

Lesson Primary Sources

Note: the following is a reprint from the original. The thoughts in this historical document are the ideas in the original, are not necessarily my views and are presented for historical interest. [Graphics](#)* in the web page are from the original.

* L I F E *

"While there is Life there's Hope." By Clara Barton

VOL. XLVIII. NOV. 15, 1906. No. 1255.

17 WEST THIRTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK.

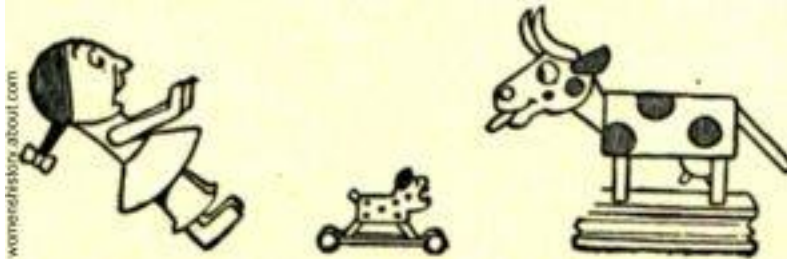


The *North American Review* came out the other day for woman suffrage. That fact in itself does not guarantee that women will get the suffrage right away, but it does attest that woman suffrage is an idea on which some fairly thoughtful minds still dwell. Colonel Roosevelt is credited with having woman-suffrage sentiments, and we guess Colonel Bryan also harbors them.

Woman suffrage is particularly good form just now because of the considerable stir about it in England. Likely enough it will be realized in England before it is here. The population of England is mainly English, and is not being enriched (or diluted) by an annual immigration of a million and a quarter of newcomers from the outskirts of continental Europe. Woman suffrage in England would only mean more of the same, but here it would mean both more of what we have got and of what we are getting. The primary objection to woman suffrage is that it would add an enormous army of unqualified voters to the huge mass of them that vote now. The primary argument in extenuation of it is that the standard of qualification for voting is already so low that no possible influx of women voters could lower it. As it is, our voters are an instrument to play upon. If the women voted it would be a bigger instrument, but would it be in any important particular a different one? If the political achievements of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in suppressing the army canteen are a fair example of what women might be expected to do in politics, it will not profit the administration of government to have their direct political power increased. It is likely, however, that the W. C. T. U. no more represents women in general than the Prohibition party represents men in general. It is likely, too, that if women got the suffrage, such organizations as the W. C. T. U. would lose in relative influence. Now they stand as lone representatives of organized political womanhood. Their views are disseminated and their purposes are pressed, but the views of women who dissent from them are not heard. If all women were politically organized, the leadership of such special organizations would promptly be disputed and their influence

would probably diminish.

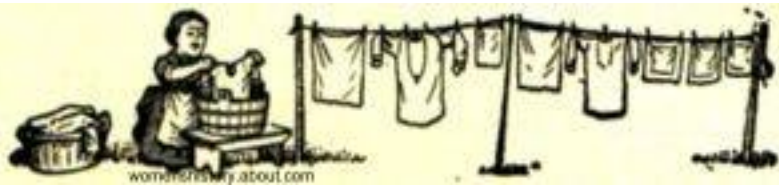
That has happened already in the case of the American suffragists. When it began to be feared that the organized action of women who wanted to vote would force the suffrage upon the large majority of women who do not want to vote, the antisuffrage women organized to prevent it. So far their opposition has usually been effective, so that for ten years past in the older and more conservative States the woman-suffrage movement has retrograded.



Have women a moral right to vote? There is no moral right about it. The privilege of voting is exacted or voluntarily conferred. It will undoubtedly be conferred on women in this country if ever a clear majority of them want it. There is nothing the average American woman wants that the average American man will not give her if he can get it. He can give her the voting privilege, and he will give it to her when she wants it. But, as yet, she does not want it, and he has no mind to force it upon her. He thinks it a pity that the mass of women should be directly concerned with politics. The average woman thinks the same. They will both continue to be of that mind unless in the process of time they shall conclude that it will be better for American society and American government that women shall assume the responsibility of the suffrage.

And it is conceivable that some time they may reach that conclusion.

To make the woman vote valuable to society and helpful to good government it is not necessary that the great mass of women should vote more wisely than the mass of men. It is only necessary that a larger proportion of the women should be wise voters than of the men. We may come to think after awhile that a larger proportion of the women have sense enough to vote right than of the men. There are some reasons why they should have. Our women, as a rule, have more leisure than our men; they read more; as a rule they stay longer in school; their personal habits are better; they smoke tobacco hardly at all, and they drink incomparably less rum than the men do. As a rule they are thriftier and less wasteful than men. They pay more attention to character-building, say their prayers oftener, go to church more and try somewhat harder to be good. Perhaps, being less implicated in active business, they would be less influenced in their voting by pecuniary considerations.



There is some expression of concern just now about a decay of moral sense in the electorate. Voters seem less exacting than they should be that candidates for office shall be of decent character. If it should come to be believed that woman suffrage would compel a nicer discrimination as to the morals and general probity of candidates, a great many anxious male voters might come to favor it.

And if the Socialists and the labor unions and all the radicals seemed to be getting things too much their way, and it came to be thought that the woman vote would be a powerful conservative force, that might influence many thoughtful men and also many thoughtful women, who are now opposed to the suffrage, to favor it.

Everything is accomplished by leaders and organization. The mass will always yield to a compact aggressive force, provided that a compact resisting force does not oppose it. Leadership in the woman-suffrage question is now divided. It is conceivable that events may sometime constrain the suffragists and the antis to join forces for suffrage. If a considerable preponderance of the best brains of womankind ever takes the affirmative in the suffrage fight, there will be a wholesale conversion of influential men, and women will vote.

But for our part, we are old foggy, and hope that it will never need to happen. Not in our time, kind Fate; not in our time, anyhow.

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Barton, Clara. "While There Is Life There's Hope." *Life*, November 15, 1906. Accessed 1999.
http://womenshistory.about.com/library/misc/bl_life1906.htm.

Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant presented this address to the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions, held in Chicago in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition.

The address was printed in *Neely's History of the Parliament of Religions*, Chicago, 1893. The prefatory paragraph is from Neely's. *She was greeted with a great outburst of applause as she stepped forward, the audience thus evidencing that it had been waiting to hear this popular English woman and speaker.*

Duty of God to Man Inquired

Dear Friends: After listening long enough to the science of religion, probably, as this is the last word this morning, it may be a little relief to run off or leave the science of religion to take care of itself for awhile and take a few thoughts on religion independent of its science. That religion will hold the world at last which makes men most good and most happy. Whatever there has been in this old past of the faiths that have made men more good and more happy, that lives with us to-day, and helps on the progressiveness of all that we have learned since. We have learned that religion, whatever the science of it may be, is the principle of spiritual growth. We have learned that to be religious is to be alive.

The more religion you have, the more full of life and truth you are, and the more able to give life to all those with whom you come in contact. That religion which helps us to the most bravery in dealing with human souls, that is the religion that will hold the world. That which makes you or me the most brave in days of failure or defeat is that religion which is bound to conquer in the end, by whatever name you call it. And believe me, and my belief is on all fours with that of most of you here, that religion which to-day goes most bravely to the worst of all evils, goes with its splendid optimism into the darkest corners of the earth, that is the religion of to-day, under whatever name you call it.

We are obliged to admit that the difference between the dead forms of religion and the living forms to-day, is that the dead forms of religion deal with those who least need it, while the living forms of religion deal with those who need it most. Consequently, to-day -- and it is one of the most glorious comforts of the progress that we are making -- the real religiousness of our life, whether of the individual, the nation, or of the world at large, is that we will not accept sin, sorrow, pain, misery, and failure as eternal, or even temporary, longer than our love can let them be. And out of that has grown the feeling that has hardly taken on a name as yet -- it has taken on a very practical name to those who hold it -- out of that has grown a feeling which will not admit that God may do what it is wrong for man to do as an individual.

It is a strange turning around in the idea of our relationship to God that to-day, for the first time in the whole world's history, we are, asking what is God's duty to us. To-day, for the first time in the world's history, we are certain that God's duty to us will be performed. For ages man asked, what was his duty to God? That was the first part of his progress; but to-day you and I are asking, what is God's duty to us? And Oh, God be thanked that it is so. If I can throw the whole of my being into the arms of God and be certain He will do His duty

by me, that duty will first of all be to succeed in me; it will not be to fail in me. And I can come to Him through all my blunders and sins and with my eyes full of tears, and catch the rainbow light of His love upon those tears of mine, certain He will do His duty by me and that He will succeed in me at the last.

Again, we have listened this morning to these profoundly interesting, scholarly papers, and perhaps it is almost too frank of me to say that we have been thinking what marvelous intellectual jugglers these theologians are. I dare say that some of you have come to think this morning, after all, what is this about? It is mostly about words. Words in all sorts of languages, words that almost dislocate the jaw in trying to pronounce, words that almost daze the brain in trying to think out what their meaning is; but it is words for all that. Underneath is poor humanity coming, coming, coming slowly along the path of progress, nearer, up to the light for which Goethe prayed. And we are nearer the light in proportion as our religion has made us more and more lovely, more and more beautiful, more and more tender, more true, and more safe to deal with.

After all there is a line of demarkation to-day between people whom it is safe to be with and those who are unsafe. Our religion has become a very national thing, for we are asking to be able to so deal with people as to bring them over into the lines of the safe. But with those who have been educated in the schools of the Master who taught no creed and who belonged to no denomination, but who was universal in his teachings and in his love of mankind, as the children of God we believe that He taught us that it was blessed, it was happy to be pure in heart, to be merciful, to be humble, to be a peacemaker, to be all those things which help mankind to be happiest and best. And, therefore, we are beginning to understand that a system of theology that did not take and does not take into itself all that literature has given and all that art is pouring forth, all that the heart of man is yearning after, would be insufficient to-day; and the consequence is that in and outside the churches the religiousness of the world is calling for art to take her place as an exponent of religion; for nature to take her part as the great educator of men in all those feelings that are most religious as regards God. In fact, that I and you, when we want to do best for that criminal, or that outcast, or that hard one, we will learn it not by going to schoolmasters and books, but by going right into the solitudes of the mountains and of the lakes which our Father has made, and learn of His marvels in the wild flower and the song of the birds, and come back to our brother and say, "Is not this human soul of more value than many sparrows?"

If God so clothed the mountains, heaths, and meadows of the world, shall He not clothe these human souls with a beauty that transcends Solomon in all his glory, with a joy unspeakable and full of glory? It is the deepening, the heightening, the broadening of that that is to be the outcome of this most wonderful parliament. Is it not that the Day of Pentecost has come back to us once again? Do we not hear them all speak with the tongue wherein we were born, this tongue of prayer, that we may know each other and go up and be more likely to get nearer to Him as the ages roll on? This parliament will be far-reaching. There is no limit in the world to what these parliaments will mean in the impetus given to the deepening of religious life. It will be so much easier for you and me, in the years to come, to bow our heads with reverence when we catch the sound of the Moslem's prayer. It will be so much easier for you and me, in the days to come, to picture God, our Father, answering the prayer of the Japanese in the Jap's own language. It will be so much easier for you and me to understand that God has no creed whatever, that mankind is His child and shall be one with Him one day and live with Him forever.

And, in conclusion, we have some of us made a great mistake in not seizing all and every Means of being educated in the religiousness of our daily conduct. I believe -- even though it sounds commonplace to say it, but I do believe -- with all due deference to our dear brothers the theologians, that this Parliament of Religions will have taught them some of the courtesies that it would have been well it they had had years ago. I think it will have taught them that you can never convince your adversary by hurling an argument like a brickbat at his head. It will have taught all of us to have the good manners to listen in silence to what we do not approve.

It will have taught us that after all it is not the words that are the things, but it is the soul behind the words; and the soul there is behind this great Parliament of Religions to-day is this newer humility, which makes me feel that I am not the custodian of all or every truth that has been given to the world. That God, my Father, has made religious truth like the facets of the diamond -- one facet reflecting one color and another another color, and it is not for me to dare to say that the particular color that my eye rests upon is the only one that the world ought to see. Thank God for these different voices that have been speaking to us this morning. Thank God, out from the mummies of Egypt, out from the mosques of Syria, there have come to you and me this morning that which shall send us back to our homes more religious, in the deepest sense of the word, than we were before, and therefore better able to take up this great work of religion to the redeeming of the world out of darkness into light, out of sorrow into happiness, out of sin and misery into the righteousness that abideth forever.

There is one voice speaking to us this morning which was laid down in the close of one of his poems, those words of Shelley in that magnificent poem, "Prometheus Unbound." It will stand for every language and tongue to-day for the embodiment of the outcome of religious feeling in you and me:

To forgive wrongs darker than death and night;
To suffer woes that hope thinks infinite;
To love and bear; to hope, till hope creates
From her own wrecks, the thing she contemplates.
Never to change, nor falter, nor repent.
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, brave, and joyous, beautiful, and free;
This is alone life, love, empire, and victory.

Chant, Laura Ormiston. "Duty of God to Man Inquired." Speech. In *Neely's History of the Parliament of Religions*. Chicago: Neely's, 1893. Jone Johnson Lewis, editor. Accessed August 28, 2015. <http://womenshistory.about.com/od/unitarianuniversalist/fl/Duty-of-God-to-Man-Inquired.htm>.

March 13, 1906

OBITUARY

Miss Susan B. Anthony Died This Morning

End Came to the Famous Woman Suffragist in Rochester

Enthusiastic to The Last

Wished All Her Estate to Go to the Cause for Which She Labored -- Her Deathbed Regret

By *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

ROCHESTER, March 13, -- Miss Susan B. Anthony died at 12:40 o'clock this morning. The end came peacefully. Miss Anthony had been unconscious practically all of the time for more than twenty-four hours, and her death had been almost momentarily expected since last night. Only her wonderful constitution kept her alive.

Dr. M. S. Ricker, her attending physician, said Miss Anthony died of heart disease and pneumonia of both lungs. She had had serious valvular heart trouble for the last six or seven years. Her lungs were practically clear and the pneumonia had yielded to treatment, but the weakness of her heart prevented her recovery.

Miss Anthony was taken ill while on her way home from the National Suffrage Convention in Baltimore. She stopped in New York, where a banquet was to be given Feb. 20 in honor of her eighty-sixth birthday, but she had an attack of neuralgia on Feb. 18 and hastened home. Pneumonia developed after her arrival here, and on March 5 both her lungs became affected. She rallied, but had a relapse three days ago, and the end after that never was in doubt.

Miss Anthony herself had believed that she would recover. Early in her illness she told her friends that she expected to live to be as old as her father, who was over 90 when he died. But on Wednesday she said to her sister:

"Write to Anna Shaw immediately, and tell her I desire that every cent I leave when I pass out of this life shall be given to the fund which Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are raising for the cause. I have given my life and all I am to it, and now I want my last act to be to give it all I have, to the last cent. Tell Anna Shaw to see that this is done."

Miss Shaw said:

"On Sunday, about two hours before she became unconscious, I talked with Miss Anthony, and she said: 'To think I have had more than sixty years of hard struggle for a little liberty, and then to die without it seems so cruel.'"

Susan Brownell Anthony was a pioneer leader of the cause of woman suffrage, and her energy was tireless in working for what she considered to be the best interests of womankind. At home and abroad she had innumerable friends, not only among those who sympathized with her views, but among those who held opinions radically opposed to her. In recent years her age made it impossible for her to continue active participation in all the movements for the enfranchisement of women with which she had been connected, but she was at the time of her death the Honorary President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, the society which she and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized in 1869.

Miss Anthony possessed a figure of medium size, a firm but rather pleasing face, clear hazel eyes, and dark hair which she always wore combed smoothly over the ears and bound in a coil at the back. She paid much attention to dress and advised those associated in the movement for women suffrage to be punctilious in all matters pertaining to the toilet. For a little over a year in the early fifties she wore a bloomer costume, consisting of a short skirt and a pair of Turkish trousers gathered at the ankles. So great an outcry arose against the innovation both from the pulpit and the press that she was subjected to many indignities, and forced to abandon it.

Miss Anthony was born at South Adams, Mass., on Feb. 15, 1820. Daniel Anthony, her father, a liberal Quaker, was a cotton manufacturer. Susan Anthony was first instructed by teachers at home. She was sent afterward to finish her education at a Friends' boarding school in Philadelphia. She continued to attend this school until, at the age of fifteen, she was occasionally called on to help in the teaching. At seventeen she received a dollar a week with board by teaching in a private family, and the next summer a district school engaged her for \$1.50 a week and "boarded her round." She continued to teach until 1852, when she found her taste for this profession entirely gone, a school in Rochester being her last charge.

Miss Anthony had become impressed with the idea that women were suffering great wrongs, and when she abandoned school teaching, having saved only about \$300, she determined to enter the lecture field. People of to-day can scarcely understand the strong prejudices Miss Anthony had to live down. In 1851 she called a temperance convention in Albany, admittance to a previous convention having been refused to her because it was not the custom to admit women. The Women's New York State Temperance Society was organized the following year. Through Miss Anthony's exertions and those of Elizabeth Cady Stanton women soon came to be admitted to educational and other conventions, with the right to speak, vote, and act upon committees.

Miss Anthony's active participation in the movement for woman suffrage started in the fifties. As early as 1854 she arranged conventions throughout the State and annually bombarded the Legislature with messages and appeals. She was active in obtaining the passage of the act of the New York Legislature in 1860 giving to married women the possession of their earnings and the guardianship of their children. During the war she was devoted to the Women's Loyal League, which petitioned Congress in favor of the thirteenth amendment. She was also directly interested in the fourteenth amendment, sending a petition in favor of leaving out the word "male."

In company with Mrs. Stanton and Lucy Stone, Miss Anthony went to Kansas in 1867, and there obtained 9,000 votes in favor of woman suffrage. The following year, with the co-operation of Mrs. Stanton, Parker Pillsbury, and George Francis Train, she began the publication in this city of a weekly paper called *The Revolutionist*, devoted to the emancipation of women.

In order to test the application of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments she cast ballots in the State and Congressional election in Rochester in 1872. She was indicted and ordered to pay a fine, but the order was never enforced.

Miss Anthony succeeded Mrs. Stanton as President of the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1892, Mrs. Stanton having resigned because of old age. This office she held until February, 1899, her farewell address being delivered at a meeting of the association in Washington. For a number of years she averaged 100 lectures a year. She engaged in eight different State campaigns for a Constitutional amendment enfranchising women, and hearings before committees of practically every Congress since 1869 were granted to her.

She was the joint author with Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, and Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage of "*The History of Woman Suffrage*." She also was a frequent contributor to magazines.

Part of a collection of etexts on women's history produced by Jone Johnson Lewis. Editing and formatting © 1999-2012 Jone Johnson Lewis.

"Susan B. Anthony Obituary" *The New York Times*, March 13, 1906. Jone Johnson Lewis, editor. Accessed August 28, 2015. http://womenshistory.about.com/library/etext/bl_anthony_obit.htm.

The Women Who Went to the Fields

Poems by Women

[Clara Barton](#)

The women who went to the field, you say,
The women who went to the field; and pray
What did they go for? Just to be in the way!--
They'd not know the difference betwixt work and play,
What did they know about war anyway?
What could they do? of what use could they be?
They would scream at the sight of a gun, don't you see?
Just fancy them round where the bugle notes play,
And the long roll is bidding us on to the fray.
Imagine their skirts 'mong artillery wheels,
And watch for their flutter as they flee 'cross the fields
When the charge is rammed home and the fire belches hot;
They never will wait for the answering shot.
They would faint at the first drop of blood, in their sight.
What fun for us boys, -- (ere we enter the fight;)
They might pick some lint, and tear up some sheets,
And make us some jellies, and send on their sweets,
And knit some soft socks for Uncle Sam's shoes,
And write us some letters, and tell us the news.
And thus it was settled by common consent,
That husbands, or brothers, or whoever went,
That the place for the women was in their own homes,
There to patiently wait until victory comes.
But later, it chanced, just how no one knew,
That the lines slipped a bit, and some began to crowd through;
And they went, where did they go? Ah; where did they not?
Show us the battle, the field, or the spot
Where the groans of the wounded rang out on the air
That her ear caught it not, and her hand was not there,
Who wiped the death sweat from the cold clammy brow,
And sent home the message; -"T is well with him now"?
Who watched in the tents, whilst the fever fires burned,
And the pain-tossing limbs in agony turned,
And wet the parched tongue, calmed delirium's strife
Till the dying lips murmured, "My Mother," "My Wife"!
And who were they all? They were many, my men:
Their record was kept by no tabular pen:
They exist in traditions from father to son.
Who recalls, in dim memory, now here and there one.
A few names were writ, and by chance live to-day;
But's a perishing record fast fading away.
Of those we recall, there are scarcely a score,
Dix, Dame, Bickerdyke,--Edson, Harvey, and Moore,
Fales, Wittenmyer, Gilson, Safford and Lee,
And poor Cutter dead in the sands of the sea;
And Frances D. Gage, our "Aunt Fanny" of old,
Whose voice rang for freedom when freedom was sold.
And Husband, and Etheridge, and Harlan and Case,
Livermore, Alcott, Hancock, and Chase,
And Turner, and Hawley, and Potter, and Hall.

Ah! The list grows apace, as they come at the call:
Did these women quail at the sight of a gun?
Will some soldier tell us of one he saw run?
Will he glance at the boats on the great western flood,
At Pittsburgh and Shiloh, did they faint at the blood?
And the brave wife of Grant stood there with them then,
And her calm, stately presence gave strength to his men.
And Marie of Logan; she went with them too;
A bride, scarcely more than a sweetheart, tis true.
Her young cheek grows pale when the bold troopers ride.
Where the "Black Eagle" soars, she is close at his side,
She staunches his blood, cools the fever-burnt breath,
And the wave of her hand stays the Angel of Death;
She nurses him back, and restores once again
To both army and state the brave leader of men.
She has smoothed his black plumes and laid them to sleep,
Whilst the angels above them their high vigils keep:
And she sits here alone, with the snow on her brow
Your cheers for her comrades! Three cheers for her now.
And these were the women who went to the war:
The women of question; what did they go for?
Because in their hearts God had planted the seed
Of pity for woe, and help for its need;
They saw, in high purpose, a duty to do,
And the armor of right broke the barriers through.
Uninvited, unaided, unsanctioned oft times,
With pass, or without it, they pressed on the lines;
They pressed, they implored, till they ran the lines through,
And this was the "running" the men saw them do.
Twas a hampered work, its worth largely lost;
Twas hindrance, and pain, and effort, and cost:
But through these came knowledge, knowledge is power.
And never again in the deadliest hour
Of war or of peace, shall we be so beset
To accomplish the purpose our spirits have met.
And what would they do if war came again?
The scarlet cross floats where all was blank then.
They would bind on their "brassards" and march to the fray,
And the man liveth not who could say to them nay;
They would stand with you now, as they stood with you then,
The nurses, consolers, and saviors of men.

This collection assembled by Jone Johnson Lewis.

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Citing poems from these pages:

"The Women Who Went to the Field" was written by Clara Barton. She read the poem during a reception on November 18, 1892, at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C. for the Potomac Relief Corps, a unit of the National Woman's Relief Corps.

Barton, Clara. "The Women Who Went to the Fields." *Women's History: Poems by Women*. Speech. Washington D.C. for the Potomac Relief Corps, a unit of the National Woman's Relief Corps. Jone Johnson Lewis, editor. Accessed August 28, 2015. http://womenshistory.about.com/library/etext/poem1/blp_barton_fields.htm.



[Jones Johnson Lewis](#)

[Women's History Expert](#)

The following is the text of a speech given by [Carrie Chapman Catt](#) before Congress in 1917, as part of the last years of the woman suffrage campaign.

Woman suffrage is inevitable. Suffragists knew it before November 4, 1917; opponents afterward. Three distinct causes made it inevitable.

Woman Suffrage is Inevitable

History of Democracy

First, the history of our country. Ours is a nation born of revolution, of rebellion against a system of government so securely entrenched in the customs and traditions of human society that in 1776 it seemed impregnable.

From the beginning of things, nations had been ruled by kings and for kings, while the people served and paid the cost. The American Revolutionists boldly proclaimed the heresies: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The colonists won, and the nation which was established as a result of their victory has held unfailingly that these two fundamental principles of democratic government are not only the spiritual source of our national existence but have been our chief historic pride and at all times the sheet anchor of our liberties.

Eighty years after the Revolution, Abraham Lincoln welded those two maxims into a new one: "Ours is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Fifty years more passed and the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, in a mighty crisis of the nation, proclaimed to the world: "We are fighting for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts: for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

All the way between these immortal aphorisms political leaders have declared unabated faith in their truth. Not one American has arisen to question their logic in the 141 years of our national existence. However stupidly our country may have evaded the logical application at times, it has never swerved from its devotion to the theory of democracy as expressed by those two axioms

With such a history behind it, how can our nation escape the logic it has never failed to follow, when its last unenfranchised class calls for the vote? Behold our Uncle Sam floating the banner with one hand, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and with the other seizing the billions of dollars paid in taxes by women to whom he refuses "representation." Behold him again, welcoming the boys of twenty-one and the newly made immigrant citizen to "a voice in their own government" while he denies that fundamental right of democracy to thousands of women public school teachers from whom many of these men learn all they know of citizenship and patriotism, to women college presidents, to women who preach in our pulpits, interpret law in our courts, preside over our hospitals, write books and magazines, and serve in every uplifting moral and social enterprise. Is there a single man who can justify such inequality of treatment, such outrageous discrimination? Not one

Suffrage Already Established in Some States

Second, the suffrage for women already established in the United States makes women suffrage for the nation inevitable. When Elihu Root, as president of the American Society of International Law, at the eleventh annual meeting in Washington, April 26, 1917, said, "The world cannot be half democratic and half autocratic. It must be all democratic or all Prussian. There can be no compromise," he voiced a general truth. Precisely the same intuition has already taught the blindest and most hostile foe of woman suffrage that our nation cannot long continue a condition under which government in half its territory rests upon the consent of half of the people and in the other half upon the consent of all the people; a condition which grants representation to the taxed in half of its territory and denies it in the other half a condition which permits women in some states to share in the election of the president, senators, and representatives and denies them that privilege in others. It is too obvious to require demonstration that woman suffrage, now covering half our territory, will eventually be ordained in all the nation. No one will deny it. The only question left is when and how will it be completely established.

Fundamental American Principle

Third, the leadership of the United States in world democracy compels the enfranchisement of its own women. The maxims of the Declaration were once called "fundamental principles of government." They are now called "American principles" or even "Americanisms." They have become the slogans of every movement toward political liberty the world around, of every effort to widen the suffrage for men or women in any land. Not a people, race, or class striving for freedom is there anywhere in the world that has not made our axioms the chief weapon of the struggle. More, all men and women the world around, with farsighted vision into the verities of things, know that the world tragedy of our day is not now being waged over the assassination of an archduke, nor commercial competition, nor national ambitions, nor the freedom of the seas. It is a death grapple between the forces which deny and those which uphold the truths of the Declaration of Independence

Do You Realize?

Do you realize that in no other country in the world with democratic tendencies is suffrage so completely denied as in a considerable number of our own states? There are thirteen black states where no suffrage for women exists, and fourteen others where suffrage for women is more limited than in many foreign countries.

Do you realize that when you ask women to take their cause to state referendum you compel them to do this: that you drive women of education, refinement, achievement, to beg men who cannot read for their political freedom?

Do you realize that such anomalies as a college president asking her janitor to give her a vote are overstraining the patience and driving women to desperation?

Do you realize that women in increasing numbers indignantly resent the long delay in their enfranchisement?

Woman Suffrage and the Parties

Your party platforms have pledged women suffrage. Then why not be honest, frank friends of our cause, adopt it in reality as your own, make it a party program, and "fight with us"? As a party measure--a measure of all parties--why not put the amendment through Congress and the legislatures? We shall all be better friends, we shall have a happier nation, we women will be free to support loyally the party of our choice, and we shall be far prouder of our history.

"There is one thing mightier than kings and armies"--aye, than Congresses and political parties--"the power of an idea when its time has come to move." The time for woman suffrage has come. The woman's hour has struck. If parties prefer to postpone action longer and thus do battle with this idea, they challenge the inevitable. The idea will not perish; the party which opposes it may. Every delay, every trick, every political dishonesty from now on will antagonize the women of the land more and more, and when the party or parties which have so delayed woman suffrage finally let it come, their sincerity will be doubted and their appeal to the new voters will be met with suspicion. This is the psychology of the situation. Can you afford the risk? Think it over.

The Opposition

We know you will meet opposition. There are a few "women haters" left, a few "old males of the tribe," as Vance Thompson calls them, whose duty they believe it to be to keep women in the places they have carefully picked out for them. Treitschke, made world famous by war literature, said some years ago, "Germany, which knows all about Germany and France, knows far better what is good for Alsace-Lorraine than that miserable people can possibly know." A few American Treitschkes we have who know better than women what is good for them. There are women, too, with "slave souls" and "clinging vines" for backbones. There are female dolls and male dandies. But the world does not wait for such as these, nor does liberty pause to heed the plaint of men and women with a grouch. She does not wait for those who have a special interest to serve, nor a selfish reason for depriving other people of freedom. Holding her torch aloft, liberty is pointing the way onward and upward and saying to America, "Come."

To Congress

To you and the supporters of our cause in Senate and House, and the number is large, the suffragists of the nation express their grateful thanks. This address is not meant for you. We are more truly appreciative of all you have done than any words can express. We ask you to make a last, hard fight for the amendment during the present session. Since last we asked a vote on this amendment, your position has been fortified by the addition to suffrage territory of Great Britain, Canada, and New York.

Some of you have been too indifferent to give more than casual attention to this question. It is worthy of your immediate consideration. A question big enough to engage the attention of our allies in wartime is too big a question for you to neglect.

Some of you have grown old in party service. Are you willing that those who take your places by and by shall blame you for having failed to keep pace with the world and thus having lost for them a party advantage? Is there any real gain for you, for your party, for your nation by delay? Do you want to drive the progressive men and women out of your party?

Some of you hold to the doctrine of states' rights as applying to woman suffrage. Adherence to that theory will keep the United States far behind all other democratic nations upon this question. A theory which prevents a nation from keeping up with the trend of world progress cannot be justified.

Gentlemen, we hereby petition you, our only designated representatives, to redress our grievances by the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and to use your influence to secure its ratification in your own state, in order that the women of our nation may be endowed with political freedom before the next presidential election, and that our nation may resume its world leadership in democracy.

Woman suffrage is coming--you know it. Will you, Honorable Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, help or hinder it? *Part of a collection of etexts on women's history produced by [Jone Johnson Lewis](#).*

Chapman Catt, Carrie. "Woman Suffrage is Inevitable." Speech. Carrie Chapman Catt Speech Before Congress, 1917, Washington D.C.: 1917. Jone Johnson Lewis, editor. Accessed August 28, 2015. http://womenshistory.about.com/od/cattcarriec/a/cong_1917_speec.htm.

MOTHERS!

Can you afford to have a large family?
Do you want any more children?
If not, why do you have them?

DO NOT KILL, DO NOT TAKE LIFE, BUT PREVENT
Safe, Harmless Information can be obtained of trained
Nurses at

46 AMBOY STREET
NEAR PITKIN AVE. — BROOKLYN.

Tell Your Friends and Neighbors. All Mothers Welcome
A registration fee of 10 cents entitles any mother to this information.

מוטערס!

דיס איז א פארשטענליך צו האבען א גרויסע פאמיליע?
וויילס איהר האבען נאך קינדער?
איב ניס. ווארום האט איהר זיי?
סערהערס ניס. נעהמס ניס קיין לעפען. גור פעהרימ זיד.
דכערס אנטשוליס איסקולס קום איהר בעקסטן פון דראהטנס טוימס און

46 אמבוי סטריט ניער פיטקין עוועניו **ברוקלין**

מאכס דאס בעקסטן צו איסקול פיינד און שונת. יעניי סטריי און וילקאסטן
פון 10 סעס אינשוייבונקל דעס איהר בעקסטנס צו דיעס אנפארשייטאן.

MADRI!

Potete permettervi il lusso d'avere altri bambini?
Ne volete ancora?
Se non ne volete piu', perche' continuate a metterli
al mondo?

NON UCCIDETE MA PREVENITE!

Informazioni sicure ed innocue saranno fornite da infermiere autorizzate a
46 AMBOY STREET Near Pitkin Ave. Brooklyn
a cominciare dal 12 Ottobre. Avvertite le vostre amiche e vicine.
Tutte le madri sono ben accette. La tassa d'iscrizione di 10 cents da diritto
a qualunque madre di ricevere consigli ed informazioni gratis.

Margaret H. Sanger

SOPHIA SMITH COLLECTION, SMITH COLLEGE

This circular advertised the opening of America's first birth control clinic, run by [Margaret Sanger](#) in Brownsville, Brooklyn, New York, in 1916.

Source: Tone, Andrea. *Devices and Desires*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

The Blue Book

*The **Blue Book** was published in 1917 by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to help support the cause of women's suffrage. Chapters in the book included the following: Early History; Where Women Vote; Why Women Should Vote; and Twelve Reasons Why Women Should Vote. In one chapter, Alice Stone Blackwell states often-heard objections to women's suffrage and answers each objection. Excerpts from that chapter follow. Do any of the objections surprise you? Why or why not? What is your evaluation of how Ms. Blackwell answers the objections? What do the objections tell you about the people that made them or believed them?*

The Ignorant Vote

It would double the ignorant vote.

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice and three times as many. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education. . . .

The Bad Women's Vote

The bad women would outvote the good ones.

In America, the bad women are so few compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of the class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120." The late Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, at one time President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and also of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, wrote:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, name or number of street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren, of Wyoming, sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil." . . .

Opposition of Women

Women in large numbers are organizing against suffrage. The majority are opposed to it and the majority ought to rule.

The organized opposition among women to suffrage is very small compared with the organized movement of women in its favor.

In Chicago, 104 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 10,000 women, petitioned for women suffrage, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. In Maine, in Iowa, in short, in every state where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them 50 or 100 to one. On the only occasion when the government took an official referendum among women on the subject (in Massachusetts, in 1895), the women's vote stood: Yes, 22,204; No, 861. Less than one sixth of one percent of the women in the State voted against it.

Julia Ward Howe said: Most women are as yet indifferent on the suffrage question; but, of those who take any lively interest in it either way, the great majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test.

Every constitutional amendment that has ever been carried in New York or Massachusetts would have been set down as defeated if all the men too indifferent to vote upon it either way had been counted as

opposed. In New York, a successful amendment seldom gets more than 25 per cent of the popular vote. The remaining 75 per cent are either indifferent or opposed, but, if less than 25 per cent are actually opposed, the amendment is carried.

In Massachusetts the AntiSuffrage Association has been collecting signatures of women against suffrage ever since 1895, and in 21 years it has succeeded in accumulating the names of only a little over 3 per cent of the women of the State. In the country at large, despite urgent and widely published appeals from the Antis, only about one per cent who protest claim to carry more weight than the 99 per cent who either want the ballot or do not object to it?

Already OverBurdened

Women are already overburdened. A woman would not have time to perform her political duties without neglecting higher duties.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer wrote:

"How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do-class, and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most-only let these interest be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently and will give and receive more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now. The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what only women can do-and what, failed in, undermines society and government-no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine; they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and higher duties." . . .

Too Emotional

Women are too emotional and sentimental to be trusted with the ballot.

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs read a paper, in which she said: "You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment. "Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? Is it shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like the death-trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do not men like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did, but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friends, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The sense of honor is pure sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable, or a vote a non-salable commodity. "Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply." . . .

Would Unsex Women

It will turn women into men.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of England, Scotland, Canada, Yucatan, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries and our own equal suffrage States are not perceptibly different in looks or

manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

Maule, Frances. *The Blue Book; Woman Suffrage, History, Arguments and Results*, edited by Frances M. Bjorkman and Annie G. Porritt. Rev. ed. New York, National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., 1917. Accessed October 7, 2015. <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/nawbib:@field%28NUMBER+@band%28rbnawsa+n4862%29%29>

The Importance of Women's Influence in All Religious and Benevolent Societies

The National Baptist Magazine was a publication of Black Baptist churches in the United States and throughout the world. In the excerpt from [African American Perspectives, 1818-1907](#) below (for November and December 1899), Reverend J. Francis Robinson of Halifax, Nova Scotia, writes about women's roles in society and on behalf of women's suffrage. How does Robinson view the relationship between good women, good homes, and good citizens? What case does Reverend Robinson make in regard to women playing both traditional and changed roles in society?

. . . I have been asked what I thought about women as good citizens, and I take this opportunity to give answer, which may refer to all women: We could have no good citizens without good women. The home is our first school, and the home life and home instruction are first and the most lasting. Every home has a woman in it, and some homes have good women in them. Women are like men--some are good and some are bad. We can have no good home without good women, and we can have no good citizens without good homes; therefore, good women are essential to good citizenship. I believe that the best interests of our country and its institutions demand that women have the largest liberty consistent with the demands of the home, to exercise their influence upon the social and moral, and educational and political interests of childhood and manhood. And once for all, let me say that I am in favor of human rights for every individual of every race, of every condition, regardless of sex, and would secure to each citizen the right of personal liberty of life and the pursuit of happiness. I am not only in favor of women being the queen of the home, but I am willing she shall exercise her regal power in the political world. I believe that the ballot will be safer in the hands of an intelligent and sober woman than in the hands of a drunken man. I believe that the home is a better place to raise good citizens than in the saloon. The mothers, the wives and the sisters of the land would be safer and better teachers of good citizenship than any saloon-keeper or ward politician; and, as one member of the Christian family, I believe in the home, the schoolhouse and the church. The mother, the schoolmaster and the preacher are legitimate teachers of good citizenship. The safety of the Republic lies in the maintenance of good homes and good schools and good churches. I believe that a Christian education is essential to good citizenship; therefore, I am in favor of allowing the women of the land to assist in moulding and shaping the character of our boys and girls. They can do that best when they are permitted to make the choice of the directors of our schools or become directors themselves, and are permitted to elect the men and women who are to train their own children. The slaves have been emancipated; now let us emancipate women! The unconditional and universal and immediate emancipation of womanhood is the demand of the age in which we live; it is the demand of the spirit of our institutions.

Robinson, J. Francis. "The Importance of Women's Influence in All Religious and Benevolent Societies." *The National Baptist Magazine*. November and December, 1899.
Nashville: National Baptist Publishing Board, 1899.

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC FREEDOM BLAMED IN MARRIAGE DECLINE

New York Experts Aver Morals Are Not Involved in Slow but Sure Divorce Rise

Dorothy Ducas, *New York Evening Post*, January 5, 1929

Marriage is declining in popularity in New York City, while divorce is gaining in favor, and the women are to blame.

In spite of the solemn pronouncement from pulpits and platform that the younger generation is, at heart, exactly like the elder, sociologists today have to admit a change has come over metropolitan young folk, especially women, in the face of figures now available for the year just ended.

In 1928, the City Bureau of Vital Statistics reports today, there were 6,007 fewer marriages than in 1927. . . .

AN AGE OF ADJUSTMENT

As for divorces, . . . it was estimated there would be some 1,300 decrees granted, an increase of more than 100 over those handed down in 1927.

"Women with their new opportunities won't stand for what they used to stand for," is the way Professor Clarence G. Dittmer, head of the department of sociology at New York University, explained it. "Increase in divorce is part and parcel of an age of adjustment. It accompanies growth and expanding democracy, comes along with new economic and social opportunities for women.

"It is part of women's readjustment to a new situation, and it is either a temporary phase or it will be disastrous."

Professor Dittmer said the decline in marriage rate is peculiar to urban centers, for the country, as a whole, is "the most married country on the face of the earth," quoting Dr. E. A. Rose of the University of Wisconsin, who is now director of Floating University. . . .

NEED SANER REGULATION

"If this state of affairs goes on, with one out of every six marriages in the United States ending in divorce, the time will come when every other marriage performed will [obscured] on the rocks. If such inefficiency existed in any

other social institution we'd worry our heads off. For we certainly are up against it until we get uniform, decent, and honest divorce laws and very much saner regulation of marriage." . . .

"The economic independence of women may mean delayed marriage," he commented [Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsey, professor of social legislation, Columbia University]. "But even this factor is counteracted to a great degree by the entrance of married women into industry. Careers and children are satisfactory to women today when only a short while ago the two were thought incompatible.

"The rise in divorce is economic rather than moral, I believe. It springs from an adjustment to a higher standard of living, a desire for material comfort not formerly taken into consideration. But in general, monogamy rests more securely on the economic life of the present day than never before, individual variations count for nothing in statistics."

A philosophy of individualism is responsible, in part anyhow, for the slump in marriages and rise in divorces, thought Professor Robert MacDougall of the social psychology department of New York University. This philosophy also accounts for a shrinking of the size of families these days.

Modern youth is engaged in a "struggle for greater individual freedom of action," and adapts marriage to that end, Professor MacDougall declared.

The facts of the case would seem to bear out the opinions of sociologists that women are to blame. Twice as many wives as husbands obtain divorces, even in New York State, where the whole situation cannot be studied successfully because of the great number of New Yorkers who obtain divorces in Paris or Rome or Sonora, Mexico.

Corinne Roosevelt Robinson

Speech Recorded for the Nation's Forum

"Safeguard America!"



I am behind Senator Harding and Governor Coolidge for President and Vice-President of the United States for two reasons. First, because they are the nominees of the Republican Party; and secondly, because I believe them to be 100 percent American, of true patriotism, who have not failed to show marked efficiency and ability in public office.

I am one who believes that the Republican Party and the Democratic Party have different ideas. And I believe that the issues of the two parties are not as blurred and as indistinguishable as is sometimes said to be the case. The Republican Party is the Party of concrete nationalism, as opposed to the hazy internationalism of the Democratic Party. The Republican Party preached preparedness. And the Democratic Party, influenced by its President -- mind you I say the President of the Democratic Party and not of the whole United States -- was keeping us out of war. Keeping us out of war until he was re-elected President.

We need the Republican Party in office during the hard days to come, when there must be the up-building and rebuilding of our nation. We need preparedness for days of peace and against the always possible dangers of war. Shall we choose again the Party which blindly turns from the right, and in so doing, dragged down the prestige of America and brought on our nation unbearable criticism and deplorable confusion? Fellow citizens, we are at the turning of the ways. Theodore Roosevelt said in October, 1916, "I demand at this election that each citizen shall think of America first." Who now does not regret that the country did not respond to that demand? Let us, the Republican Party, again make this demand.

Senator Harding stood for a [League of Nations](#) with strong, Americanizing reservations, as Theodore Roosevelt did. He also stood with the Senate in passing the resolution which would have enabled Theodore Roosevelt to lead a division into France when the morale of France and of America was at a low ebb. And Senator Harding, in making the memorial address on Theodore Roosevelt before the Ohio Joint Legislative Assembly in January, 1919, said, "Colonel Roosevelt was the great patriotic sentinel, pacing the parapets of the republic, alert to danger and every menace, and in love with duty and service, and always unafraid." Those words of our presidential nominee, in admiration of my great brother, are almost a promise of what his own attitude will be. Let us stand behind him, looking forward and onward as Theodore Roosevelt would have done. And let us try with might and main to put our beloved country in the safe keeping of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge.

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/corinnerooseveltrobinsonsafeguardamerica.htm>

Assessment: fully explain your assessment method in detail or create and attach your scoring guide:

Women's Movement Primary Source Scoring Rubric

The following rubric describes levels of competence in completing a Primary Source Analysis on a history exam or homework assignment.

A primary source is something from the time and place you are studying. To analyze a primary source historically, you need to understand all of the following:

- **CONTEXT:** the historical situation in which the primary source was produced.
- **CONTENT:** the major point or meaning of a primary source in its historical context. This can differ significantly from what the primary source may appear to mean to the modern observer.
- **CONSEQUENCES:** the effects or significance of a primary source in history.

A Primary Source Analysis should be a substantial paragraph in length (5-7 sentences). A bulleted list (such as above) is acceptable, provided that the information in each bullet is complete. See [Primary Source](#) for more information on analyzing sources historically.

This rubric was developed from the Fayetteville State University in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and modified to the levels of services that would be offered for every high school student concerning their ability levels.

Level	Criteria
Exceptional (A) 5 Points	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• CONTEXT: thorough knowledge of what the source is, who produced it, where, when, and why it was produced.• CONTENT: sensitive and sophisticated understanding of the meaning of the source in its historical context; appreciation of the complexity or subtlety of the source.• CONSEQUENCES: clear grasp of the effect or importance of the source in history.
Excelling (B) 4 Points	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• CONTEXT: good knowledge of what the source is, who produced it, where, when, and why it was produced; no more than one of the above elements incomplete.• CONTENT: good understanding of the meaning of the source in its historical context.• CONSEQUENCES: clear grasp of the effect or importance of the source in history.
Learning (C) 3 Points	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• CONTEXT: good knowledge of what the source is, who produced it, where, when, and why it was produced; no more than two of the above elements incomplete or missing.• CONTENT: adequate understanding of the meaning of the source in its historical context; some important points missing.• CONSEQUENCES: some grasp of the effect or importance of the source in history.
Developing (D) 1-2 Points	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• CONTEXT: little or erroneous knowledge of what the source is, who produced it, where, when, and why it was produced; more than two of the above elements incomplete or missing.• CONTENT: no understanding of the meaning of the source in its historical context; major points missing or incorrect.• CONSEQUENCES: no or erroneous understanding of the effect or importance of the source in history.

Original Rubric Can be Found at: <http://faculty.uncfsu.edu/jibrooks/FRMS/WkbkP.htm>