educate our sons and our

⁹ Ibid, page 34.

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⁷ "The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 23d & 24th, 1850," [unpublished pamphlet], page 31, Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁸ "The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 23d & 24th, 1850," [unpublished pamphlet], page 33, Massachusetts Historical Society.

daughters as equal companions, alike interested in whatever concerns the welfare of the race. Our daughters, equally provided for the serious business of life, shall no longer be dependent upon the chances of marriage; teaching them not to live wholly in their affections, we will provide for them, as for our sons, a refuge from the storms of life, by opening to them the regions of high intellectual culture, of pecuniary independence, and of moral and political responsibilities. Parents, I appeal to you: are you willing to train your daughters with reference only to marriage? Are you willing they should be the prey of that sickly sentimentality, that effeminate weakness, which is produced by making that one idea the focus of life?"

Husbands, are you willing to urge the cowering obedience of that being whom you admit is your 'better half,' especially when you consider your own frailties, and oftentimes misguided judgment? Will you assume to be her lawgiver and ruler? Are you proud to see her bend her soul to man? Brothers, are you willing to see your sisters, whose sympathy and communion in childhood was the sweetest solace of your life, prevented from future companionship, by the threatening scowl of a narrow, and heathenish public sentiment that must blast their highest aspirations – palsy the wings of their genius – dim the crown of their womanhood, and make them slaves? Again, I say – give us an equal chance. Allow us one free choice. Talk not to us of weakness when you have so long broken our spirits by the iron hand of oppression. Lift off that hand – give us our rights inalienable, and then a new era, glorious as the millennial morning, will dawn on earth, an advent only less radiant than that heralded by angles on the plans of Bethlehem.¹⁰

Price concluded her opening remarks with a poem by Ebenezer Elliot about the accomplishments that await women in the arts and sciences since women have not be afforded the opportunities to make such accomplishments. Other speakers at the two-day convention included men and women, from both Massachusetts and other states. But Price's involvement, like that of the female committee members, indicated that Massachusetts women were to have a prominent role in the movement for women's rights. In organizing this convention and another like it the following year, they indicated that they were willing and able to answer the call pushed forth at the Seneca Falls Convention in New York in 1848 to work towards, "the immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to [women] as citizens of the United States."

Comprehension Questions: Please respond to the following in complete sentences and using your own words.

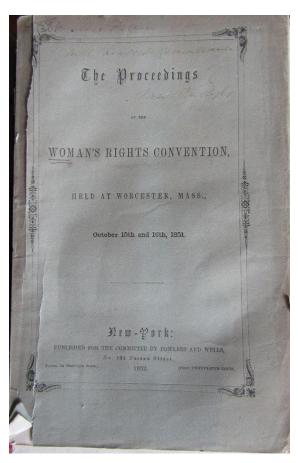
- 1) What three topics did the 1850 Woman's Rights Convention hope to address?
- 2) How many Massachusetts women took on leadership roles through their committee work?

¹⁰ "The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 23d & 24th, 1850," [unpublished pamphlet], page 34-35, Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹¹ "Declaration of Rights and Sentiments," 1848.

- 3) What were the main points of Price's address? Why are her remarks important to understanding the goals of the convention?
- 4) What is the most powerful part of Price's argument? What makes it so? Handout 2C

The Second National Woman's Rights Convention Worcester, MA October 15-16, 1851



One year after the first national convention, Worcester played host to the second national women's rights convention. The second convention had been planned during the first and Mrs. Paulina W. Davis served as president *pro tempore* once more. Like the first convention, this meeting addressed more than just women's suffrage, but other women's rights issues as well, including education, job training, and the need for more women in the medical field. There were eight committees in total: the Finance Committee, the Business Committee, the Central Committee, the Educational Committee, the Industrial Committee, the Committee on Civil and Political Functions, the Committee on Social Relations, and the Committee on Publications. Many Massachusetts women served on these committees, including Sarah H. Earle, Abby Kelly Foster, Abby H. Price, Harriet K. Hunt, Anna Q.T. Parsons, Lucy Stone, Eliza H. Taft, Augustine C. Taft, Eliza A. Stowell, and Eliza Blarnev.

As president *pro tempore*, Davis gave an opening address yet again. She noted that at

this point, the women's rights movement had gained much attention, remarkable given that it had only been a year since the first national convention. She did recognize the opposition to the movement, though, yet proudly stated:

There remains no doubt now that the discussions of our Conventions and their published proceedings have aroused, in some degree, that sort of inquiry into our doctrine of human rights which it demands. I have said *Human* Rights, not Woman's Rights, for the relations, wants, duties, and rights of the sexes center upon the same great truth, and are logically, as they are practically, inseparable.¹²

¹² "The proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 15th and 16th, 1851. [unpublished pamphlet], page 7. Massachusetts Historical Society.

Davis noted other examples of success, including the new schools that have been opened for women in the fields of medicine and design. Encouraged by the progress thus far, Davis concluded by proclaiming:

The limits of Woman's ambition and aspiration are enlarged; the gratings of her prison windows widen, and let in a broader light, and another choice is afforded to relieve the monotony and repugnance of her hitherto servile and restricted range of industrial pursuits. If a year or two of our history registers such advancements as these, what will not the quick-coming future bring with it? The eyes that watched tearfully for the first faint beams of this light, shall yet be filled with the brightness of its consummate glory. The success which has thus far crowned our labor may well establish our faith, and renew our hope, and confirm our zeal. In this spirit let us address ourselves to the duties that are before us.¹³

After Price's address, letters from those absent were read, followed by the presentation of Resolutions by Wendell Phillips. Many of these resolutions – numbering 13 in total – were directly related to women's suffrage, including the following:

- 2. And whereas, according to an acknowledged principle of this Republic, Taxation without Representation is Tyranny; and whereas the Property of Woman is taxed like that of Man; therefore, Resolved, That it is an act of the greatest tyranny and usurpation to deprive Woman of her Rights of being represented of participating in the formation of the Laws, and enjoying all civil privileges in an equal degree with Man.
- 3. *Resolved*, That while we would not undervalue other methods, the Right of Suffrage for Women is, in our opinion, the corner-stone of this enterprise, since we do not seek to protect woman, but rather to place her in a position to protect herself.
- 4. *Resolved,* That it will be woman's fault, if, the ballot once in her hand, all the barbarous, demoralizing, and unequal laws, relating to marriage and property, do not speedily vanish from the statute-book; and while we acknowledge that the hope of a share in the higher professions and profitable employments of society is one of the strongest motives to intellectual culture, we know, also, that an interest in political questions is an equally powerful stimulates; and we see beside, that we do our best to insure education to an individual, when we put the ballot into the hands; it being so clearly the interest of the community that one, upon whose decisions depend its welfare and safety, should both have free access to the best means of education, and be urged to make use of them... 6. *Resolved,* That the Democrat, or Reformer, who denies suffrage to women, is a Democrat only because he was not born a noble, and one of those levelers who are willing to level only down to themselves...

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¹³ "The proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 15th and 16th, 1851. [unpublished pamphlet], page 10. Massachusetts Historical Society.

13. *Resolved,* That it is as absurd to deny all women their civil rights because the cares of household and family take up all the time of some, as it would be to exclude the whole male sex from Congress, because some men are sailors, or soldiers, in active service, or merchants whose business requires all their attention and energies.¹⁴

Clearly, suffrage became a greater concern of the convention in the year that had passed between the first and the second. Called the "corner-stone of this enterprise," suffrage would allow a woman to "protect herself," through voting for laws and representatives favorable to her interests. Once achieved, suffrage would serve as an entry-point for women to attain a better station in society as a whole. The appropriate use of the right to vote would be no different for women as it was for men; both sexes had the responsibility to take advantage of such a right, and no one occupation made any person more or less capable of thoughtfully exercising that right.

In the afternoon of the first day of the convention, Mrs. Abby H. Price of Hopedale, MA found herself in the spotlight yet again, this time giving a report on behalf of the Committee on Industrial Avocations. Given this platform, her address was more focused on women's roles in a workforce, an interesting departure from her address during the first convention. However, reflecting the new tone of the convention as a whole, Price eventually connected her argument as to the importance of women holding jobs to the value of women being involved in political society as well. After Price, Lucy Stone, now of Milford, MA, addressed those gathered at the convention. Overall, she discussed the reasons why women should be more independent and the benefits society would reap from such a development. At the end, Stone issued the most fervent (and evidently well-received) call to action either of the conventions had seen:

Friends, we are our own helpers. I want every one of you to feel that this work rests upon us. Instead of asking, 'Give us this, or give us that,' let us just get up and take it. (Loud cheers.) If you have a thought that seeks expression, utter it boldly. If you remember the millions of slaves as you ought to remember them, and your heart prompts you to plead for these millions, speak out fearlessly. If your taste is to sculpture, work out your bust, and let it stand there to speak for itself until it shall speak for you. No matter what it be that you wish to do, if it be high and noble, go and do it. When we can do this, our acts will be living epistles, known and read of all men. We owe it to those noble men and women who, in this country, have made themselves living sacrifices on the altar of humanity, that we have before us and around us these soul-cheering indications, - earnest men and women, gathered to take this subject into consideration. Let us not fear the cross, but take it on our own shoulders, and walk up another Calvary, knowing that the world will be saved by it. (Loud cheers)¹⁶

Thus, it rested on women to help themselves and take actions appropriate to their desires that would help advance the cause.

¹⁴ "The proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 15th and 16th, 1851. [unpublished pamphlet], pages 11-13. Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹⁵ ibid, page 23.

¹⁶ ibid page 30.

There were so many people trying to gain entry to the convention that the convention relocated to City Hall, beginning with the evening sessions on the first day. The proceedings note that, "The spacious City Hall was crowded long before the hour of meeting, many being unable to gain entrance." The remaining speeches on the first day, delivered by men and women, dealt mainly with arguing in support of extending rights to women and challenged commonly held ideas at the time that women were somehow incapable of being educated, holding jobs, or participating in civic life.

The second day of the convention heard speeches from a few other Massachusetts women. Mehitable Haskell of Gloucester, MA gave a speech on what her experience as an older woman had been like and how she felt encouraged by the advances in women's education she had observed in recent years. Another woman, Mrs. Sarah Redlon of Boston, MA, spoke of how the way women were taught religion had reinforced their thinking of what a woman's proper place in society was. However, Redlon believed that if women listened directly to God, they would hear the call to do more with their lives, beyond any limitations set by the arbitrary expectations of society. Redlon encouraged women to meet their capabilities and to "...seek the most perfect freedom of action...."

The final Massachusetts woman to speak was Mrs. Abby Kelly Foster of Worcester. Foster spoke of her happiness at seeing so much progress made even in the course of the convention, but believed that the expectations men had of women were not the only factors holding women back; instead, women were not as dedicated to the cause as they could be. To remedy this, Foster issued her own resolution:

Resolved, That in regard to most points, Woman lacks her rights because she does not feel the full weight of her responsibilities; that when she shall feel her responsibilities sufficiently to induce her to go forward and discharge them, she will inevitably obtain her rights; when she shall feel herself equally bound with her father, husband, brother and son to provide for the physical necessities and elegances of life, when she shall feel as deep responsibility as they for the intellectual culture and the moral and religious elevation of the race, she will of necessity seek out and enter those paths of Physical, Intellectual, Moral and Religious labor which are necessary to the accomplishment of her object. Let her feel the full stimulus of motive, and she will soon achieve the means.

Foster went on to passionately support the idea of women being taught to be independent so that they, too, could support themselves and a family. Foster advised women to shift their energy from blaming others for their current status to genuinely working for what they wanted; as she had learned in her own life "...toil – earnest, self-sacrificing toil" really could achieve change.²⁰

Comprehension Questions: Please answer the following in complete sentences and in your own words.

1) What distinguished the two conventions from each other?

¹⁷ "The proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 15th and 16th, 1851. [unpublished pamphlet], page 32, Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹⁸ ibid, page 95.

¹⁹ ibid, pages 96-98.

²⁰ ibid, page 109.

- 2) How would you describe Lucy Stone's address?
- 3) Contrast Foster's approach with that of the other speakers? Whose approach is more effective? Why? How can these approaches be applied to other areas of reform? Handout 2D

Advocating for Women's Rights

Identify which century this quote came from. Why do you think that? Do the author's points still ring true today?

"But so long as woman retains the idea that she is only to be a companion for man, so long will she seek those things which will please him. And what have been those things? To please the taste of man, she has consented to crowd her body with whalebone and steel, until the capacity of her chest was confined to a space hardly big enough for a wasp. And to please him, with the spirit of a martyr, she has put on corsets, and drawn the strings until the soul was crowded out of her body. Miserable delusion! But it was to please the men. While woman is trained to believe that the chief end of her existence is to get married, she will continue to strive to make herself of such a character as will please the taste of those who seek for wives in the shape of wasps and hour-glasses. So long as women are kept dependent on man, is it to be wondered at that they sometimes marry from interest and not from affection – wed the purse and not the man? A true companionship must be prompted by an interest over which the parties have no control, to be interrupted only when that companionship is exchanged for a paradise. But aside from the idea of companionship we read in the newspapers, we are taught at the fireside, and at the female seminary, that we must seek to obtain those graces and accomplishments which will make us better pleasing to the men. My soul loathes such meanness with perfect loathing! If there were no being in the world for her to influence, I would, for the sake of her own deathless nature, insist that, for herself alone, woman should receive the highest mental cultivation of which she is capable." (28)

Handout 2E

Expanding Democracy Part II: The Pro-Suffrage Movement in Massachusetts during the Progressive Era

The progressive era saw a reemergence of reform movements, similar to the era of the common man in the 1830s and 1840s. One of these reform movements was women's suffrage. In the early 1900s, states began to place *referendum questions* on the ballot. A referendum is a specific question that becomes law if a majority of voters approve the law (today we simply call these ballot questions). Voter referendum was a new type of lawmaking to come out of the progressive era.

Read and annotate the selections below. Identify the main argument they make for why women should be granted the right to vote (all sources contained in Scrapbook of newspaper clippings pertaining to the women's suffrage movement, primarily from Boston, Mass. Newspapers MA Historical Society Call Number OVERSIZE JK1911.M4 S37).

Source 1:



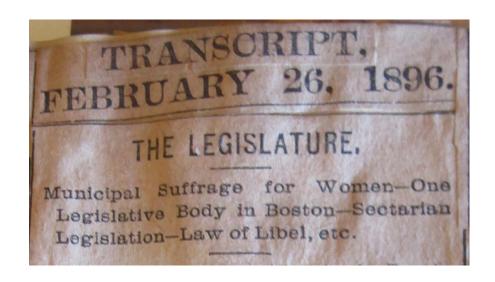
western state larger than all New England.

In short, the struggle between antisuffrage and suffrage in Massachusetts is a wrestling match between an elderly man and a growing boy. The man can throw the boy at present, but there can be no doubt as to the ultimate outcome.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Dorchester, Jan. 3, 1896.

Source 2:



Herald April 1
1. 1896.

FOES OF SALOON.

Women Want to Vote on Granting of Licenses.

A Bill Giving That Right Discussed in the House.

The Galleries Crowded with Fair Spectators.

Attendance at Executions a Topic in the Senate.

A Petition Restricting the Number Not Admitted. Source 3:

Women filled the House gallerles yesterday afternoon and took an intense interest in the debate on the bill giving women qualified to vote for members on the school committee in any city or town the right to vote on the question of granting licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors. They applauded fervently at times, and were decorously indignant at arguments against the measure. A vote was not reached, and a still larger attendance of women may be expected today.

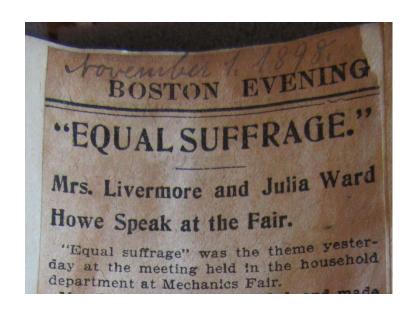
Source 4:

A large audience and much enthusiasm marked the 28th annual meeting of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Ass'n which opened yesterday at 2:30 P. M., in the Park St. church. Because of the serious illness of the president, Mrs. Mary Livermore, the meeting was presided over by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. Mrs. Howe said that 28 years ago she attended a suffrage meeting to carp and criticize, but went away converted. She continued: "It is worth having lived a long time to see this great unfolding of the order. "Massachusetts is a leading State and It is a shame that we are so far behind the times in woman's suffrage." Upon the platform were seated Henry Blackwell, Mrs. Susan Fessenden, Mrs. Eliza Hill, Mrs. E. A. Foster, Mrs. How-

ard Stansbury of Colorado, and Miss Gail

Laughlin,

Source 5:



Mrs. Alice Palmer said:—
"American mothers have a way of taking the children into comradeship that ing the children into comradeship that sit at table where all the great questions of the day are discussed, and in such an atmosphere they grow up with large notions of how to serve their country.

"If we are largely and intelligently patriotic and let them share our work we can do no greater work for them and our country."

Mrs. J. W. Howe, having been prevailed upon to stay to the meeting, which immediately followed the one given by the household department, was the last speaker. She said, in speaking of our great victory:—

"We have been able to do what other nations have not done. In the east, when there was a pitiable deadlock, no one dared to raise a finger; but when the Spanish atrocities were beyond our patience, we, the youngest nation, the unmilitary and unwarlike, took the stand of justice, and peace prevails."

Alice Palmer was a president of Wellesley College and well known among academics at the time.

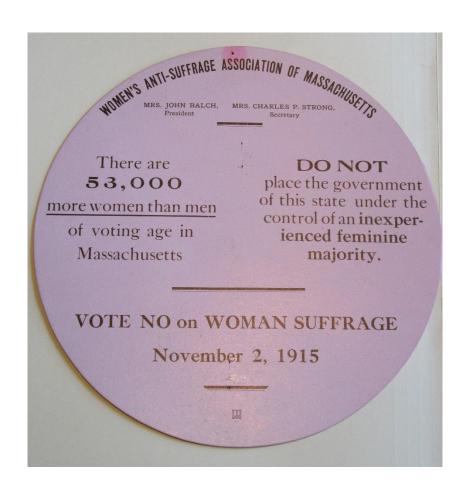
Handout 2F

Women Against Women?

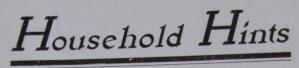
The Anti-Suffrage Movement in Massachusetts during the Progressive Era

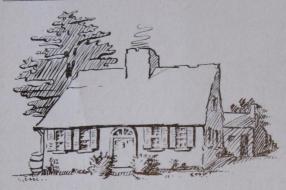
While during other periods of U.S. history Massachusetts was often a forerunner of positive change, the suffrage movement saw a different side of the Bay State. The Anti-Suffrage movement was quite strong in the Commonwealth. "Antis" as they were called used a variety of methods and arguments to rally support for their cause. The sources below are just a few examples of such methods. Take time to look through each and identify the creator, the intended audience, and any other interesting details you may see. (All materials from Miscellaneous collection of anti-suffrage material assembled by an officer of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (MA Historical Society Call Number JK1883.M28 X-Lg))

Source 1



Source 2





FROM

Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts

687 Boylston Street, Boston

MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN, - President MRS. CHARLES P. STRONG, Secretary



Votes of Women can accomplish no more than votes of Men. Why waste time, energy and money, without result?

Housewives!

You do not need a ballot to clean out your sink spout. A handful of potash and some boiling water is quicker and cheaper.

If new tinware be rubbed all over with fresh lard, then thoroughly heated before using, it will never rust.

Rub vaseline into your patent leather shoes. It will preserve and polish them. N. B. Patent leathers are not suitable for hikes!

Use oatmeal on a damp cloth to clean white paint.

Control of the temper makes a happier home than control of elections.

When boiling fish or fowls, add juice of half a lemon to the water to prevent discoloration.

Celery can be freshened by being left over night in a solution of salt and water.

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.

Common sense and common salt applications stop hemorrhage quicker than ballots. Clean your mirrors with water to which a little

Clean your mirrors with water to which a little glycerine has been added. This prevents steaming and smoking.

Sulpho napthol and elbow grease drive out bugs quicker than political hot air.

To drive out mice, scatter small pieces of camphor in cupboards and drawers. Pedlers and suffs are harder to scare.

To remove shine from serge, sponge with hot water and vinegar and press in usual manner.

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

Butter on a fresh burn takes out the sting. But what removes the sting of political defeat?

Clean dirty wall paper with fresh bread.

If an Anti swallows bi-chloride, give her whites of eggs, but if it's a suff, give her a vote.

When washing colored hosiery, a little salt in the water will prevent colors from running.

Spot Removers

The following methods for removing spots and stains will be found efficacious. There is, however, no method known by which mud-stained reputations may be cleansed after bitter political campaigns.

Grass stains may be removed from linen with alcohol.

Fruit stains may be removed in the same way, but hot alcohol works quicker.

To remove axle grease, soften first with lard.

Kerosene removes vaseline marks.

Sour milk removes ink spots

Discolorations and stains on bath enamel may be removed by turpentine.

Leather stains on light colored hosiery may be removed by borax.

SOME REASONS WHY WOMEN OPPOSE VOTES FOR WOMEN

BECAUSE the suffrage is not a question of right or of justice for the individual, but of what is best for the state and for all within the state.

BECAUSE the demand for the ballot is made by only a small minority of women and the majority of women do not want it.

BECAUSE the great advance of women in the last century—moral, intellectual and economic—

has been made without the ballot, which goes to prove that the ballot is not needed for their further advancement along the same lines.

BECAUSE women, standing outside of politics, and therefore free to appeal to any party, are able to achieve reforms of greater benefit to the state than they could possibly achieve by working along partisan political lines.

BECAUSE woman suffrage has always added greatly to the percentage of stay-at-home voters—the greatest possible menace to government—and increased the cost of government without any counterbalancing good.

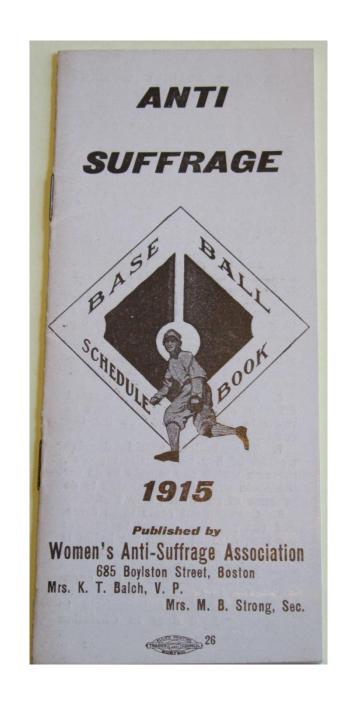
BECAUSE the net result of woman suffrage in every instance is a loss instead of a gain to the state.

BECAUSE the basis of government is physical force. It isn't law, but law enforcement, that protects society, and the physical power to enforce the law is neither possible nor desirable for women.

VOTE "NO" ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NOVEMBER.

WOMEN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mrs, James M. Codman, President Mrs, John Balch, Vice-President 685 Boylston Street, Boston



THE CASE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman suffrage should be defeated by the people of Massachusetts for the following reasons:

1. The suffrage is not a question of right for the individual, but of

what is best for the state.

2. The net result of woman suffrage wherever it has been tried has been a loss to women and a loss

3. Women cannot have the franchise without going into politics, and the political woman is a menace to society, to the home and to the state.

4. At least 80 per cent. of our women do not want the ballot, and to force it upon them would be undemocratic and unjust.

5. The man-made laws of Massachusetts are more favorable to women and children than those of any woman suffrage state.

6. Men and women were created different and designed by nature to work in different spheres for the common good.

7. The ballot would deprive woman of her non-partisan power, through which she is able to do for the state what man is unable to do because of political party ties.

8. Government rests upon force, and the physical power to enforce the law, without which the ballot is useless, is neither possible nor desirable for women.

9. Woman Suffrage is the opening wedge to Socialism and Feminism, propagandas antagonistic to everything held dear in Christian civilization.

UNPREJUDICED TESTIMONY

The New York World, a suffrage newspaper, admits that women will not purify politics and that the immediate effect of giving them the ballot will be to disorganize government and add to its confusion. In a recent editorial, The World said:

"For women to demand the suffrage on the ground that they are nobler and holier than men is to argue against their cause......

Women will not purify politics. They never have done so in states in which they have the vote and they never will.

"As a sex women average no better than men. They are no more honest. They are no more disinterested. They are no more patriotic. Their public ideals are no higher. As a class they are less wise in general affairs than men, because their experience is less.

"If we may judge the future by the past, the immediate effect of woman suffrage will be to disorganize government and add to its confusion. This is what has always happened when the franchise was extended."

Do you want to bring disorganization and confusion into the government of Massachusetts at the behest of a small minority of women? If **NOT**

Vote NO on Woman Suffrage Nov. 2.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ESSENTIAL TO SOCIALISM.

That the extension of the franchise to women is essential to the success of Socialism is admitted by every Socialist leader. The New York "Call," a Socialist organ, says:

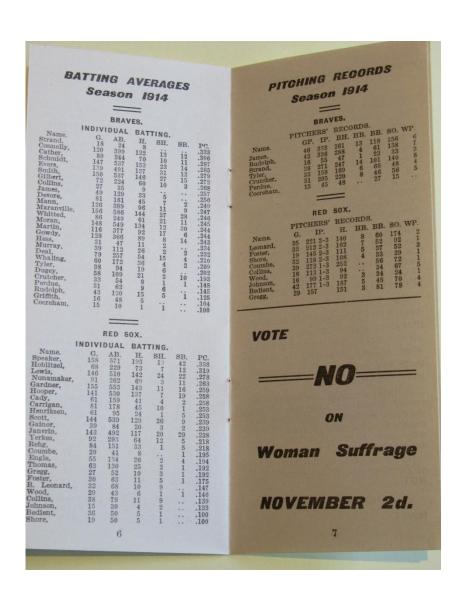
"The fight for woman suffrage"
"is bound to be an exceptionally"
"hard one, but it is a fight that"
"must be won, and on none does"
"the responsibility for success fall"
"more heavily than upon the So."
"cialists. And the time for Social-"
"ists to begin this great campaign"
"to which they are morally bound"
"is now. SOCIALISTS, REMEM-"
"BER THAT THE MOBILIZING"
"FOR THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE"
"FIGHT TAKES PLACE TODAY!"

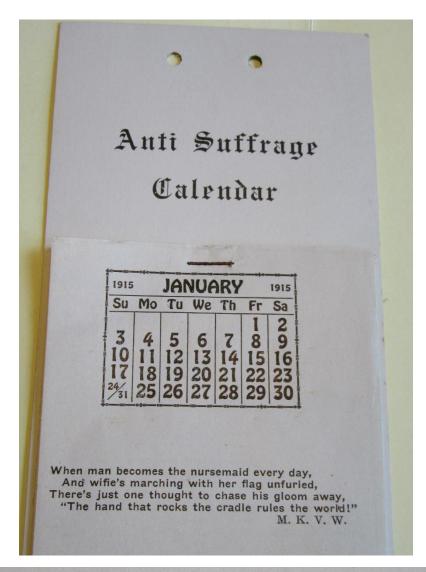
The National Woman Suffrage Association is distributing Socialist literature and employing Socialist speakers, and Socialism is growing with startling rapidity in every state and country in which women have the ballot.

If this alarming connection between Socialism and the woman suffrage movement were generally realized, thousands of good women who are now suffragists would desert the cause at once.

Do you wish to advance the cause of Socialism in Massachusetts? If NOT

Vote NO on Woman Suffrage Nov. 2.





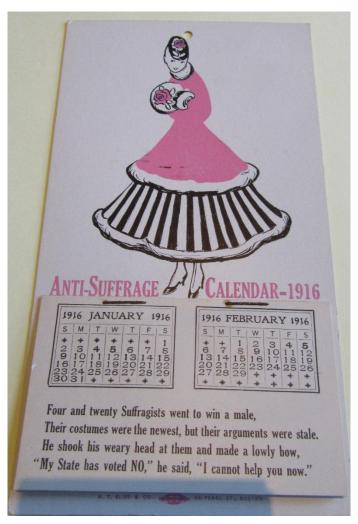
Here's to the woman of days gone by,
May we meet her like above!
The woman for whom a man would die,
The woman who rules by love,
Who doesn't parade, who doesn't harangue,
In whose home it is sweet to dwell,
Who believes in raising children, and not in raising
h—I!

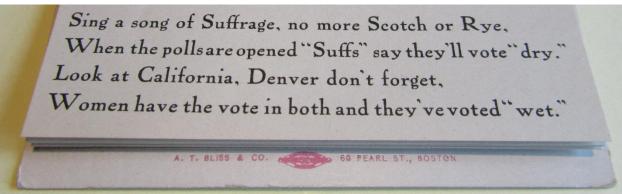
Hammer and tongs, hammer and tongs,
When a Suffragette marries she'll right no more
wrongs;
She'll sit by the fireside, where she belongs,
And instead of parading she'll sing cradle songs.
For the married career she secretly longs,
And, if given a chance, will drop hammer and tongs.

A MASSACHUSETTS MELODY.

Oh! let us sing a chanty
To the inconsistent anti,
Who votes for school committees
And does other hateful duties!
The inconsistent Suffragette
Who fails to vote is stranger yet!
In all scarce 3 per cent, they say,
Get to the polls on voting day.

REFRAIN.
Inconsistency's a virtue
That is absolutely sure to
Improve the situation
When it's ruling o'er the nation.





Here am I, little Suffrage Jane, If I don't get the ballot I'll smash things again. A. T. BLISS & CO. 60 PEARL ST., BOSTON

VOTERS OF MASSACHUSETTS

One Million of the 1,074,000 Women of voting age in this State do not want to fight men in Politics.

They have Faith in their Husbands, Fathers and Sons and are not suffering at their hands.

They know they can serve the State better as Non-Partisan Women than they could as Partisan Politicians.

They know the Laws of Massachusetts are fairer to Women and Children than those of any Suffrage State.

They see in "VOTES FOR WOMEN" merely the Political phase of Feminism, which is a menace to the Home and to Christian Society.

Some burdens which go with the ballot Women are physically unable to bear; others they cannot bear without sacrificing more important duties.

Woman Suffrage Means Women on Juries.

No Mother Can Serve on a Jury for Weeks at a Time Without Neglecting Her Home and Her Children.

No man wants to see the Women of his family forced to discuss all kinds of testimony with all kinds of men, often through the long hours of the night, behind the locked doors of the juryroom.

Woman Suffrage increases taxes. It has failed everywhere to improve government. It is a costly and dangerous experiment.

Woman Suffrage is a Woman's Question and Should Be Decided By Women.

The Suffragists, representing ten per cent. of their sex, are bitterly opposed to allowing Women to vote on the question whether they want to enter politics.

They demand that Men shall impose the vote on all Women without the consent of ninety per cent.

IS THAT DEMOCRATIC? IS IT JUST?

We Ask You to Vote "NO" on Woman Suffrage on November 2 in Justice to the 1,000,000 Massachusetts Women who want to preserve the Home and leave politics to Men.