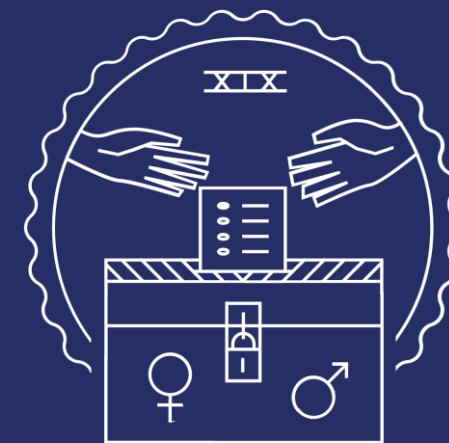


THE 19TH AMENDMENT – WOMEN’S RIGHT TO VOTE



The 19th
Amendment -
Women’s Right to
Vote

NATIONAL
CONSTITUTION
CENTER



We

THE

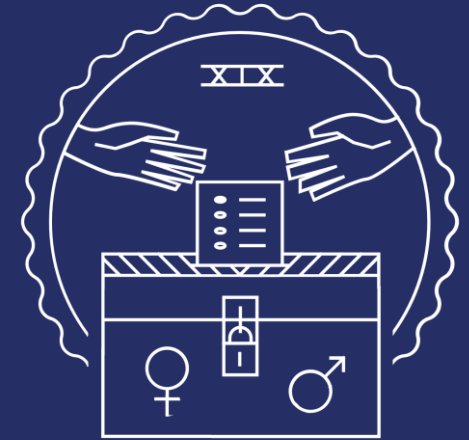
People

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UNUM



BIG QUESTIONS

- What did the 19th Amendment say, and who were some of the key figures who made it a reality?
- What was the Seneca Falls Convention? What was the Declaration of Sentiments? And what did this key moment suggest about the roots of the women's rights movement in the mid-1800s?
- What were the constitutional arguments advanced by those supporting the women's vote and those advanced by those opposing it?
- How was the 19th Amendment story an example of federalism in action?
- What did the 19th Amendment settle when it was ratified, and what work remained in the decades ahead?

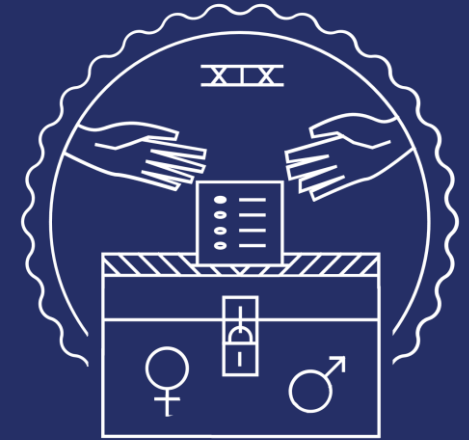


**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**



Ruth Bader Ginsburg

“Our Nation has had a long and unfortunate history of sex discrimination.’ . . . Women did not count among the voters composing ‘We the People’; not until 1920 did women gain a constitutional right to the franchise.”
-*United States v. Virginia* (1996)

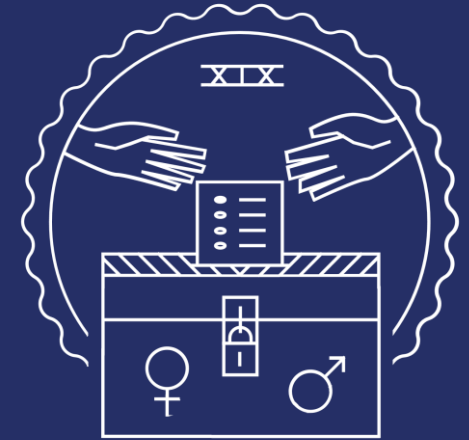


The 19th
Amendment -
Women’s Right to
Vote



Carrie Chapman Catt

“To get the word male . . . out of the constitution cost the women of the country fifty-two years of pauseless campaigning. . . . During that time they were forced to conduct:”

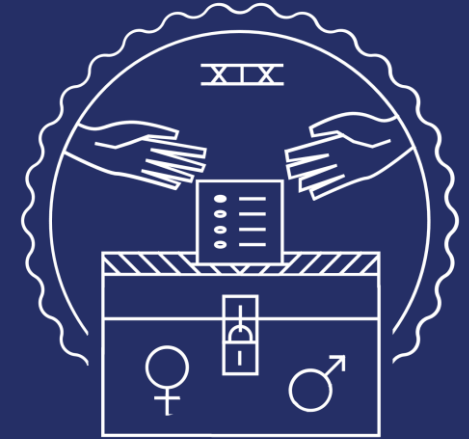


**The 19th
Amendment -
Women’s Right to
Vote**



Carrie Chapman Catt

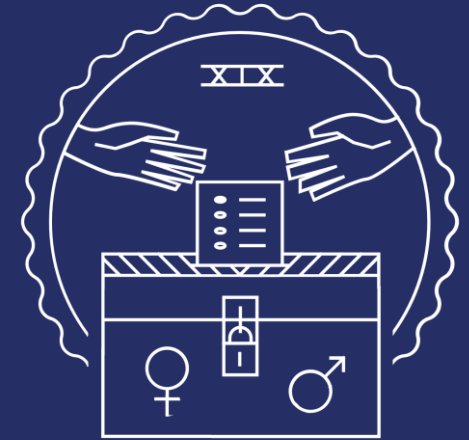
**“56 campaigns of referenda to male voters;
480 campaigns to urge Legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters;
47 campaigns to induce State constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into State constitutions;
277 campaigns to persuade State party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms; and
19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses.”**



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**

BIG IDEA

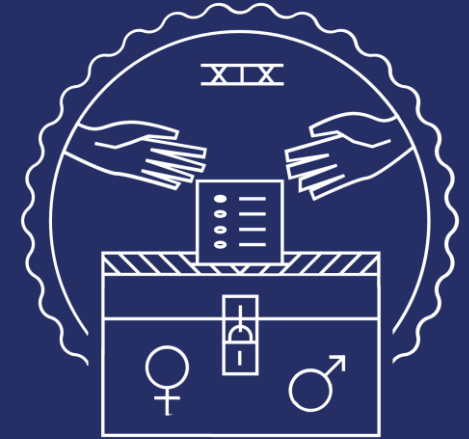
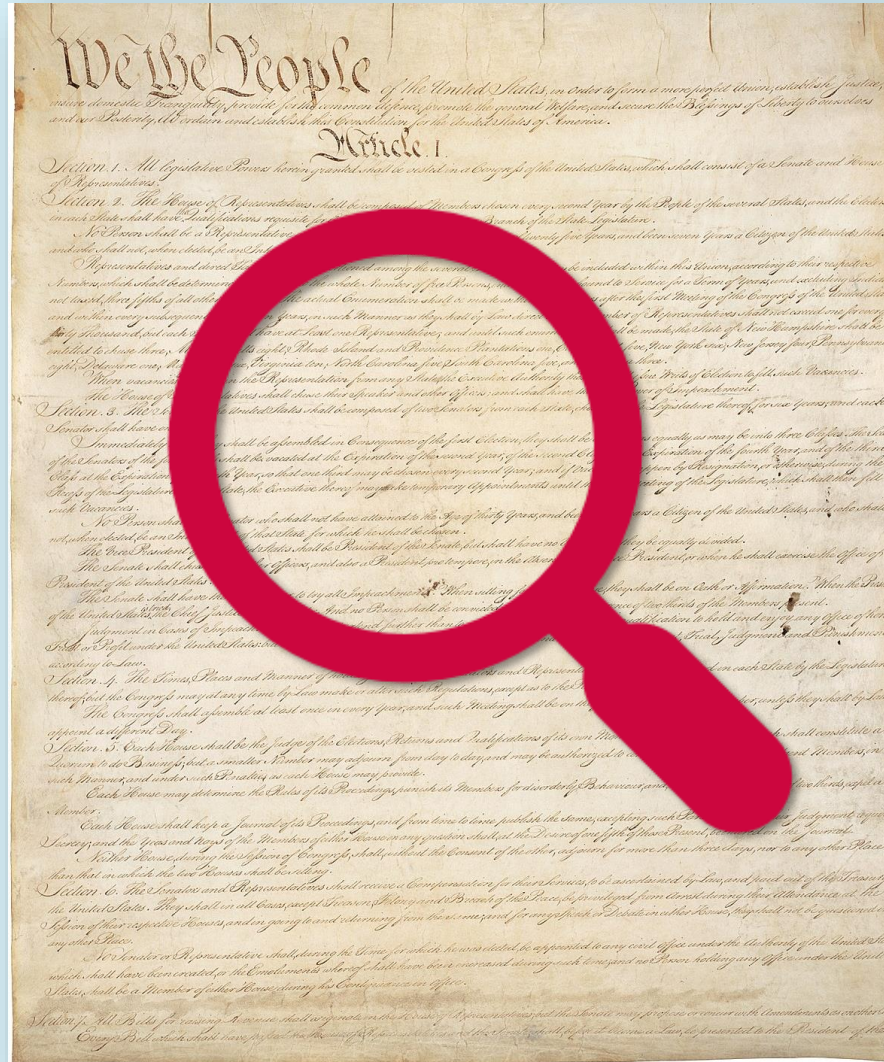
With the Nineteenth Amendment, women won the right to vote. This Amendment grew out of decades of advocacy by the suffragists and their allies. Women's suffrage began out West in the late 1800s and eventually spread to the rest of the nation—culminating in the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Even so, it would take many more years—and the hard work of the Civil Rights Movement—to extend voting rights on the ground to all women, including women of color.



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**



WHERE ARE VOTING RIGHTS IN THE CONSTITUTION?

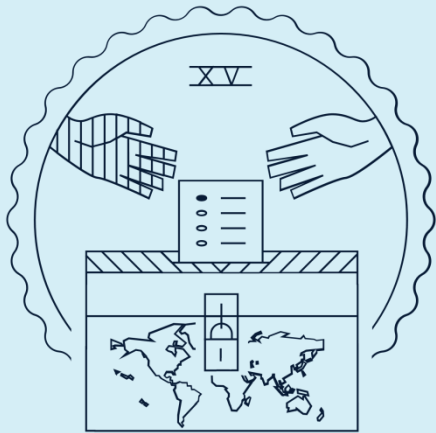


The 19th Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote



VOTING RIGHTS IN THE CONSTITUTION

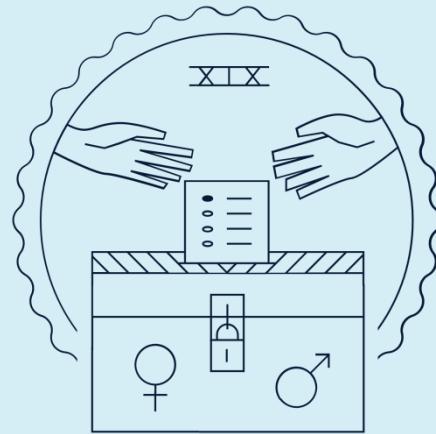
15TH AMENDMENT



1870

Banned
discrimination in
voting on
account of race.

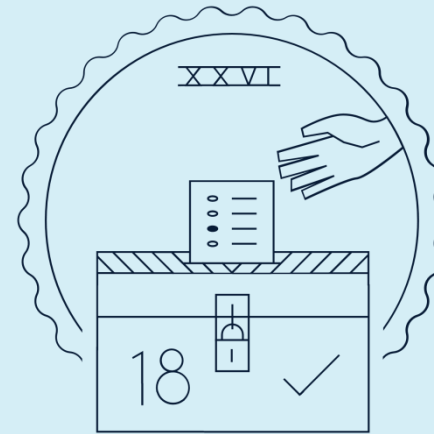
19TH AMENDMENT



1920

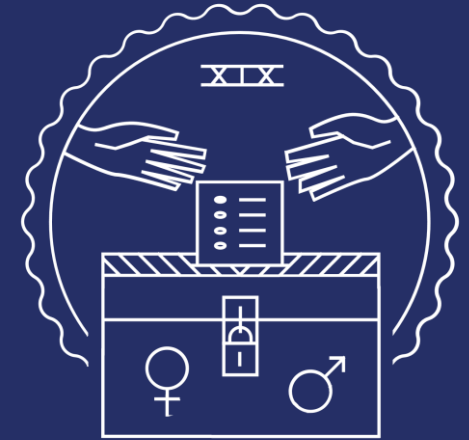
Banned
discrimination in
voting on
account of sex.

26TH AMENDMENT



1971

Banned
discrimination in
voting on
account of age.



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**

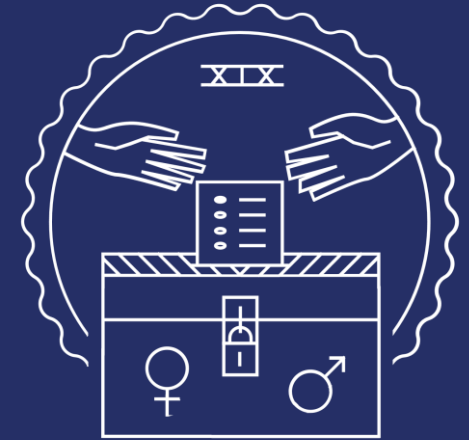


19TH AMENDMENT

1920

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.

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



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**

15TH 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.**

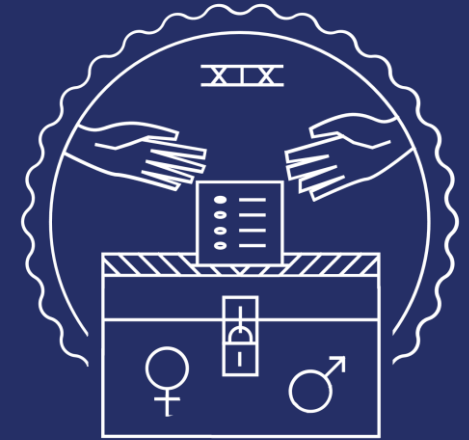
Section 2

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

19TH AMENDMENT

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.**

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

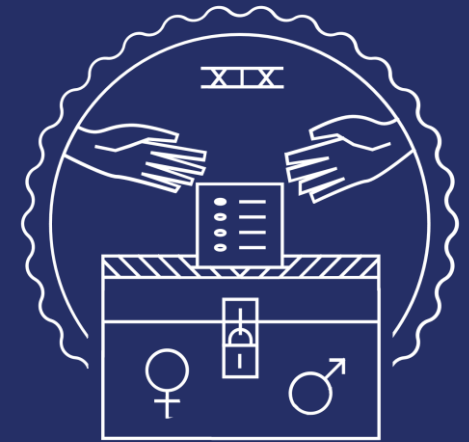


**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**



RATIFYING THE AMENDMENT

- Suffragists settled on this language in 1878.
- The “Susan B. Anthony Amendment” was introduced in each Congress (unchanged) for the next four decades.
- Congress finally approved it on June 4, 1919.
- And it was ratified by three-fourths of the states in August 1920.



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**

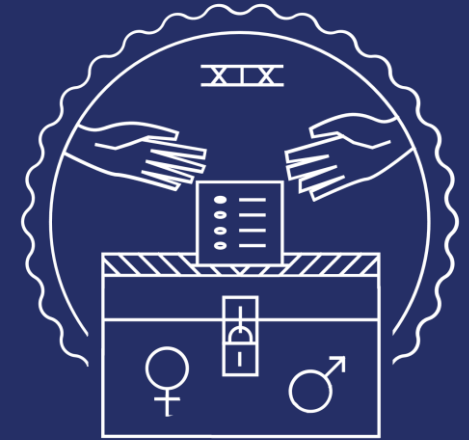
EARLY AMERICA



Early Americans thought that men served as the heads of their households, representing the views of their wives, daughters, etc., in public life.

(Image: Photograph of woodcut by North Wind Picture Archives)

The Constitution left issues of elections and voting primarily to the states. Most states establish property requirements for voters. So, during this period, voting is generally restricted to white male property owners.



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
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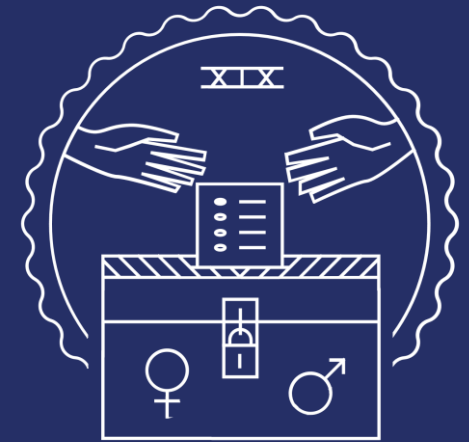
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN EARLY AMERICA



A woman's name appears on a 1801 Montgomery Township, New Jersey, poll list from the N.J. State Archives.

(Image: Museum of the American Revolution)

There was a notable exception—New Jersey. There, unmarried female landowners voted in state and local elections from 1776-1807. However, in 1807, New Jersey closed off this brief period of women's suffrage—limiting the vote to “free, white male citizens.”

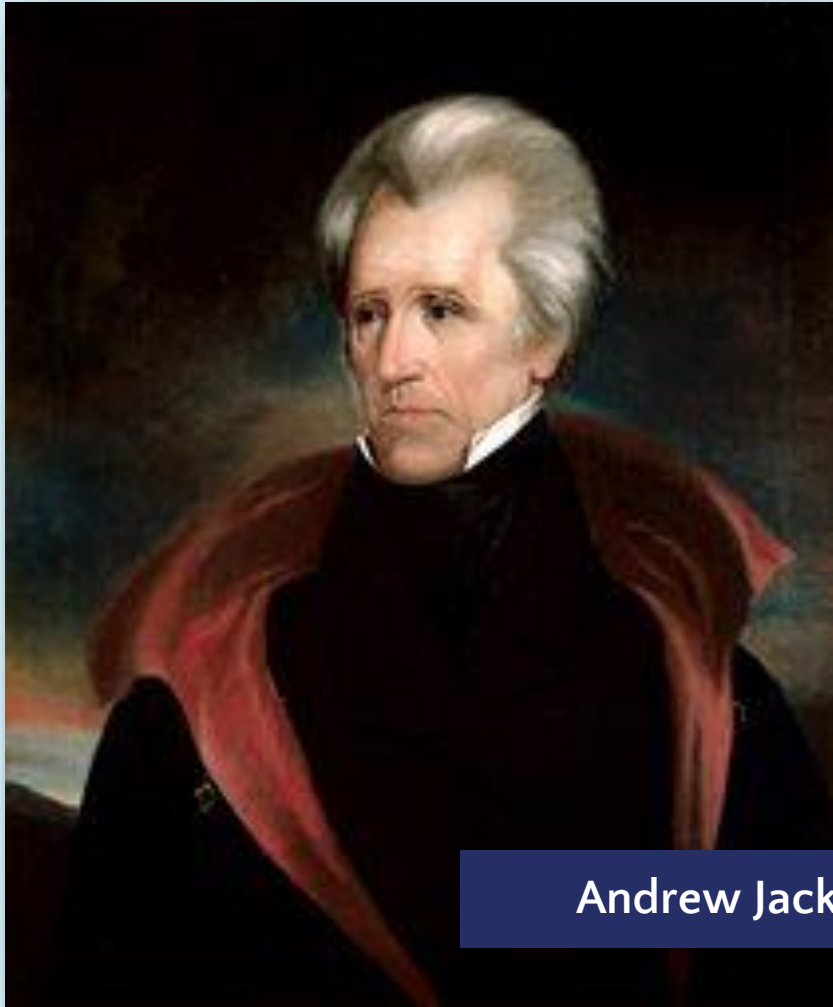


**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**

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CONSTITUTION
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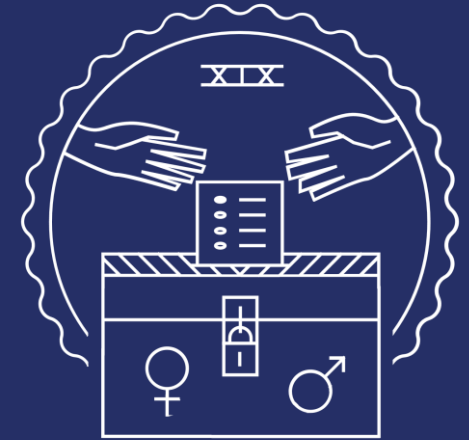


THE AGE OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY (1820S AND 1830S)



Andrew Jackson

Brought a move towards
**Universal White Male
Suffrage**



The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote

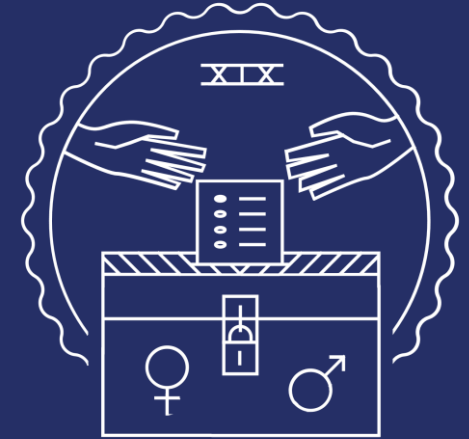
RIGHTS FOR MARRIED WOMEN

Married women could not:

- Hold property on their own
- Enter into contracts
- Sue or be sued
- Vote

Coverture: The legal doctrine meaning that husbands assumed the legal rights and obligations of their wives when they became married.

Virtual Representation: The view that women's suffrage was unnecessary because husbands, as heads of their households, already represented their wives and families.



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**



MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT OF 1848

CHAPTER CLXXI.

AN ACT for the better securing the property of married women.

1. BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, That the real and personal property of any female who may hereafter marry, and which she shall own at the time of marriage, and the rents, issues, and profits thereof, shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband, nor be liable for his debts, and shall continue her sole and separate property, as if she were a single female.

2. And be it enacted, That the real and personal property, and the rents, issues, and profits thereof, of any female now married, shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband, but shall be her sole and separate property, as if she were a single female, except so far as the same may be liable for the debts of her husband, heretofore contracted, by any legal lien.

3. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for any married female to receive, by gift, grant, devise, or bequest, and hold, to her sole and separate use as if she were a single female, real and personal property, and the rents, issues, and profits thereof, and the same shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband, nor be liable for his debts.

4. And be it enacted, That all contracts made between persons in contemplation of marriage, shall remain in full force after such marriage takes place.

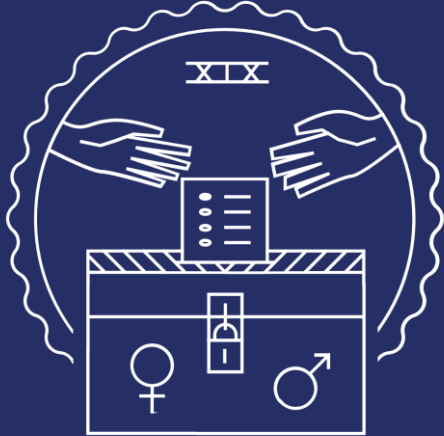
Approved March 25, 1848.

Property of female not subject to disposal of husband.

Property of married woman to be her separate property.

Married women may receive and hold property.

Contracts to remain in force after marriage.



The 19th Amendment - Women's Right to Vote



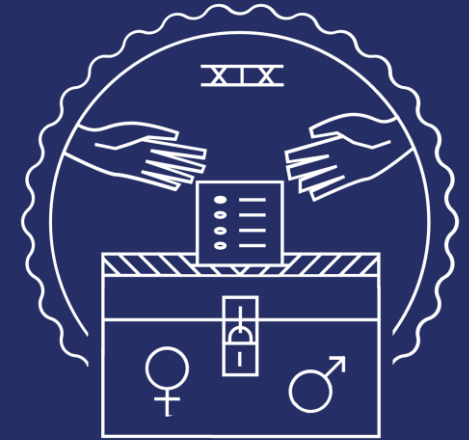
SENECA FALLS CONVENTION, 1848



Lucretia Mott

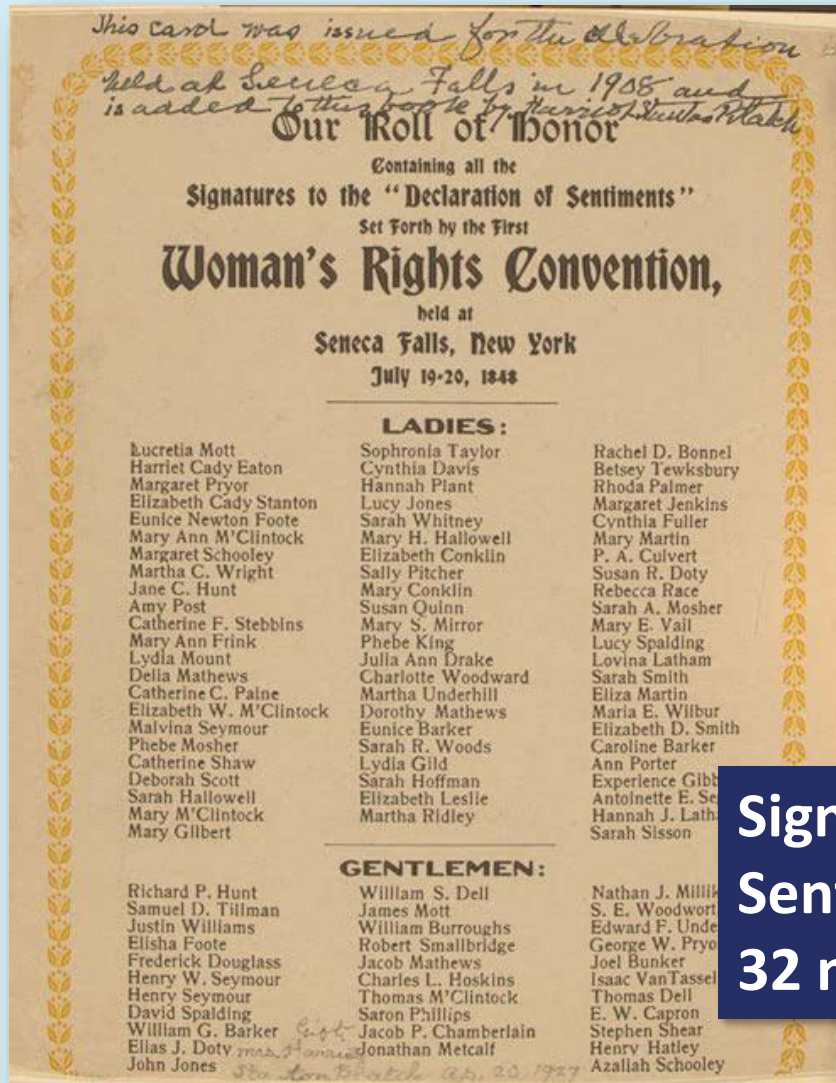


Elizabeth Cady Stanton

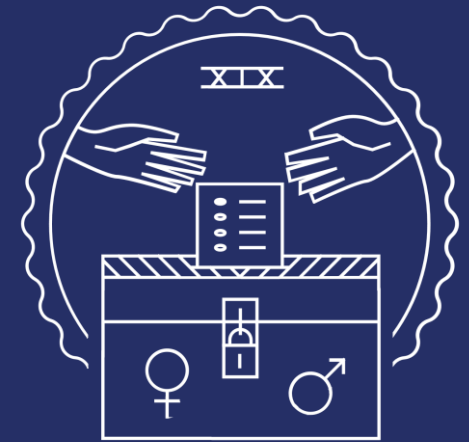


The 19th
Amendment -
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Vote

THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS



Signatures on the Declaration of Sentiments included 68 women and 32 men



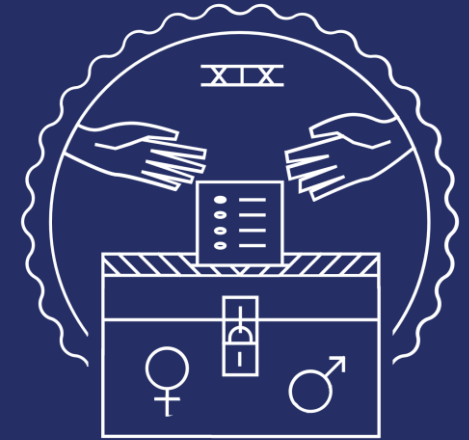
The 19th
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Women's Right to
Vote

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THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

“We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men **and women** are created equal.”

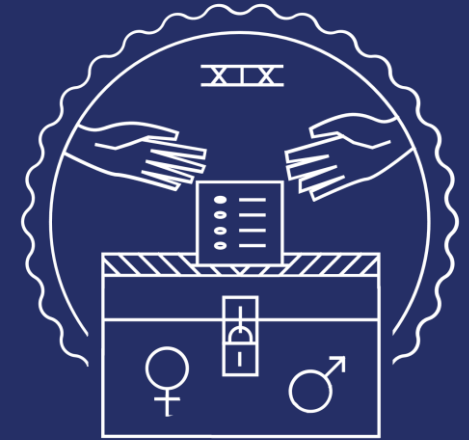


The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
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THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

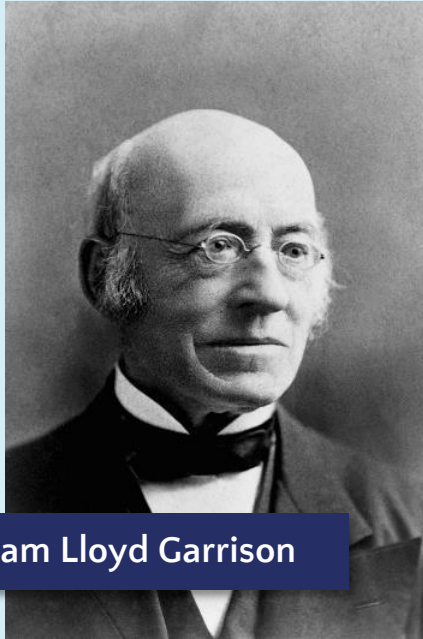


The Declaration closed with 12 demands, including equal education, equal pay, property rights, and the “sacred right to the elective franchise.”

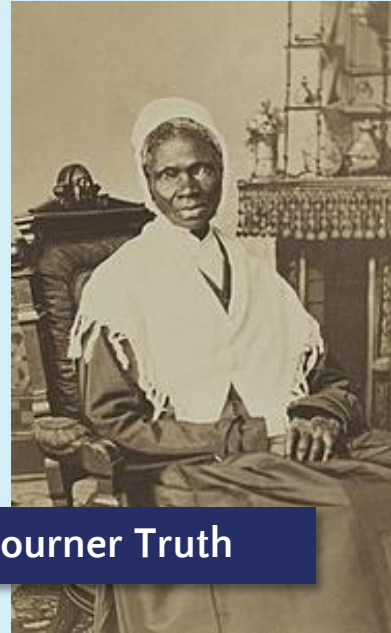


The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote

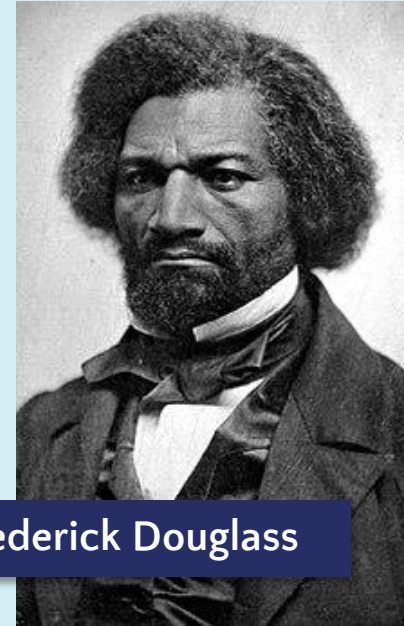
NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION



William Lloyd Garrison

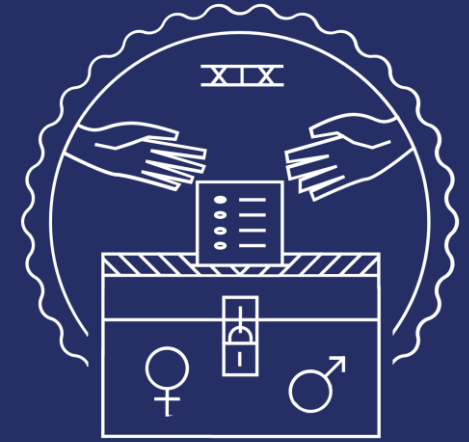


Sojourner Truth



Frederick Douglass

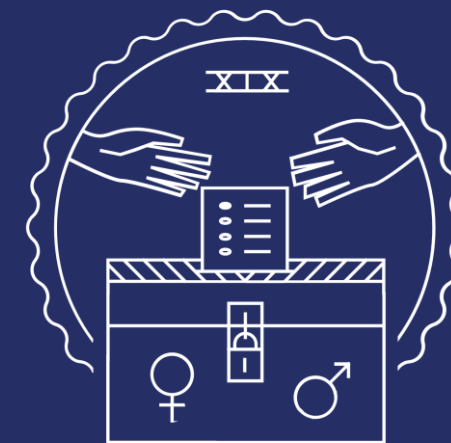
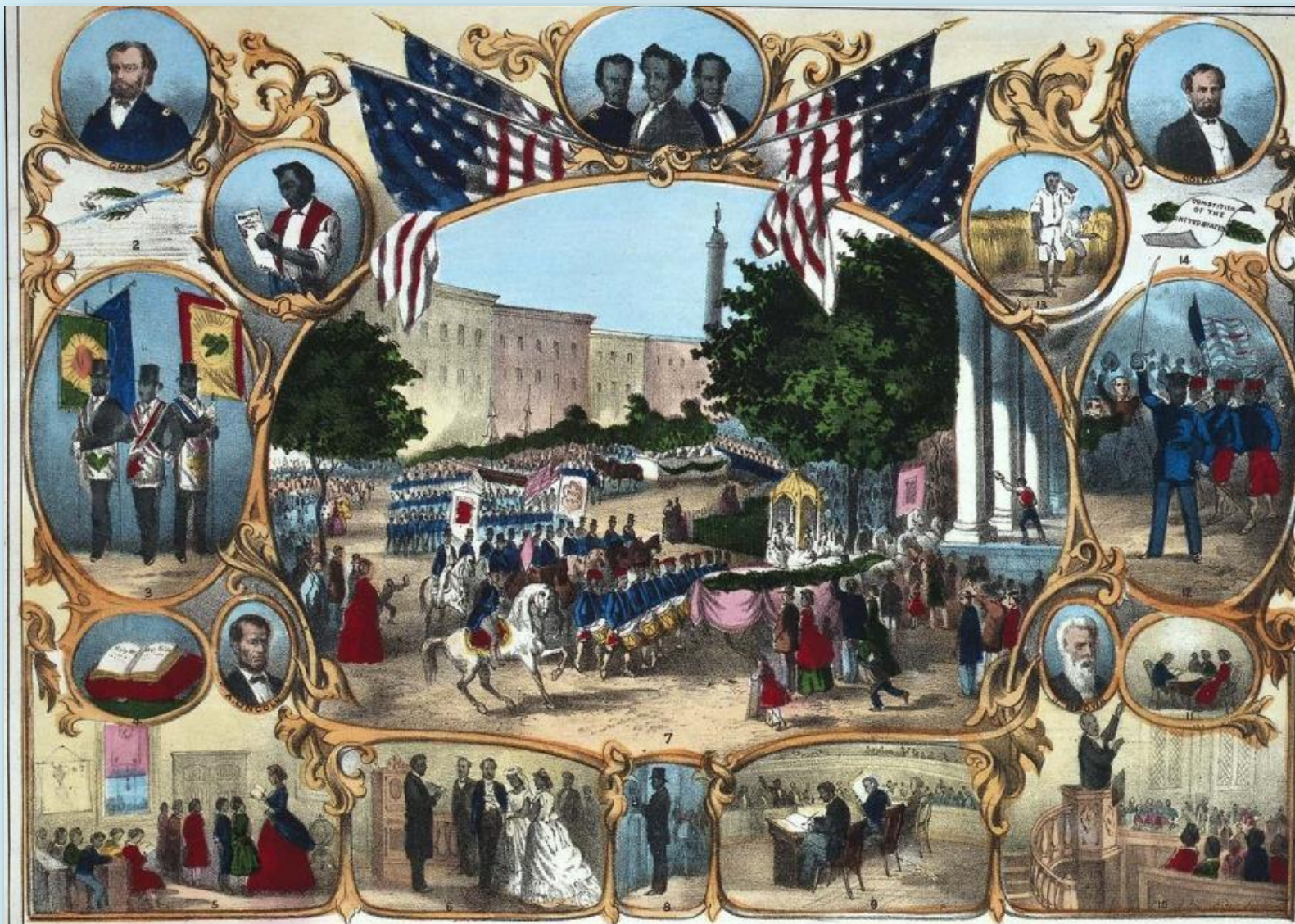
After Seneca Falls, the first national women's convention met in Massachusetts and drew 1,000 attendees. Furthermore, in the 1850s, more and more African American women joined the fight by attending—and speaking at—various conventions.



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**



THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA



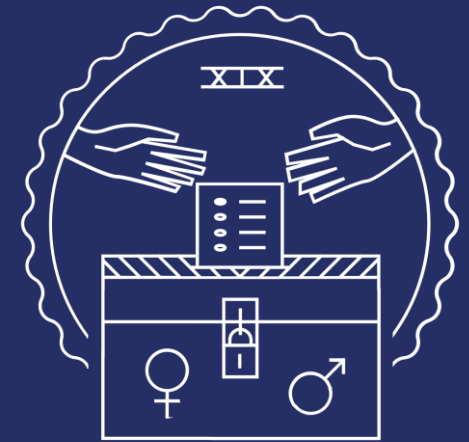
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Vote

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CONSTITUTION
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THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA

Following the Civil War (in a period known as Reconstruction), the Republican Party—the Party of Lincoln and of Union—pushed a series of constitutional amendments. During this period, Congress debated the reach of equality and the definition of citizenship. The goal was to **set new constitutional baselines for post-Civil War America.**

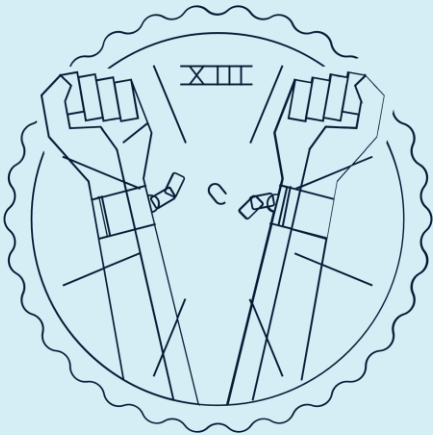


**The 19th
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Women's Right to
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THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA

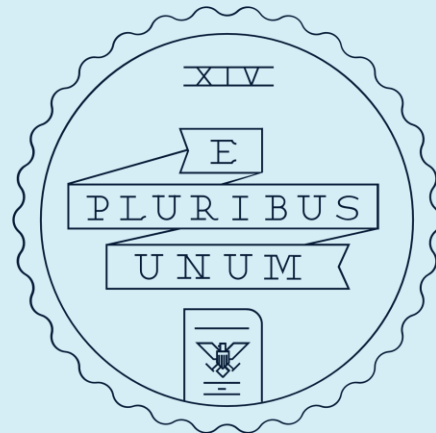
13TH AMENDMENT



1865

Abolished slavery

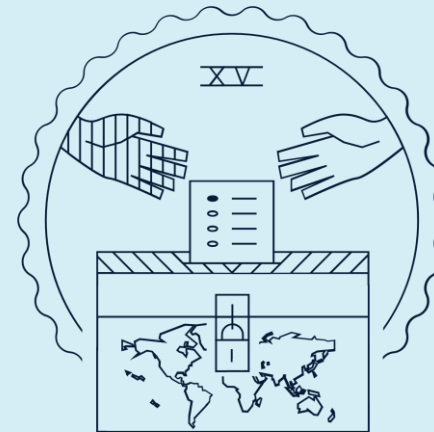
14TH AMENDMENT



1868

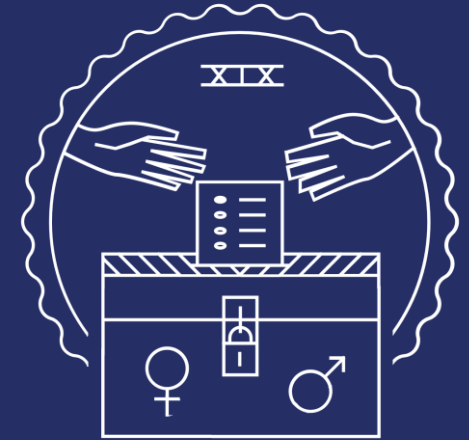
Wrote promises
of freedom and
equality into the
Constitution

15TH AMENDMENT



1870

Banned
racial
discriminati
on in voting



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**



ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

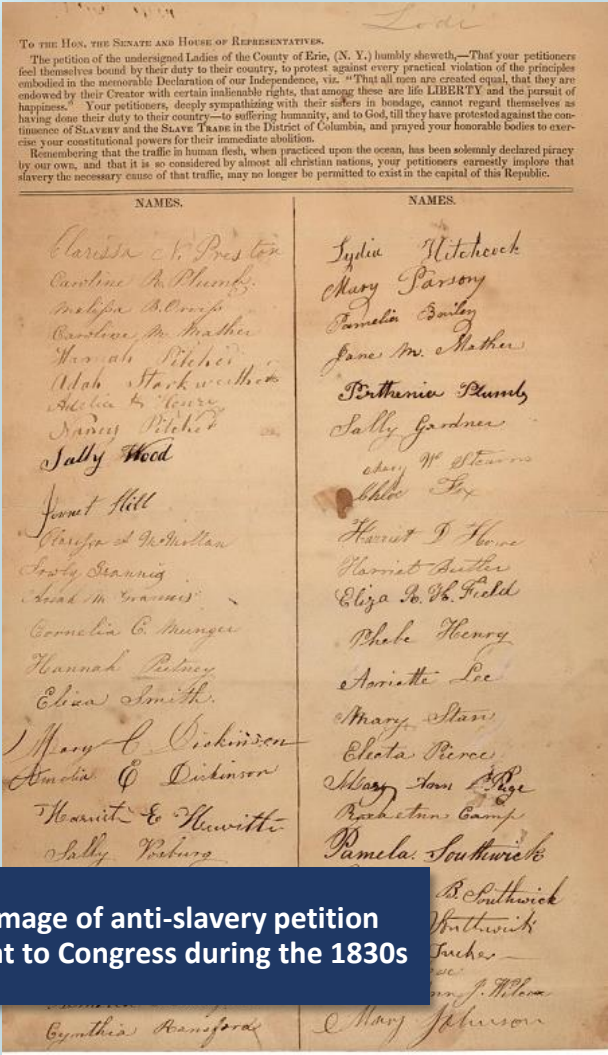
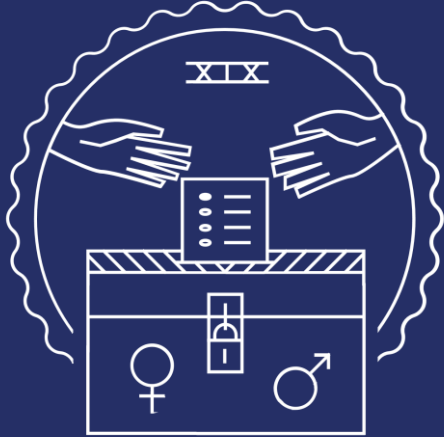


Image of anti-slavery petition sent to Congress during the 1830s



And many suffragists—including **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** and **Susan B. Anthony**—played a central role in the anti-slavery movement. While publicly speaking out against slavery, women also petitioned Congress.



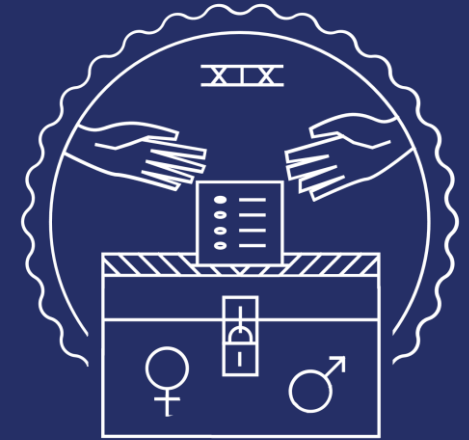
The 19th Amendment - Women's Right to Vote



PUSH FOR UNIVERSAL VOTING RIGHTS

Building on their experience battling slavery, the suffragists advanced a powerful vision of universal voting rights—linking this cause to the plight of African Americans. The post-war emphasis on universal equality made women’s suffrage seem politically possible.

They adopted constitutional arguments at the core of the anti-slavery cause—drawing on the Constitution’s “guarantee” of a “Republican Form of Government” and its protection of the “Privileges and Immunities of Citizens.” For these reformers, the push for voting rights wasn’t about race or sex. It was about post-Civil War America’s commitment to universal rights.



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women’s Right to
Vote**

A PETITION
FOR
UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The undersigned, Women of the United States, respectfully ask an amendment of the Constitution that shall prohibit the several States from disfranchising any of their citizens on the ground of sex.

In making our demand for Suffrage, we would call your attention to the fact that we represent fifteen million people—one half the entire population of the country—intelligent, virtuous, native-born American citizens; and yet stand outside the pale of political recognition.

The Constitution classes us as "free people," and counts us *whole* persons in the basis of representation; and yet are we governed without our consent, compelled to pay taxes without appeal, and punished for violations of law without choice of judge or juror.

The experience of all ages, the Declarations of the Fathers, the Statute Laws of our own day, and the fearful revolution through which we have just passed, all prove the uncertain tenure of life, liberty and property so long as the ballot—the only weapon of self-protection—is not in the hand of every citizen.

Therefore, as you are now amending the Constitution, and, in harmony with advancing civilization, placing new safeguards round the individual rights of four millions of emancipated slaves, we ask that you extend the right of Suffrage to Woman—the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens—and thus fulfil your Constitutional obligation "to Guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government."

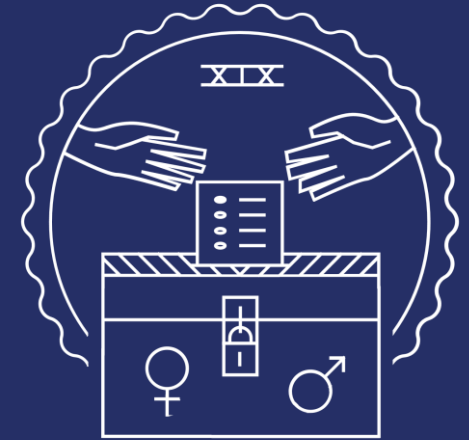
As all partial application of Republican principles must ever breed a complicated legislation as well as a discontented people, we would pray your Honorable Body, in order to simplify the machinery of government and ensure domestic tranquillity, that you legislate hereafter for persons, citizens, tax-payers, and not for class or caste.

For justice and equality your petitioners will ever pray.

**PETITION FOR
UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE
(1866)**

“As you are now amending the Constitution, and, in harmony with advancing civilization, placing new safeguards around the individual rights of four million of emancipated ex-slaves, we ask that you extend the right of Suffrage to Woman.”

NAMES.	RESIDENCE.
<i>Elndy Stanton</i>	<i>New York</i>
<i>Susan B. Anthony</i>	<i>Rochester - N.Y.</i>
<i>Antoinette Brown Blackwell</i>	<i>New York</i>
<i>Lizzy Stone</i>	<i>Newark N. Jersey</i>
<i>Joanna S. Morse</i>	<i>48 Livingston. Brooklyn</i>
<i>Emeshae & Rose</i>	<i>New York</i>
<i>Harriet E. Eaton</i>	<i>6 West 14th Street N.Y.</i>
<i>Catherine C. Wilkinson</i>	<i>83 Clinton Place New York</i>
<i>Elizabeth C. Titton</i>	<i>48 Livingston St. Brooklyn</i>
<i>Mary Fowler Gilbert</i>	<i>295 W. 19th St. New York</i>
<i>Ann E. Gilbert</i>	<i>New York</i>
<i>W. Griffith</i>	<i>New York</i>



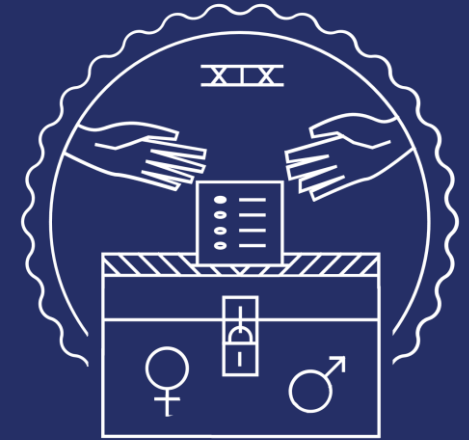
**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**





Frances Ellen Watkins Harper

“We are all bound up together in one great bundle of humanity, and society cannot trample on the weakest and feeblest of its members without receiving a curse in its own soul.”

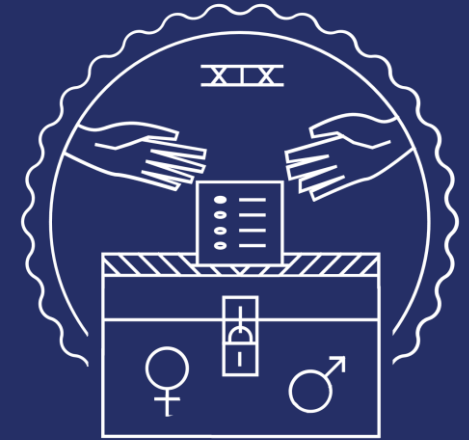


The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote



14TH AMENDMENT, SECTION 2

“...But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the **male** inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of **male** citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.”



**The 19th
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Women's Right to
Vote**

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

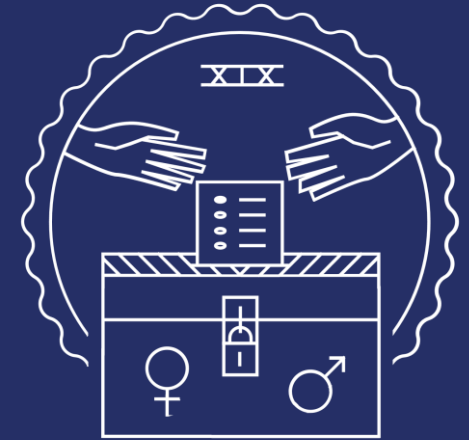


Susan B. Anthony

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Opposed the 15th Amendment.

They chose to fight exclusively for women's suffrage first.

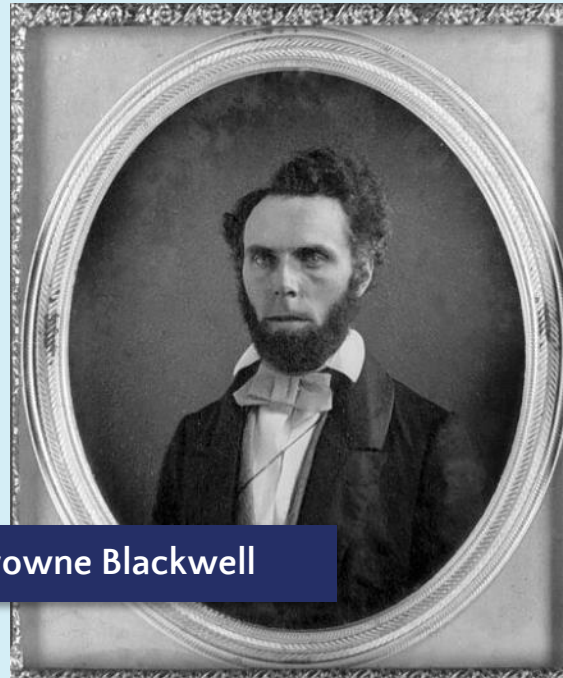


**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**

AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION



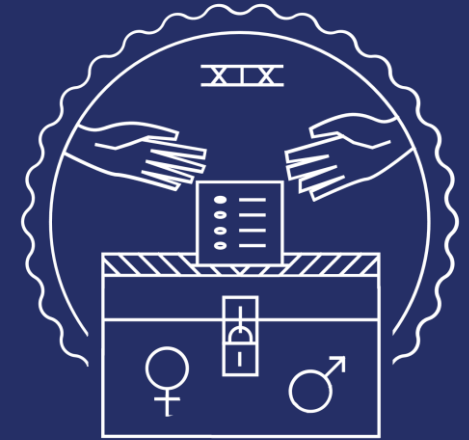
Lucy Stone



Henry Browne Blackwell

Supported the 15th Amendment.

They sided with the Republican Party, prioritized African American rights, rallied around the 15 Amendment, and remained committed to a vision of universal rights.

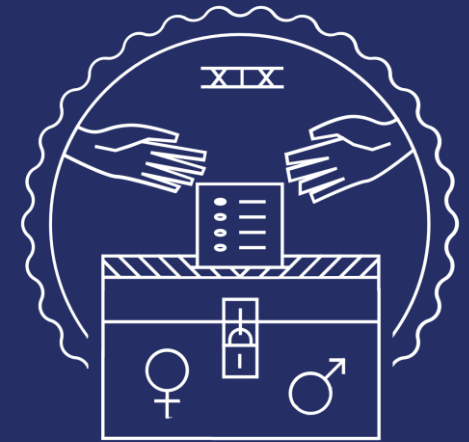


The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote



Some suffragists focused on Congress. The 14th Amendment gave Congress the power to pass new laws to enforce the “privileges or immunities” of U.S. citizenship.

(Illustration - Library of Congress)



**The 19th
Amendment -
Women's Right to
Vote**

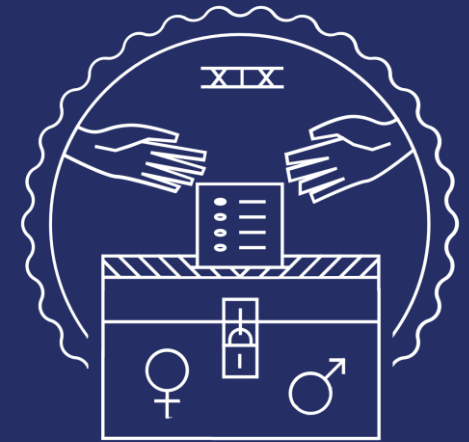
**NATIONAL
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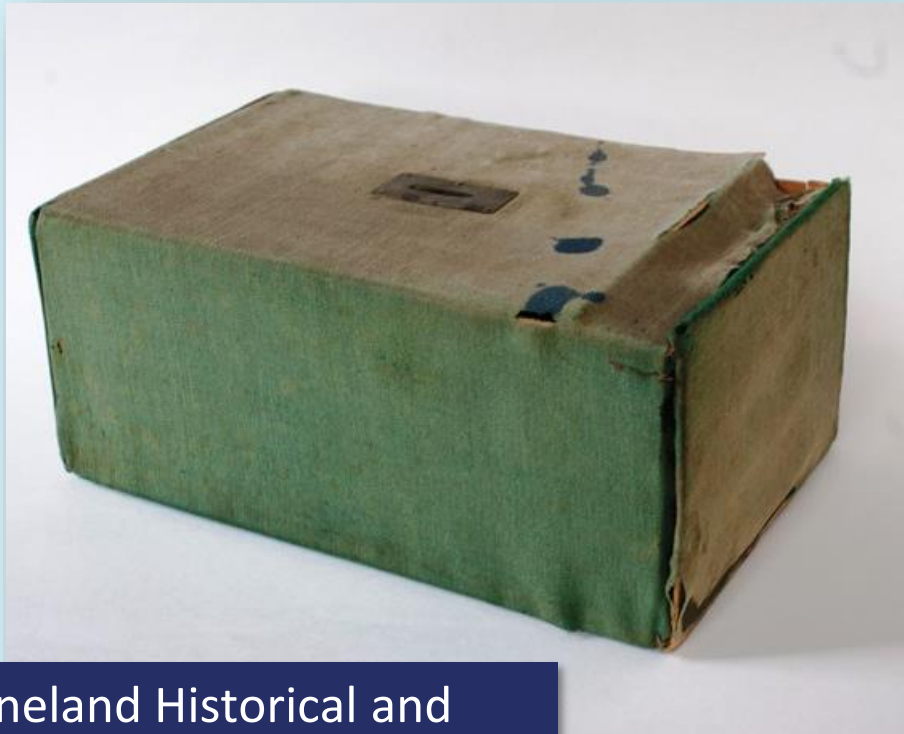
“I do now claim that I am, equally with men, possessed of the right to vote.”

Victoria Woodhull



The 19th
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Women's Right to
Vote

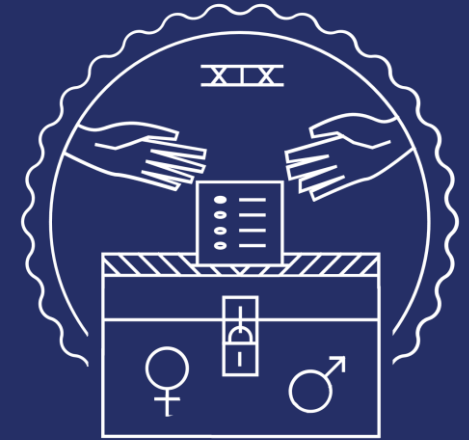
NEW DEPARTURE



(Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, Vineland, NJ)

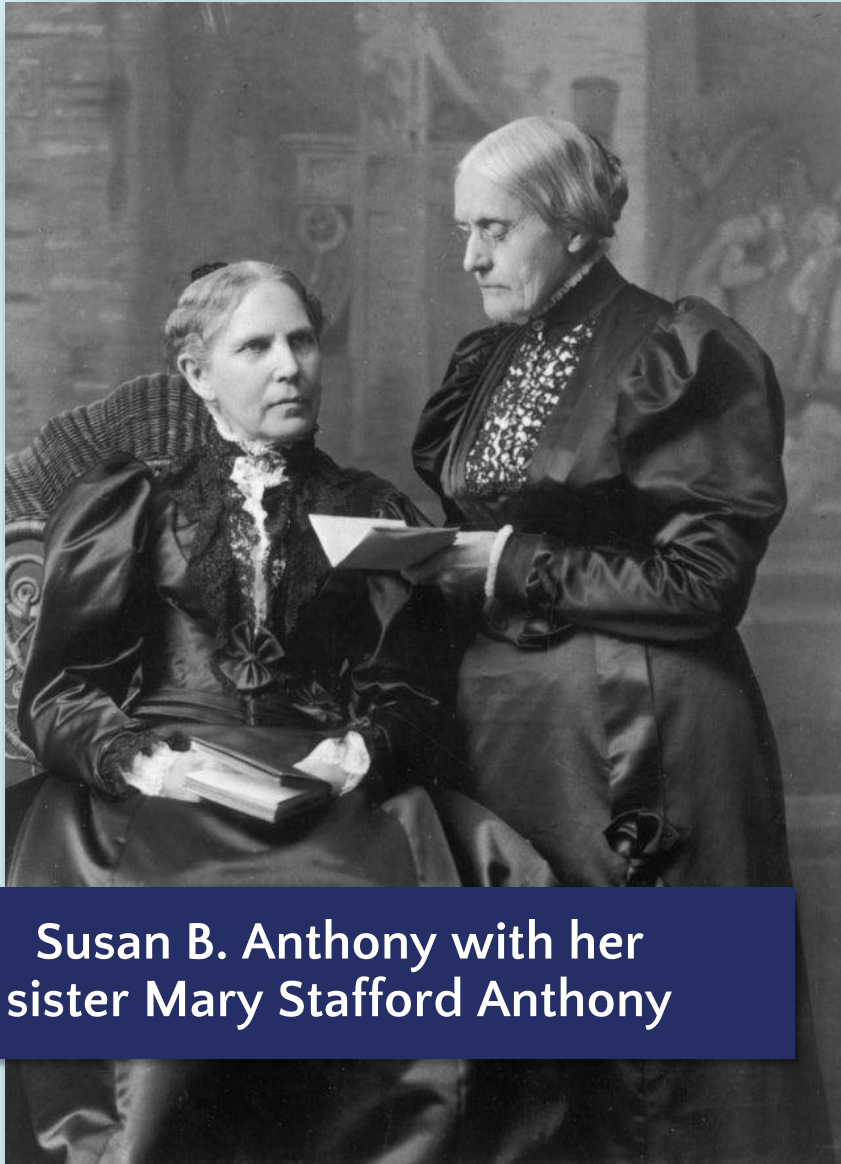
Other suffragists used the Reconstruction Amendments to vote. In 1868, women in Vineland, New Jersey, set up their own voting tables on Election Day, even though their votes wouldn't count.

Suffragist leaders soon developed a plan that relied on the Constitution's text to get women to the polls.



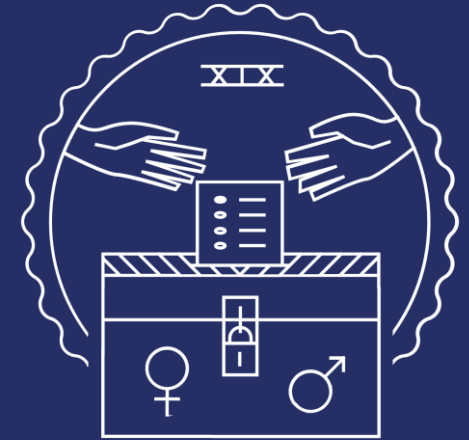
**The 19th
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NEW DEPARTURE



Susan B. Anthony with her sister Mary Stafford Anthony

1872, Susan B. Anthony, her three sisters, and eleven other women tried to vote in a New York election. Thanks to the help of local Republican Party officials, Anthony registered to vote. To Anthony's surprise, she was even permitted to cast her vote, but her victory was short-lived. Two weeks later, she was arrested.

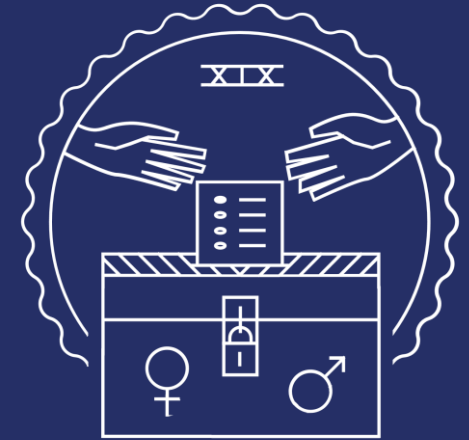


**The 19th
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MINOR V. HAPPERSETT (1875)



Virginia Minor



The 19th
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MINOR V. HAPPERSETT (1875)



Virginia Minor

Virginia Minor challenged a St. Louis registrar's decision to block her from registering to vote. Minor argued that women were U.S. citizens and that voting was a "privilege" of national citizenship protected by the 14th Amendment.

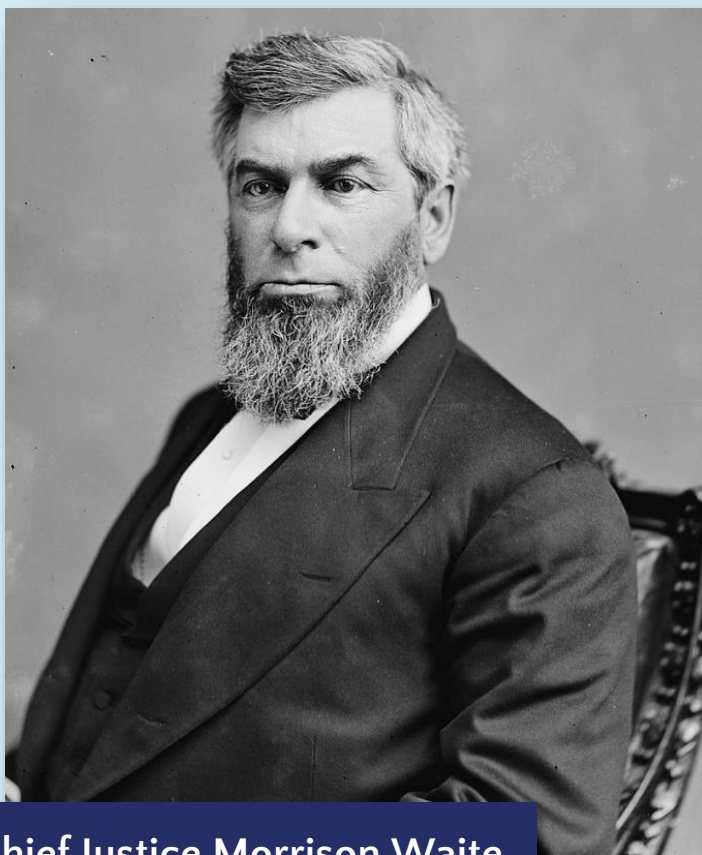


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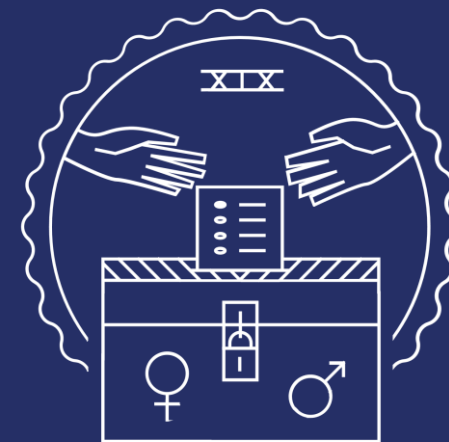
MINOR V. HAPPERSETT (1875)



Chief Justice Morrison Waite

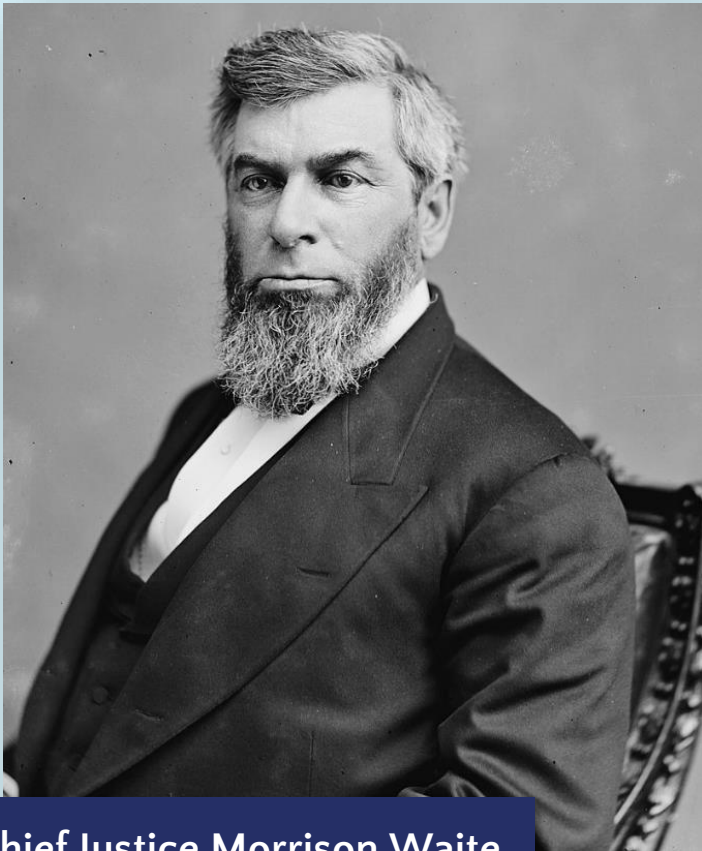
In a unanimous decision written by Chief Justice Morrison Waite, the Supreme Court rejected Minor's claim—and with it, one of the New Departure's core arguments.

The Court agreed that women were U.S. citizens, but concluded that voting was not a right of national citizenship protected by the 14th Amendment.



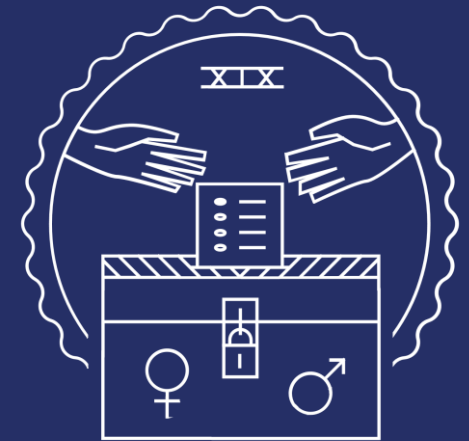
**The 19th
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MINOR V. HAPPERSETT (1875)



Chief Justice Morrison Waite

“[I]f the courts can consider any question settled, this is one. For nearly ninety years the people have acted upon the idea that the Constitution, when it conferred citizenship, did not necessarily confer the right of suffrage. . . . Our province is to decide what the law is, not to declare what it should be.”

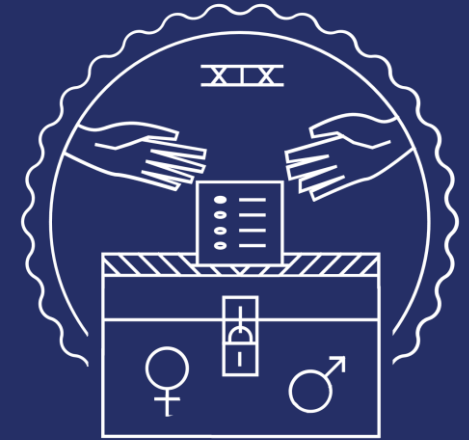


**The 19th
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THE FINAL PUSH

Following the New Departure, women turned their attention to two strategies:

- Securing suffrage in the states
- Pushing for a constitutional amendment



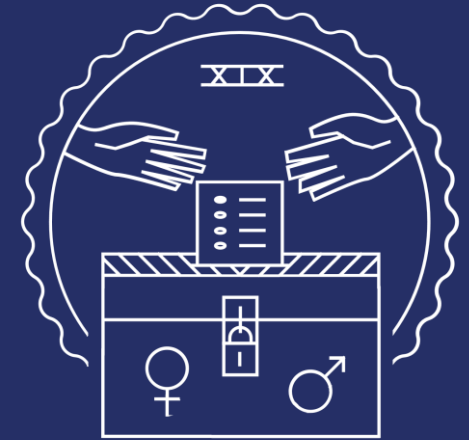
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ROLE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN



Five officers of the Women's League in Newport, Rhode Island, c. 1899

By the 1900s, suffrage organizations continued to divide over the issue of race. Parts of the movement grew increasingly exclusionary. At the same time, African American women organized into clubs and continued to push for the vote to secure social and economic change within their own communities. Other women of color, including Native Americans, lobbied for their citizenship to be recognized.

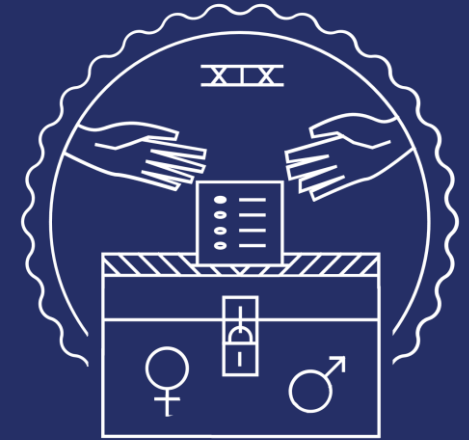


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NATIVE AMERICAN'S FIGHT FOR CITIZENSHIP



The Indian Citizenship Act, which granted citizenship to all Native Americans born in the U.S. was passed in 1924

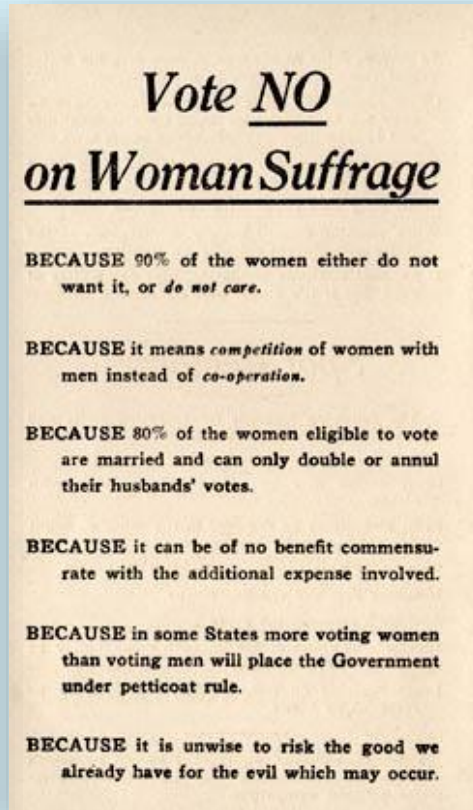
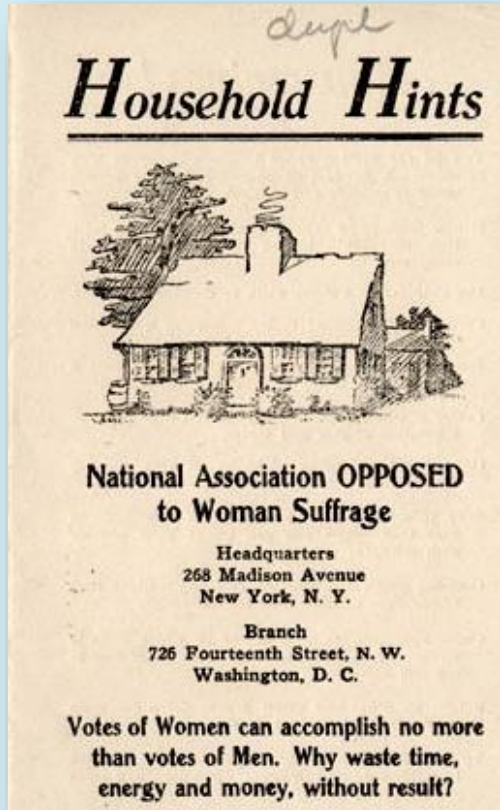


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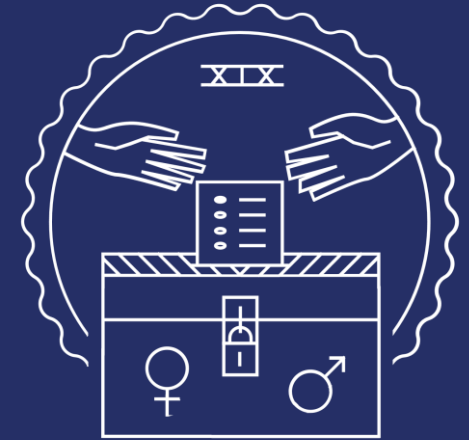
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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE FORMED IN 1911



During this same period, anti-suffragists began to organize. In 1911, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage formed. The anti-suffragists voiced a range of arguments against the women's vote.



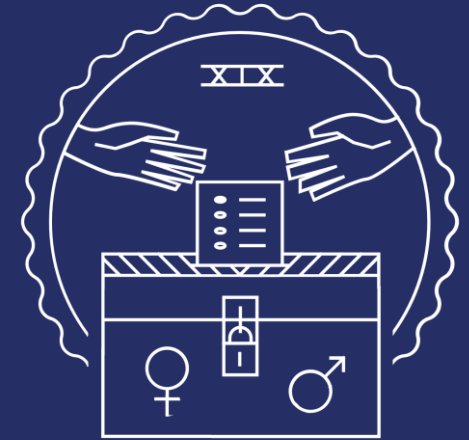
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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FORMED IN 1911

- Virtual Representation
- States' Rights
- Destruction of the Traditional Family/Gender Roles
- Opposition to African American Voting
- Educated Suffrage
- Lack of Interest

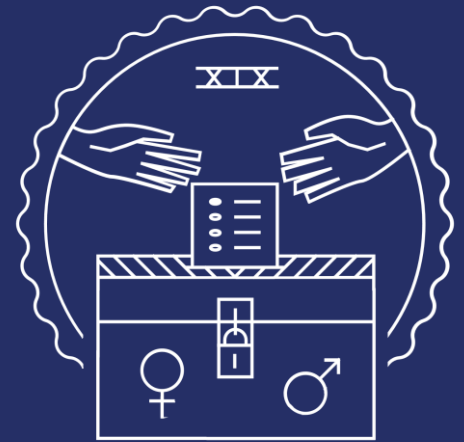


**The 19th
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“
**LABORATORIES
OF DEMOCRACY**
”



LOUIS BRANDEIS
— 1856 - 1941 —



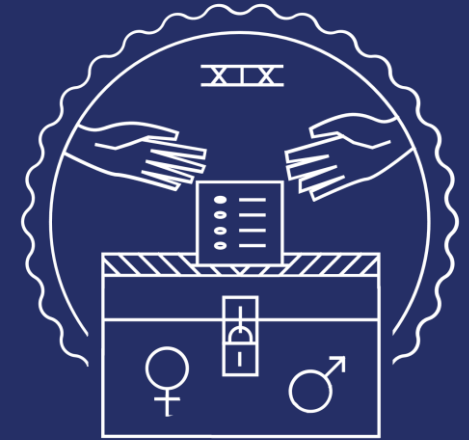
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SUFFRAGE AT THE STATE LEVEL

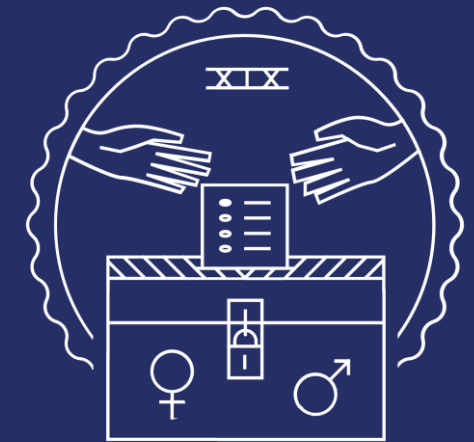


By 1919, fifteen states permitted full women's suffrage.



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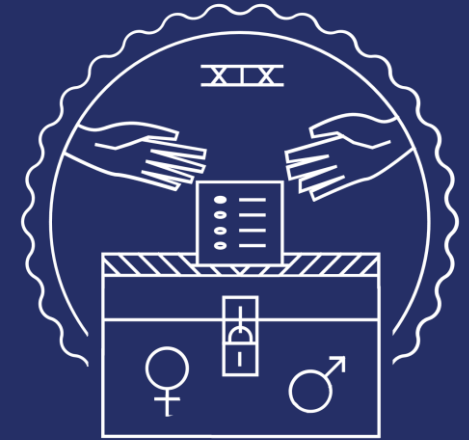
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROCESSION WASHINGTON, DC, 1913



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Ida B. Wells-Barnett



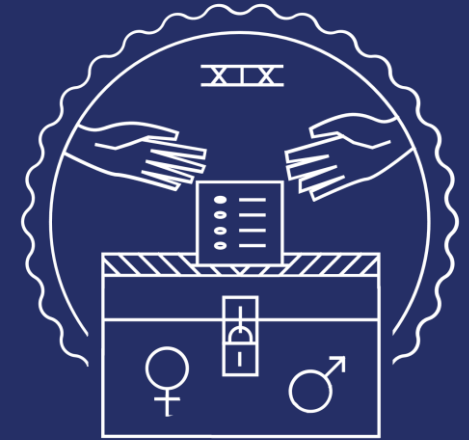
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WORLD WAR I

In the final few years of the fight for the 19th Amendment, momentum continued to grow—driven by a mix of state-level victories, persistent lobbying, and militant protest tactics. These strategies, combined with the nation’s entry into World War I in 1917, turned the tide in favor of a national amendment for women’s suffrage.



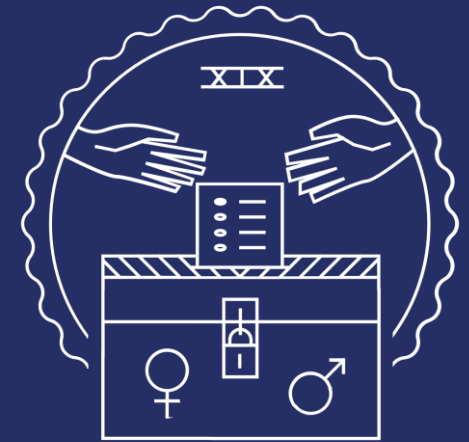
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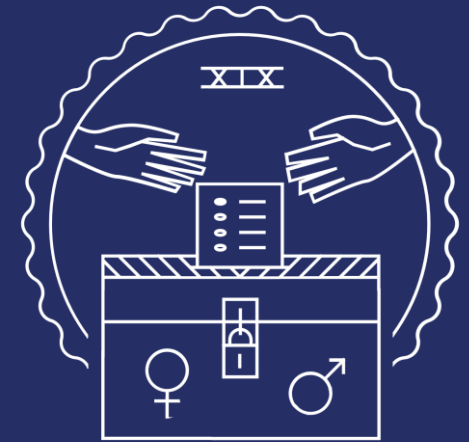
Militant suffragists continued their work—publicly criticizing the President for embracing democracy abroad while leaving half of the population without the vote at home. For instance, Alice Paul and her allies in the National Woman’s Party began protesting in front of the White House in 1917—placing pressure on Wilson to take action on a national amendment.



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Alice Paul

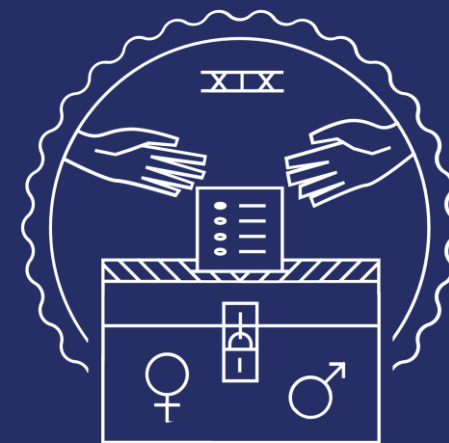


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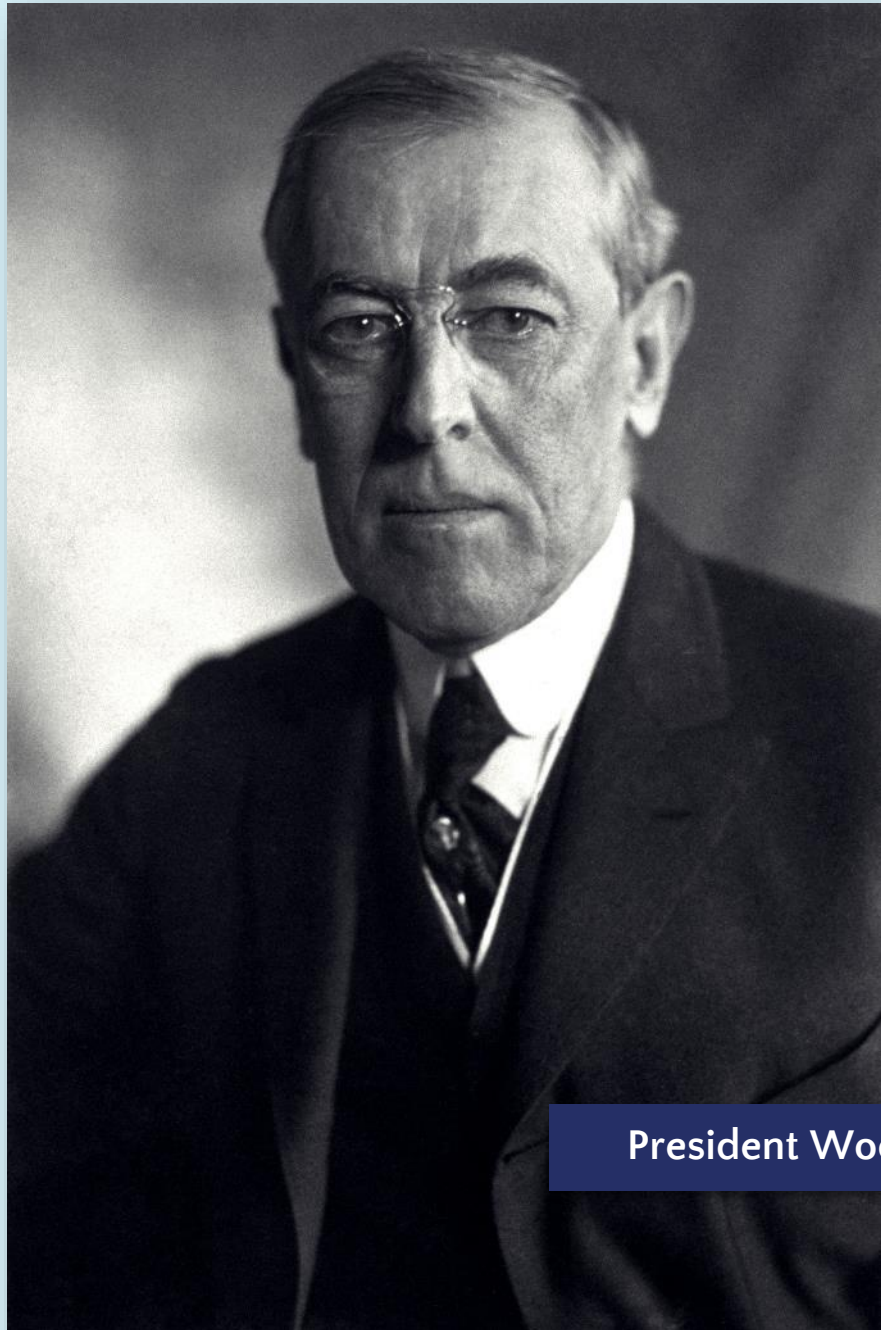




Suffragists on picket line in front of the White House, circa 1917. One banner reads: "Mr. President How Long Must Women Wait For Liberty". (Library of Congress)

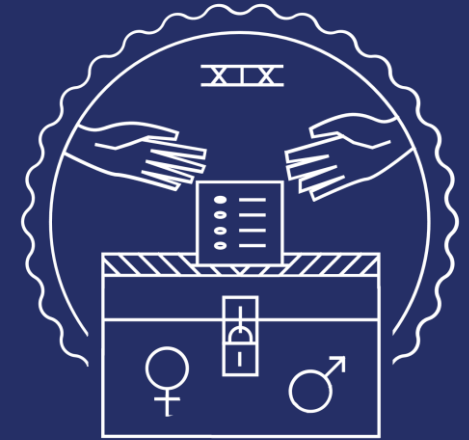


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President Woodrow Wilson

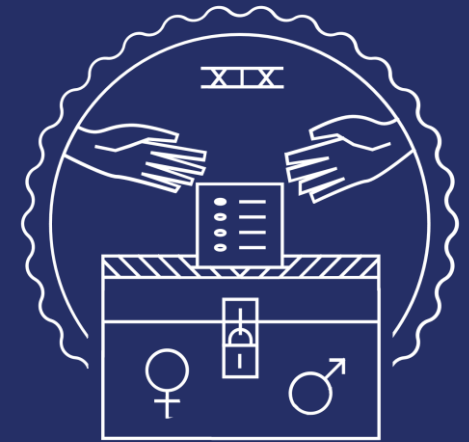
President Wilson eventually relented, giving his support to the 19th Amendment in January 1918 and declaring it a vital war measure.



**The 19th
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June 4, 1919: Congress passes the amendment.

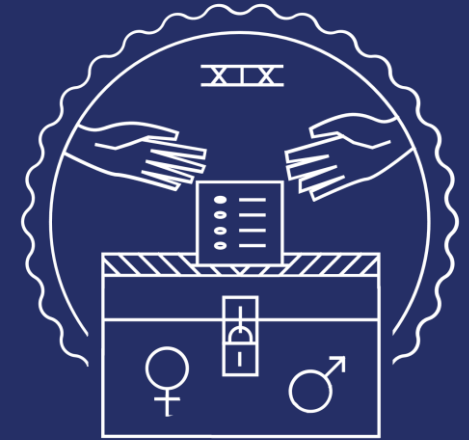


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August 18, 1920: Ratification

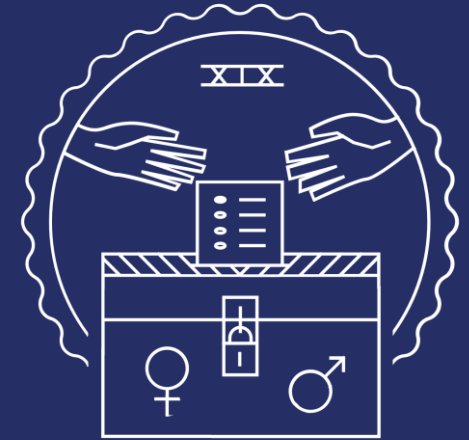
After 70 years—and a 15-month ratification battle—women finally secured the women's suffrage amendment.



**The 19th
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FOUR PATHWAYS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

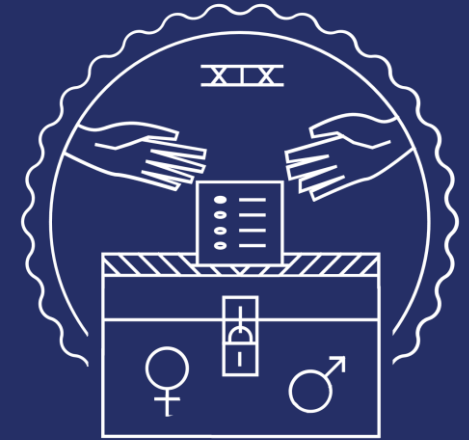
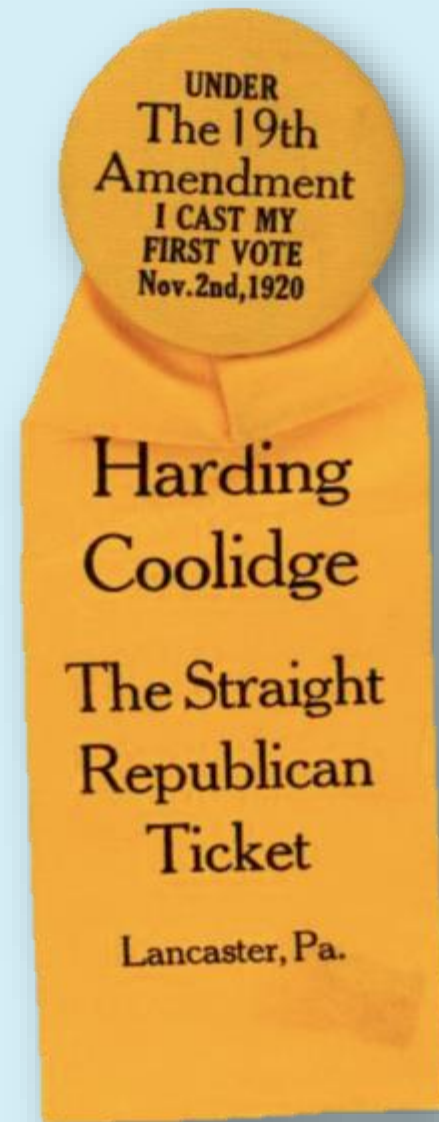
- **Amend the Constitution:** Advocate for amendments through the formal process outlined in Article V. (Think the 19th Amendment itself)
- **Lobby and Petition Congress:** Pursue new laws to enforce the Constitution's existing promises. (Think Victoria Woodhull's push)
- **Use the Courts:** Use the Constitution's existing text to advance constitutional arguments inside the courts. (Think the New Departure)
- **Pursue State Reform:** Test new ideas out at the state level that could potentially lead to nationwide reform. (Think the state-by-state push for women's suffrage—changing state laws and state constitutions—beginning out West)



**The 19th
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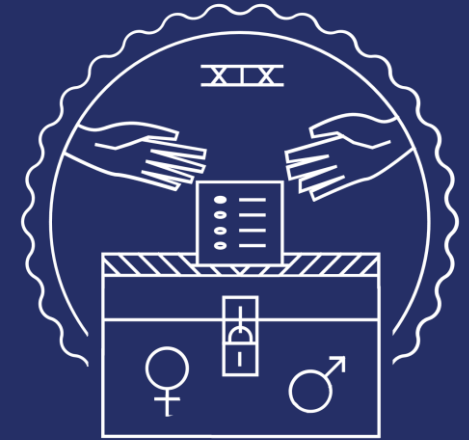
POST-RATIFICATION

In November 1920, many women across the country voted under the 19th Amendment. With support from female voters, the Republican candidate Warren G. Harding won in a landslide. He captured 60% of the popular vote.



The 19th Amendment - Women's Right to Vote

CONTINUING THE FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE



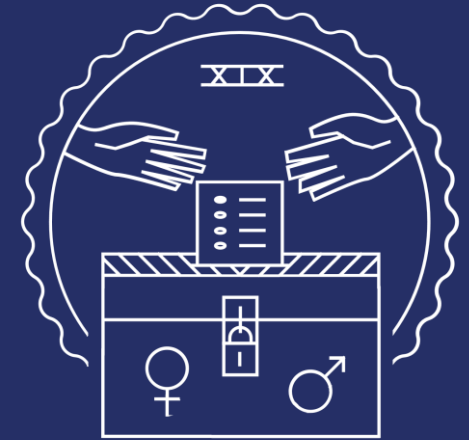
**The 19th
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CONTINUING THE FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE

For millions of women, the fight for suffrage was not over. Before and after the ratification of the 19th Amendment, voters of color were disproportionately targeted by voter discrimination practices.

As many suffragist leaders debated whether to unify around another cause, many of these white leaders left behind women of color, who often continued their suffrage activism alone. For instance, millions of African American women fought against their continued disenfranchisement in the South.

For decades, they fought to remove these barriers—leading to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (“VRA”).



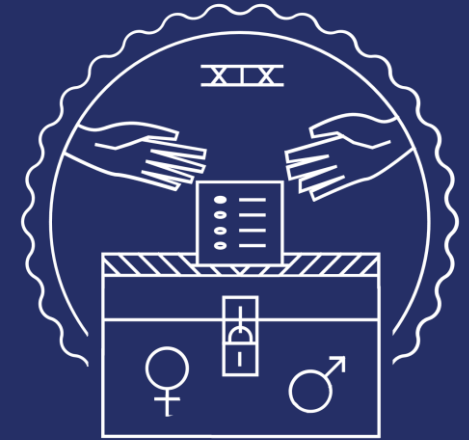
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THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965



Signing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

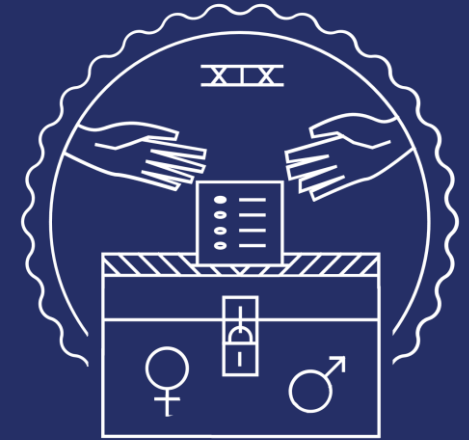


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THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

- This landmark law empowered the national government to protect voting rights for all people of color and attack state voter discrimination efforts.
- Congress was granted this enforcement power in 1870 with the 15th Amendment. (Reinforced by the Nineteenth Amendment's *own* enforcement clause.)
- And the Supreme Court upheld the VRA in *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*.
- The VRA itself was a massive success. Following its passage, women of color began voting in huge numbers for the first time.



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BEYOND RATIFICATION

Carrie Chapman Catt's
**National American
Woman Suffrage
Association**

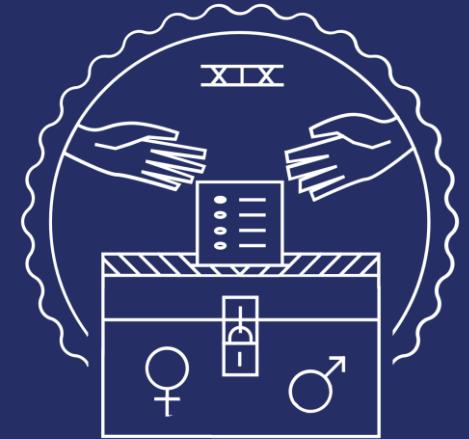


**League of Women
Voters**
Focus on educating
voters about elections
and issues.

**The National
Woman's Party**
led by Alice Paul



Pursued the
**Equal Rights
Amendment**



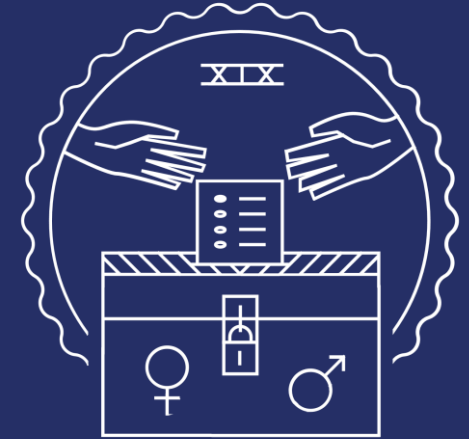
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EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT



Alice Paul

The National Woman's Party—led by Alice Paul—pursued the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Drafted by Alice Paul, the ERA was first proposed in Congress in 1923.

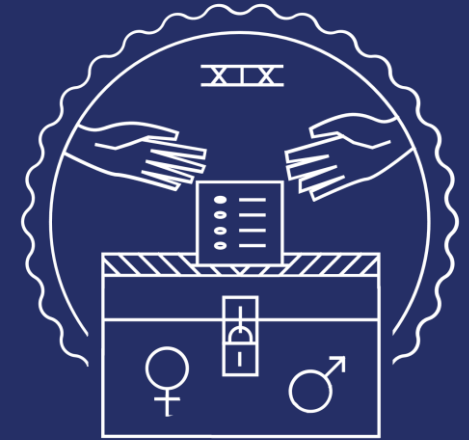


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EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

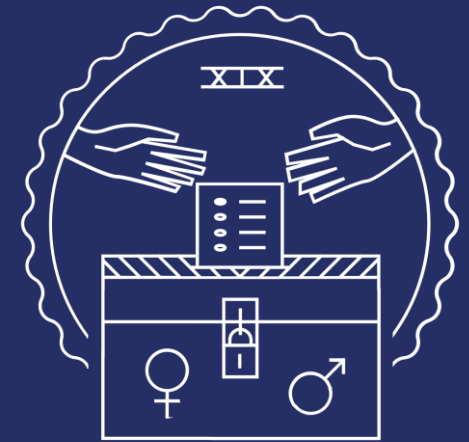
Original ERA drafted by Alice Paul (1923):

“Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.”



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EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

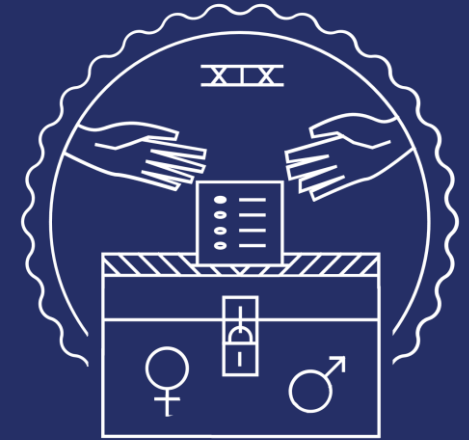


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EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

The proposed amendment enjoyed widespread support in the 1970s. Both Houses of Congress passed it in 1972—after being introduced in every Congress for 49 years. By 1977, the ERA had been ratified by 35 states.

Congress extended the deadline for ratifying the amendment for another five years, but no new states ratified it before 1982. In the last few years, supporters of the ERA revival adopted a “three-state strategy” to get enough states to ratify.



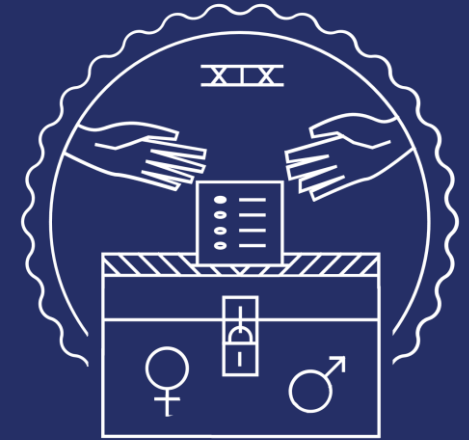
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EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Since then, Nevada, Illinois, and Virginia have voted in favor of amendment—meaning that 38 states have ratified the ERA (the three-fourths required by the Constitution). However, there are key questions that will need to be answered to determine the validity of the ERA:

- Can Congress impose a deadline on ratifying an amendment proposal?
- And if the time limit is valid, can a future Congress extend that deadline?
- Can a state rescind its ratification? (Between 1973 and 1979, five state legislatures voted to rescind their ratifications.)



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