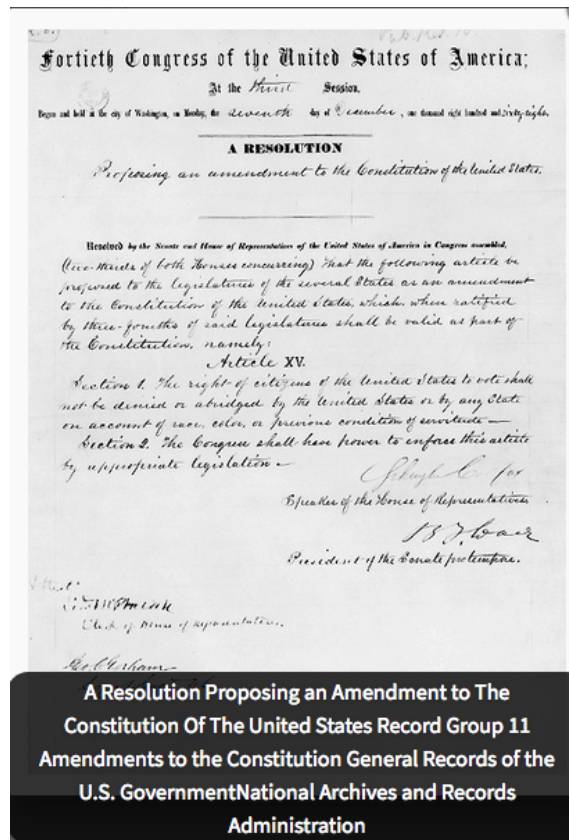


Middle School Lesson

The 100th Anniversary of the Right to Vote for Women in New Jersey and the United States



A Resolution Proposing an Amendment to The Constitution Of The United States Record Group 11 Amendments to the Constitution General Records of the U.S. Government National Archives and Records Administration

The appointed senator from New Jersey, David Baird (R-Camden) voted his conscience on the proposed 19th Amendment to the Constitution on February 10, 1919. (One day after New Jersey ratified the 19th Amendment in Trenton)



Core Idea: Stating a Claim and Building an Evidence-Based Argument:

Examples of Claim Statements:

- The culture of the 19th century presented a barrier to women being treated equally and fairly.
- American women gained the right to vote as a result of the United States becoming a global power in the 20th century.
- The movement for expanding the right to vote in the United States lacked political support from elected leaders.
- The position of NJ Senator David Baird R) did not represent the views of the constituents her represented in New Jersey.
- The Constitution of the United States leaves questions on voting to the individual states.

Use the documents below and additional research to find evidence to support or reject your Claim.

Background Information: First Countries to Give Women the right to vote:

- 1893 New Zealand
- 1902 Australia
- 1906 Finland
- 1913 Norway
- 1915 Denmark
- 1917 Canada
- 1918 Austria, Germany, Poland, Russia (Women had a limited right to vote in Great Britain)
- 1919 Netherlands
- 1920 United States

First 15 States to Give Women the right to vote:

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Wyoming 1890 | California 1911 | Nevada. 1914 |
| Colorado 1893 | Arizona 1912 | New York 1917 |
| Utah 1896 | Kansas. 1912 | Michigan. 1918 |
| Idaho 1896 | Oregon 1912 | Oklahoma. 1918 |
| Washington 1910 | Montana 1914 | South Dakota. 1918 |

Women in Illinois 1913 voted for president in the Election of 1916.

These states granted women the right to vote before the ratification of the 19th Amendment, the next presidential election was in November 1920, after the 19th Amendment was ratified on August 18, 1920.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Nebraska 1917 | Iowa 1919 |
| Ohio 1917 | Minnesota 1919 |
| Indiana 1917 | Missouri 1919 |
| North Dakota 1917 | Wisconsin 1919 |
| Rhode Island 1917 | |

Prioritize the reasons below why women should vote and then categorize the reasons by themes. (cultural/social, political, other, etc.)

<http://loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/progress/suffrage/whyvote.html>

Document 1: Why Women Should Vote From a publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Alice Stone Blackwell. Editor.

1. Because it is fair and right that those who must obey the laws should have a voice in making them, and that those who must pay taxes should have a vote as to the amount of the tax and the way it is spent.
2. Because the moral, educational, and humane legislation desired by women would be got more easily if women had votes. New York women have worked in vain for years to secure a legislative appropriation to found a state industrial School for Girls. Colorado women worked in vain for one till they got the ballot; then the Legislature promptly granted it.

3. Because laws unjust to women would be amended more quickly. Only 13 states give equal guardianship to mothers. New Jersey is not one of the 13 states.
4. Because women are not paid fair wages. Carroll D. Wright, National Commissioner of Labor said in an address delivered at Smith College "The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."(February 12, 1902)
5. Because equal suffrage would increase the proportion of educated voters. The high schools of every state are graduating more girls than boys-often twice or three times as many. (Report of Commissioner of Education.)
6. Because it would increase the proportion of native-born voters as almost 1 million immigrants per year are coming to the United States and becoming citizens. 1901 - 1910: 8,795,386 immigrants arrive in the US; 1911 - 1920: 5,735,811 immigrants arrived in the US
7. Because woman's ballot will make it hard for the notoriously bad candidates to be nominated or elected. In the equal suffrage states, both parties have to elect people of respectable character or lose the women's vote.
8. Because it would increase women's influence as documented by the number of meetings state legislators in Colorado have with women's organizations. Club women outside the suffrage states do not have this experience.
9. Because experience has proved it to be good. Women have for years been voting in England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Utah, and Idaho. In all these places the opponents have not yet found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that the results have been bad, while scores of prominent men and women testify that it has done good.

Prioritize the reasons why people did NOT want women to vote and then categorize them by themes. (cultural/social, political, other)

Document 2: Argument Against Women's Suffrage, 1911

<https://sfpl.org/pdf/libraries/main/sfhistory/suffrageagainst.pdf>

1. Suffrage is not a right. It is a privilege that may or may not be granted. Politics is no place for a woman, consequently the privilege should not be granted to her.
2. The mother's influence is needed in the home. She can do little good by gadding the streets and neglecting her children. Let her teach her daughters that modesty, patience, and gentleness are the charms of a woman.
3. The courageous, chivalrous, and manly men and the womanly women, the real mothers and home builders of the country, are opposed to this innovation in American political life. There was a bill (the Sanford bill) before the last legislature which proposed to leave the equal suffrage question to women to decide first before the men should vote on it. This bill was defeated by the suffragettes because they knew that the women would vote down the amendment by a vote of ten to one.

4. The men are able to run the government and take care of the women. Do women have to vote in order to receive the protection of man? Men have gone to war, endured every privation and death in defense of women.
5. Woman suffrage has been proven a failure in states that have tried it. It is wrong. Statistics show that in most equal suffrage states, Colorado particularly, that divorces have greatly increased since the adoption of the equal suffrage amendment, showing that it has been a home destroyer. Crime has also increased due to lack of the mothers in the home.
6. Woman is woman. She cannot change her sphere. Let her be content with her lot and perform those high duties intended for her by the Great Creator, and she will accomplish far more in governmental affairs that she can ever accomplish by mixing up in the dirty pool of politics. Keep the home pure and all will be well with the Republic. Let not the sanctity of the home be invaded by every little politician that may be running up and down the highway for office. Let the manly men and the womanly women defeat this amendment and keep woman where she belongs in order that she may retain the respect of all mankind.

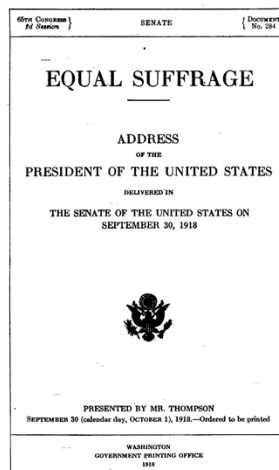
From **Argument Against Women's Suffrage, 1911** Prepared by J. B. Sanford, Chairmen of Democratic Caucus
 ARGUMENT AGAINST SENATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 8 J. B. Sanford, Senator 4th District.

Senator David Baird (R) from New Jersey voted AGAINST the 19th Amendment bill!
Do you Agree or Disagree with his decision?

**Plan a dinner meeting with students in groups to discuss the vote of
 Senator David Baird (R-Camden) from New Jersey**

Mr. Baird voted “No” to the Senate resolution on the 19th Amendment. The bill was defeated by only two votes. Senator Baird was appointed by Governor Water Evans Edge on February 23, 1918 to fill the vacancy of Senator William Hughes (R-Paterson) who died unexpectedly on January 31, 1918. Senator Hughes consistently supported the bill for women suffrage (19th Amendment). Senator Baird missed 60% of the votes in the 66th Congress (101 out of 169), which is double the average for members of this Congress. His term will end on March 3, 1919.

Document 3: EQUAL SUFFRAGE President Wilson’s Speech to the U.S. Senate: (September 30, 1918). Consider having students in groups read each paragraph (beginning with Paragraph #2) and identify the evidence presented by President Wilson in support of women suffrage.



Mr. Vice President and gentlemen of the Senate, the unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in- the view not only of our own people and of our own consciences but also in view of all nations and peoples will, I hope, justify in your thought as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you. I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the, extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to appraise you of every circumstance and element involved in -this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment because no disputable principle is involved but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country. Neither party therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute federal initiative for state initiative, if the early adoption of the measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and if the method of state: action proposed in the party platform is- of 1916 is impracticable within-any-reasonable length of time, if practicable at all. And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects for which the war is being fought.

That judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you with solemn earnestness for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

This is a peoples' war and the peoples' thinking constitutes its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the -political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led nothing less' persuasive and convincing than our actions. Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for. And in this case verification is asked for, in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through diplomatic channels; net by Foreign Ministers. Not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious; expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they wish. I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking, upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war falls. They are looking to the great, powerful, famous Democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them. If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to follow or to trust us; They have seen their own governments accept this interpretation of democracy,- seen old governments like Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they had before refused it, the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain, to governments as well as to peoples.

Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that women can give,- -service and sacrifice of every kind,-and still. say that we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance. of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of sacrifice and suffering and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and of right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations

engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women, services rendered in every sphere,- not merely in the fields of effort- 'in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself. We shall not only be distrusted but shall deserve to be distrusted if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them. We cannot isolate our thought or our action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers. whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice; but I know the magic it will work in their' thoughts and spirits if you give it them. I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties and the liberties of the world, were they excluded. The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war; and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and (do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our women? Is that true an asset or is it not I tell you, plainly, as commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questioning or be shamed, as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses,-I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

And not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need then a vision of affairs which is theirs, and, as we have never -needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world. The problems of that time will strike to the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counselling we shall be only half wise.

That is my case. This is my appeal, Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ. [Applause.]

1. Why do you think President Wilson delivered this speech to the Senate?
2. Why do you think President Wilson selected the date of September 30, 1918 to deliver this speech?
3. What impact do you think his speech had on the senators?
4. What impact do you think his speech had on the nation?

Commentary for the Teacher:

President Wilson worried, too. He feared that if the Senate, with the Democrats in the majority, rejected the amendment, suffragists would target his party in the midterm election. Wilson decided to take a bold step. On September 30, 1918, he delivered a brief, impassioned speech in the Senate Chamber, pleading with senators to deliver “justice to women.” In particular, the president sought to persuade a coalition of southern Democrats and northeastern Republicans, known as the “unholy alliance,” who opposed woman’s suffrage for reasons that were by now all too familiar. “Do not force upon [the states] the enfranchisement of those women who are not of our race,” implored one opponent. Others argued that women possessed neither the intellectual nor emotional capacity to make reasoned decisions. Still others chaffed at the thought of relenting to the demands of the so-called “petticoat brigade.”

Having delivered his address, Wilson returned to the White House to wait. On the following day, October 1, the Senate took up the suffrage bill. Suffragists, dressed in white gowns with purple sashes, watched impatiently from the gallery as the final debate began. Supporters offered one last defense of the bill. Women had selflessly supported the war effort, Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado observed. “Why do we ask American doughboys to fight for Europeans’ right to self-determination,” Thomas wondered, while “50 per cent of our population is disenfranchised”?

After the debate concluded, Senator Jones successfully beat back efforts to amend the bill, and the roll call began. When the final vote was cast, the amendment fell two votes short of the two-thirds present and voting required for passage, 53-31. Disappointed, Andrius Jones promised to call another vote before the congressional session ended in March 1919.

Where would suffragists get the two votes necessary to pass the amendment through the Senate—their so-called “Last Trench”? Alice Paul dialed up the pressure on Borah. With the assistance of local women, Paul convinced the Idaho Republican Party to adopt a party plank supporting a national suffrage amendment. Would Senator Borah defy his own state party and continue to oppose the bill? Occupied with war-related measures, Borah remained in Washington in the weeks before the election, but his chances for reelection were looking grim. His projected lead over his opponent had virtually disappeared. In desperation, Borah made an appointment to see Alice Paul. When that fateful meeting concluded, Paul wired a statement to Idaho suffragists:

“We have talked over the...situation with Senator Borah,” Paul wrote, “**and our understanding...is that he will carry out his platform and vote for the suffrage amendment if elected.**” Aware of Borah’s long opposition to the amendment, a few suffrage leaders remained skeptical. Did Paul get Borah’s commitment in writing? Would he indeed support the amendment? While Paul told her lieutenants in Idaho to stand down, **Borah wired his supporters to inform them that his position had not changed.**

On November 5, 1918, just as Wilson (D) had feared, suffragists punished congressional Democrats for failing to approve the national suffrage amendment. Thanks to his pledge to the National Woman’s Party, William Borah fared better, besting his opponent by nearly 30 points. In March of 1919, Republicans would assume the majority in the House and Senate, and Senator Borah would be among them.

During the lame-duck session that convened on December 2, 1918, Senator Jones scheduled another vote. As the vote drew near, Borah remained coy, issuing no public statements. **At a heated Democratic caucus meeting on February 6, South Carolina’s William Pollock joined 19 other Democrats and declared his support for the bill, providing one of the two additional votes needed for passage. Suffragists expected Borah to provide the last vote.**

On Monday, February 10, 1919, the Senate prepared to vote. “This is no new proposition before the American people,” observed Senator Pollock as the roll call began. The fate of the bill was soon known. Coming early in the roll call of senators, **Borah betrayed Alice Paul and the Idaho suffragists and voted no.** When the final vote was tallied, the suffrage amendment fell one vote short of the required two-thirds majority, 55-29. Suffragists seated in the galleries quietly hung their heads. Anticipating that the next Congress would approve the bill, one irritated suffrage leader called the Senate vote a “futile delay...to betray the people.”

The battle was lost, but the war continued. The 66th Congress convened on March 4, 1919, and soon took up the bill. The House quickly approved it on May 21. In the Senate, several newly elected members had publicly pledged their support for the amendment, making the suffragists reasonably confident of its passage. On June 4, 1919, suffragists packed the Senate gallery once again. "There was no excitement," Maud Younger later recalled. "The coming of the women, the waiting of the women, the expectancy of the women, was an old story." After so many years of fighting for their rights, suffrage activists in the gallery and across the nation found this final vote to be almost mundane. In a bipartisan effort, senators approved the national suffrage amendment with two votes to spare, 56 to 25. A few minutes later, Vice President Thomas Marshall joined prominent suffragists for a signing ceremony in his office in the Capitol. The amendment had passed a major hurdle; now it would go to the states for ratification.

Document 5: Letter to Senator David Baird (R-Camden) from Mrs. Carroll P. Bassett, of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

Mrs. Bassett Sends Letter Opposing Suffrage Amendment. Protesting against the passage of the proposed woman suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution,

Mrs. Carroll P. Bassett, of Summit, president of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, has sent a letter to United States Senator David Baird. The amendment to which Mrs. Bassett takes exception has already passed the House and is now in committee in the Senate.

Mrs. Bassett's letter follows; "As a loyal American whose "only thought at this time must be to win the war, can you view with unconcern the facts stated in the enclosed leaflet and the menace they plainly show? or the announcement in the *New York Sun* of July 7 of the proposed organization by the Socialists of the negro population of the country?

"With the Russian situation now demanding the attention "of the President and of Congress have not these figures grave significance? "I beg to call your attention to the following facts: "The Bolshevik! of Russia and the corresponding element in Finland are advocates of woman suffrage. The outright Socialists in the" United States are Bolsheviks in character and standards. They oppose the war; they oppose the draft, and their claim is that 'Socialism and Woman "Suffrage go hand in hand.' (See N.Y. Socialist platform.)

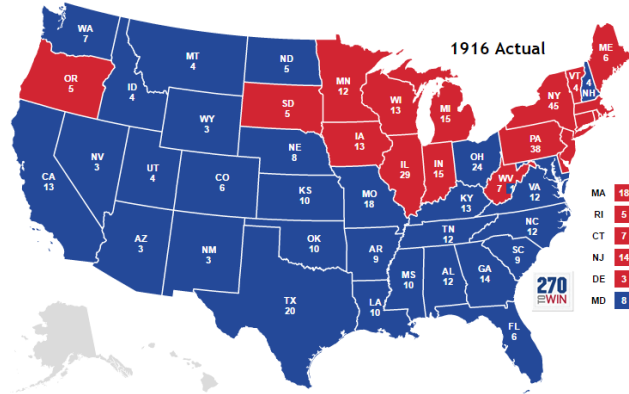
"An analysis of the vote in the House of Representatives on the woman suffrage amendment and the declaration.' of war, respectively, is worthy of note, "Of the fifty votes cast against the declaration of war In the House of Representatives, thirty-eight were cast for woman "suffrage, or seventy-six per cent. ' "Of the 188 votes cast against woman suffrage in the. House of Representatives, 128 were cast for war, or ninety per cent, "The Secretary of War believes that in a short time there will be several millions of voting Americans in France, Do you think that any great domestic question that properly can wait, should" be decided in-the absence of the voice and Influence of these voters? Is It not the duty of all thoughtful Americans, especially those in high position, to defer consideration of this" radical change until the war is won and the people in a state of mind to view such questions in their proper proportion?

"Furthermore, when a conservative estimate places the cost of the woman vote in this country at \$25,000,000 each year—an amount sufficient to provide 500,000,000 rounds of ammunition for our men—Is it not criminal to needlessly divert this vast sum from war purposes?

"I earnestly Implore you to vote to leave this question of suffrage where it justly belongs—in the hands of the individual States."

Document 1: 1916 Election Results

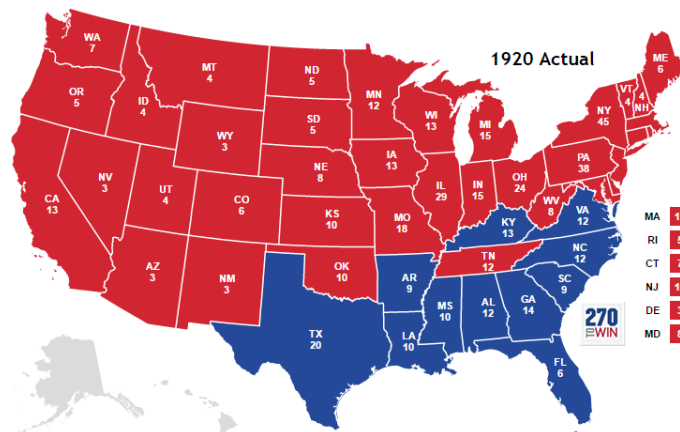
	Candidate	Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
✓	Woodrow Wilson (I)	Democratic	277	9,129,606
	Charles E. Hughes	Republican	254	8,538,221
	Allan Benson	Socialist	0	585,113



Document 2: 1920 Election Results

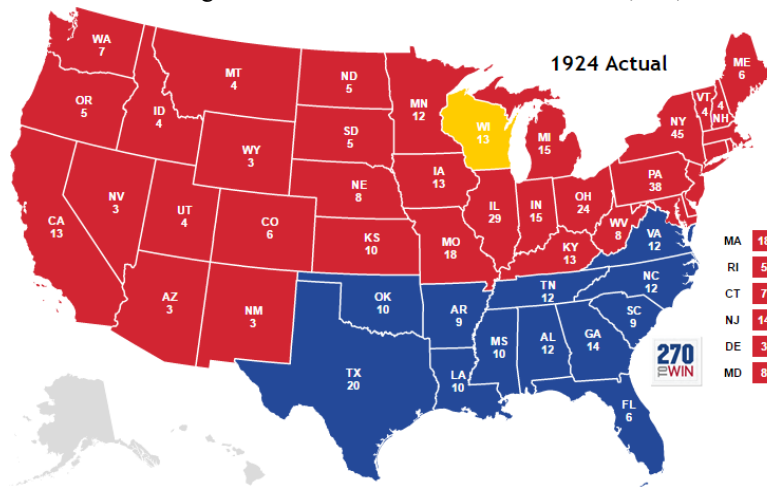
1920 Election Results

	Candidate	Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
✓	Warren G. Harding	Republican	404	16,152,200
	James M. Cox	Democratic	127	9,147,353
	Eugene Debs	Socialist	0	919,799



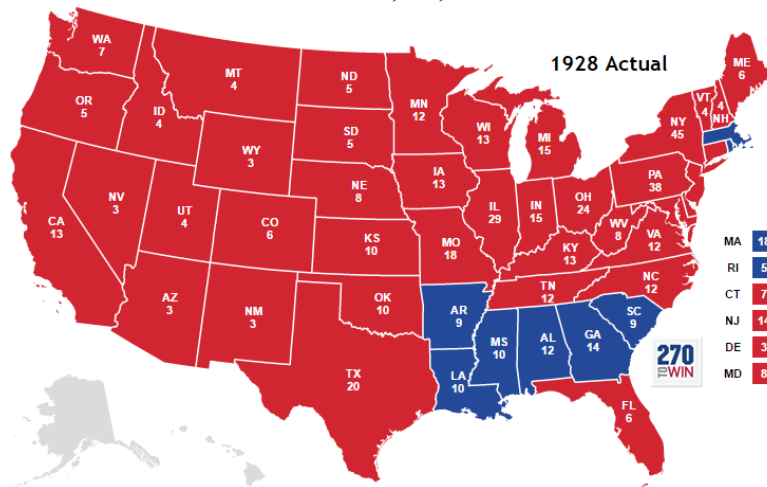
1924 Election Results

Candidate	Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
✓ Calvin Coolidge (I)	Republican	382	15,725,016
John W. Davis	Democratic	136	8,386,503
Robert M. LaFollette	Progressive	13	4,822,856



1928 Election Results

Candidate	Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
✓ Herbert C. Hoover	Republican	444	21,391,381
Alfred E. Smith	Democratic	87	15,016,443



1. **Write a letter** to Senator David Baird or to Carroll P. Bassett, President of the NJ Association Opposed to Suffrage, expressing your view on their position and perspective of the proposed 19th Amendment.
2. **Design a Poster or Record a Song** (Rap Rock, Country) that illustrates the importance of voting in a democracy or illustrates the historical timeline of expanding the vote in the United States.

Optional Activity for Discussion and/or Research

Who is denied the right to vote today? (youth under age 18, people in prisons, legal immigrants who are not citizens, people who are eligible but who did not register.)

<https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015/08/04/voting-rights-still-a-political-issue-50-years-later>
<https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/elections/voting-rights-native-americans.html>

Should the right to vote be extended to age 16? (Make a list of pro/con arguments, discuss if youth at age 16 and 17 have the educational background to make an informed vote, discuss the independence that an 18-year old has as a legal adult.)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/07/learning/should-the-voting-age-be-lowered-to-16.html>
<https://firstamendmentvoice.org/2018/06/the-pros-and-cons-of-lowering-the-legal-voting-age-in-the-united-states/>
<https://www.debate.org/opinions/should-the-voting-age-be-reduced-to-16>

Resource: <https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-internationalist-history-of-the-us-suffrage-movement.htm>