

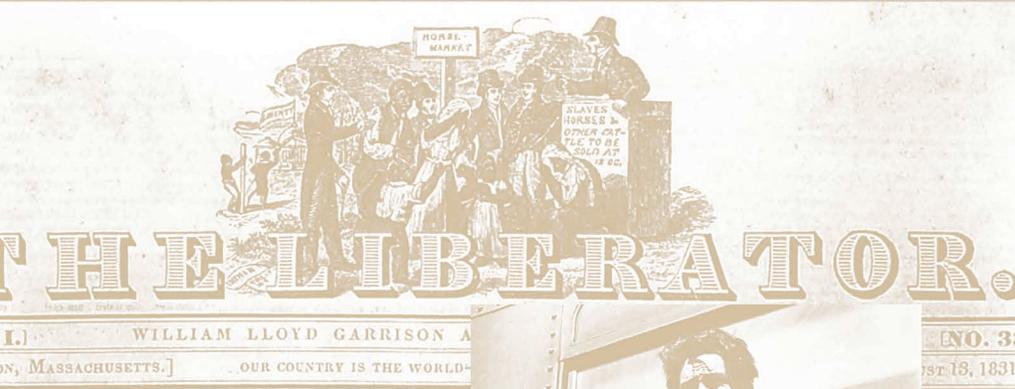


UNITED STATES HISTORY

1920-1982

Equal Rights? The Women's Movement from Suffrage to Schlafly

PLEASE SEE
NOTES ON THE
PDF, PAGE 5.



LESSONS IN U.S. HISTORY

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THE UCI HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE PROJECT

The California History-Social Science Project (CH-SSP) of the University of California, Irvine, is dedicated to working with history teachers in Orange County to develop innovative approaches to engaging students in the study of the past. Founded in 2000, the CH-SSP draws on the resources of the UCI Department of History and works closely with the UCI Department of Education. We believe that the history classroom can be a crucial arena not only for instruction in history but also for the improvement of student literacy and writing skills. Working together with the teachers of Orange County, it is our goal to develop history curricula that will convince students that history matters.

HUMANITIES OUT THERE

Humanities Out There was founded in 1997 as an educational partnership between the School of Humanities at the University of California, Irvine and the Santa Ana Unified School District. HOT runs workshops in humanities classrooms in Santa Ana schools. Advanced graduate students in history and literature design curricular units in collaboration with host teachers, and conduct workshops that engage UCI undergraduates in classroom work. In the area of history, HOT works closely with the UCI History-Social Science Project in order to improve student literacy and writing skills in the history classroom, and to integrate the teaching of history, literature, and writing across the humanities. The K-12 classroom becomes a laboratory for developing innovative units that adapt university materials to the real needs and interests of California schools. By involving scholars, teachers, students, and staff from several institutions in collaborative teaching and research, we aim to transform educational practices, expectations, and horizons for all participants.

THE SANTA ANA PARTNERSHIP

The Santa Ana Partnership was formed in 1983 as part of the Student and Teacher Educational Partnership (STEP) initiative at UC Irvine. Today it has evolved into a multi-faceted collaborative that brings institutions and organizations together in the greater Santa Ana area to advance the educational achievement of all students, and to help them enter and complete college. Co-directed at UC Irvine by the Center for Educational Partnerships, the collaborative is also strongly supported by Santa Ana College, the Santa Ana Unified School District, California State University, Fullerton and a number of community-based organizations. Since 2003-2004, HOT has contributed to the academic mission of the Santa Ana Partnership by placing its workshops in GEAR UP schools. This unit, *Equal Rights? The Women's Movement from Suffrage to Schlafly*, reflects the innovative collaboration among these institutions and programs.

CONTENT COUNTS: A SPECIAL PROJECT OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

This is one in a series of publications under the series title Content Counts: Reading and Writing Across the Humanities, supported by a generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Content Counts units are designed by and for educators committed to promoting a deep, content-rich and knowledge-driven literacy in language arts and social studies classrooms. The units provide examples of "content reading"—primary and secondary sources, as well as charts, data, and visual documents—designed to supplement and integrate the study of history and literature.



A publication of Humanities Out There and the Santa Ana Partnership
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Equal Rights? The Women's Movement from Suffrage to Schlafly

LESSON INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

Teacher's Guide

This lesson addresses the development of women's rights in the United States. It begins with an overview of women's roles in the nineteenth century, then moves to a discussion of the fight for women's suffrage, and concludes by looking at the ultimately failed battle to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. In the lesson, the students interpret primary-source documents such as a legal ruling, cartoons and a painting using a Primary Source Analysis Worksheet that teaches them to approach such materials systematically. Throughout the lesson, the students work on detecting the perspectives of various figures and groups in U.S. history in terms of their views on the role of women in society. In particular, the lesson addresses the backlash against the civil and women's rights movements of the 1960s, focusing on the figure of Phyllis Schlafly and her group, "Stop ERA." In this part of the lesson, the students examine pro-ERA and anti-ERA websites, and are asked to locate bias on these sites. Finally, the students imagine how they would rally both in favor of the ERA and against it. For this last exercise, the students make and defend billboards representing both sides of the debate about equal rights for women.

Note: Question #4 of the section of this lesson titled "Cre-

ated Equal" asks the students what kinds of rights white men had that white women didn't; in discussing this, you can explain to students that even after they won the vote, in many states women suffered other forms of legal discrimination. Married women were considered part of the same legal entity as their husbands, which meant that their husbands made decisions for both them and their children. Married women could not consent to contracts, could only own property through a trust signed

Historical Background

A few short years after the Nineteenth Amendment won American women full voting rights at the federal level, feminist Alice Paul, President of the National Woman's Party, proposed a new amendment to the United States Constitution. Her proposed amendment read, simply, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." The Equal Rights Amendment (or ERA) was first introduced into Congress in 1923 and re-introduced every year thereafter. Until the civil rights movement, however, it stood little chance of approval in Congress, where it was

perennially buried in committee. During the mid-to-late 1960s, the political atmosphere of the nation shifted, and the momentum generated by the struggle against racial discrimination, in concert with the sustained and increasingly visible efforts of "Second Wave" feminists, resulted in a series of significant legislative victories for women in the early 1970s. These included the 1972 Title IX of the Education Amendments Act (which banned sex discrimination in all aspects of education) and the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision (which constitutionally protected the right to abortion).

Historical Background continues on page 3

CALIFORNIA HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE STANDARDS COVERED IN THIS LESSON

Content Standards: Grade Eleven

- **11.5 Students analyze the major political, social, economic, technological, and cultural developments of the 1920s.**
 - **11.5.4** Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.
- **11.10 Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.**
 - **11.10.6** Analyze the passage and effects of civil rights and voting rights legislation (e.g., 1964 Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act of 1965) and the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, with an emphasis on equality of access to education and to the political process.
 - **11.10.7** Analyze the women’s rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

Skills: Grades Nine through Twelve

- **Chronological and Spatial Thinking Skills**
 - Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned.
 - Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.
- **Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View Skills**
 - Students distinguish valid arguments from fallacious arguments in historical interpretations.
 - Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.
 - Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.
- **Historical Interpretation Skills**
 - Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
 - Students recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect.
 - Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.
 - Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

Historical Background continued from page 1

Movement on the long-delayed Equal Rights Amendment complemented these successes. Almost fifty years after it was first introduced, the ERA was finally approved by Congress in 1972 and sent to the states for ratification. A three-fifths majority is required to ratify a proposed amendment to the Constitution, and many states rushed to approve it. The ERA appeared to be headed for certain ratification.

The ERA soon began to face opposition from a countermovement galvanized by concerns that the proposed amendment would disrupt conventional ideas about gender and devalue women's roles as wives and mothers. More significantly, the ERA struggled to overcome a growing backlash against other social movements and cultural transformations associated with the 1960s. The crest of liberal reform had already peaked and the forces of conservative reaction increasingly gained strength throughout the 1970s (culminating in the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan).

While the women's movement was often opposed by men, the struggle to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment was led by a woman, conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly. Schlafly articulated (and generated) the concerns of many American women who believed that the ERA would destroy the domestic structure around which they had built their identities as wives and mothers. For these women, service to their family gave their lives meaning, and they resented the attitude of feminists who seemed to belittle their deeply-held values. Anti-ERA activists like Schlafly also argued, more pragmatically, that complete equality of the sexes before the law would enable men more easily to escape their familial obligations, allowing them to evade alimony payments to former spouses and even to stop supporting their current spouse. In addition, opponents claimed that equality before the law would cause gender-separate public accommodations, such as restrooms and locker rooms, to

be unconstitutional. Finally, ERA opponents raised the specter of women being forced to participate on an equal basis with men in military combat. Those in favor of the ERA claimed that such assertions were little more than hysterical "scare tactics" with no legal merit ("right to privacy" laws, for example, ensure Americans they do not have to share toilet facilities with members of the opposite sex). The anti-ERA claims, however, resonated strongly enough to turn many Americans—though never a popular majority—against the amendment. When the ten-year time limit imposed on the ERA for ratification ran out in 1982 (the original seven-year limit had been extended by Congress), the amendment had been approved by only 35 states, 3 short of the 38 necessary for ratification. The ERA was, practically speaking, dead.

NOTES ON THE PDF:

- 1) Please note that in this pdf document the page numbers are two off from the printed curriculum. For example, page 2 in the printed curriculum is now page 4 in this pdf document.
- 2) We apologize if some of the hyperlinks are no longer accurate. They were correct at the time of printing.
- 3) Full-page versions of the images in this unit—some in color—can be found at the back of this pdf.
- 4) You can easily navigate through the different parts of this document by using the "Bookmark" tab on the left side of your Acrobat window.

Equal Rights? The Women's Movement from Suffrage to Schlafly

Books

Berry, Mary Frances. *Why ERA Failed: Politics, Women's Rights, and the Amending Process of the Constitution*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986. Berry argues that ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment was never a sure thing after it was approved by Congress and sent to the states in 1972. Defeat was predictable, Berry argues, because consensus was lacking. Voters simply did not believe an urgent problem existed that only a constitutional amendment could solve. Comparing the ERA ratification experience with that of other amendments, she argues that the successful ones came after years of agitation "during periods of reform and not during periods of reaction."

Critchlow, Donald T. *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. Critchlow examines the political career of anti-ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly to offer insight into the rise of the conservative Right. He argues that Schlafly, who rose to prominence in conservative politics not as a philosopher or intellectual but as an organizer, tapped into the anxieties of traditional-minded Middle Americans concerned about changing social and cultural mores, and helped to spark an ongoing "culture war."

Hartman, Susan M. *From Margin to Mainstream: American Women and Politics Since 1960*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988. This book details women's growing participation in American politics since the early 1960s and analyzes the primary issues around which they have mobilized, such as the struggle for federally-funded child care, equal pay, and the ERA. Hartman discusses female activists and organizations on both sides of the political spectrum, as well as the various racial and socio-economic groups that sought to impact the mainstream of American political life.

Hoff-Wilson, Joan, ed. *Rights of Passage: The Past and Future of the ERA*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986. This is a collection of essays by scholars analyzing the historical origins of the ERA, the causes and significance of the ratification failure, and the implications of this failure for the future. A number of the essays locate the amendment's defeat primarily in women's inability to agree that legal equality is preferable to the privileges bestowed, or imposed, upon them.

Steiner, Gilbert Y. *Constitutional Inequality: The Political Fortunes of the Equal Rights Amendment*. Washington, DC: Brookings, 1985. Steiner argues that the ERA was the quintessential symbolic issue: it meant what people wanted it to mean, and all involved projected onto it both their fears and their hopes. According to Steiner, the ERA's opponents thought it symbolized not equal legal rights, but the entire women's liberation movement, which they felt was a severe threat to their basic values and way of life.

Films

The Conservatives (1987). This film, produced by Films for the Humanities and Sciences, documents the rise of the conservative movement in America from the 1940s to the height of the Reagan era and the emergence of the New Right. It includes interviews with Jeane Kirkpatrick, William F. Buckley, Jr., Barry Goldwater, Norman Podhoretz, Milton Friedman, Clare Booth Luce, Paul Weyrich, and Ronald Reagan.

ERA: The War Between the Women (1977). This ABC news report on the battle over the proposed Equal Rights Amendment focuses on two leaders on opposite sides of the controversy: Liz Carpenter, ERA advocate and former Press Secretary to Claudia Taylor Johnson (the wife of President Lyndon B. Johnson), and Phyllis Schlafly, leader of the “Stop ERA” organization.

One Woman, One Vote (1995). This PBS video documents the seventy-year battle for women’s suffrage, from Seneca Falls in 1848 to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920. It includes profiles of the suffrage movement’s leaders, including Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary Church Terrell, Anna Howard Shaw, and Alice Paul.

People’s Century: Half the People (1969). This BBC documentary features the voices of ordinary Americans as they talk about gender discrimination, Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique*, civil rights, equality, the Pill, the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Equal Rights Amendment, and the *Roe vs. Wade* decision.

Electronic Resources

4ERA

<http://www.4era.org/>

This grassroots organization is devoted to educating the American public about the ERA, dispelling myths about what its passage would mean, and trying to amass support for ratification of the amendment.

Eagle Forum

<http://www.eagleforum.org/era/index.html>

The website of Eagle Forum, an organization started by anti-ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly, features news, essays, and fact sheets detailing its reasons for opposing the ERA.

Equal Rights Amendment

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

This website is a project of the Alice Paul Institute in collaboration with the ERA Task Force of the National Council of Women’s Organizations. It promotes ratification of the ERA and provides information on both the historical and present-day battles over the legislation.

Sewall-Belmont House & Museum

<http://www.sewallbelmont.org>

This museum is dedicated to the history of women’s fight for the right to vote; the site features the museum’s collection of images documenting the history of the National Woman’s Party, including photographs, political cartoons, parade banners, and congressional card files.

Equal Rights? The Women's Movement from Suffrage to Schlafly

Essential Question:
Why have Americans disagreed about granting equal rights to women?

INTRODUCTION

As with many debates, those who have fought for and against women's rights have expressed their views in cartoons and other forms of popular culture. In this lesson, we will be looking at a number of popular images that artists have used to express their views about women's rights.

Before you begin re-viewing the history of the Equal Rights Amendment, analyze the 1909 cartoon on the next page, which illustrates one of the central points of **contention** between those in favor of the women's rights movement and those opposed to it.

Timeline

- 1776:** Thomas Jefferson composes the *Declaration of Independence*.
- 1848:** Seneca Falls convention, considered by many to be the beginning of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States.
- 1870:** Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution grants voting rights to male American citizens, regardless of race.
- 1920:** Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (sometimes called the Susan B. Anthony Amendment) grants voting rights to all Americans, regardless of the voter's sex.
- 1923:** Alice Paul drafts the Equal Rights Amendment.
- 1972:** The Equal Rights Amendment is approved in Congress after being passed by an 84-8 vote in the Senate, and is presented to the state legislatures for ratification. A seven-year deadline for successful ratification is imposed.
- 1978:** The ERA's ratification deadline is extended for another three years, to June 30, 1982.
- June 30, 1982:** Deadline for successful ratification of the ERA runs out.

Glossary

contention: argument.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the questions that follow.



IMAGE 1: Election Day!

1. Describe this cartoon. What is happening in it?
2. What message does this cartoon send about women going to vote on Election Day? Use details from the cartoon to support your answer.
3. Whose perspective do you think the cartoon represents?

CREATED EQUAL?

In 1776, Thomas Jefferson composed some of the most famous words in American history when he wrote, in the Preamble to the *Declaration of Independence*,

*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain **unalienable** rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.*

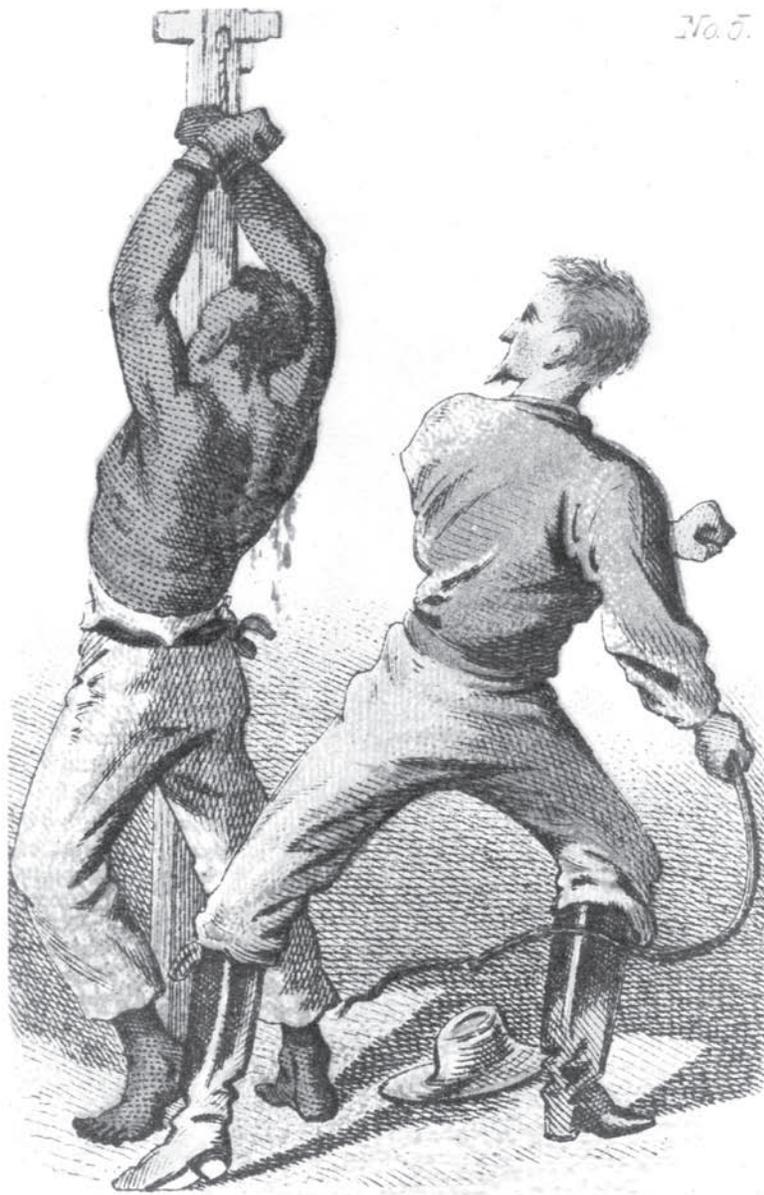
These beautiful words have inspired freedom-loving individuals all over the world for over 200 years, but people have often disagreed about just what these words mean.

1. Reread the words from the *Declaration of Independence* (above) and write down, in your own words, what these words mean to you.
2. Share your interpretation of the Preamble with your classmates. Does your interpretation agree exactly with that of your classmates? If not, what are some important differences?
3. What did Jefferson himself mean when he wrote these words? Whom did he mean to include when he wrote, “*they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights*”? Did he mean *everyone*? Why or why not?

.....

Glossary

unalienable: not to be separated, given away, or taken away.



THE LASH.

IMAGE 2: "The Lash"

Jefferson obviously didn't mean to include African Americans in his statement, since he himself was a slave owner. As you know, millions of African Americans were kept as slaves in America until after the Civil War, and were not recognized as citizens of the United States until the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in 1868. African-American males received the right to vote with ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, although even after this, the rights and political equality of African Americans were often disregarded by local, state, and federal governments.¹

But what about women? It is clear that when Jefferson said, "all men are created equal," he meant exactly that. He did not mean to include women, since most women remained firmly under the legal authority and protection of their husbands or fathers.

Like African Americans, women did not have equal rights in the United States.

4. Does anyone know what kinds of rights men had—especially white men—that women did not?
5. Why do you think women were not given equal rights in the United States?

¹ Fifteenth Amendment: "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."

Justifying Inequality

The passage below can help us to understand why many people believed women should not have been given rights equal to those

possessed by men. United States Supreme Court Justice Joseph Philo Bradley wrote the passage in 1872, when he **concurred** with

the Supreme Court's ruling that women could not, among other things, become lawyers.

Here are Justice Bradley's comments:

*Man is, or should be, woman's protector and defender. The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life. The constitution of the family organization, which is founded in the divine **ordinance**, as well as in the nature of things, indicates the domestic sphere as that which properly belongs to the domain and functions of womanhood. . . . The **paramount** destiny and mission of woman are to fulfill the noble and **benign offices** of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator. And the rules of civil society must be adapted to the general constitution of things, and cannot be based upon exceptional cases.²*

After you have read the above passage carefully, fill out the Primary Source Analysis Worksheet on the next page. Use the chart to help you identify the message, or thesis, of the passage and what it can tell us about the history of women's rights in the nineteenth-century United States.

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Glossary

concur: to express agreement.

ordinance: regulation; an authoritative command or order.

paramount: of chief concern or importance.

benign: kind and gentle; showing mildness.

office: a duty or function assigned to or taken on by someone.

justify: to demonstrate or prove to be just, right, or valid.

² *Bradwell v. State of Illinois* (83 U.S. 130 [1872]).

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS WORKSHEET — JUSTICE BRADLEY PASSAGE

Content:

1. Who is the author of this document?
2. When was the document created?
3. What is the author describing; in other words, what is his subject?

Perspective:

1. How does the author describe the subject of this document? In other words, what is the author's perspective? (If you have trouble getting started, look for four or five adjectives that the author uses to talk about the subject of the document).
2. Why do you think the author described the subject of the document in this way?
3. How might the author have been trying to influence how you, the reader, feel about the subject of the document? Refer to specific language that he uses in answering this question.
4. What does the author mean when he writes that “the rules of civil society must be adapted to the general constitution of things”? How does this phrase help him gain authority for his perspective?

Context:

1. What was happening around the time when this document was created that might have affected its content?

Corroboration and Significance:

1. Does this document support or challenge what you already know or have learned about the subject of this document? How?
2. What can this document teach you about the past?

Conclusion:

Now that you have used the questions above to help you decode the primary-source document, summarize, in your own words, why Justice Bradley did not believe that women should have equal rights. Also, make sure to explain, according to Justice Bradley, what role women were meant to fulfill and also why he believed this. How did he try to **justify** his opinion?

Now, take a look at Image 3, below. Spend a moment or two carefully examining this mid-nineteenth century painting, which was created by the well-known printers, Currier and Ives. Just as you analyzed the textual passage written by Justice Bradley, you can apply a

similar mode of primary-source analysis to a visual source.

Fill in the Primary Source Analysis Worksheet on the next page to help clarify how this image may visually reflect the beliefs of men like Justice Bradley. Again, you will use your completed

chart to help you discover the message (“thesis”) that the image is trying to communicate to the reader, and to explain what this source can tell us about the history of women’s rights in the nineteenth-century United States.



IMAGE 3: *The Happy Mother*, by Currier and Ives, circa 1835-1860

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS WORKSHEET — THE HAPPY MOTHER

Content:

1. Who is the author of this image?
2. When was it created?
3. What is the author describing; in other words, what is the author's subject?
4. How might the title of the image help you to understand this document?

Perspective:

1. How does the author portray, or picture, the subject of this painting? In other words, what is the author's perspective?
2. Does the author seem to have positive or negative feelings about the subject of this image? How can you tell?
3. Why might the author have portrayed the subject of this painting in this way?
4. How might the author have been trying to influence the way that you, the viewer, feel about the subject of this painting?

Context:

1. What was happening around the time when this image was created that might have affected its content?

Corroboration and Significance:

1. Does this image support or challenge what you already know or have learned about the subject of this painting? How?
2. What can this painting teach us about the past?

Conclusion:

1. Summarize the thesis of this painting.
2. Now, explain how its thesis compares with Justice Bradley's Supreme Court opinion. Does the image generally agree or disagree with Justice Bradley's perspective? How can you tell?

Contesting Inequality

Some women disagreed with the ideas expressed by men like Justice Bradley. These women were unhappy that they were not given equal rights. Some women (and a few men) began to argue that women deserved to be recognized as equal to men in the eyes of the law. They also sought the freedom, if they so chose, to pursue roles other than those of “wife and mother.”

One of the most important rights that women began to fight for in the 1800s was the right to vote, also known as suffrage.

Does anyone remember when women finally won the right to vote? Clue: neither of the two famous suffragists pictured to the right, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906), who spent most of their lives campaigning for suffrage, lived to see the day when women finally won the right to vote at the national level.

Why do you think it took so long for women to win the right to vote? After all, the American women’s suffrage movement had begun



IMAGE 4: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, seated, and Susan B. Anthony, standing

as far back as the 1840s. Even though some states allowed women to vote in local elections prior to the ratification of the Nine-

teenth Amendment in 1920, women could not vote at the national level until that time.

Examine the two political cartoons that follow, which have different messages, or theses, about equal rights for women (including voting rights). Then answer the questions on the Primary Source Analysis Worksheets that follow each image.



IMAGE 5: “Looking Backward,” by Laura E. Foster. Originally printed in *Life* on August 22, 1912

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS WORKSHEET — LOOKING BACKWARD

Content:

1. Who is the author of this cartoon?
2. When was it created?
3. What is the author describing; in other words, what is the author's subject?
4. How might the title of the cartoon help you to understand this document?

Perspective:

1. How does the author portray, or picture, the subject of this cartoon? In other words, what is the author's perspective?
2. Describe how the author views the journey from the bottom to the top stair. Who does the author imagine will be climbing this staircase? Where will the person climbing the staircase begin, and end? According to the cartoon, what will cause that person to end up where she does?
3. Does the author seem to have positive or negative feelings about the subject of this cartoon? How can you tell?
4. Why might the author have portrayed the subject of this cartoon in this way?
5. How might the author have been trying to influence the way that you, the reader, feel about the subject of this cartoon?

Context:

1. What was happening around the time when this image was created that might have affected its content?

Corroboration and Significance:

1. Does this cartoon support or challenge what you already know or have learned about the subject of this cartoon? Explain your answer.
2. What can this cartoon teach us about the past?

Conclusion:

1. What does this cartoon say will be the result of equal rights for women? In other words, what is the thesis of the cartoon?
2. How does the cartoon add to our understanding of U.S. history and the history of American women in particular?



IMAGE 6: "The Sky is Now Her Limit," by Bushnell. Originally printed in the *New York Times Current History; A Monthly Magazine*, in October 1920.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS WORKSHEET – THE SKY IS NOW HER LIMIT

Content:

1. Who is the author of this cartoon?
2. When was it created?
3. What is the author describing; in other words, what is the author's subject?
4. How might the title of the cartoon help you to understand this document?

Perspective:

1. How does the author portray, or picture, the subject of this cartoon? In other words, what is the author's perspective?
2. Name a few professions listed on the bottom rungs of the ladder. What do these have in common? Now name a few from higher up on the ladder (above "Equal Suffrage"). What do these have in common?
3. Does the author seem to have positive or negative feelings about the subject of this cartoon? How can you tell?
4. Why might the author have portrayed the subject of this cartoon in this way?
5. How might the author have been trying to influence the way that you, the reader, feel about the subject of this cartoon?

Context:

1. What was happening around the time when this image was created that might have affected its content?

Corroboration and Significance:

1. Does this cartoon support or challenge what you already know or have learned about the subject of this cartoon? Explain your answer.
2. What can this cartoon teach us about the past?

Conclusion:

1. What does this cartoon say will be the result of equal rights for women? In other words, what is the thesis of the cartoon?
2. How does the cartoon add to our understanding of U.S. history and the history of American women in particular?

Towards an Equal Rights Amendment

The Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was finally passed by Congress on June 4, 1919 and ratified by the necessary three-fifths of the states a little over a year later, on August 18, 1920.

This amendment to the Constitution read:

*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 sex.*

What does this mean and why might it have been so important to American history?

Many women were happy with the Nineteenth Amendment and felt that they were now finished fighting for equality. Other women, however, believed

that winning the right to vote was only the beginning of a new phase in their struggle to achieve the complete legal equality of men and women.

It is important to recognize that suffrage (the right to vote) was not the same as legal equality. Even after

women won the vote, they continued to be treated unequally. For instance, some states did not allow them to serve on juries. In addition, many states legally restricted the rights of married women to own property, enter into business, and make contracts.

One woman who wanted to keep fighting for complete legal equality between men and women was named Alice Paul. She explained that, in her view,

We [women] shall not be safe until the principle of equal rights is written into the framework of our government.

1. What might Alice Paul have meant when she argued that the idea of equal rights for women had to be “written into the framework of our government”?

Glossary

abridge: to diminish or reduce.



IMAGE 7:
Alice Paul

In 1923, Alice Paul wrote and proposed a new amendment to the United States Constitution that is known as the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). This proposed amendment said:

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

2. Why is an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States so much more powerful than a law passed by Congress and signed into law by the President?
3. The ERA was first introduced to Congress in 1923. Do you know how long it took this proposed amendment to become a part of our Constitution?

1923?

1933?

1943?

1953?

2003?

Let's find out exactly when the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) became a part of the United States Constitution.

For many decades, Congress refused to approve the ERA and send it to the states so they could **ratify** it. During the 1960s, when many

groups, like African Americans and Mexican Americans, were fighting for civil rights and economic opportunity, women were encouraged to **assert** that they also deserved equal rights and opportunity.

Finally, in 1972, the Women's Rights Movement, led by activists like Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, convinced Congress to approve the ERA and send it to the states for ratification. Eighty-four Senators voted in favor of the ERA while only eight opposed it. The Amendment had wide popular support all across the country and it looked as though the ERA would finally become law in the United States.

In order for a proposed amendment to become a part of the Constitution, thirty-eight out of fifty of the states (three-fifths of them) must ratify, or approve, it. Otherwise, the amendment cannot become law.



IMAGE 8: Betty Friedan, feminist, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, and co-founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW)

Glossary

ratify: to sign; to approve something and express responsibility for it.

assert: to express positively; to affirm.

Analyze the map below and answer the questions that follow.

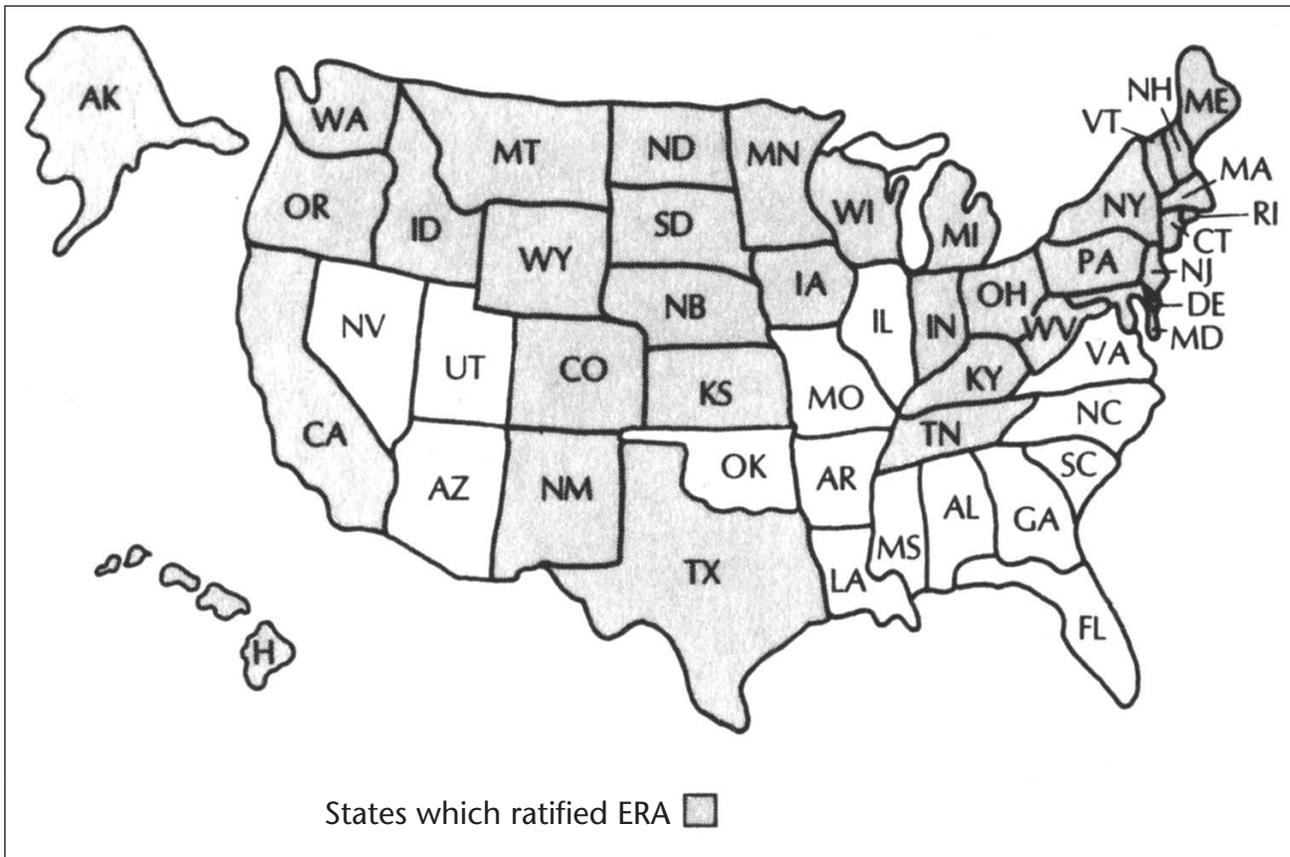


IMAGE 9: "States Which Ratified ERA"

4. According to the map above, how many states ratified the ERA?
5. Do you see any patterns?
6. What does it tell us about the ratification of the ERA?

As you can see from the map in Image 9, when the ten-year time limit for ratification of the ERA imposed by Congress ran out in 1982, not enough states had ratified it.

So, the answer to the question, "When did the Equal rights Amendment become a part of the U.S. Constitution?" is... Never.

The ERA has never been ratified (approved) by

enough states (38 of 50) to become a part of the Constitution.

7. Why do you think that many Americans (including many women) opposed the ERA?

Debating ERA

Part of the argument about ERA concerns basic questions about gender. Are women, as human beings, essentially the same as men, in which case there

would be little reason for the law to treat them differently (unequally)? Or are women essentially different from men, in which case there might be good reason

for the law to discriminate between them (for instance, special workplace legislation to protect female workers)?

1. What do you think? And more importantly...Why? How do you justify your beliefs about equal rights for women?



IMAGE 10: Phyllis Schlafly (far left) answers a question during a debate at the University of Illinois. Her opponent, Betty Friedan (far right), looks disgusted.

Many men opposed the ratification of the ERA, but interestingly, the struggle against the ERA was actually led by a woman. Her name was Phyllis Schlafly and she founded an organization called:



IMAGE 11: Logo of Phyllis Schlafly's anti-ERA organization, Stop ERA

Schlafly argued that the Equal Rights Amendment would actually take away legal rights that women already had and would not give them any new rights.

What did she mean by this? Opponents of the ERA, like Schlafly, argued that:

- If men and women were completely equal under the law, women would be forced to fight in military combat during wartime, just as men do.
- The ERA would destroy laws that forced men to support their wives (and ex-wives).
- Men and women would have to share public toilets and locker rooms. After all, ERA opponents argued, aren't separate toilets and locker rooms a kind of legal recognition of the differences between men and women?

For these reasons, and a number of others, opponents claimed that the Equal Rights Amendment was bad for American women and should not be ratified.



IMAGE 12: Phyllis Schlafly with a young (female) friend, posing at the Illinois State Capitol

Although ERA supporters argued that these anti-ERA claims were simply “scare tactics” that had no legal merit, they seem to have been effective. Enough

Americans decided to oppose the ERA to prevent its ratification.

It has never become a part of the U.S. Constitution.

2. Why do you think many Americans might have agreed with arguments that Phyllis Schlafly and others made against the ERA?

INTERNET RESEARCH ACTIVITY

1. Examine Phyllis Schlafly's anti-ERA website (<http://www.eagleforum.org/era/index.html>) and summarize its reasons for why the ERA would be bad for women.
2. Now examine the pro-ERA website, 4 ERA (<http://www.4era.org/myths.htm>). Explain why, according to this group, the arguments made against the ERA had no legal merit.
3. Which of these websites seems more convincing to you? Explain why, and also explain why the less-convincing website failed to convert you to its position.
4. Does either of these sites seem **biased** to you? In other words, does the website try to convince you of its position by using information that seems taken out of context or reasoning that is not logically sound? If so, give an example.

.....

Glossary

bias: to influence in an unfair way.

Images 13 and 14, below, are photos of anti-ERA demonstrations. Look at them and answer the questions on the following page.

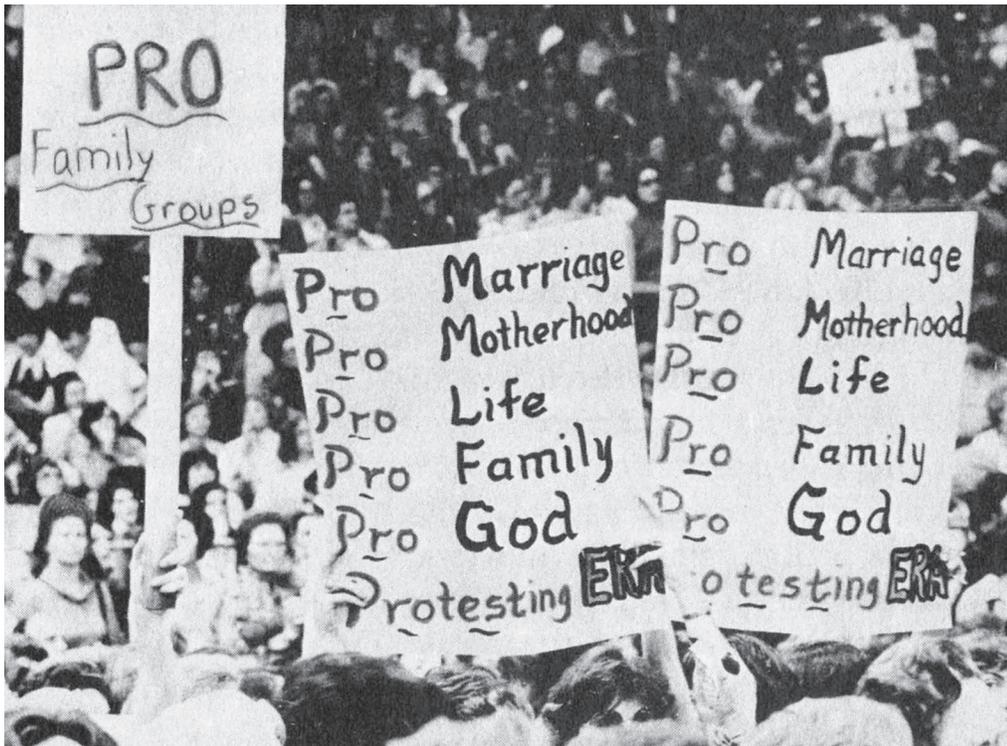


IMAGE 13: November 1977 anti-feminist demonstration at the National Women's Conference, Houston



IMAGE 14: Demonstrators opposed to the ERA in front of the White House, February 1977

1. Analyze the images and identify the messages, or theses, of the signs in each photo. Choose at least two signs.
2. Whose argument about equal rights do you think was more convincing? Do you agree more with Betty Friedan and those Americans who supported the Equal Rights Amendment? Or is your view more in line with Phyllis Schlafly and the protesters on the previous page, who opposed the ERA? Give reasons supporting your answer.

ASSESSMENT

In order to demonstrate your understanding of the issues and perspectives surrounding the Equal Rights Amendment, you (on your own or in a small work group) will design two signs or billboards. One must express support for the ERA and the other must express opposition to the ERA. Each of the signs or billboards should indicate why this is the correct perspective, or point of view, about the Equal Rights Amendment.

The signs should incorporate both text and images in order to make strong arguments both for and against the Equal Rights Amendment—regardless of how you or your fellow group members feel about the Amendment. The idea is to demonstrate that you understand the arguments on both sides of the debate.

After creating your sign or billboard, you (along with your partners if you are working in a group) will

make a short oral presentation about one of your signs or billboards. You must be prepared to speak in favor of either billboard. When it is your turn to present, your teacher will flip a coin. If the coin lands on “heads,” you will make a presentation, using your sign or billboard, in favor of the ERA. If the coin lands on “tails,” your presentation will be against the ERA.

Good luck!

Equal Rights? The Women's Movement from Suffrage to Schlafly



IMAGE 1: E.W. Gustin, “Election Day!” Circa 1909. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-USZ62-51821. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a51845>.

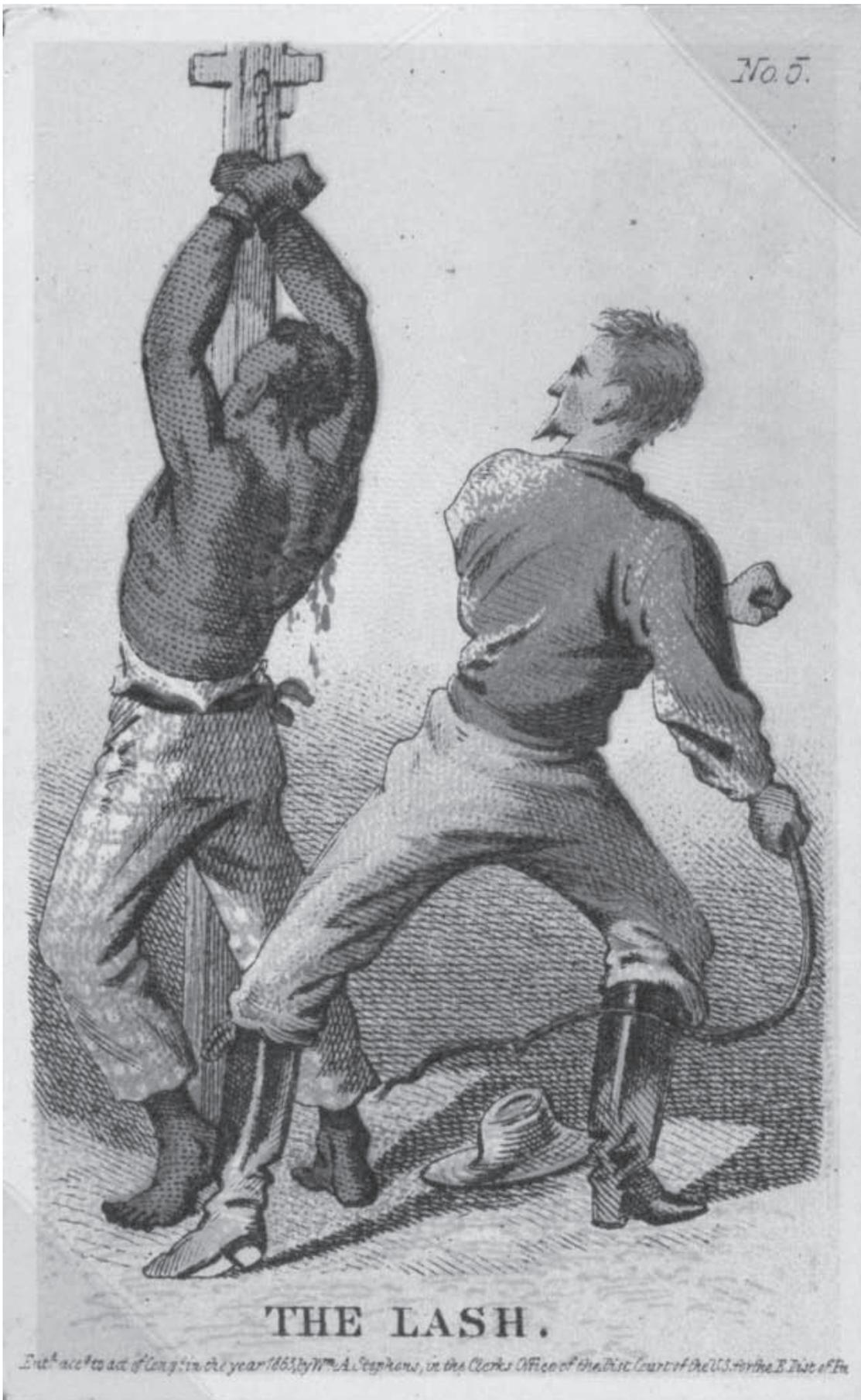


IMAGE 2: H. L. Stephens, “The Lash,” from *Album varieties no. 3; The slave in 1863* (Philadelphia). Circa 1863. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-USZC4-2524. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g02524>.



IMAGE 3: Currier & Ives, *The Happy Mother* (New York: N. Currier). Circa 1835 – 1860. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-USZC2-2549. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b50423>.



IMAGE 4: “Elizabeth Cady Stanton, seated, and Susan B. Anthony, standing.” Circa 1880-1902. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-USZ61-791. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a02558>.



IMAGE 5: Laura E. Foster, "Looking Backward" (*Life*). 22 August 1912. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-DIG-ppmsca-02940. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.02940>.



IMAGE 6: Bushnell, "The Sky is Now Her Limit" (*New York Times Current History; A Monthly Magazine*). October 1920. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-DIG-ppmsca-02919. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.02919>.



IMAGE 7: “Alice Paul, half-length portrait” (National Photo Company). Circa 1912-1920. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-USZ62-119710. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c19710>.



IMAGE 8: Fred Palumbo, “Betty Friedan, half-length portrait” (*World Telegram & Sun Newspaper*). 1960. Reproduced from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-USZ62-115884. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c15884>.



MAGE 10: “Phyllis Schlafly (left) debates Betty Friedan (right) at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus (Betty Wood, the debate moderator, is in the middle)” (Wide World Photos). Reproduced from Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority: The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly* (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1981) n.p.



IMAGE 11: “Stop ERA.” Logo for Phyllis Schlafly’s organization of the same name. Adapted from “Phyllis Schlafly and a young (female) friend, 1980” (Wide World Photos). Reproduced from Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority: The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly* (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1981) n.p.



IMAGE 12: “Phyllis Schlafly and a young (female) friend, 1980” (Wide World Photos). Reproduced from Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority: The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly* (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1981) n.p.

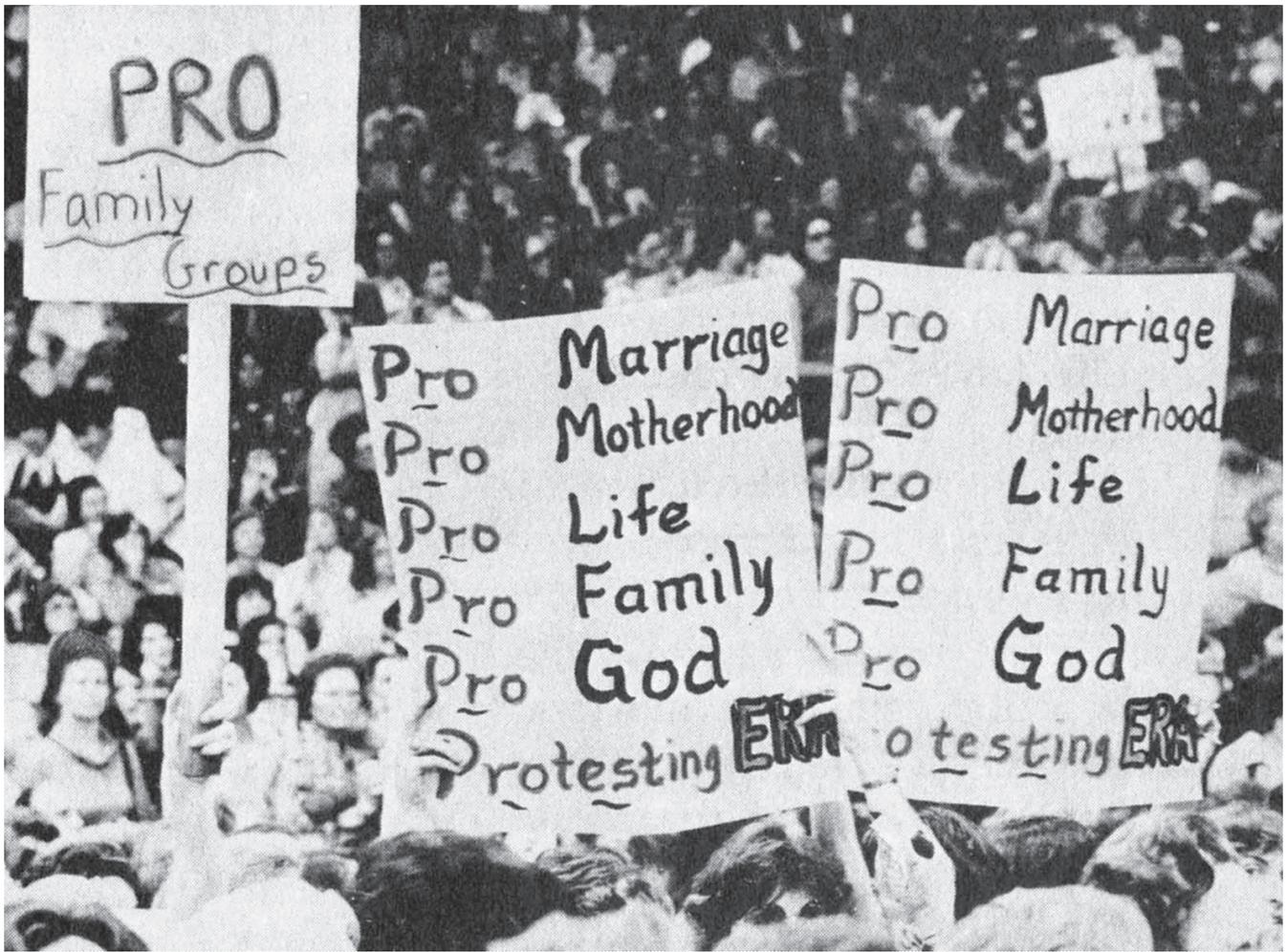


IMAGE 13: Bettye Lane, “Anti-feminist demonstration at National Women’s Conference, Houston.” November 1977. Reproduced from Susan M. Hartmann, *From Margin to Mainstream: American Women and Politics Since 1960* (New York: Knopf, 1989), p. 146.



IMAGE 14: Warren K. Leffler, Warren K. "Demonstrators Opposed to the ERA in Front of the White House" (*U.S. News & World Report*). 4 February 1977. Reproduced from the *U.S. News & World Report* Magazine Photograph Collection at the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-U9-33889A-31/31A. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.01952>.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE STANDARDS ADDRESSED

Content Standards

11.5.4

Students analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.

11.10.6

Students analyze the passage and effects of civil rights and voting rights legislation (e.g., 1964 Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act of 1965) and the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, with an emphasis on equality of access to education and to the political process.

11.10.7

Students analyze the women’s rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

