

9-12 and Were White Suffragists Racist?

Were White Suffragists Racist?



Harris & Ewing. 1916. "Women's Suffrage Headquarters." <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016854061/>

Supporting Questions

1. Did Black men need the vote more than women?
2. Were white suffragists racist or did they fight for all women?
3. In what ways were white suffragists racist?
4. How is the women's suffrage movement remembered today?

9-12 and Were White Suffragists Racist?

Were white suffragists racist?	
Content Angle and Standards	<p>D2.His.8.9-12. Analyze how current interpretations of the past are limited by the extent to which available historical sources represent perspectives of people at the time.</p> <p>D2.His.9.9-12. Analyze the relationship between historical sources and the secondary interpretations made from them.</p> <p>D2.His.16.9-12. Integrate evidence from multiple relevant historical sources and interpretations into a reasoned argument about the past.</p> <p>D3.1.9-12. Gather relevant information from multiple sources representing a wide range of views while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.</p> <p>D4.1.9-12. Construct arguments using precise and knowledgeable claims, with evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging counterclaims and evidentiary weaknesses.</p>
Staging the Compelling Question	In staging the compelling question, ask students to create a timeline of the women’s suffrage movement and identify prior learning.

Supporting Question 1
Did Black men need the vote more than women?
Formative Performance Task
After ranking your evidence from the sources, write a paragraph explaining why you believe suffragists were racist or not.
Featured Sources
<p>Source A: Frederick Douglass</p> <p>Source B: Divided Sisters</p> <p>Source C: Sojourner Truth, “Ain’t I a Woman?”</p> <p>Source D: Minutes from an AERA Meeting</p>

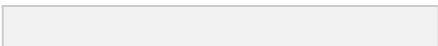
Supporting Question 2
Were white suffragists racist or did they fight for all women?
Formative Performance Task
After ranking your evidence from the sources, write a paragraph explaining why you believe suffragists were racist or not.
Featured Sources
<p>Source A: Divided Sisters</p> <p>Source B: Susan B. Anthony in <i>The Revolution</i></p> <p>Source C: Letter from Susan B. Anthony to Booker T. Washington</p> <p>Source D: Elizabeth Cady Stanton “Manhood Suffrage”</p>

Supporting Question 3
In what ways were some white suffragists racist?
Formative Performance Task
After ranking your evidence from the sources, write a paragraph explaining why you believe suffragists were racist or not.
Featured Sources
<p>Source A: <i>How the Suffrage Movement Betrayed Black Women</i> by Brent Staples</p> <p>Source B: <i>The Suffragists were not Racists</i> by Myriam Miedzian</p>

Supporting Question 4
How is the women’s suffrage movement remembered today?
Formative Performance Task
Students will read sources and choose a prompt to respond to.
Featured Sources
<p>Source A: <i>What You Need to Know About Women’s Suffrage</i> (Video)</p> <p>Source B: “Celebrate Women’s Suffrage but Don’t Whitewash the Movements Racism”, ACLU</p>

	<p>Source E: Frances Ellen Watkins Harper</p> <p>Source F: Ida B. Wells-Barnett</p> <p>Source G: Kate Gordon Letter to Roberta Wellford</p>		
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Summative Performance Task	<p>ARGUMENT: <i>[Were white suffragists racist?]</i> Construct an argument (e.g., detailed outline, poster, essay) that evaluates the need to study, remember, and/or celebrate this expedition using specific claims and relevant evidence from sources while acknowledging competing views.</p>
	<p>EXTENSION. After the above lessons, consider one of the following extensions to the learning.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discussion: Consider facilitating a discussion of the analysis questions. Ask students to share their response with someone, or if they already worked in a group, ask them to nominate someone to represent their group to the class as a whole. Capitalize on differences between group responses. Why did one group answer differently than another? What impacted them or stood out more? 2. Four Corner Debate: Consider a "four-corner debate." In the corners of the room tack up a piece of paper with four differing and possible answers to the inquiry question. After students complete the lesson packet, pose the question to the room at large and ask students to move to the corner of the room (or in between locations) that represent their answer. Then, ask students to explain their choice. As students discuss they are allowed to move closer or further from ideas. This is a great strategy for kinesthetic learning. 3. Socratic Seminar: Consider doing a "Socratic seminar" to extend the learning and get students to question what they still don't know or understand. Start with the inquiry's question. Students should be encouraged to answer one another's question directly, but also to answer the question with another question. This continues the conversation and gets at more rich ideas. The teacher should try to say as little as possible and let the students lead the dialog. One strategy for this is to seat students in a circle. Give each of them a cup and 2-3 tokens. When a student makes a substantive contribution to the discussion the teacher will walk over and place a token in the cup signaling that they have contributed. Students will become aware of who has spoken and who has not, and leave space for one another. 4. Structured Academic Controversy: Consider turning the lesson into a "structured academic controversy." Take the overarching question and turn it into a "debate." Students can choose or be assigned a side in the debate and use the documents provided to argue their "answer" to the overarching question. They can argue over interpretations and credibility of some documents. 5. Reacting to the Past: Consider doing some role play with your class. Reacting to the Past is an active learning pedagogy of role-playing games designed by Barnard University. In Reacting to the Past games, students are assigned character roles with specific goals and must communicate, collaborate, and compete effectively to advance their objectives. Reacting promotes engagement with big ideas, and improves intellectual and academic skills. Provide students with a set of rules about staying in character and what types of things they must know about their character. Students should be provided with a packet of role sheets with instructions on their individual goals and strategies for game play. Students can use sources and information from these activities, and can search for more details online about their individual character. Reacting roles and games do not have a fixed script or outcome. While students are obliged to adhere to the philosophical and intellectual beliefs of the historical figures they have been assigned to play, they must devise their own means of expressing those ideas persuasively in papers, speeches, or other public presentations.
Taking Informed Action	<p>UNDERSTAND The way women were treated in the past often times persists into the present in how we teach about it or in societal norms that have not changed. Students can examine the way that this issue is addressed in textbooks and standards, as well as exploring the ways that the issues at play are still relevant.</p>



	<p>ASSESS Students should consider <i>what should be done</i> today to correct either the portrayal of women from this period in history or the issues at play?</p> <p>ACT Students could take informed action in one of the following ways:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Find an article or book about history that misrepresents women and gender in history and write to the author or editor.2. Write a letter to the Secretary of Education for your state about the teaching of women and gender history.3. Investigate women and gender rights issues that persist and engage with the movement by attending a protest, signing a petition, or donating to the cause.4. Make a PSA video, blog, or social media post with the intent to persuade the audience to better understand women from history or a persistent gender rights from this inquiry.
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**Featured sources are suggested and links are provided. It may be that these links are broken and we apologize in advance for the inconvenience.*

Overview

Inquiry Description

This inquiry leads students through an investigation of the racism that may have existed within the Women's Suffrage Movement. Students will explore different documents that will lead students to make an argument stating that white suffragists were or were not racist.

This inquiry highlights the following additional thematic standards from NCSS:

- **POWER, AUTHORITY, AND GOVERNANCE:** Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of how people create, interact with, and change structures of power, authority, and governance.
- **TIME, CONTINUITY, AND CHANGE:** Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of the past and its legacy.
- **CULTURE:** Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of culture and cultural diversity.

This inquiry also highlights the following additional thematic standards from the Common Core:

- **Key Ideas and Details 1.** Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.
- **Key Ideas and Details 3.** Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.
- **Key Ideas and Details 7.** Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., quantitative data, video, multimedia) in order to address a question or solve a problem.
- **Key Ideas and Details 8.** Evaluate the hypotheses, data, analysis, and conclusions in a science or technical text, verifying the data when possible and corroborating or challenging conclusions with other sources of information.
- **Key Ideas and Details 9.** Synthesize information from a range of sources (e.g., texts, experiments, simulations) into a coherent understanding of a process, phenomenon, or concept, resolving conflicting information when possible.
- **Text Types and Purposes 8.** Gather relevant information from multiple authoritative print and digital sources, using advanced searches effectively; assess the strengths and limitations of each source in terms of the specific task, purpose, and audience; integrate information into the text selectively to maintain the flow of ideas,

avoiding plagiarism and overreliance on any one source and following a standard format for citation.

It is important to note that this inquiry requires prerequisite knowledge of some key terms, which are defined and provided to students in the inquiries where relevant.

Note: This inquiry is expected to take 3-4 class periods. The inquiry time frame could expand if teachers think their students need additional instructional experiences (e.g., supporting questions, formative performance tasks, featured sources, writing). Teachers are encouraged to adapt the inquiry to meet the needs and interests of their students. This inquiry lends itself to differentiation and modeling of historical thinking skills while assisting students in reading the variety of sources.

Staging the Compelling Question

In staging the compelling question, it's important to test for prior knowledge. Ask students to create a timeline of the women's suffrage movement on a scrap piece of paper. To further support students with this task, you can draw a timeline on the board with major dates already marked. If students are struggling, provide them with a bank of answers to organize onto the timeline.

After the timeline is completed, lead the class in a discussion about the Women's Suffrage Movement. Consider the following questions to spark discussion:

1. What was the Women's Suffrage Movement?
2. What impact did the movement have?
3. Name famous suffragists.
4. Were black women seen as equals in the fight for women's suffrage?

Explain to students that the purpose and goal of this inquiry is to identify if white suffragists were racist, what factors may have contributed to incidents of racism, and whether those factors are an excuse.

Supporting Question 1: Did Black men need the vote more than women?

The first supporting question: Were white suffragists racist or did they fight for all women? This question is essential to understanding the complex challenges and intersectional issues of the time, as well as the legacy of the suffrage movement.

The formative task requires students to read the four sources provided and respond to guiding questions as they read and finally respond to questions for analysis. The teacher could extend this activity by turning the student conclusions into the basis for a four-corner debate.

To scaffold student learning, students should work with a partner and read the sources out loud to one another. Students can answer questions collaboratively and build off of one another's analysis, but both students should record their own answers.

- **Featured Source A: Frederick Douglass on Women's Suffrage**

Douglass was one of the few men and the only Black person present at the Seneca Falls Convention. He was a founding member of the Equal Rights Association and he gave this speech in 1888 reflecting on his experience.

Mrs. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:— I come to this platform with unusual diffidence. Although I have long been identified with the Woman's Suffrage movement, and have often spoken in its favor, I am somewhat at a loss to know what to say on this really great and uncommon occasion, where so much has been said.

When I look around on this assembly, and see the many able and eloquent women, full of the subject, ready to speak, and who only need the opportunity to impress this audience with their views... I do not feel like taking up more than a very small space of your time and attention, and shall not. **I would not, even now, presume to speak**, but for the circumstance of my early connection with the cause, and of having been called upon to do so... Men have very little business here as speakers, anyhow; and if they come here at all they should take back benches and wrap themselves in silence. For this is an International Council, not of men, but of women, and woman should have all the say in it. This is her day in court...

...When I ran away from slavery, it was for myself; when I advocated emancipation, it was for my people; but when I stood up for the rights of woman, self was out of the question, and I found a little nobility in the act.

...Man has been so long the king and woman the subject—man has been so long accustomed to command and woman to obey... thus has been piled up a mountain of iron against woman's enfranchisement.

The same thing confronted us in our conflicts with slavery... But neither the power of time nor the might of legislation has been able to keep life in that stupendous barbarism.

Sources: Frederick Douglass, Woman's Journal, April 14, 1888.

idle, strutting up and down; and when the women come home, they ask for their money and take it all, and then scold you because there is no food. I want you to consider on that chil'n. I call you chil'n; you are somebody's chil'n, and I am old enough to be mother of all that is here. I want women to have their rights. In the courts women have no right, no voice; nobody speaks for them. I wish woman to have her voice there among the pettifoggers. If it is not a fit place for women, it us unfit for men to be there.

...I used to work in the field and bind grain, keeping up with the cradler, but men doing no more, got twice as much pay... You have been having our rights so long, that you think, like a slave-holder, that you own us... There ought to be equal rights now more than ever, since colored people have got their freedom.

Truth, Sojourner. "Address to the First Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association." New York City, May 9, 1867. Retrieved from Society for the Study of American Women Writers. Harriet Jacobs, Ed.
<https://www.lehigh.edu/~dek7/SSAWW/writTruthAddress.htm>.

Source

1. Why would Truth be an appropriate speaker at an ERA convention and future Women's Rights Conventions?

Document

2. Does she think women's rights and slavery are the same? How so?

Analysis

3. How is Truth's message different than Douglass, or are they the same?

- **Featured Source D: Minutes from the American Equal Rights Association Convention, 1869**

Tensions were high in 1869 as debates over the 15th Amendment raged. Women felt abandoned in the quest for Universal Suffrage. The following are minutes from a debate in the ERA convention.

Mr. Foster: – ...I admire our talented president with all my heart, and love the woman. (Great laughter.) but I believe she has publicly repudiated the principles of the society.

Mrs. Stanton: – I would like Mr. Foster to say in what way.

Mr. Foster: – what are these principles? The equality of men – universal suffrage. These ladies stand **at the head of a paper which has adopted its motto educated suffrage**. I put myself on this platform as an enemy of educated suffrage, as an enemy of white suffrage, as an enemy of man suffrage, as an enemy of any kind of suffrage except universal suffrage. *The Revolution* lately had an article headed "That Infamous 15th Amendment." ... The Massachusetts Abolitionists **cannot cooperate with the society as it is now organized**. If you choose to put officers here that ridicule the Negro, and pronounce the amendment infamous, why... I cannot work with you...

Henry B. Blackwell said:- In regard to the criticisms of our officers, I will agree that many unwise things have been written in *The Revolution* by a gentleman who furnished part of the means by which that paper has been carried on. But that gentleman has withdrawn and you, who know the real opinions of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton on the questions of Negro Suffrage, do not believe that they mean to create antagonism between the Negro and the woman question. If they did disbelieve in Negro suffrage, it would be no reason for excluding them... But **I know that Miss. Anthony and Mrs. Stanton believe in the right of the Negro to vote...**

Mr. Douglass: – I came here more as a listener than to speak, and I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to the eloquent address... there is no name greater than that of Elizabeth Caddy Stanton in the matter of women’s rights and equal rights, but **my sentiments are tinged a little against *The Revolution***. There was in the address to which I allude the employment of certain names such as “Sambo,”[derogatory, meaning mixed-race] and the gardener, and the boot black, and the daughters of Jefferson and Washington, and all the rest that I cannot coincide with. I have asked what difference there is between the daughters of Jefferson and Washington and other daughters. (Laughter.) I must say that I do not see how anyone can pretend that there is the same urgency and giving the ballot to woman as to the Negro. **With us, the matter is a question of life and death, at least, and 15 states of the union. When women, because they are women, are hunted down** through the cities of New York and New Orleans; when they are drag from their houses and hung up on lamp-posts; when their children are torn from their arms, and their brains dashed out upon the pavement; when they are objects of insult and outraged at every turn; When they are in danger of having their homes burnt down over their heads; when their children are not allowed to enter schools; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to our own. (Great applause.)

A VOICE:-is that not all true about black women?

Mr. Douglass: – **yes, yes, yes; it is true of the black woman, but not because she is a woman, but because she is black.** (Applause.) Julia Ward Howe at the conclusion of her great speech delivered at the convention in Boston last year, said: “I am willing that the Negro shall get the ballot before me.” (Applause.) Woman! Why, she has 10,000 modes of grappling with her difficulties. I believe that all the virtue of the world can take care of all the evil. I believe that all the intelligence can take care of all the ignorance. (Applause.) I am in favor of women’s suffrage in order that we shall have all the virtue and vice confronted. Let me tell you that when there were a few houses in which the black man could have put his head, this woolly head of mine found a refuge in the house of Miss Elizabeth Caddy Stanton, and if I had been blacker than 16 midnights, without a single star, it would have been the same. (Applause.)

Miss Anthony: – **the old anti-slavery school says women must stand back and wait until the Negroes shall be recognized. But we say, if you will not give the whole loaf of suffrage to the entire people, give it to the most intelligent first.** (Applause.) if intelligence, justice, and morality are to have precedence in the Government, let the question of woman be brought up first and that of the Negro last. (Applause.) while I was canvassing the state with petitions and had them filled with names for our cause to the legislature, a man dared to say to me that the freedom of women was all a theory and not a practical thing. (Applause.) when Mr. Douglass mentioned the black man first and the woman last, if he had noticed he would have seen that it was the men that clapped and not the women. There is not the woman born who desires to eat the bread of dependence no matter

whether it be from the hand of the father, husband, or brother; for anyone who does so eat her bread places herself in the power of the person from whom she takes it. (Applause.) Mr. Douglass talks about the wrongs of the Negro; but with all the outrageous that he to-day suffers, he would not exchange his sex and take the place of Elizabeth Caddy Stanton. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Douglass: – I want to know if granting you the right of suffrage will change the nature of our sexes? (Great laughter.)

Miss Anthony: – it will change the pecuniary position of a woman; it will place her where she can earn her own bread.

(Loud applause.) She will not then be driven to such employment only as man chooses for her.

Mrs. Norton said that Mr. Douglass' remarks left her to defend the government from the inferred inability to grapple with the two questions at once. It legislate upon many questions at one and at the same time, it has the power to decide the woman question and the Negro question at one and the same time. (Applause.)

Mrs. Lucy Stone: – Mrs. Stanton will, of course, advocate for the presidents for her sex, and Mr. Douglass will strive for the first position for his, and both are perhaps right. If it be true that the government derives its authority from the constant of the governed, we are safe in trusting that principle to the other most. If one has a right to say that you can not read and therefore cannot vote, then it may be said that you are a woman and therefore cannot vote. We are lost if we turn away from the middle principle and argue for one class. I was once a teacher among fugitive slaves. There was one old man, and every tooth was gone, his hair was white, and his face was full of wrinkles, yet, day after day and hour after hour, he came up to the school house and tried with patients to learn to read, and by- and-by, when he had spelled out the first few verses of the first chapter of the gospel of St. John, he said to me, "now, I want to learn to write." I tried to make him satisfied with what he had acquired, but the old man said, "Mrs. Stone, somewhere in the wide world I have A son; I have not heard from him in 20 years; if I should hear from him, I want to write to him, so to take hold of my hand and teach me." I did, but before he had preceded in many lessons the angels came and gathered him up and bore him to his Father. Let no man speak of an educated Suffrage. The gentleman who addressed you claimed that the Negroes had the first right to the suffrage, and drew a picture which only his great word Dash power can do. He again in Massachusetts, when it had cast a majority in favor of Grant and Negro Suffrage, stood up on the platform and said that women had better wait for the Negro; that is, that both could not be carried, and that the Negro had better be the one. But I freely for gave him because he felt as he spoke. But woman suffrage is more imperative than his own; and I want to remind the audience that when he says what the Ku Klux's is dead all over the south, the Ku Klux Klan is here and the north in the shape of men, take away the children from the mother, and separate them as completely as if done on the block of the auctioneer. Over in New Jersey they have a law which says that any father – he might be the most brutal man that ever existed – any father, it says, whether he be under the age or not, maybe by his last, will and testament dispose of the custody of his child, born or to be born, and that such a disposition shall be good against all persons, and that the mother may not recover her child; and that law modified inform exists over every state in the union except in Kansas. Woman has an ocean of wrongs too deep for any plummet, and the Negro, too, has an ocean of wrongs that cannot be fathomed. There are two great oceans; in the one is the black man, and the other is the woman. But I think God for that XV. Amendment, and hope that it will be adopted in every state. I will be thankful in my soul if anybody can get out of the terrible pit. But I believe that the safety of the government would be more promoted by the admission of woman as an element of restoration

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in harmony than the Negro. I believe that the influence of woman will save the country before every other power. (Applause.) I see the signs of the times pointing to this consummation, and I believe that in some parts of the country women will vote for the President of the United States in 1872. (Applause.)

Buhle, Mari Jo and Paul Buhle. "The Concise History of Woman Suffrage." Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2005.

Source:

1. Are minutes from a meeting a reliable primary source?

Document:

2. For what reason does Stephen Foster want Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to resign the American Equal Rights Association?
3. For what reason does Douglass take offense to *The Revolution*?
4. Why does Douglass argue Black men need the vote first?
5. Why does Anthony argue educated women need the vote first?
6. Why does Douglass believe Stanton is NOT racist?
7. Mrs. Norton and Lucy Stone make alternative arguments, describe them in your own words.

Analysis

8. Look back through the document. At what did audience members laugh? Why?

Supporting Question 2: Were white suffragists racist or did they fight for all women?

The second supporting question: Were white suffragists racist or did they fight for all women? This question is essential to understanding the complex challenges and intersectional issues of the time, as well as the legacy of the suffrage movement.

The formative task is: After ranking your evidence from the sources, write a paragraph explaining why you believe suffragists were racist or not.

Teachers may implement this task with the following procedures:

1. Introduce the lesson by having students list out everything they know about the Women's Suffrage Movement.
2. Group students into groups of 6-7. Have each student in a group choose one document to read and analyze.
3. Once students have read and analyzed their chosen documents, students will summarize and share their document with their group members. As each student shares their document, their peers should be recording information in the provided organizer. Group members should ask clarifying questions to gain a solid understanding of the document.
4. Students should rank the sentences or ideas recorded in their organizer from least persuasive (1) to most persuasive (8)
5. Allow students time to have a small group discussion addressing the supporting question: Were white suffragists racist or did they fight for all women?
6. Have students complete the formative task by writing at least a paragraph that contains evidence from the provided sources.
7. Lead a closing reflection with students that addresses their surprises, possible misconceptions, and further questions about the topic.

The scaffolds and other materials may be used to support students as they work with sources:

- Organizer is included to help students identify pieces of evidence (sentence or ideas) that support both the idea that the women suffragists were racist or they were fighting for the rights of all women.

The following sources were selected to engage students in identifying evidence that supports the suffragists as racist or that the suffragists were fighting for the rights of all women.

- **Featured Source A: Divided Sisters**

Wilson and Russel co-wrote this book. They are professors at De Paul University with academic backgrounds in Women and Gender Studies. Wilson is white and Russel is Black.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, White and Black women, however, did return in droves to their pre-Civil War role as social reformers. And once again the majority of women's clubs were split along racial lines. While

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Black women sometimes preferred segregated groups because they were more comfortable in them and could more easily assume positions of leadership, it was also the case that Black women were often denied membership in White women's clubs.

The largest and best known of the social reform groups of this era was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), founded in 1874. Temperance was considered a particularly appropriate cause for women because alcohol abuse was so disruptive of family life. From the beginning, WCTU policies encouraged separate Black and White unions, but at least one White woman, Amelia Bloomer, campaigned against racism within the movement, and some African American women did rise to positions of prominence within the WCTU. Frances Harper, for one, was most effective in recruiting Black women to the cause and was eventually appointed to the national office. Even so, she was plagued by issues of race, and once commented that "some of the members of different unions have met the question in a liberal and Christian manner, others have not seemed . . . to make the distinction between Christian affiliation and social equality."

Another African American woman highly active in social reform work was Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin. Initially, she was admitted to the 1800 conference of the General Federation of Women's Clubs because her skin color was so fair that the White delegates who registered her didn't know that she was Black. When they discovered the truth, Ruffin was banned from speaking, and an attempt was made to remove her from the convention. The White Woman's Era Club then issued an official statement, saying "that colored women should confine themselves to their clubs and the large field of work open to them there."

Not all Southern White women were racist. Some worked alongside Black women in various social reform groups, and many joined in the campaign to fight against the lynchings of Black men. In 1902, the White women's societies of the Southern Methodist Church openly criticized Southern racial attitudes contributing to such lynchings, and a year later, a White woman named Jessie Daniel Ames founded the fully integrated Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. At its peak, the group had over forty thousand members.

At the turn of the century, thousands of Black women also joined in the campaign for female suffrage, which had once again gathered steam during the 1880s. Among Black women who were staunch suffragists was Anna Julia Cooper, best known for the statement: "Only the BLACK WOMAN can say when and where I enter in the quiet undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence or special patronage; then and there the whole Negro race enters with me." Cooper was particularly effective in emphasizing to Black women that they required the ballot to counter the belief that "Black men's" experiences and needs were the same as theirs. (Even today, ask anyone when Blacks first got the right to vote, and most will tell you "after the Civil War"-and in so doing, fail to acknowledge that only Black men were enfranchised at that time.)

Unfortunately, not all African American men supported female suffrage. Many believed, as did their White conservative counterparts, that women belonged in the home. The opposition of Black men did not stop Black female suffragists from speaking up about their rights, though. In a 1912 article for *The Crisis*, Mary Church Terrell wrote:

If I were a colored man, and were unfortunate enough not to grasp the absurdity of opposing suffrage because of the sex of a human being, I should at least be consistent enough to never to raise my voice against those who have disenfranchised my brothers and myself on account of race.

There also remained a significant number of Black women opposed to female suffrage. Some took that stand for no other reason than that their husbands did, and others simply distrusted anything that White women were fighting so hard to get. Even many Black women who supported the ballot recognized the expediency with which some White female suffragists treated Blacks. Antilynching crusader and journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett reacted strongly to evidence of racism, and was not afraid to call White suffragists on their often hypocritical behavior. Others were more diplomatic in their response to White women. For example, when Susan B.

Anthony attended the 1903 NWSA national convention in New Orleans, she was invited to visit the all-Black Phillis Wheatley Club. While she was there, the club president, Sylvamie ' Williams, informed Anthony that Black women were painfully aware of their inferior position among the White suffragists, but added:

When women like you, Miss Anthony, come to see us and speak to us it helps us believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man, and at least for the time being in the sympathy of women.

It didn't seem to matter how Black women responded; they were being ignored. As late as 1919, it was clear that a growing number of White women were ready to settle for an amendment that would give them, but not Black women, the ballot. Even Alice Paul, White president of the radical National Women's Party (NWP), whose extreme suffragists experienced picketing, imprisonment, and a hunger strike, appeared willing to write off suffrage for Black women. She is alleged to have told one audience of Southern Whites "that all of this talk of Negro women voting in South Carolina was nonsense." White men, particularly those in the South, were convinced that Black women would turn out in greater numbers to vote than White women, which would upset their White advantage at the polling place.

In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment, guaranteeing women the right to vote, was finally ratified, without any reference to race. As it turned out, White women's concerns about the South hardly mattered. The amendment passed without the support of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, and Mississippi. In fact, the only Southern states to ratify it were Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, and Arkansas.

White women could not have predicted this course of events, though. In a lingering era of lynchings and Jim Crow laws, any move to double the enfranchisement of the American population was perceived as having potentially volatile racial implications, and nowhere was this more so than in the South. For White women, the issue was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, had more of them visibly aligned themselves with Black women, the passage of the suffrage amendment most certainly would have been delayed by racist White men threatened by the new alliance. On the other hand, had White women fully embraced Black women into their suffragist cause, there would have been more good will between them. Ironically, some historians believe that American women would have soon gained the right to vote anyhow, as most other Western nations were moving in the direction of enfranchising their female citizens. Again, though, White women didn't know this at the time, and they used "whatever means necessary" to get the suffrage amendment ratified.

When White women and Black women did vote in the first federal election, in 1920, they learned that enfranchisement had been oversold; White men remained in control of federal, state, and local governing bodies. Women of both races discovered that their influence in politics was hardly felt.

Wilson, Midge and Kathy Russel. *Divided Sisters: Bridging The Gap Between Black Women and White Women*. Anchor, 1996. Retrieved from <https://www.depaul.edu/~mwilson/divided/chptone.html>.

- **Featured Source B: Susan B. Anthony in *The Revolution***

*Anthony was a founding member of NWSA and of NAWSA. She was furious at the possibility that all men would get the vote and not also all women, a concept called universal suffrage. She stated she would cut off her arm before working for Negro rights before women's rights. In 1869, Anthony defended her position in favor of woman suffrage in her suffrage newspaper *The Revolution*.*

The Revolution criticizes, 'opposes' the fifteenth amendment, not for what it is, but for what it is not. Not because it enfranchises black men, but because it does not enfranchise all women, black and white. It is not the little good it proposes, but the greater evil it perpetuates that we deprecate. It is not that in the abstract we do not rejoice that black men are to become equals of white men, but that we deplore the fact that two million (sic) black women,

hitherto the political and social equals of the men by their side, are to become subjects, slaves of these men. Our protest is not that all men are lifted out of the degradation of disfranchisement, but that all women are left in. The Revolution and the National Women's Suffrage Association make women's suffrage their test of loyalty, not Negro suffrage, not Maine law or prohibition. Do you believe women should vote? Is the one and only question in our catechism.

Anthony, Susan B. *The Revolution*. October 7, 1869. Retrieved from Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum.

<http://www.susanbanthonybirthplace.com/racism.html>.

- **Featured Source C: Letter from Susan B. Anthony to Booker T. Washington**

This letter was written by Anthony to Booker T. Washington, the founder of the Tuskegee Institute, who, along with his wife, Margaret Murray, educated free men and women in industrial work, among other initiatives. Anthony was a founding member of NWSA and of NAWSA.

N.Y. [City] Jan. 23, 1900

My Dear Friend: I received yours of the 16th. Certainly whenever I go to Atlanta again, it is my intention to visit Tuskegee. I am, however, hoping that my time of going will be postponed to next Autumn, when the legislatures of several of the Southern States will be in session. I think then would be a much better time for us to be in the South, and to speak perchance before every one of the legislatures, and thus send at least a representative from every district in the state, home to his constituents with a little idea of what this woman's rights movement means.

It is one of my dreams to visit Tuskegee, and to see you and Mrs. Washington and Mrs. [Adella Hunt] Logan, and all of the good men and women engaged in the splendid work of that institute. Wishing you the best of success, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Susan B. Anthony

Anthony, Susan B. "Letter from Susan Brownell Anthony to Booker T. Washington." New York City. January, 23 1900. The Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Published in Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock, eds., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976, 5:419. Retrieved from

<http://www.nzdl.org>.

- **Featured Source D: Elizabeth Cady Stanton "Manhood Suffrage"**

*During the debates over the 15th Amendment, Stanton published these comments in the suffrage newspaper *The Revolution*. Some historians have argued that she was attempting to use male logic against them. Stanton was a founding member of NWSA and later NAWSA.*

"Think of Patrick and Sambo [derogatory, meaning mixed-race] and Hans and Yung Tung who do not know the difference between a Monarchy and a Republic, who never read the Declaration of Independence or Webster's spelling book, making laws for Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott or Fanny Kemble. Think of jurors drawn from these ranks to try young girls for the crime of infanticide."

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady. "Manhood Suffrage." *The Revolution*. Retrieved from Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum.

<http://www.susanbanthonybirthplace.com/racism.html>.



- **Featured Source E: Frances Ellen Watkins Harper**

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was an active abolitionist made famous in the North for her abolition speeches and open letter to John Brown. This speech comes from the Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention in New York City in May of 1866.

I feel I am something of a novice upon this platform. Born of a race whose inheritance has been outrage and wrong, most of my life had been spent in battling against those wrongs. But I did not feel as keenly as others, that I had these rights, in common with other women, which are now demanded. About two years ago, I stood within the shadows of my home. A great sorrow had fallen upon my life. My husband had died suddenly, leaving me a widow, with four children, one my own, and the others stepchildren. I tried to keep my children together. But my husband died in debt; and before he had been in his grave three months, the administrator had swept the very milk-crocks and wash tubs from my hands. I was a farmer's wife and made butter for the Columbus market; but what could I do, when they had swept all away? They left me one thing-and that was a looking glass! Had I died instead of my husband, how different would have been the result! By this time he would have had another wife, it is likely; and no administrator would have gone into his house, broken up his home, and sold his bed, and taken away his means of support...



I do not believe that giving the woman the ballot is immediately going to cure all the ills of life. I do not believe that white women are dew-drops just exhaled from the skies. I think that like men they may be divided into three classes, the good, the bad, and the indifferent. The good would vote according to their convictions and principles; the bad, as dictated by preju[d]ice or malice; and the indifferent will vote on the strongest side of the question, with the winning party.

You white women speak here of rights. I speak of wrongs. I, as a colored woman, have had in this country an education which has made me feel... against every man, and every man's hand against me. Let me go to-morrow morning and take my seat in one of your street cars-I do not know that they will do it in New York, but they will in Philadelphia-and the conductor will put up his hand and stop the car rather than let me ride... Have women nothing to do with this?...

Talk of giving women the ballot-box? Go on. It is a normal school, and the white women of this country need it. While there exists this brutal element in society which tramples upon the feeble and treads down the weak, I tell you that if there is any class of people who need to be lifted out of their airy nothings and selfishness, it is the white women of America.

Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins. "We Are All Bound Up Together". 1866. BlackPast. November 7, 2011. Retrieved from <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/speeches-african-american-history/1866-frances-ellen-watkins-harper-we-are-all-bound-together/>.

- **Featured Source F: Ida B. Wells-Barnett**

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Wells-Barnett might have known about the reports of a debate among the protest organizers regarding the segregation of black marchers in Washington. She certainly knew that over the decade, NAWSA, in its strategy to gain support in the South, had appeared to capitulate to its white southern members and legislators like South Carolina Senator Ben Tillman who complained that the enfranchisement of black women would reinvigorate the resistance against white supremacy. In 1894, Ida, a guest in Susan B. Anthony's Rochester home, had debated the pioneer suffragist about keeping African-American women at bay in the name of "expediency." Ida's retort that the strategy would only "confirm white women's segregationist views" was borne out nine years later when black NAWSA members were banned from the organization's national meeting in New Orleans. Ominously, some NAWSA leaders were now assuring white Southerners that the way to sustain white supremacy was to enfranchise educated white women—raising the specter of NAWSA's willingness to pursue suffrage for white women only.

Moreover, Ida knew, such prejudice was not only found in the South. Just the year before, three leading black club women were refused admittance into the influential—if ironically named—Chicago Political Equality League (CPEL). Nine years earlier, Wells-Barnett had addressed the organization, exhorting them "to be emancipated from the prejudice which fetters their noblest endeavor and renders inconsistent their most sacred professions."

While the women were rehearsing in Washington on the eve of the march in 1913, they got word that the national organizers advised them that their contingent was to be "entirely white;" black women were to march at the tail-end of the parade. In light of the past, this moment could be a historic inflection point. If segregation were allowed to stand in a march of this national—and symbolic—significance, it would signal that women's suffrage would be more a boon to white supremacy than black empowerment. If "women got the vote in America," warned the *Chicago Defender*, the nation's leading black newspaper, "the colored race will suffer further ills in legislation." Such an idea, unchallenged, would undermine black community support, squeezing black suffragists from both ends.

With her voice trembling, a tearful Wells-Barnett told the delegation that "if they did not take a stand now in this great democratic parade then the colored women are lost." When Grace Trout, the leader of the contingent, sided with the segregation order, Wells-Barnett, vowing to march with them or not at all, left the room.

Ida B. Wells and the Alpha Suffrage Club marching. From the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 5, 1913. When the women began marching, Ida was nowhere to be seen—but then suddenly appeared out of the crowd to "calmly" take her place with the Illinois delegation. Two white suffragists, Belle Squire and Virginia Brooks, took positions on each side of her. Wells-Barnett "proudly marched with the ... head Ladies of the Illinois delegation showing that no Color line existed in ... the first national parade of the noble women who are in favor of equal suffrage ..." remarked the *Chicago Broad Ax*, another black paper.

Indeed, black women at large were reported to have ignored the segregation order and marched with their respective delegations. The *Broad Ax* gave special commendation to black Howard University student members of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, led by Mary Church Terrell, another leading black suffragist, who marched in the Education Section of the parade.



From left to right
Virginia Brooks, Belle Squire,
Ida B. Wells, Belle Squire

Chicago Daily Tribune photograph, March 5, 1913

Giddings, Paula J. "A Noble Endeavor: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Suffrage." National Parks Service. Last modified April 1, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/a-noble-endeavor-ida-b-wells-barnett-and-suffrage.htm>

- **Featured Source G: Kate Gordon Letter to Roberta Wellford**

Gordon was a leading member of NAWSA and head of the Southern Suffrage Association. She advocated for educated suffrage, but also white-women's suffrage as a means for promoting white supremacy over Black men. This is a letter she wrote in 1916.

January 11, 1916.

Miss Roberta Wellford,
University of Va., P.O., Virginia.

My dear Miss Wellford:

...if woman suffrage is kept as a state right, you will see that the negro women will not get any special national protection such as they can get, with a mandate forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex. In reality every prohibition against the negro man's voting could be applied to the women, but in the states where their numbers make them a menace the subterfuges that are employed are really illegal, and the mass of the men who are determined to preserve white supremacy are willing, if it is necessary, to club negro men away from the polls, but you will understand a sympathy with them when they do not wish to be forced to club negro women, and the women hearing this are far more belligerent!

I feel that if the franchise comes to the women of the south through the state and that we can continue the present restrictions there will be no trouble for the negro women, but if by any chance the national amendment does carry I think there will be trouble for them, and much of the good that we women want to see come from suffrage will be defeated by entangling it with this race prejudice. That is why I think out southern women endorsing a national amendment are making a serious mistake.

I do not know much about the publication of the CRISIS. It stands for negro uplift, but so far as I can make out that negro uplift is an effort in behalf of negro equality. We take the CRISIS simply to be in touch and prepare to answer southern editors, and frequently we have written letters to editors and I believe with good results. If you would like to see some of these copies of the paper I will be glad to send them to you. This summer they had a "Votes for Women" edition with Abraham Lincoln and Sojourner Truth as the frontispiece, and it makes the prejudiced southerners not over zealous for woman suffrage at their best, foam at the mouth.

We are commencing to get comments on Mrs. Patty Jacobs' statistics in her Congressional speech. I wish to the Lord the woman suffragists would try to fight shy of the race question instead of courting it by national endorsement. Of course, her enthusiastic support is the aftermath of the Shafroth amendment activity. Just think of the fatal work that fool thing has accomplished and the opportunity and time wasted, not to mention the money spent in its advocacy.

I hope that you are studying out with care the United States Elections Bill. A copy of it appears in the January issue of the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN. If the Democratic Party is awake to its opportunity it will pass it and spike the Republicans' chance for doing so, when they get in power, which very probably they will in the next administration.

Very cordially,
Kate M. Gordon

1. As you read, record sentences or ideas that show the white suffragists were or were not racist in the middle columns.
2. After you finish the two middle columns, look back at the evidence. Which information is most persuasive to you? Mark that #8. Which evidence is least persuasive to you? Mark that #1.

Rank	Evidence white suffragists were racist	Evidence white suffragists fought for all women	Rank

Questions for Analysis

1. Add up the rank on each side. Which side weighed more? Why do you think it worked out that way?

2. In conclusion, were the white suffragists racist?



C3 TEACHERS
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Supporting Question 3: In what ways were some white suffragists racist?

The third supporting question: In what ways were some white suffragists racist?-- students will examine secondary interpretations of the primary sources to

The formative task requires students to read sources and select compelling evidence to support the two sides of the argument. Students will weigh the evidence and rank it. After ranking your evidence from the sources, write a paragraph explaining why you believe suffragists were racist or not.

Teachers may implement this task with the following procedures:

1. Introduce the lesson by posing the following question: *What is racism? How does racism show in an individual's actions?*
2. Provide students with sources to read and analyze independently or with a partner.
3. Have students complete the formative task by writing at least a paragraph that contains evidence from the

provided sources.

4. Lead a closing reflection with students that addresses their surprises, possible misconceptions, and further questions about the topic.

The scaffolds and other materials may be used to support students as they work with sources:

- Organizer is included to help students identify pieces of evidence (sentence or ideas) that support both the idea that the women suffragists were racist or they were fighting for the rights of all women.

The following sources were selected to provide students with additional viewpoints of racism that may or may not have existed in the Women's Suffrage Movement.

1. As you read, record sentences or ideas that show the white suffragists were or were not racist in the middle columns.
2. After you finish the two middle columns, look back at the evidence. Which information is most persuasive to you? Mark that #8. Which evidence is least persuasive to you? Mark that #1.

<i>Rank</i>	Evidence white suffragists were racist	Evidence white suffragists fought for all women	<i>Rank</i>

Questions for Analysis

1. Add up the rank on each side. Which side weighed more? Why do you think it worked out that way?

2. In conclusion, were the white suffragists racist?

- **Featured Source A: How the Suffrage Movement Betrayed Black Women by Brent Staples**

Staples is a Black, male editor for the New York Times, with a doctorate in Psychology.

The suffragist heroes Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony seized control of the feminist narrative of the 19th century. Their influential history of the movement still governs popular understanding of the struggle for women’s rights and will no doubt serve as a touchstone for commemorations that will unfold across the United States around the centennial of the 19th Amendment in 2020.

That narrative, in the six-volume “History of Women’s Suffrage,” betrays more than a hint of vanity when it credits the Stanton-Anthony cohort with starting a movement that actually had diverse origins and many mothers. Its worst offenses may be that it rendered nearly invisible the black women who labored in the suffragist vineyard and that it looked away from the racism that tightened its grip on the fight for the women’s vote in the years after the Civil War.

Historians who are not inclined to hero worship — including Elsa Barkley Brown, Lori Ginzberg and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn — have recently provided an unsparing portrait of this once-neglected period. Stripped of her halo, Stanton, the campaign’s principal philosopher, is exposed as a classic liberal racist who embraced fairness in the abstract while publicly enunciating bigoted views of African-American men, whom she characterized as “Sambos” and incipient rapists in the period just after the war. The suffrage struggle itself took on a similar flavor, acquiescing to white supremacy — and selling out the interests of African-American women — when it became politically expedient to do so. This betrayal of trust opened a rift between black and white feminists that persists to this day.

This toxic legacy looms especially large as cities, including New York, prepare monuments and educational programs to celebrate the centennial of the 19th Amendment, ratified in 1920, which barred the states from denying voting rights based on gender. Black feminists in particular are eager to see if these remembrances own up to the real history of the fight for the vote — and whether black suffragists appear in them.

The famous suffrage convention convened in Seneca Falls, N.Y., in 1848 featured Stanton and her partner-in-arms, Lucretia Mott, in addition to the towering figure of Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist and dyed-in-the-wool supporter of women’s rights who was on his way to becoming one of the most famous speakers of the century. Were it not for Douglass’s oratory, the historian Lisa Tetrault tells us in “The Myth of Seneca Falls,” the “controversial” resolution demanding the vote for women might actually have failed.

It became clear after the Civil War that black and white women had different views of why the right to vote was essential. White women were seeking the vote as a symbol of parity with their husbands and brothers. Black women, most of whom lived in the South, were seeking the ballot for themselves and their men, as a means of empowering black communities besieged by the reign of racial terror that erupted after Emancipation.

The tension escalated in the run-up to the 15th Amendment, a provision that ostensibly barred the states from denying Negro men the right to vote. Reasonable people could, of course, disagree on the merits of who should first be given the vote — women or black men. Stanton, instead, embarked on a Klan-like tirade against the amendment. She warned that white woman would be degraded if Negro men preceded them into the franchise. Admiring historians have dismissed this as an unfortunate interlude in an exemplary life. By contrast, the historian Lori Ginzberg argues persuasively that racism and elitism were enduring features of the great suffragist’s makeup and philosophy.

Similarly, the historian Faye Dudden wrote that Stanton “dipped her pen into a tincture of white racism and sketched a reference to a nightmarish figure, the black rapist,” and lashed out from the pages of the suffragist paper that she and Anthony published. Her message — that passage of the 15th Amendment would mean only degradation for women at the hands of Negro men — must have cheered the Ku Klux Klan as it terrorized the black South.

Douglass was clearly wounded by what he described as the “employment of certain names, such as ‘Sambo,’ and the gardener, and the bootblack ... and all the rest,” but gracefully declined to answer insult with insult. Instead, he summarized in dramatic fashion the differences between the interests of black and white suffragists — and the case for federal protection of black voters.

“When women, because they are women,” he said, “are hunted down through the cities of New York and New Orleans; when they are dragged from their houses and hung upon lampposts; when their children are torn from their arms and their brains dashed out upon the pavement; when they are objects of insult and outrage at every turn; when they are in danger of having their homes burnt down over their heads; when their children are not allowed to enter schools; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to our own.”

Douglass cut to the central fallacy of the white suffragist push — that African-American women could magically separate their blackness from their femaleness.

The 15th Amendment was, of course, ratified. Women would wait another 50 years for the 19th. Racism intensified among suffragists as they neared their goals. African-American luminaries like the noted anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells and the civil rights leader Mary Church Terrell became more deeply and publicly engaged.

As in other instances, suffragists outside the South used the racism in the Jim Crow states as an excuse for their discriminatory treatment of their black suffragist sisters. Black women’s suffrage clubs that sought formal affiliation with the national white suffrage movement were discouraged from doing so on the grounds that admitting them might anger white Southerners. It has since become clear that this was a ruse Northern whites used to obscure their own discriminatory policies.

The most blatant example of accommodationism came in 1913 when organizers of a huge suffragist parade in Washington demanded that black participants march in an all-black assembly at the back of the parade instead of with their state delegations. Wells famously refused. Terrell, who marched in a colored delegation as requested, believed at the time that white suffragists would exclude black women from the 19th Amendment — nicknamed the Anthony Amendment — if they thought they could get away with it. These episodes fueled within the African-American community a lasting suspicion of white suffragists and of the very idea of political cooperation across racial lines.

Historians are rightly warning groups involved in suffrage commemorations not to overstate the significance of the 19th Amendment. It covered the needs of middle-class white women quite nicely. But it meant very little to black women in the South, where most lived at the time and where election officials were well practiced in the art of obstructing black access to the ballot box. As African-American women streamed in to register, Southern officials merely stepped up the level of fraud and intimidation.

By this time, the former suffragists of the North were celebrating the amendment and were uninterested in fighting discrimination against women who were suffering racial, as opposed to gender, discrimination. As the historian Rosalyn Terborg-Penn writes: “Within a few years, white supremacy was victorious throughout the South. Unlike Black men, who had been disenfranchised within 20 years after the ratification of the 15th Amendment, Black women had lost the vote in less than a decade.” It would take another half-century — and a new suffrage campaign, with black women in a leading role — before that black community was fully enfranchised, through the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The recent uproar over the monuments to white supremacy that dominate public spaces in the South has put civic groups on notice that memorials often convey pernicious messages and perpetuate historical wrongs. Organizers need to keep that in mind as they commemorate a movement in which racism clearly played a central role.

...

The ratification of the 19th Amendment set off celebratory parades all across the country. But confetti was still rustling in the streets when black women across the South learned that the segregationist electoral systems would override the promise of voting rights by obstructing their attempts to register.

Some black women succeeded in adding their names to the rolls. But as the historian Liette Gidlow shows in her revelatory study of the period, the files of the Justice Department, the N.A.A.C.P. and African-American newspapers were soon bursting with letters, investigations and affidavits documenting the disenfranchisement of black women, especially in but not limited to former Confederate states.

In Virginia, Gidlow writes, a college-educated mother of four named Susie W. Fountain was required to take “a literacy test” that consisted of a blank sheet of paper; the registrar subsequently determined that she had failed. She later told an N.A.A.C.P. investigator she was “too humiliated and angry to try again.” A Birmingham, Ala., teacher, Indiana Little, was arrested and sexually assaulted after leading a large crowd to the registrar’s office. As Little said in a sworn affidavit, she was “beat over the head unmercifully and ... forced upon the officer’s demand to yield to him in an unbecoming manner.”

In what became known as “The Election Day Massacre,” a white mob burned to the ground a prosperous black community in the Central Florida town of Ocoee after African-Americans tried to vote.

By this time, white suffragists had declared the battle for women’s voting rights won and embarked on a campaign to prove the amendment successful. They had no interest in signing on to a cause that would undercut that story line.

This betrayal was especially painful for the black suffragists like Coralie Franklin Cook, who had once said of her idol, Susan B. Anthony, who died 14 years before the ratification of the 19th Amendment, that “thousands of torches lighted by her hand will yet blaze the way to freedom for women.” By 1921, however, Cook lamented that, even though she had been “born a suffragist,” she had no choice but to retire from the field. The movement, she said, had “turned its back on women of color.” Organizations that are gearing up to commemorate next year’s centennial of the 19th Amendment are at risk of repeating that insult.

Staples, Brent. “How the Suffrage Movement Betrayed Black Women.” *The New York Times*. Last modified July 28, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/28/opinion/sunday/suffrage-movement-racism-black-women.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article>.

Staples, Brent. “When the Suffrage Movement Sold Out to White Supremacy: African-American women were written out of the history of the woman suffrage movement. As the centennial of the 19th Amendment approaches, it’s time for a new look at the past.” *The New York Times*. Last modified February 2, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/02/opinion/sunday/women-voting-19th-amendment-white-supremacy.html>

Source

1. Who wrote this document?
2. What qualifies this person to write about women’s suffrage?

- **Featured Source B: The Suffragists were not Racists by Myriam Miedzian**

Miedzian is a white, female philosopher who has written several books on women and gender issues. She has her doctorate in philosophy.

President Barack Obama:

“This idea of purity and you’re never compromised and you’re always politically ‘woke’ and all that stuff. You should get over that quickly.” “The world is messy; there are ambiguities. People who do really good stuff have flaws. “

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As a result of the 1970's women's rights movement, Women's History departments were introduced in universities. Black History researchers found that the role of Black women in the 19th and early 20th century suffrage movement was largely invisible. Many concluded this was due to the alleged racism of white suffragists, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

Op-ed writers and journalists relying on academics have been misled. They have brought accusations of suffragist racism to millions of readers-- The New York Times, The Washington Post, the Smithsonian, and other publications, as well as radio and TV shows have featured it. And so it has become "common knowledge" that the Suffrage movement including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony was racist.

Morgan State University History Professor Rosalyn Terborg-Penn is one of the most influential historians promoting this view, In her 1998 book African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote 1850-1920, she asserted that apart from Sojourner Truth, "the words of other Black female suffragists were all but absent" from the first volume of the History of Woman Suffrage--the first three volumes were edited by Stanton and Anthony.

In keeping with this, in an April 9, 2019 Smithsonian Magazine article, Alicia Ault writes that in the History of Woman Suffrage, Stanton and Anthony "left out the contributions of African American women."

Wrong. The first three volumes by Stanton and Anthony contain 85 references to Black suffragists. Some of their speeches are quoted extensively. Considering that Black women made up 6% of the population, this represents an impressive number.

Terborg-Penn also asserted that the 1913 Washington D.C. Suffragist parade held the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration was segregated--"Black women delegates were relegated to the end of the line."

In keeping with this, in a January 17, 2019 New York Times op-ed, Ginia Bellafonte writes that Black women "were forced by white organizers to congregate in the back during a famous women's march, in Washington, in 1913."

Wrong again! The April 1913 issue of the NAACP magazine, The Crisis, provides a detailed description of the march which includes Black women walking with their state delegations and respective professions, and Howard University women walking with the university women.

Terborg-Penn claimed that in the 20th century when Suffrage leaders were focused on getting a Suffrage Amendment passed, "Black women were virtually abandoned by white female suffragists... [who] attempted to keep black suffragists disfranchised. [sic]"

In keeping with this, in a February 2, 2019 op-ed, New York Times columnist Brent Staples writes that "as the push for white women's rights neared its goal-- a constitutional amendment-- the movement hedged its bets by compromising with white supremacy."

WRONG:

The Amendment for all women's voting rights. could not pass without some Southern votes, but most Southern legislators were dead set against it. Suffragist leaders faced with a classical "does the end justify the means," problem decided that it did in this case. A few went South and when confronted with the "antis" told them that women getting the vote would not alter their way of life. They also asked black suffragists to keep a low profile; while some were offended by these requests, many understood the need to do so in the South. They complied, and put off some requests until after the amendment was passed. In Tennessee, Black women made no attempt to appear in the gallery when the state legislature passed the Amendment by one vote.

How can Terborg-Penn and so many other historians be so wrong?

Going back to the 1970's, historians disregarded the fact that when it comes to prejudice, black women are twice cursed. In addition to racism they are the victims of sexism. Shirley Chisholm, the first black woman elected to congress, in 1968, spent fourteen years as a congresswoman and commented "I have certainly met much more discrimination in terms of being a woman than being black in politics." She does not suggest what is now described as intersectionality-- her emphasis is clearly on gender.

Historians picked the wrong underlying variable. Before the 1970's Black women and White women were barely recognized as part of American history. (More on this later.)

It is not uncommon, once a particular theory becomes dominant, for it to influence and even constrict later thinkers. The tendency will be to pay more attention to facts that seem to support the theory and less to those that don't, especially when the theory is consistent with cultural and political trends. Historical context, and pragmatic concerns tend to be overlooked. Instead of going back to original texts, the writings of previous authorities often become primary sources. These tendencies, by no means limited to historians, are important in explaining the "racism dominates" views of so many historians in this field.

U.S. history is tainted by the rabid racism of prominent politicians, supreme court justices, and organizations. Stanton, Anthony, and the Suffrage movement do not belong on this list, or even in its vicinity. This is not to deny that there were racist suffragists, especially in the South. How could there not be during a deeply racist historical period. Nor is it to deny that after the Civil War, Stanton and Anthony used some racist language. But it is to deny that these characteristics were in any way universal or dominant.

Conspicuously absent from most of the assessments of Stanton and Anthony's alleged racism, are references to their relationship with Frederick Douglass who worked with them for over fifty years. He admired them so much portraits of both hung in his home.

He strongly disagreed with their post-Civil War negative stance on black men only getting the vote, and disliked some of their verbiage including "Sambo" and "bootblack." But unlike contemporary accusers, he distinguished between distasteful comments made in anger at what they experienced as terrible injustice, and their deep dedication to the abolitionist movement which he considered far more important.

In 1861 Stanton-- despite her husband's warning that she would be risking her life-- accompanied Anthony on a northern New York anti-slavery speaking tour. The danger was such that in Albany, the mayor sat on the platform with them, had police stationed all over the hall and outside the building, and with armed police, escorted them to and from their hotel

The threat of violence was not new to Anthony. Her nation-wide anti-slavery speeches were at times met by slavery supporters equipped with knives and guns.

During the Civil War, the Women's Loyal National League, founded by Stanton and Anthony, collected close to 400,000 signed petitions to press in favor of a 13th Amendment freeing all slaves. Senator Charles Sumner, a staunch supporter, credited these petitions as the principal force behind the drive for the amendment which Lincoln approved in 1865.

On a personal level, both Douglass and abolitionist/suffragist, former slave, Sojourner Truth, had been Stanton's house guests. In her biography, Sojourner Truth Princeton Professor Nell Irvin Painter states, "Recalling her hospitality in the days when respectable white people turned away blacks, he [Douglass] praised her for personal freedom from racial prejudice."

The contemporary failure to acknowledge Stanton and Anthony's deep commitment to abolitionism is typical of what President Obama warned against--the "rush to arms against anyone who makes some mistakes while ignoring the main thrust of that person's behavior and work."

Ta-Nehisi Coates, expressed the same concern specifically about Stanton and Anthony. In an October 2011 Atlantic article he describes moving from accepting accusations of racism against them. to asking, how could they have gone from devoted abolitionism to racism?

To find the answer, he looked at the "unbridled sexism" abolitionist women were subjected to, including the 1840 London World Anti-Slavery Convention which a young Stanton attended. The women delegates were made to sit in the back behind a curtain. He comments, "Lady Byron ...Lucretia Mott and many remarkable women, speakers and leaders...were compelled to listen in silence to the mass of masculine platitudes on women's sphere... Judging from my own feelings, the women on both sides of the Atlantic must have been humiliated, and chagrined."

In conclusion, he writes, “I find myself in sympathy for both Stanton and Anthony who after devoting so much of their early lives to abolitionism, hoped for some reciprocity which did not come ... I think of Stanton and Anthony mis-stepping, but always pushing, always agitating, always expanding.” He concluded “I don’t need my personal pantheon to be clean. But I need it to be filled with warriors.”

Few historians share Coates’s empathy for the humiliations and injustices Stanton and Anthony suffered. As a result, the reputations of these two extraordinary women who worked together for fifty years to free the slaves and free all women from the “serfdom” to which second class citizenship condemned them, are sullied.

MANY ACCUSATIONS; LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OR EMPATHY

Shortly before the Civil War, two wealthy businessmen gave bequests for women’s suffrage and abolishing slavery. In 1865 at the war’s end, the bequest executor abolitionist Wendell Philips decided to keep virtually all the funds for black male suffrage. Philips told Stanton and Anthony they should defer to black males whose chances of getting the vote would be harmed if women asked for it simultaneously. (Isn’t it common bargaining strategy to start asking for more, in this case universal suffrage and settling for less, black male suffrage only?) He also insisted that “women were not ready for the vote.”

How could Stanton and Anthony not feel deeply disappointed and irate?

This male abolitionist behavior has rarely if ever led to accusations of sexism. In keeping with the focus on racism, in her recent book *The Woman’s Hour* Elaine Weiss suggests that Stanton and Anthony’s racist pronouncements led Phillips to withdraw the funds!

ACCUSATIONS

Stanton’s “vile elitism and racism” is allegedly exemplified in her statement, “Think of Patrick and Sambo and Hans and Yung Tung who do not know the difference between a Monarchy and a Republic, who never read the Declaration of Independence . . . making laws for Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott, or Fanny Kemble.”

Ta Nehisi Coates understood the “humiliation and chagrin” that the women experienced at the sexist London Anti-Slavery conference, Isn’t it just as understandable that Stanton and Anthony experienced as humiliating and deeply unjust that recent male immigrants-- many didn’t understand or speak English-- and former slaves kept illiterate by their masters would have voting rights, but women wouldn’t?

But for Pennsylvania State Professor Lori Ginzburg, author of *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, the Patrick and Sambo statement is “ugly... and unforgivable.”

In her book, *Suffrage* U.C.L.A Professor Ellen Dubois suggests these comments were so racist and elitist they left a taint on Stanton’s legacy “which equaled and at times overshadowed “ her extraordinary understanding and leadership. This, in spite of Dubois’s recognition that Stanton often followed her “racist, elitist” speeches by affirming that “suffrage is a natural, inalienable right” belonging to all citizens, black, white, male, female.

Clearly the first comments expressed anger; while the second affirmed deep convictions. Critics eager to prove racism, focus primarily on the angry utterances, and give short shrift to those advocating universal suffrage.

An examination of *The Revolution* archives does not substantiate the accusation that it frequently contained accusations of black on white rape.

There is only one frequently quoted article that can be interpreted as pointing to black on white rape despite the fact that it does not depict rape victims as white.

In an 1869 article Stanton wrote that “the Republican cry of ‘manhood suffrage’ creates an antagonism between black men and all women, that will culminate in fearful outrages on womanhood, especially in the Southern states...”

She might have thought that by giving some voice to white legislators fears, she would encourage them to vote for suffrage which would greatly increase the white vote since there were about eight times more white than black women.

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This article is disturbing, as are some other Stanton assertions -- references to the "pauperism, ignorance, and degradations" of male immigrants and freed slaves among them. The imagery in Anthony's assertion, "I will cut off this right arm of mine before I will ever work or demand the ballot for the Negro and not the woman." is unfortunate.

In his recent acclaimed book *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, Yale professor David W. Blight informs us that in the 1888 congressional election, Douglass supported a former confederate general, instead of a progressive black jurist as the Republican candidate for congress. Blight attributes this shocking decision to "an ugly rivalry." As for Douglass's early speeches on abolishing slavery, he apparently regularly described a drunken "Pat fresh from the Emerald Isle," at the polls "leaning on the arms of friends, unable to stand." Douglass "also contrasted Black people who admired modernity with uncivilized Native Americans who preferred primitive life. Blight deplores Douglass's behavior in the 1888 election as well as his racist statements, especially those about Native Americans who were in the midst of losing battles to keep their land. But he deals with all this in passing, and this behavior in no way affects the main focus of his book which is a history of an extraordinary man who had a major positive effect on American history. Douglass's blemishes represent short asides in the book. This is how it should be.

Why isn't it so with Stanton and Anthony? They are extraordinary women whose writings, speeches, addresses to congress, and organizational skills played a major role in getting women the most basic rights-- to their children, to their salaries, to admittance to universities and professional schools, and to vote.? Why do a few distasteful words or sentences spoken in anger "overshadow" their life's work? Is there an unconscious gender issue operating here?

BACK TO THE MISTAKEN ASSUMPTION

The assumption that black suffragists' invisibility is due to white suffragist racism has got to go since both are invisible.

The real problem is sexist ignoring of women's history. I recently examined middle and high school history books currently used in California, one of the more progressive states. Not one devoted an entire chapter to the subject of the subjugation of one half of the population, and the seventy-year struggle that won major rights for women. A page here and there was deemed sufficient.

When San Diego State University Professor of Education, Ronald Evans, asked a class of 30 students, how many had had a good amount of women's history in High School, only two answered in the affirmative. It's a topic that's doesn't get much attention in California schools, he told me. "It's the occasional teacher who does it."

Not much has changed since in 1909, Pauline Perlmutter Steinem (Gloria's grandmother) chairwoman of the Committee on Education of the National Woman Suffrage Association, investigated Public School History and Civics textbooks. Her conclusion: they "did not show the slightest appreciation of the significance of the 'woman's movement... The impression conveyed by our textbooks is that this world has been made by men and for men... "

Even more disturbing, little has changed since the 1990's when Drs. Myra and David Sadker, authors of *How America's Schools Cheat Girls*, documented the extreme absence of women from high school textbooks.

It is true that very few people have heard of Frances E. W. Harper, the 19th century black poet and ardent suffragist, but my personal experience and an informal survey I have run with respect to Elizabeth Cady Stanton reveals that only a tiny minority have heard of this leading 19th century women's rights advocate. Sadly, her name is more familiar now as "that racist."

Susan B. Anthony and Sojourner Truth's names tend to be more familiar. Anthony has a coin named after her, and six statues from coast to coast honor Truth. Nevertheless little is known about them.

In the May 2019 New York Times, columnist Brent Staples writes, the "History of Woman Suffrage... still dominates popular thinking on the early women's rights struggle."

My first reaction to reading this was "if only that were true." I doubt that anyone but women's history professors have ever heard of it.

In a Washington Post Op-Ed, Johns Hopkins History Professor, Martha S. Jones refers to "the figures of Stanton, Anthony, and Mott...memorialized in the Capitol in 1920." She is referring to the statue donated to Congress in



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celebration of the 19th amendment. She assumes that since it was of white women, it was celebrated by its recipients. In fact it was of no interest to sexist congressmen, and spent 70 years in a basement broom closet. Thanks to the efforts of newly minted congresswomen, activist feminists, and descendants, the statue was brought up to the Rotunda in 1997. In 2009, Sojourner Truth's bust was placed in the Capitol's Executive Hall.

As Martin Luther King understood, the only way to bring about social change is through alliances between different groups of citizens.

The invisibility of all women should unite black and white feminists in working to take women's history out of the basement and place it in the light. A powerful alliance of women across races and ethnicities could among many other important actions, apply intense pressure-- on state and local levels-- to having the 19th and early 20th century movements for women's rights including suffrage represented in American history books, so that high school students, male and female, would become aware that women -- black and white-- make up half of our history.

Miedzian, Myriam. "The Suffragists were not Racists: So Cancel the Cancel Culture and Celebrate An Accusation-Free Suffrage Centennial." *Medium*. Last modified August 19, 2020.
<https://www.myriammiedzian.com/suffragists-were-not-racists>.

Source

1. Who wrote this document?
2. What qualifies this person to write about women's suffrage?

Supporting Question 4: How is the women's suffrage movement remembered today?

Ideas for the inquiry were borrowed and adapted from:

Anti-Defamation League. 2020 "Women's Suffrage, Racism, and Intersectionality."

<https://www.adl.org/education/educator-resources/lesson-plans/womens-suffrage-racism-and-intersectionality>.

The fourth supporting question: How is the women's suffrage movement remembered today? This is an important question because it tells us a great deal about our values and where we stand on the question of progress at what cost?

The formative task requires students to read sources and select compelling evidence to support the two sides of the argument. Students will weigh the evidence and rank it. Then students choose one of the following prompts and write a paragraph response using evidence from the lesson's sources:

- Given what we know about racism and exclusion in the Suffrage Movement, should we celebrate or critique the Nineteenth Amendment? Explain.
- What is a current day example of how one group excludes another group in its effort to attain equitable rights
- Who were the black women fighting for suffrage and how were their goals different from white women?

Teachers may implement this task with the following procedures:

1. Begin class by showing students the short video clip, "What You Need to Know About Women's Suffrage." Lead a discussion guided by the following questions:
 - a. What is new information to you?
 - b. How did the information in this video expand your knowledge or thinking of the Women's Suffrage Movement?
 - c. Are there any modern social justice movements that are similar to the Women's Suffrage Movement?
 - d. What can we learn from the Women's Suffrage Movement that applies to social justice movements today?
2. Split the class into two groups. Each group will be assigned their own reading.
 - a. Assign Group #1 to read "Celebrate Women's Suffrage, but Don't Whitewash the Movement's Racism."
 - b. Assign Group #2 to read "How the Suffrage Movement Betrayed Black Women"
3. Also provide students with the background and timeline worksheets to provide context to students as they read their assigned articles.
4. Students should read their assigned reading silently, annotating the lesson as they read.
5. Pair each student with a peer in the other group. Allow students time to summarize, discuss, and reflect on the readings with their partner.
6. Lead a closing reflection with students that addresses their surprises, possible misconceptions, and further questions about the topic. Possible discussion questions include:
 - a. What surprised you?

- b. What concerned you?
 - c. What role did racism play in the Women’s Suffrage Movement?
 - d. Was the exclusion/racism of black women necessary?
 - e. How could have white suffragists done better to include black women in the front lines of the fight for equal rights?
7. Have students complete the formative task by writing at least a paragraph that contains evidence from the provided sources.

The following sources were selected to provide students a view into how the Women’s Suffrage Movement is remembered today.

- **Featured Source A:** [“What You Need to Know About Women’s Suffrage”](#) (YouTube, 7min)

Now This News. 2020. “*What You Need to Know About Women’s Suffrage.*” YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C5oBhss5Pml&t=320s>

- **Featured Source B:** “*Celebrate Women’s Suffrage but Don’t Whitewash the Movements Racism*”, ACLU

By Tammy L. Brown, Associate Professor of Black World Studies, History, and Global and Intercultural Studies, Miami University
AUGUST 24, 2018 | 5:45 PM

My 94-year-old great-aunt, Paralee Wilmer — we call her Aunty Lee — voted for the first time after moving to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1944. Born to no-nonsense, small farmers in Millers Ferry, Alabama, and the youngest daughter of 12 children, Aunty Lee was one among many African Americans who moved from the South to the North in search of better job opportunities and greater freedoms during the The Great Migration. These freedoms included the right to vote without intimidation or any other hindrance.

Aunty Lee’s memory is a bit cloudy regarding whether the first time she cast her ballot was in an election for local politicians or a presidential race, but one thing she knows for sure is her pastor at the time inspired her to exercise her constitutional rights and fulfill her civic duties. He said, “When it’s time to vote, make sure you vote. When it’s time to do grand jury, make sure you go.”

At age 20, Aunty Lee understood the magnitude of her pastor’s advice, given the disenfranchisement of Black folks that she witnessed growing up in Millers Ferry — including poll taxes, literacy tests, and outright violence and intimidation that prevented Black people from voting. To be a Black citizen in America but denied full citizenship rights epitomizes the hypocrisy of American democracy. This is a sad truth that I repeat like a blues refrain to my students.

This summer — as the nation celebrates the 170th anniversary of the first major convention for women’s rights at Seneca Falls and the 98th anniversary of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, which granted women the right to vote —

how do we reconcile widespread narratives of a triumphant, steady march towards women’s enfranchisement with the more complicated and painful reality of my great-aunt’s lived experience as a young, Black woman in Jim Crow America?

One word: intersectionality.

Legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw argues that racism and sexism intersect in a manner that compounds Black women’s oppression. Although the above historical events occurred long before Crenshaw articulated intersectionality, this insightful theory should be applied to all historical narratives that do not fully engage with the lived experiences of African-American women.

What do we notice when we take an intersectional view of the events that transpired at Seneca Falls? How does our understanding of the history of all women’s political empowerment in the United States change?

When suffragists gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848, they advocated for the right of white women to vote. The participants were middle and upper-class white women, a cadre of white men supporters and one African-American male — Frederick Douglass. The esteemed abolitionist had forged a strong working relationship with fellow abolitionists and white women suffragists, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. No Black women attended the convention. None were invited.

Although women of color were profoundly absent at Seneca Falls, a greater degree of cultural inclusion was on the horizon. In May 1851, African-American abolitionist Sojourner Truth spoke at a women’s rights convention in Akron, Ohio. During her famous speech on the abolition of slavery and the promotion of women’s rights, Truth allegedly bared her breast and proclaimed, “Ain’t I a woman?”

It was a melodramatic act and statement, but as historian Nell Painter argues, it never happened. Instead, it was a quaint fiction crafted by convention organizer Frances Dana Gage and other white feminists who depicted Truth to white audiences as a genuine albeit primitive ally in the fight for women’s rights. Thus, the 1851 convention marked a modicum of progress, but this progress is tainted by white suffragists’ attempts to control Truth’s voice.

By the turn of the 20th century, Black suffragists such as Mary Church Terrell represented intersectional feminism at its best. Born to former slaves in Memphis, Tennessee, Terrell earned her bachelor’s and master’s degrees from Oberlin College and served as president of the National Association of Colored Women. In February 1898, Terrell spoke at the National American Woman Suffrage Association convention in Washington, D.C.

Her speech forced powerful white women attendees to reflect on the compounding oppressions and systemic violence that Black women endured during slavery. She ended on a more optimistic note — praising the sheer grit and intellect of freed women. Terrell’s rhetorical style echoed the American ethos of self-made men and women, but she oversimplified the historical reality that the paths to racial and gender equality are long, jagged, and still unwinding.



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The history of women’s suffrage in America is not nice or neat, because the impact of white supremacy is broad and human nature is messy. Furthermore, a nation built on stolen land from Native Americans and stolen labor from African slaves is flawed from the start. We must constantly acknowledge this truth and engage in an intersectional celebration of women’s rights activists and landmark events.

In addition to celebrating the passage of the 19th Amendment, let’s celebrate the upcoming birthday of African-American suffragist Mary Church Terrell, who would be 155 on September 23. Let’s celebrate the lives and legacies of the true Sojourner Truth, abolitionist and suffragist Harriet Tubman, and Shirley Chisholm — the first Black woman elected to Congress and to seriously run for president.

Let us celebrate and support current-day Black Lives Matter founders and organizers Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, three queer Black women committed to “placing those at the margins closer to the center” of political leadership. Last but not least, let’s celebrate the lives of everyday people like my Aunty Lee — a Black woman born and raised in Jim Crow Alabama who sought out a better life in Ohio and has religiously exercised her right to vote for the past 74 years. Let us celebrate these Black women while recognizing that the struggle to vote without obstacles continues.

Brown, Tammy. 2018. “Celebrate Women’s Suffrage by Don’t Whitewash the Movements Racism.” ACLU.
<https://www.aclu.org/blog/womens-rights/celebrate-womens-suffrage-dont-whitewash-movements-racism>.

Summative Performance Task

At this point in the inquiry, students have examined a historical and modern argument of racism's role in the Women's Suffrage Movement.

Students should be expected to demonstrate the breadth of their understanding and their abilities to use evidence from multiple sources to support their claims. In this task, students will be writing a five paragraph essay addressing the compelling question, were white suffragists racist? Students should use their formative tasks and evidence of the sources to support their claim.

To support students in their writing they can use this provided organizer for a body paragraph. The organizer refers to the HAPPY acronym: Historical Context, Audience, Point of View, Purpose and why is this significant?

First Argument	
Write a topic sentence that summarizes the paragraph and tells how this proves the thesis	<i>(Repeat the first part of your thesis)</i>
Provide background information here. Cite anyone you paraphrase or quote!	<i>When...</i>
What textual evidence proves this? Describe 1 or 2 HAPP elements about the source of your evidence.	
What textual evidence proves this? Insert a short quote here.	
What makes this quote credible, valid, or helpful in providing insights to this issue?	<i>The quote revealed...</i>

<p>Who disagrees or disputes a piece of your argument?</p> <p>Describe 1 or 2 HAPP elements about the source of your evidence.</p>	<p><i>Others claimed that...</i></p>
<p>What textual evidence do you have?</p> <p>Insert a short quote here.</p>	
<p>What makes this quote seem untrue, inaccurate, or only partly true?</p>	<p><i>While it may be true that _____, it was clear that...</i></p>

To extend their arguments, once students have written or formed an argument, consider doing one of the following extension activities:

1. **Discussion:** Consider facilitating a discussion of the analysis questions. Ask students to share their response with someone, or if they already worked in a group, ask them to nominate someone to represent their group to the class as a whole. Capitalize on differences between group responses. Why did one group answer differently than another? What impacted them or stood out more?
2. **Four Corner Debate:** Consider a "four-corner debate." In the corners of the room tack up a piece of paper with four differing and possible answers to the inquiry question. After students complete the lesson packet, pose the question to the room at large and ask students to move to the corner of the room (or in between locations) that represent their answer. Then, ask students to explain their choice. As students discuss they are allowed to move closer or further from ideas. This is a great strategy for kinesthetic learning.
3. **Socratic Seminar:** Consider doing a "Socratic seminar" to extend the learning and get students to question what they still don't know or understand. Start with the inquiry's question. Students should be encouraged to answer one another's question directly, but also to answer the question with another question. This continues the conversation and gets at more rich ideas. The teacher should try to say as little as possible and let the students lead the dialog. One strategy for this is to seat students in a circle. Give each of them a cup and 2-3 tokens. When a student makes a substantive contribution to the discussion the teacher will walk over and place a token in the cup signaling that they have contributed. Students will become aware of who has spoken and who has not, and leave space for one another.
4. **Structured Academic Controversy:** Consider turning the lesson into a "structured academic controversy." Take the overarching question and turn it into a "debate." Students can choose or be assigned a side in the debate and use the documents provided to argue their "answer" to the overarching question. They can argue over interpretations and credibility of some documents.
5. **Reacting to the Past:** Consider doing some role play with your class. Reacting to the Past is an active learning pedagogy of role-playing games designed by Barnard University. In Reacting to the Past games, students are assigned character roles with specific goals and must communicate, collaborate, and compete effectively to advance their objectives. Reacting promotes



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engagement with big ideas, and improves intellectual and academic skills. Provide students with a set of rules about staying in character and what types of things they must know about their character. Students should be provided with a packet of role sheets with instructions on their individual goals and strategies for game play. Students can use sources and information from these activities, and can search for more details online about their individual character. Reacting roles and games do not have a fixed script or outcome. While students are obliged to adhere to the philosophical and intellectual beliefs of the historical figures they have been assigned to play, they must devise their own means of expressing those ideas persuasively in papers, speeches, or other public presentations.

Students have the opportunity to Take Informed Action by doing one of the following suggested action activities:

1. Find an article or book about history that misrepresents women and gender in history and write to the author or editor.
2. Write a letter to the Secretary of Education for your state about the teaching of women and gender history.
3. Investigate women and gender rights issues that persist and engage with the movement by attending a protest, signing a petition, or donating to the cause.
4. Make a PSA video, blog, or social media post with the intent to persuade the audience to better understand women from history or a persistent gender rights from this inquiry.