

LIBERTY WHEN

"Give me liberty or give me death."

—Patrick Henry, 1775

Imagine this: You are not allowed to hold public office. You are prohibited from serving on juries. And you are denied the right to vote. Sound impossible in the land of liberty? It shouldn't. Until the early 20th century, these were the realities for women in America. Under law and custom, women were excluded from playing an active role in civic affairs. In 1848, more than 300 women and men gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, to address these inequities at the first women's rights meeting in U.S. history. That was the beginning of the campaign to secure suffrage for women—a long and difficult struggle that lasted more than 70 years. It wasn't until 1920, when the 19th Amendment was ratified, that the United States finally granted women the right to vote.

The documents and photographs on these pages highlight the strategies suffragists used—and the risks they faced—in their struggle to win the right to vote.

Documents 1 and 2: In 1913, a group of suffragists, led by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, staged a parade in Washington, D.C., the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration as President. Police failed to protect the marchers from a hostile mob, and the event attracted major publicity.

Document 3, a 1917 poster, sets forth arguments women made to explain why they wanted to vote. To dramatize their demands, women set up a daily picket line at the White House in 1917—an unprecedented act of protest—calling upon President Wilson to extend democracy to women in the U.S. The activists who staged this picket line, shown in **Document 4,** were arrested and imprisoned; some went on a hunger strike to bring attention to their cause. The hunger strikers had been inspired by British suffragists, whose refusal to eat while imprisoned in London is chronicled in **Document 5.**

What is SUFFRAGE?

Suffrage is the right to vote. A **suffragist** is a man or woman who supports extension of the right to vote.



CORBIS

1

The New York Tri

TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1913

5,000 Women March, Beset by Crowds

Demonstration at Capital Badly Hampered and Congress Is Asked to Investigate

WASHINGTON, March 3— In a woman's suffrage demonstration to-day the capital saw the greatest parade of women in its history. In the allegory presented on the Treasury steps it saw a wonderful series of dramatic pictures. In the parade over 5,000 women passed down Pennsylvania Avenue. Some were riding, more were afoot. Floats throughout the procession illustrated the progress the woman's suffrage cause had made in the last seventy-five years. Scattered throughout the parade were the standards of nearly every State in the Union. It was an astonishing demonstration.

It was estimated by Gen. John A. Johnson, a Commissioner of the District of Columbia, that 500,000 persons watched the women march for their cause. Imagine a Broadway election night crowd, with half the



BETTMANN/CORBIS

shouting and all of the noise-making novelties lacking; imagine that crowd surging forward constantly, without proper police restraint, and one gains some idea of the conditions that existed along Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the Treasury Department this afternoon. Ropes stretched to keep back the crowds were broken in many places and for

most of the distance the marchers had to walk as best they could through a narrow lane of shouting spectators. It was necessary many times to call a halt while the mounted escort and the policemen pushed the crowd back....

Through all the confusion and turmoil the women paraders marched calmly, keeping a military forma-

tion as best they could.... Miss Inez Milholland was an imposing figure in a white broadcloth Cossack suit and long white-kid boots. From her shoulders hung a pale-blue cloak, adorned with a golden Maltese cross. She was mounted on Gray Dawn, a white horse belonging to A. D. Addison of this city. Miss Milholland was by far the

The Battle for Suffrage: Key

1776 New Jersey grants the vote to women who pay taxes. The right is revoked in 1807 by lawmakers who explain that women failed to vote for the right candidates.

1789 The U.S. Constitution is ratified; it gives the right to vote to adult white males who own property and pay taxes. African-American men, and women of all races, are denied the right to vote.

1776

Wommes.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

“There will never be a new world order until women are a part of it.”

—ALICE PAUL



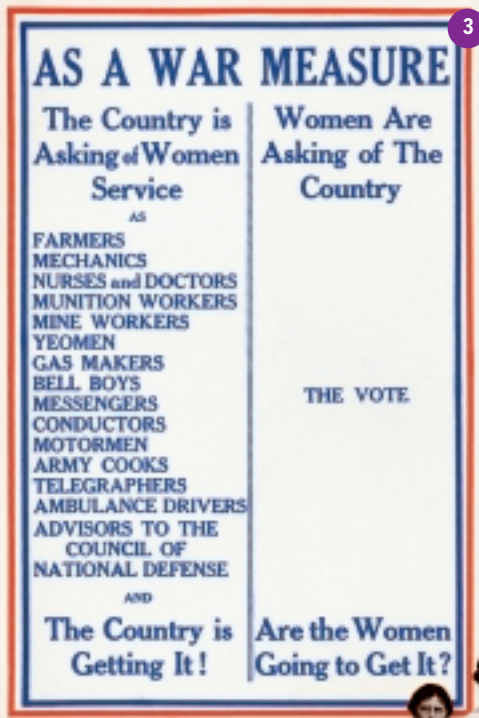
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

most picturesque figure in the parade.

Leaders of the women suffragists were much incensed because the police did not make sufficient provision for holding in restraint the great throng which hemmed in the paraders. At a meeting held at Memorial Continental Hall the police of the District were denounced. A resolution was adopted calling for a Congressional investigation and asking Mr. Wilson to look into what the suffragists called “a disgraceful affair.” ...

The procession, it was charged, had not gone a block before it had to halt. Insults and jibes were shouted at women marchers, and for more than an hour confusion reigned. The police, the women say, did practically nothing, and finally soldiers and marines formed a voluntary escort to clear the way.

Mrs. Genevieve Stone, wife of Representative Stone of Illinois, said that a policeman had insulted her. This policeman, she said, shouted: “If my wife were where you are I’d break her head.”



BRYN MAWR COLLEGE LIBRARY

▲ POLITICAL PRISONERS: The women who picketed the White House in 1917 argued they had been arrested not for any criminal acts, but because of their political beliefs.

BETTMANN/CORBIS

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

▲ FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY: The “silent sentinels” outside the White House in 1917 quoted President Woodrow Wilson, who had vowed that America would fight for democracy in Europe. The suffragists urged Wilson to extend democracy at home by supporting voting rights for women.



dates

1791–1856 The 13 original and new states eliminate property ownership as a voting requirement.

1820 Susan B. Anthony is born on February 15 in Adams, Massachusetts.

1830s New York, Connecticut and Pennsylvania enact new state constitutions that make it difficult or impossible for free African-American men to vote.

1837 Kentucky grants some women suffrage in school elections.

1842 Rhode Island excludes Catholics and urban males from voting.

1848

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



1848 The first women's rights convention is held in Seneca Falls, New York, in July.

1861 Kansas enters the Union; the new state grants women the right to vote in local school elections.

1866 Elizabeth Cady Stanton presents a petition to Congress demanding the vote for women.

1866



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

MEET THE IRON JAW

▼ ALICE PAUL 1885–1977

A brilliant organizer and activist, Alice Paul believed that women would never be given the vote; they had to demand it. Born to a Quaker family in New Jersey, she graduated from Swarthmore College and earned a social-work degree in New York. In 1907, she traveled to England, where she worked closely with the militant British suffragists Emmeline, Christobel and

Sylvia Pankhurst. Arrested several times in London, Paul went on hunger strikes, was force-fed and learned the value of nonviolent civil disobedience to garner publicity for her cause. Back in the U.S., she joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1910 and was allowed to run their campaign in Washington, D.C. As of 1916, 4 million women in 12 states had the right to vote; Paul wanted these women to “hold the party in power responsible” by voting against Democrat Woodrow Wilson in the election of 1916. This strategy brought Paul into intense conflict with NAWSA President Carrie Chapman Catt, who supported Wilson. In 1916, Paul founded the National Woman’s Party, a radical

new suffrage group devoted to winning a universal suffrage amendment to the Constitution instead of

working state by state. With the U.S. on the verge of entering World War I in 1917, Paul set up a picket line at the White House—the first in U.S. history—with signs that said 20 MILLION AMERICAN WOMEN ARE NOT SELF-GOVERNED. Arrested on the trumped-up charge of “obstructing traffic,” Paul was sent to the Occoquan Workhouse, where she demanded to be treated as a political prisoner arrested for her beliefs, not for committing a crime. When news of Paul’s brutal force-feeding during a 22-day hunger strike reached the public, the White House bowed to public pressure, and she was released. Instrumental in bringing about ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920, Paul later went to law school and wrote the first version of the Equal Rights Amendment, presented to Congress in 1923. She lobbied for women’s rights until her death in 1977.

LUCY BURNS 1879–1966 ►

Alice Paul called her good friend Lucy Burns “a thousand times more valiant than I.” The two were considered the next-generation incarnation of

“After two weeks of solitary confinement...we decided upon the hunger strike, as the ultimate form of protest left us.” —ALICE PAUL

suffrage pioneers Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. A key organizer for the National Woman’s Party, Burns was educated at Vassar and Yale. After teaching English at Erasmus High School, she went to England to study at Oxford but soon abandoned a promising academic career in linguistics in favor of political activism. Involved with the Pankhursts and militant British suffragists, Burns was a paid organizer in Edinburgh from 1910 to 1912. In 1913 she worked closely with Alice Paul to organize the Woman Suffrage March in Washington, D.C., on the day before Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration.

From 1915 to 1916 she edited *The Suffragist*, a newspaper devoted to women’s voting issues; in 1917, along with Paul and numerous other suffragists, she was sentenced to the Occoquan Workhouse for picketing the White House. Burns embarked on a 19-day hunger strike in November 1917; like Paul, she was force-fed. In all, Burns was arrested six times and spent more time in jail than any other American suffragist.



NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES



PICTURE HISTORY

INEZ MILHOLLAND 1886–1916 ▲

A native of Brooklyn, New York, Inez Milholland was suspended from Vassar College after organizing a women’s suffrage meeting in a cemetery to protest the college’s refusal to allow suffrage speakers on campus. By the time she graduated, Milholland had persuaded more than two-thirds of her fellow students to support suffrage. She went on to get a law degree at New York University after being denied entrance on the basis of her gender by Harvard and Columbia. On March 3, 1913—the day before Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration—Milholland, draped in flowing white robes and riding on a white horse, led a parade of an

1868 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony launch the feminist newspaper *The Revolution*.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

1869 Wyoming territory grants suffrage to women.

1869 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony form the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), whose mission is to secure voting rights for women.

6981



ASSOCIATED PRESS

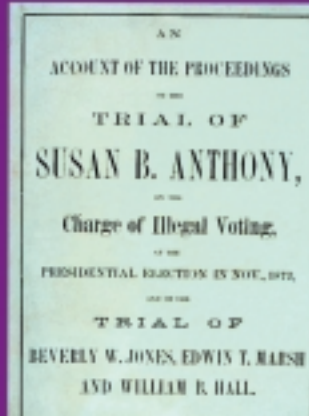
1870 Utah territory grants full suffrage to women.

1872 Susan B. Anthony is arrested for trying to vote in Rochester, NY.

1874 In *Minor v. Happersett*, the U.S. Supreme Court affirms that states have the jurisdiction to decide

whether women are allowed to vote.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Iron Jawed Angels

estimated 5,000 suffragists carrying a banner that read FORWARD OUT OF DARKNESS, FORWARD INTO LIGHT, later the motto of the National Woman's Party. This image became emblematic of the fight for women's rights in America. The marchers were attacked verbally and physically but refused to give up. Millholland became one of the leaders of the suffrage movement, speaking across the country despite doctors' warnings to stop in light of her pernicious anemia. In 1916 she collapsed in the middle of a speech in Los Angeles and died 10 weeks later at age 30. Some 10,000 people attended her memorial service, the first ever held for a woman in the nation's capital. Millholland's last public words were, "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT 1859-1947 ▶

Born in Wisconsin, Carrie Chapman Catt worked tirelessly on behalf of suffrage for women. She became a high school principal in Iowa in 1881 and was appointed one of the first female superintendents in the country in 1883. When she married engineer George W. Catt in 1890, the couple had an unusual prenuptial agreement, stipulating that Catt would have four months per year to pursue suffrage. In 1902 she founded the International Woman Suffrage Association and served as its honorary president until 1923. She headed the New York suffrage movement, organizing two campaigns that won the state vote for women in 1917. During that time, she reorganized NAWSA and became its president in 1915. Catt's strategy involved working

at both the federal and state levels; she developed a membership system, study courses and organizing manuals for NAWSA. On good terms with President Wilson, Catt clashed with Alice Paul, who urged women to vote against Wilson in 1916 because he had failed to support suffrage. After the 19th Amendment was adopted, Catt reconstituted NAWSA as the League of Women Voters, with 2 million members. She appeared on the cover of TIME in 1926.



“Failure is impossible”

—SUSAN B. ANTHONY

abolitionist family, Anthony taught in upstate New York; she became involved in the temperance movement and worked for the American Anti-Slavery Association. After 1852, she teamed up with her friend Elizabeth Cady Stanton and worked on behalf of women's rights, later publishing the weekly *Revolution*, a radical women's paper calling for suffrage, equal education and employment opportunities, and trade unions for women. Never married, she had a keen awareness of the need for women to be financially independent and lobbied for equal pay for women. In 1869, Anthony and Stanton founded the National Woman Suffrage Association. Anthony was arrested in 1872 for taking women to the polls in her hometown of Rochester, New York, and again in 1873, when she tried to vote herself. As president of NWSA from 1892 to 1900, she led the crusade for a federal women's suffrage amendment. In 1979, the U.S. Treasury honored her many achievements by issuing a one-dollar coin in her name.

and authored one of the first accounts of a lynching, publicizing the issue and running anti-lynching campaigns throughout the 1890s. In 1913 she founded the first black women's suffrage group, the Alpha Suffrage Club of Chicago. That same year, she challenged NAWSA's leaders—who had failed to take a stand against racial segregation—by marching with the Illinois delegation, rather than at the back, of the Washington, D.C., suffrage parade. Her autobiography, *Crusade for Justice*, was published in 1928.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY 1820-1906 ▼

Referred to as “the Napoleon of the Women's Rights Movement” and the “Moses of her sex,” Susan B. Anthony was a pioneer in the suffrage movement. Raised in a Quaker



UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

▲ IDA WELLS-BARNETT 1862-1931

Ida Wells-Barnett was a crusading journalist, women's advocate and co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The daughter of slaves, she taught in Mississippi and Tennessee



BETTMANN/CORBIS

1876 At the United States centennial celebration in Philadelphia, Susan B. Anthony and the NWSA present a declaration of women's rights.

1882 The Senate and House establish committees to study women's suffrage.

1884 Belva Ann Lockwood runs for President on the National Equal Rights Party ticket; she wins 4,149 votes in six states.

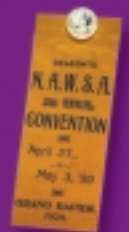
1890-1910 Southern states enact voter restrictions, upheld by the United States Supreme Court, that deny voting rights to approximately 90% of all African-American voters.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

1890 Wyoming enters the Union; it becomes the first state in which women have the right to vote.

1890 The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) forms from the merger of other suffrage groups.



1876

1878 The first women's suffrage amendment is presented in the United States Senate.

To learn more about suffrage history, log on to www.timeclassroom.com/voting. For more on the making of *Iron Jawed Angels*, visit www.hbo.com/films/ironjawedangels.

1890

BringinG hISToRY to Life

When they set out to tell the story of Alice Paul and her colleagues, the filmmakers who created *Iron Jawed Angels* knew that many Americans weren't aware of this chapter in U.S. history. Determined to capture both the power and drama of the suffrage movement, the film's writers interviewed historians, delved into newspapers and studied archival photographs. The images on this page show how the writers, costume designers and actors brought suffrage history to life.

DEMMIE TODD/HBO



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

RIDING FOR LIBERTY: Inez Milholland, known as the “woman on the horse,” led the 1913 suffrage parade (above), in which thousands of women marched through the streets of Washington, D.C., to dramatize their desire to vote. In *Iron Jawed Angels*, Inez Milholland (played by Julia Ormond, left) rides a white horse and wears wings. The wings are a reference to the angel figure that suffragists often incorporated in their imagery, representing an idealized vision of Justice and Liberty.



RADICAL TACTICS: In 1917, suffragists set up a daily picket line outside the White House—a first in American history. They continued even after the nation entered World War I and, as a result, were accused of being traitors. In one of their most radical statements, the women referred to President Wilson as “Kaiser.” The “Kaiser Wilson” banner (right) was recreated word for word in *Iron Jawed Angels* (far right).



NATIONAL ARCHIVES



DEMMIE TODD/HBO

VOTES FOR WOMEN

1908 National Women's Day is celebrated in the U.S. for the first time; the celebration goes international in 1910.

1911 The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is founded.

1912 Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party becomes the first national political party to support suffrage for women.

1913 An estimated 5,000 women stage a parade in Washington, D.C., to lobby for suffrage; riots break out when police fail to control crowds.

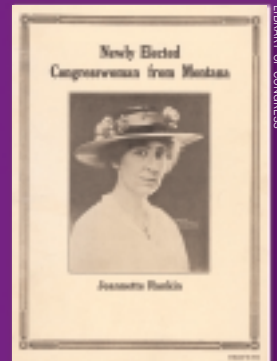


1916 Alice Paul and Lucy Burns found the National Woman's Party (NWP).

1916 Jeannette Rankin of Montana becomes the first woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. She serves until 1919 and is re-elected in 1940.

1917 National Woman's Party stations daily pickets at the White House in civil disobedience campaign.

1916



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Hilary Swank on Alice Paul



DEMMIE TODD/HBO

Best known for her Academy Award-winning performance in *Boys Don't Cry*, 29-year-old Hilary Swank (above right) plays Alice Paul in *Iron Jawed Angels*. A native of Washington State, Swank appeared in her first play when she was nine. As a teenager, she swam competitively in the Junior Olympics and Washington State championships; she ranked fifth in the state in all-around gymnastics. Swank spoke with *inTIME* about Alice Paul, the suffrage movement and the making of *Iron Jawed Angels*, which premieres Sunday, February 15, 2004 on HBO.

How much did you know about Alice Paul before you got involved in this project?

H Sadly, I didn't know much about Alice Paul. I knew that there was a suffrage movement, but I didn't really understand what the women who were part of it had gone through. When I read the script, I was riveted. Here was a true story about a group of remarkable women who paved the way for me and for all women living in 21st-century America. For a very long time—as the film makes clear—women were third-class citizens in this country. I can't imagine not being able to have a voice within my government. But 100 years ago, women did not have the right to vote in America. That is absolutely amazing to me.

“The sacrifices that Alice Paul made were huge. I don't know if I could do that.”

—HILARY SWANK



DEMMIE TODD/HBO

What aspects of Alice Paul do you admire most?

H She was someone who believed very strongly in the right of all human beings, of all citizens, to have a voice. She found something that she believed in, and she followed it with every cell of her body and every cell of her brain. Everyone in this world knows what it's like to have a passion or to have a dream, and to face tremendous odds against realizing that dream. Alice Paul's diligence and her unyielding determination were a real inspiration to me.

Can you talk about the sacrifices that Alice Paul made?

H I don't know if I could sacrifice as much as she did. She sacrificed having a husband, and having children, because she felt that every piece of her had to be devoted to this cause. The sacrifices that Alice Paul made were huge. I don't know if I could do that.

What are your thoughts on the film's style, and in particular on the mix of historical and contemporary elements?

H All along, Katja von Garnier, our director, was very intent on staying true to the historical facts. She felt the importance of that; this is, after all, a true story. But it was also Katja's intent to make a movie where you weren't sitting back and watching a history lesson. She wanted viewers to feel, “Wow. That could have been me.” Even though these women were living in the early 1900s, they had the same desires and passions and needs as we do now. So she took the liberty of using contemporary music, including songs by Sarah McLachlan. It's really fresh, really entertaining. This is a movie about history, but there's nothing dry about it.

What message do you hope high school students take away from this film?

H No matter how old you are or how young you are, there will be obstacles all the way along in life. We all have our doubts; there were times when Alice Paul doubted herself. And there were certainly times during the filming when I said, “Oh, God, this is so hard.” But I think if people really believe in themselves, they can bring about change. I hope students will be inspired to listen to themselves, and to believe that every one of us has the power to make a difference.

1918 Reversing his position, President Woodrow Wilson endorses women's suffrage as a war measure.

1918 Suffrage Amendment passes United States House by exactly a two-thirds vote; it loses by two votes in the Senate.

1919 The House votes 304 to 90 to pass the 19th Amendment; the Senate approves it 56 to 25. It is sent to the states.

1920 Tennessee becomes the 36th state to ratify the 19th Amendment when State Senator Harry Burn, 24, casts the deciding vote. The Amendment becomes law on August 26, guaranteeing all U.S. women the vote.



1965 The Voting Rights Act, designed to counter racially discriminatory voting practices, becomes law.

1971 The 26th Amendment lowers the voting age to 18.

1972 Shirley Chisholm becomes the first African-American woman to seek the Democratic nomination for President.

1984 Geraldine Ferraro, a Democrat from New York, becomes the first woman to run for Vice President.



