THE SPLIT OVER SUFFRAGE

NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADE 11:
UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK STATE HISTORY

UNIT THREE Industrialization of the United States

UNIT FOUR The Progressive Movement: Responses to the Challenges Brought about by Industrialization and Urbanization

These questions and documents can be used in conjunction with the New York State Education Department standard curriculum for grade 11 Social Studies: United States History and Government, in particular, Unit Three, Chapter 1: The Reconstructed Nation, and Unit Four, Chapter 1: Reform in America, Chapter 2: The Rise of American Power. Unit Seven: The World in Uncertain Times 1950–Present, Chapter 3: Decade of Change: 1960’s, would also be helpful in comparing the feminist movement of the 1960’s with the suffragist movement. Students will be able to discuss women’s changing roles before and after World War I and how that affected the suffrage movement and the 19th amendment.

“What caused former allies in the struggle for suffrage to split?”

Document pages 17-27

This lesson is appropriate for units on: Reconstruction, voting rights or women’s suffrage.

STUDENTS WILL BE ABLE TO:

• identify the 15th Amendment, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and the National Woman Suffrage Association
• analyze primary documents, identifying main ideas and providing supporting evidence and comparing points of view — explain the reason for the split between Frederick Douglass and Cady Stanton and Anthony

PART I

I. Students complete the Vocabulary Activity for The Split Over Suffrage glossary. (This can be given as homework in advance.)

II. Go over Vocabulary Activity.
III. Introduce the historical figures present in the Douglass letter.
Read the profiles on Frederick Douglass and Josephine Sophie White Griffing in their entirety. For the Elizabeth Cady Stanton profile, stop after the sentence on the National Woman Suffrage Association. Do not read the final sentence of Susan B. Anthony’s profile.

IV. Pose to students the question, “How did Douglass, Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who had worked together as allies advocating abolition and the extension of suffrage to women and African Americans, end up opposing one another?”

V. Group Activity:
A. Read the letter by Frederick Douglass, from Rochester, New York, to Josephine Sophie White Griffing, a supporter of women’s and African American suffrage, who lived in Washington, D.C.
B. After carefully reading Douglass’ letter, answer the questions about it.
C. Students share answers within their group.

VI. Students read the text of the 15th Amendment and answer questions about it. This can be done individually, in groups or as a class.

VII. Discuss the 15th Amendment and how it helps explain the letter and the split between Douglas, Cady Stanton and Anthony.

VIII. Homework or possible opening activity for Day 2: Students read the excerpt from the New York Times article “Woman’s Suffrage Association” and answer the questions about it.

PART 2

I. Students complete the Douglass column of the chart comparing the points of view of Douglass and the National Woman Suffrage Association.

II. As a class, go over the Frederick Douglass column.

III. Discuss the answers to the questions for the “Woman’s Suffrage Association” article and complete the second column of the chart.

IV. Culminating Activity: This can be done in groups or individually.
A. Write a letter from:
   1. Frederick Douglass to Susan B. Anthony or Phoebe Cozzens in which he responds to the article about the National Woman Suffrage Association meeting or
   2. Josephine Sophie White Griffing responding to Douglass’s letter
B. Create a cartoon that illustrates the split between Douglass and the members of the National Woman Suffrage Association.
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DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY’S NEW YORK TIMES

Historical events described in textbooks often began with reports in a newspaper. The assignments below help you compare the past with the present.

1. From a current issue of The New York Times, select a letter to the editor on the subject of human rights. Compare and contrast this modern-day letter with the letter from Frederick Douglass to Josephine White Griffing. Deliver your findings in writing or in a class discussion.

2. Compose a letter to the editor of The New York Times based on a news article in The Times reporting human rights abuses or disenfranchisement somewhere in the world. Study the letter written by Frederick Douglass to Josephine White Griffing and incorporate his passion and logic in your writing. Follow the instructions on the Information and Services Directory in The Times to submit your letter.

3. The Constitution of the United States is often referred to in news reports. Collect examples of individuals (or groups) citing the Constitution to support a position, from articles in current editions of The New York Times. Analyze these examples and determine why they used the Constitution. Create a poster of your analysis, using clippings to illustrate.
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abolitionists  People who supported completely ending slavery, plural of the noun “abolitionist.” Related words: abolish (verb), abolition (noun), abolitionism (noun).

advocated  Supported, spoke and/or wrote in favor of someone or something, past tense of the verb “advocate.” Related words: advocate (noun).

conduct  Behavior, noun (can also be used as a verb meaning behave).

convention  Large gathering of people to meet for a particular purpose, noun. Related word: convene (verb).

emancipation  The act of freeing, especially freeing from slavery, noun. Related word: emancipate (verb).

enfranchised  Provided with citizenship, especially the right to vote, predicate adjective of the verb “enfranchise.” Related words: enfranchise (verb), franchise (noun), enfranchisement (noun), disenfranchise (verb), disenfranchisement (noun).

exerts  Makes a great effort, puts into action, verb. Related word: exertion (noun).

exposing  Leaving open to harm or danger, revealing, verb. Related word: exposure (noun).

honorable  Respectable, adjective. Related words: honor (noun and verb).

impelled  Urged, pushed to do something, predicate adjective of the verb “impel.”

imputation  Accusation (noun). Related word: impute (verb).

league  Association (noun).

malignant  Causing injury, dangerous, evil, adjective. Related word: malignancy (noun).

merger  The joining of two or more groups or businesses, noun. Related word: merge (verb).

recruitment  Encouraging people to become members, noun. Related words: recruit (noun and verb), recruiter (noun).

suffrage  The right to vote (noun).

suffragists  People who supported the expansion of the right to vote, especially to women, plural of the noun “suffragist.”
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VOCABULARY ACTIVITY

abolitionists advocated conduct convention emancipation
enfranchised exerts exposing honorable impelled
imputation league malignant merger recruitment
suffrage suffragists

Unscramble the letters in parentheses to find the word from the word bank that best fits the sentence.

1. Millions of people attend the annual car and boat _____________________. (vitncoenon)

2. “I expect appropriate ____________ from everyone at all times,” said the teacher before taking his students on the field trip. (tcucnod)

3. The runner _______________ herself the most in the last lap of the race. (sxrete)

4. His desire for a scholarship _______________ the student to study more. (dipmelel)

5. _______________ such as Harriet Tubman and David Walker were wanted “dead or alive” by those who opposed their efforts to end slavery. (silatobinotis)

6. Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. ______________________ the use of non-violent protest. (vacdoetad)

7. There are a number of professional athletic associations such as the National Baseball ___________. (eglaeu)

8. African American men were _______________ by the Fifteenth Amendment. (fednirecahn)

9. The wind turned the umbrella inside out, _______________ the child to the rain. (gixoepsn)

10. The _______________ Proclamation freed slaves in areas of rebellion during the Civil War. (panecimitnoa)

11. The mayor denied the newspaper’s _______________ of taking a bribe. (tipumontia)

12. The _______________ marched down Broadway carrying signs demanding they gain the vote. (sisfusgrfast)
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13. “Good news, “said the veterinarian. “The growth on your cat’s ear is not __________.” (tnalmigan)

14. Women and African Americans were not originally granted ______________ by the Constitution. (egsrufaf)

15. The ______________ of the two auto companies increased competition for other manufacturers. (regmre)

16. Carl was an ______________ man who lived by his principles. (lehronboa)

17. After deciding to join the Coast Guard, Janice went to the ______________ office to enlist. (certurinetc)

18. _______________ (tnalmigan)
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FREDERICK DOUGLASS, 1818–1895, was born into slavery in Maryland. He escaped from slavery when he was twenty years old and quickly became one of the nation’s leading abolitionists, lecturing throughout the entire country and publishing antislavery newspapers. Seeing the connections between abolition and women’s rights, he was a participant in the 1848 Seneca Falls Woman’s Rights Convention. During the Civil War, he advocated slave emancipation to President Abraham Lincoln and actively supported the recruitment of African Americans into the U.S. Army.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1820–1906 (right), became the leading public face of the women’s rights movement, because, unlike Stanton, she remained unmarried and without children, allowing her to travel extensively in support of the cause. She also became an activist in the abolitionist movement, becoming a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Movement in 1856 and during the Civil War organized the Women’s Loyal National League, which lobbied for the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery. After the Civil War, she split with other suffragists who supported the Fifteenth Amendment.

JOSEPHINE SOPHIE WHITE GRIFFING, 1816–1872 (not pictured), was born in Hebron, Connecticut, but after her marriage in 1835 she moved to Litchfield, Ohio. In Ohio her home was a safe house for fugitive slaves escaping to freedom. In 1849 she began to speak in public at anti-slavery conventions. During the Civil War, she became active in organizations to aid freedmen and soldiers and lobbied President Abraham Lincoln to organize the Freedmen’s Bureau to aid the newly emancipated slaves. Like so many women abolitionists, she became a suffragist and served as secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 1815–1902, born in Johnstown, New York, was one of the leading advocates of women’s rights in the nineteenth century. She and her husband, Henry Stanton, were active abolitionists. When they attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, Stanton became outraged when the Convention refused to seat her and the other women delegates. She turned this outrage to action in 1848, when she and other women organized the Seneca Falls Woman’s Rights Convention. She also co-authored the Convention’s Declaration of Sentiments, which made a revolutionary call for women’s equality. She worked closely with Susan B. Anthony, whom she met in 1851, forming a lifelong partnership to advance women’s rights. After the Civil War, Stanton and Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association in support of women’s suffrage. They opposed the Fifteenth Amendment because it gave African American men the right to vote but did nothing to advance women’s rights. In doing so they broke with other suffragists, who believed it was “the Negro’s hour” and formed the American Woman’s Suffrage Association. Throughout her life Stanton remained a leading thinker and activist in the women’s rights movement. She engineered the merger of the two competing suffrage movements in 1890, becoming its first president.
Rochester, Sept. 27, 1868

My dear Friend:
I am impelled by no lack of generosity in refusing to come to Washington to speak in behalf of woman’s suffrage. The right of woman to vote is as sacred in my judgment as that of man, and I am quite willing at any time to hold up both my hands in favor of this right. It does not however follow that I can come to Washington or go elsewhere to deliver lectures upon this special subject. I am now devoting myself to a cause not more sacred, certainly more urgent, because it is life and death to the long-enslaved people of this country; and this is: Negro suffrage. While the Negro is mobbed, beaten, shot, stabbed, hanged,
burnt, and is the target of all that is malignant in the North and all that is murderous in the South his claims may be preferred by me without exposing in any wise myself to the imputation of narrowness or meanness towards the cause of woman. As you very well know, woman has a thousand ways to attach herself to the governing power of the land and already exerts an honorable influence on the course of legislation. She is the victim of abuses, to be sure, but it cannot be pretended I think that her cause is as urgent as that of ours. I never suspected you of sympathizing with Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton in this course. Their principle is: that no negro shall be enfranchised while woman is not. Now, considering that white men have been enfranchised always, and colored men have not, the conduct of these white women, whose husbands, fathers and brothers are voters, does not seem generous.

Very truly yours,
Fred Douglass
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MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

Questions about Frederick Douglass’ letter to Josephine Sophie White Griffing.

1. What are the main ideas in Douglass’ letter?

2. Does the content of the letter surprise you? Why or why not?

3. List three reasons why Douglass is refusing to go to Washington.
   A. 
   B. 
   C. 

4. Do you believe it was wise to separate the issues of African American suffrage and women’s suffrage in 1868? Support your answer with two reasons.

5. Do you agree with Douglass’ argument that white women had influence over their male family members? Support your answer with two reasons.
LESSON 2, PART 1

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15th AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION


Fortieth Congress of the United States of America;

At the Second Session,

Begun and held at the city of Washington, on Monday, the Seventh day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

A RESOLUTION

Providing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring) That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall become valid when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures:—

Article XV.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

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

J. G. Bower, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

F. M. Talmage, President of the Senate for the Territory.

G. V. French, Clerk of the House of Representatives.
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FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Proposed Feb. 26, 1869, ratified Feb. 3, 1870

1. What right does the 15th Amendment address?

2a. To whom is the 15th Amendment extending that right?

b. What words in the amendment indicate this?

3a. During what period in American history is this amendment being proposed and ratified?

b. Why would it not have been possible prior to this era?

4a. Who would support this amendment and why?

b. Who would oppose this amendment and why?
THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 23, 1869

Woman's Suffrage Association.

The National Woman's Suffrage Association held their regular weekly meeting yesterday afternoon at the Woman's Bureau, No. 49 East Twenty-third Street. Mrs. Phelps was in the chair, and Mrs. Wilbour, the Secretary, read a plan of organization for pushing the movement throughout the United States.

Miss Phebe Cozzens, a pretty girl of twenty, much resembling Adaline Patti, delivered an address in opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment. She considered it an insult to the entire mass of women in the United States. It admitted to suffrage negroes, Chinese, Alaskan savages, and every description of ignorant and degraded male foreigners; while it excluded women from that right. Rhode Island had recently refused to ratify it, and she trusted that it would not obtain the necessary vote of three-fourths of the State Legislatures, insomuch as it ascended in spirit, that every man, no matter how degraded, was the superior of every woman. In regard to the voting of negro men, she said that not only were white men more fitted to vote than they, but negro women as a class likewise. The speaker complained much of the laws in the Southern States, which gave a husband an entire control of his wife's earnings.

Miss Susan B. Anthony complimented Miss Cozzens and spoke to the same effect. No woman there present, could obtain money to leave the City, except that her husband afforded it, and she wished to see women all independent and earning their own support. She inferred that all the women in the meeting had come there, doubtless, without the concurrence of their husbands, and were a species of runaway slaves.

Miss Cozzens observed that she knew of at least twenty women who would go to suffrage meetings and openly advocate the cause, if it were not for the objections of their husbands.

Miss Anthony said that objections had often been made to her relative to the religious creeds of certain women who attended. She cared nothing for the creeds nor personal relations of those who came, so long as they met upon the basis of female suffrage, they were welcome. At a political meeting of men no foolish objections were made to those who attended, and women should be equally catholice. Miss Anthony added that she had received letters from Memphis, Tenn., and from various parts of Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, desiring her to form conventions in these States. She urged contributions, and announced that a meeting would be held to-morrow (Thursday) evening, at No. 23 Avenue D, in the Seventh Congressional District, to choose delegates for the Saratoga Convention, 13th and 14th of July. Miss Cozzens, she said, would speak there, and also at another point on Friday, due notice of both of which would be given. Meetings on Saturday afternoon would also be held at Syracuse July 6, for the same purpose, and at Buffalo on the 8th of July.

Mrs. Dr. Willis, Mrs. Dr. Jones, Mrs. Sills and Mrs. Wilbour spoke, and the meeting adjourned until next Tuesday, at 3:30 P.M.
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Questions for “Woman’s Suffrage Association”

1. What is the main idea of Phoebe Cozzens’ speech?

2. What reasons does she give?

3. What is your opinion of Ms. Cozzens? Explain.

4. How do Susan B. Anthony’s ideas compare to those of Cozzens?

GLOSSARY

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<tr>
<th>Whose suffrage (African American men or women) is seen as most urgent and why?</th>
<th>Frederick Douglass</th>
<th>National Woman Suffrage Association</th>
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