

IT STARTS HERE.



A
MOVEMENT
OF
DOERS



True Heroes shine in
hardest of times.



A zine about 19th and 20th century women's activism
Created by Swarthmore College Libraries
Celebrating the centennial anniversary of the 19th amendment

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Find links to e-books and other resources on the associated research guide at <https://guides.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/19th-amendment-centennial>



1820-1920: Women Asserting Their Civil Rights

By Celia Caust-Ellenbogen

"There is no slave, after all, like a wife... Poor women, poor slaves... All married women, all children and girls who live in their father's house are slaves."
 ~ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, 1861



My Simple Realization

"Good Things Are Ahead"

The 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, granting women the right to vote, did not happen in a vacuum. It was the culmination of decades - indeed, centuries - of activism by women, asserting their own rights and the rights of others, in a variety of spheres. The first ever women's rights convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848, nearly three-quarters of a century before the 19th Amendment was ratified in 1920. But it is important to see how the Seneca Falls Convention itself was part of an interconnected network of reform movements that saw women fighting for such causes as education, prison reform, temperance, peace, and, most importantly, abolition of slavery. While anti-slavery and women's rights activism were intertwined in the mid 19th century, of course, African American women found themselves precisely at the center of that intersection.





Quaker women were a prominent presence in 19th and 20th century women's rights work. Indeed, Seneca Falls was organized by a circle of Quaker women, including Lucretia Mott, working with Elizabeth Cady Stanton (the only non-Quaker organizer). Some of the foremost activists for suffrage activism were from Quaker families, including Alice Paul. So was Charlotte Woodward Pierce, the throughline between these movements as the only woman to sign the Declaration of Sentiments at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention and then live long enough to see the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920.

Swarthmore College is a vital link in the network documenting the history of the women's rights movement. As home to the Friends Historical Library, one of the largest repositories of Quaker history in the world, it holds key documentation including the papers of Seneca Falls organizer Lucretia Mott. The Swarthmore College Peace Collection also holds important figures at the intersection with women's peace activism, including the papers of Belva Lockwood, the first woman to appear on official ballots in the races for U.S. President in 1884 and 1888. Moreover, as one of the first coeducational colleges in the world when it was incorporated in 1864, Swarthmore was an incubator for women's rights activists including Alice Paul.



This zine was created in summer 2020 to celebrate the centennial celebration of the ratification of the 19th Amendment. It is also the culmination of two years of intensive work on the *In Her Own Right* project, a multi-institutional digitization project focusing on documentation of women's activism, 1820-1920. *In Her Own Right* is a project of the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries (PACSCL) and received funding from the Council on Library and Information Resources (CLIR), National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), The Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, and New Century Trust. inherownright.org

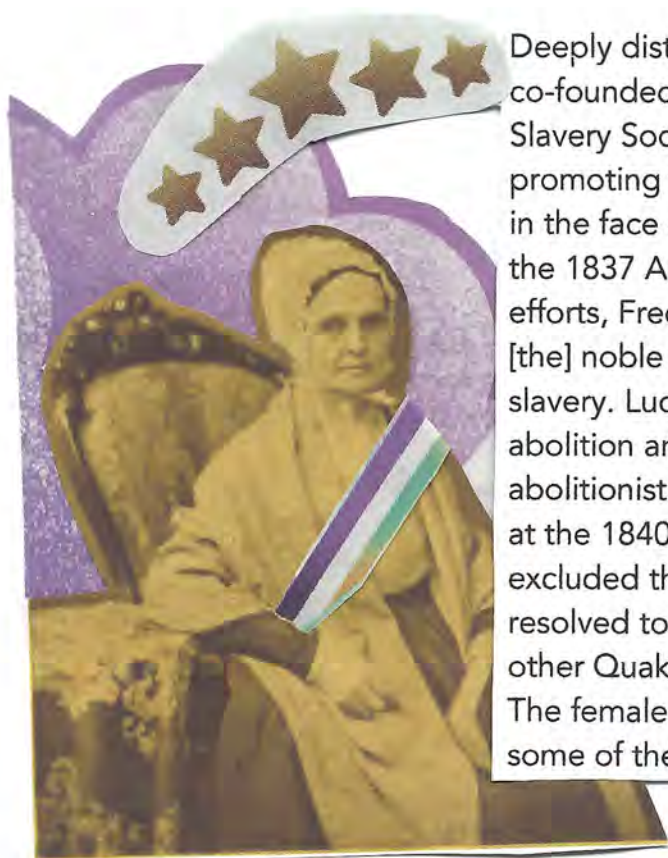


Lucretia Mott (1793-1880)

By Susanna McGrew

Lucretia Coffin Mott was a great social reformer of the nineteenth century, driven by what she described as "a great desire for radical change in a system which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer" and a staunch opposition to "the generally received idea of human depravity."

Mott was born in 1793 to a Quaker family in Nantucket, and her early upbringing influenced her lifelong beliefs in equality. Men in her seafaring community were often absent on long voyages, leaving the women in charge of what was often considered men's work. In her own words, Nantucket women's elevated responsibilities "tended to develop their intellectual powers and strengthen them mentally and physically."



Deeply disturbed by the injustice and suffering of slavery, Mott co-founded the racially integrated Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1834. She travelled widely to hold meetings promoting the movement, including in slave-owning states and in the face of mobs and violence. She was also an organizer of the 1837 Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. For her efforts, Frederick Douglass praised Mott as "foremost among [the] noble American women" in the fight against slavery. Lucretia Mott's work shows how interconnected the abolition and suffrage movements were. In fact, Mott met fellow abolitionist and women's rights activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. After men excluded the women from participating as full members, the pair resolved to hold a Women's Convention, which they and several other Quaker women organized eight years later at Seneca Falls. The female anti-slavery societies that Mott was involved in were some of the only such racially integrated organizations.



In the true marriage relation, the independence of the husband and the wife is equal; their dependence mutual, and their obligations reciprocal

*Lucretia Mott
1878*

Mott believed that women had natural talents equal to men, but that their poor education and low expectations prevented them from living up to their potential. She was an outspoken inspiration to other women activists, like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who wrote that "I had never heard a woman talk what... I had scarcely dared to think... but when at last I saw a woman rise up in the pulpit and preach as earnestly and impressively at Mrs. Mott always does, it seemed to me like the realization of an oft-repeated happy dream."

In addition to tirelessly advocating for the abolition of slavery and for women's suffrage, Mott became a Quaker minister at the age of 25. Her extemporaneous sermons counselled listeners to think for themselves and pursue justice rather than adhere to tradition: "we should learn to take truth for authority and not authority for truth." She continued her ministry until the end of her life, promoting principles of universal goodness and independent thought. The "misrepresentation, ridicule, and abuse" that Mott received for her advocacy of women's rights, in her words, did "not in the least, deter me from my duty."



Mott supported the founding of Swarthmore College and a large collection of her papers are stored in the Friends Historical Library. Digitized for the *In Her Own Right* project, they can be accessed online at <http://inherownright.org/>.

Sojourner Truth (1797-1883)



By Celia Caust-Ellenbogen

design by Lorin Jackson

Sojourner Truth was one of the most influential abolitionists and women's rights activists of the 19th century. Born into slavery around 1797, Truth escaped to freedom, experienced a religious epiphany, and became a travelling preacher and lecturer. She extemporaneously delivered one of the most famous speeches of the 19th century, "Ain't I A Woman?" at a women's rights convention 1851 (although the best known text of the speech is written in a stereotypical Southern dialect, historically inaccurate given Truth's background in Dutch-speaking New York).

In addition to her speaking engagements, Truth employed other activist tactics. She successfully used the legal system, winning several cases against white men - a remarkable feat for a Black woman in the 19th century. She recruited Black troops for the Union Army and worked for freedmen's relief organizations. In the late 1860s, she collected thousands of signatures and petitioned Congress (unsuccessfully) to provide former slaves with land. Since her death in 1883, Truth's impact has been recognized with numerous honors.

Sojourner Truth associated with many Quakers and frequently dressed in plain Quaker-style garb. She once said, referring to the silent style of Quaker worship, "I have always loved the Quakers and would have joined them, only they would not let me sing so I joined the Methodists."

In an 1870 letter digitized for the *In Her Own Right* project, Lucretia Mott wrote that she and Sojourner Truth spoke at a meeting at the Young Men's Christian Union Hall, and that Truth was "going to labor with the colored people of Jersey."





Sarah Mapps Douglass (1806-1882)

By Celia Caust-Ellenbogen

Sarah Mapps Douglass was part of a prominent activist family in Philadelphia's community of free, middle-class African Americans in the 19th century. With Lucretia Mott, she was a founder of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, an organization notable for being interracial in a time when most antislavery organizations were segregated by race and gender. Douglass also established a school for African American girls and was the first African American student at the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania.

Douglass consistently attended Quaker meeting for worship with her family, dressed plainly and lived "in the manner of Friends," and would be considered a Quaker by most modern standards. However, her family encountered racism in most meeting houses and were usually expected to sit at a "back bench" designated for African Americans, separate from white Friends.

There are no extant photographs of Sarah Mapps Douglass, but she was a talented artist and many of her illustrations survive. A selection of her letters are at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections, and she also contributed to a series of friendship albums between Philadelphia-based African American women. These materials can all be found in the *In Her Own Right* database at <http://inherownright.org/>.

Image source:
Martina Dickerson,
Original & selected poetry &c.
Library Company of Philadelphia
(acc. 13859.Q)



Harriet Forten Purvis (1810-1875)

by James Truitt

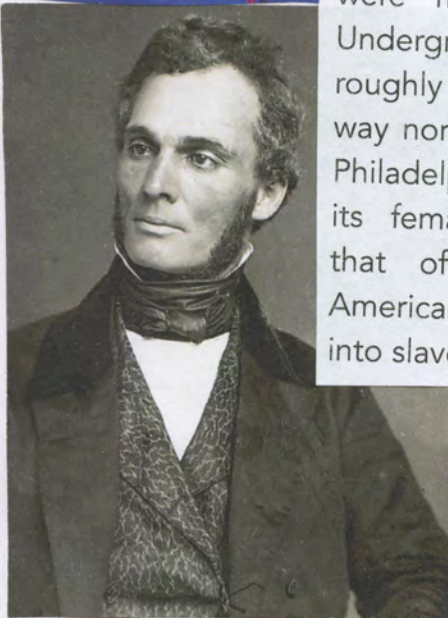


Born into one of Philadelphia's wealthiest Black families, Harriet Forten Purvis fought all her life for the rights of African Americans and women. The daughter of wealthy Black inventor, entrepreneur, and leader James Forten, Harriet received an education rivaling that of Philadelphia's white elites. In 1831 she married Robert Purvis, an ardent African American abolitionist from South Carolina. However, Purvis had no intention of letting her husband upstage her as an activist. In 1833 she joined Lucretia Mott and others to found the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, the first multiracial women's abolitionist group. Purvis took an active part in a number of other abolitionist organizations as well and spearheaded organizing the fifth annual National Woman's Rights Convention in 1854.



Harriet Forten Purvis
by Laura Freeman

Purvis also took more direct actions against slavery. She and her husband were major figures in Philadelphia's Underground Railroad, sheltering roughly 9,000 freedom seekers on their way north. In addition, the couple lead Philadelphia's Vigilance Committee and its female counterpart, organizations that offered protection for African Americans at risk of being kidnapped into slavery.



Robert Purvis

RADICAL

Purvis's activism continued after Emancipation. During the Civil War she joined Octavius Catto in fighting to integrate the city's streetcars, and at the end of 1869 she helped to found the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, which she served on the board of. Purvis was also active in the American Equal Rights Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association. She died of tuberculosis in 1875.

Graceanna Lewis (1821-1912)

by James Truitt



Graceanna Lewis was a Quaker naturalist, science educator, abolitionist, and social reformer.



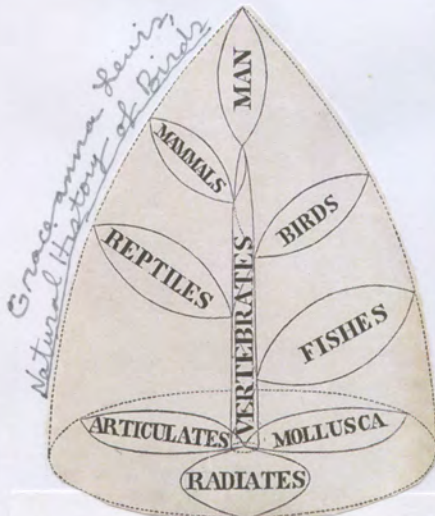
Lewis dedicated her early life to the antislavery movement and sheltered freedom seekers on the Underground Railroad. She also was committed to promoting women's rights, serving as an officer of the Media Women Suffrage Association.

mural at 1025 Hamilton St. by Old Broads

While Lewis never married, she was an intimate friend of Mary Townsend (1811 - 1851), another Quaker abolitionist and naturalist who wrote *The Antislavery Alphabet* and *Life in the Insect World*. Lewis and Townsend loved each other deeply, but their relationship, as well as their collaboration as scientists and

reformers, was cut short by Townsend's

early death.



Ceterus graceannae from Lewis 1883 plate 11

Her attention was otherwise largely devoted to the sciences, especially ornithology and botany, and in 1870 she was elected to the Academy of Natural Sciences. Sexism prevented her from reaching the heights of the scientific profession, but Lewis was able to support herself through lectures, teaching positions, and scientific illustration. One of her main projects was a series of charts mapping the diversification of life, and Lewis argued for women's equality (or even superiority) on evolutionary grounds.





Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911)

By Wendy E. Chmielewski

design by Susanna McGrew

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was an author, poet, abolitionist, lecturer, and supporter of women's rights. Born in Baltimore, Maryland to free parents, Harper grew up in a family dedicated to education and abolition. Her love of reading and education inspired Harper to write *Forest Leaves*, her first book of poetry, at the age of 21.



In the mid 1850s, Harper moved to Philadelphia and worked with William Still and his family to assist people who had escaped slavery via the Underground Railroad. Throughout the decade, Harper published poems and stories about slavery, racism, and their effects on African American families in the African American press and in anti-slavery newspapers. With her success as a writer, Harper was hired as a lecturer for the American Anti-slavery Society. During Reconstruction, she moved South to work with the newly freed people in education efforts and continued to give lectures to large audiences.

In 1866 Harper attended a national women's rights convention, where she challenged her mostly white audience to understand racial prejudice and to support the rights of African American women. Harper's work on women's rights continued through the American Woman Suffrage Association and with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

During her life, Harper published several books of poetry, articles, short stories, and three novels. Harper's work dealt with serious social issues of her day, including education for women, passing as white by mixed raced people, reconstruction, temperance, racial prejudice, women's rights, and peace. Social justice and religious belief were also among Harper's literary themes.



Belva Lockwood (1830-1917)

by Chloe Lucchesi-Malone
design by Pam Harris

First Woman on Official Presidential Ballot
In 1884, Belva Lockwood appeared on an official ballot and ran a full-fledged campaign for president of the United States, even though as a woman she did not have the right to vote.

First Woman at the Supreme Court
Belva Ann Lockwood, born in 1830, lived in a time when women possessed limited rights, but she never let that hold her back. She blazed a trail for women to succeed in professional spheres typically dominated by men becoming the first woman member of the U.S. Supreme Court bar.

Woman on Wheels

When Belva Lockwood started working as a lawyer in Washington, D.C., she noticed her male counterparts speeding up their work by delivering documents on bicycles. Undeterred by gender standards, Lockwood got her own tricycle to travel around the city and conduct business creating a great deal of controversy. Her papers can be found in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, read them at <http://inherownright.org/>.

Mariana Wright Chapman (1843-1907)

by Pam Harris

"Do we not see more and more clearly, the older we grow, that not any one reform shall set the world upon its feet, but it must be all the forces for good working together, each propelled by its special advocates, and as much as possible, each holding out to the other the right hand of fellowship."

– Mariana Wright Chapman

After raising five children, New York native and birthright Quaker, Mariana Wright Chapman turned her focus to activism realizing that "without a woman's voice the state was deprived of the counsel of those best suited to represent the interests of the family". President of the New York State Society for Woman's Suffrage, and member of the New York League for Political Education, she was also an active in the cause of prison reform and the peace movement. In Her Own Right contains her correspondence, including with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

The work of suffrage was demanding, requiring travel, debate, and an in-depth understanding of legislative law, yet Chapman was indefatigable. Even her adversaries loved her. "She was a person of remarkable character; charming to look at, with a sweet placid self-possessed dignity, yet entirely without reserve. Her manner of speaking was convincing; her language well-chosen and beautifully correct; each word and syllable distinct and clear. She never stooped to sensationalism to make an impression but used a rather sweet persuasiveness very like the celebrated worker in the same lines, Mrs. Lucretia Mott into whose footsteps Mrs. Chapman almost seemed to walk."

By Celia Caust-Ellenbogen

Anna J. Cooper (1858-1964)



"Only the BLACK WOMAN can say when and where I enter in the quiet undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence or special patronage; then and there the whole Negro race enters with me." - Anna J. Cooper, *A Voice from the South*, 1892

Known as "the mother of Black Feminism," Anna Julia Cooper was an activist, educator, and public intellectual whose work took an intersectional approach to understanding racist, sexist, classist, colonialist, and other oppressions. Her seminal work of 1892, *A Voice from the South*, was incisive in its critiques, particularly of the racism of the White woman's suffrage movement. Cooper promoted the importance of education and communal care as remedies to structural oppression.

JUNE 2020 REAL SIMPLE 77

Born enslaved, Anna J. Cooper went on to become the fourth African American woman to receive a Ph.D. She worked as an educator most of her life, giving frequent public talks on women's rights, African American issues, and the topics of her scholarship. The *In Her Own Right* project includes two letters by Cooper, both sent to Anna M. Jackson, a New York-based Quaker who was active in African American education as well as prison reform and other causes. Read them at <http://inherownright.org/>.



Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922)

By: Lorin Jackson

"The chief means of happiness is complete independence."

Pandita Ramabai Saraswati was born into the upper caste Brahmin family in India in the mid 1800s. Her work and contributions to women's rights defied her conventional class expectations, though. She was a fierce scholar, feminist, and educator.

Like her fellow suffragette sisters, Ramabai traveled around her home country of India and around the world providing lectures about the rights of women. She believed women deserved to be educated. She, herself, taught the Indian languages of Sanskrit, as well as Marathi.



When Ramabai was 29 in the United States in 1887, her significant work "The High Caste Hindu Woman," was published in English. It focused on the plight of Hindu widows — she called widowhood "the worst and most dreaded period of a high-caste woman's life." Widowed Hindu women were subjected to physical, as well as sexual violence, among other societal oppression. Her accounts were so moving that they led to women's groups supporting her mission by forming the American Ramabai Association with dozens of chapters to offer support to her financially.

Proceeds from her successful lectures and financial support, led to her founding the Sharada Sadan (Home of Learning) center in 1889 in Bombay, India. This was a shelter that offered widowed women a place to study and learn essential skills. The home is still active today.



Notably, Ramabai recognized the parallels between her identity, and the societal oppression of Native Americans and Black Americans. Emily Howland, a white Quaker who established schools for formerly enslaved people in the South, met Ramabai in 1886 and the two maintained a correspondence afterwards. Howland introduced Ramabai to Harriet Tubman. Approvingly, Ramabai wrote to her daughter to emulate Tubman's example.

Ramabai's correspondence with Howland and several photographs, held at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, were digitized for the *In Her Own Right* project.

By Celia Caust-Ellenbogen



1920: Swarthmore Women Fight for the 19th Amendment

Alice Paul is well-known as a leader in the fight for the 19th Amendment. After witnessing radical tactics and dramatic theatricality in the British women's suffrage movement, she was influential in bringing those tactics here to the US and adapting them. She planned a massive parade in 1913; organized the Silent Sentinels who picketed daily outside Wilson's White House; and was one of the women who endured arrest and went on hunger strikes in prison to draw attention to the cause.

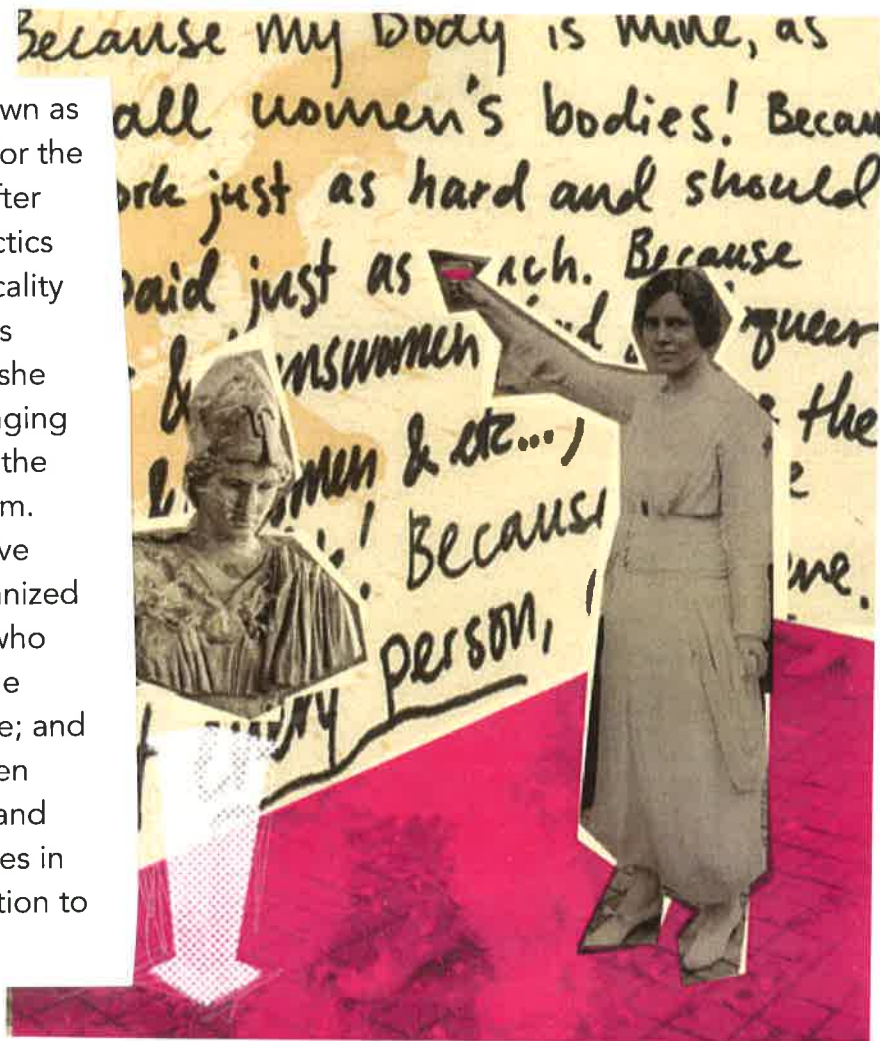


Illustration by Merrick Angle from the *Swarthmore College Bulletin*

Paul, from a New Jersey Quaker family, attended Swarthmore College worked closely with former classmates Mabel Vernon '06 and Amelia Himes Walker '02 on the Silent Sentinels and other tactics. Other Swarthmore generations were also involved in the cause - from Ellen H. Evans Price '74, president of the Pennsylvania Equal Suffrage League; to Marion Nicholl Rawson '98 on the Connecticut Women Suffrage Association's Executive Board; and Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon '13, who moved to New York, then South Dakota, then Virginia, to promote ratification in each state.

THE PHOENIX

Vol. XXXII.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE, TWELFTH MONTH, 3rd, 1912

No. 12

**WHY I AM FOR
EQUAL SUFFRAGE**

"Swarthmore is growing to be an Equal Suffrage College," a 1912 special issue of the *Phoenix* dedicated to suffrage noted. This seems natural, as Swarthmore was one of the first coeducational colleges in the United States. Prof. Robert C. Brooks, founder of the Swarthmore Men's Equal Suffrage League, based his support of the cause in the observation that the women in his classes were the intellectual equals of the men in his classes. After the 19th amendment passed, the *Phoenix* noted that women outnumbered men in political science classes for the first time in the fall 1920 semester.

The Woman Suffrage League of Swarthmore has planned this edition of the *Phoenix* because we think it is high time that college men and college wo-

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What we need now is that the girls here at college declare themselves one way or another. Don't say, "I don't know enough about Equal Suffrage to decide whether I believe in it or not."

**SOME SWARTHMORE MEN
JOIN WOMEN'S WAR
IN SUFFRAGE AGITATION**

**SWARTHMORE MEN
JOIN WOMEN'S WAR**
Men Form Women's Suffrage
League

Alice Paul never married, and she didn't have an intimate relationship with any one woman, but she maintained an extremely close-knit network of female friends. In 1942, Mabel Vernon met Consuelo Reyes, a Costa Rican woman. The two shared an apartment from 1951 until Vernon's death in 1975 - she was recognized in Vernon's obituaries as her "devoted companion." Reyes was an activist in her own right, promoting women's liberation, peace, and notable Costa Rican and Guatemalan women through her writing, audiovisual production work, and activist organizing.



Anna Garlin Spencer (1851-1931)

By Wendy E. Chmielewski

design by Susanna McGrew

Anna Garlin Spencer was the first woman minister in Rhode Island, ordained in 1891. Spencer's interest in social issues and educational issues developed through the new field of social work. Spencer wrote magazine articles and books on women's social issues, concentrating especially on prostitution and the need for sex education in high schools and colleges. She held several academic posts, including teaching at the University of Chicago and at Columbia University.



Spencer was one of the founding members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom with Jane Addams, and later served as the first president of the U.S. Section.

Spencer joined the Rhode Island Suffrage Association in 1868 at the age of 17, and eventually becoming an officer of the organization. She spoke at conventions of the National Woman Suffrage Association, and was a supporter of Susan B. Anthony. Spencer was also active with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and worked on the organization's support for woman suffrage.



Jane Addams (1860-1935)

*By Wendy E. Chmielewski
design by Susanna McGrew*

Jane Addams, author, activist, and public intellectual, was the first U.S. woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize (1931). With a college friend, Addams founded Hull House in Chicago in 1889. It was one of the first settlement houses in the U.S., providing community services, healthcare, childcare, libraries, meeting spaces for political organizations, and much more to immigrant neighborhoods in the city. At a time when poor communities received few city services, or had little political representation, Hull House became an essential center for the surrounding community.



Addams dedicated the last 20 years of her life to international peace efforts. Along with others, she founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1915 and served as the first international president of WILPF.

The women who founded WILPF integrated votes for women into the organization's policies. Addams served as vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1911 to about 1915, and was an influential voice in suffrage efforts in Illinois.

For most of her adult life Jane Addams lived with a woman companion, Mary Rozet Smith. The two women traveled and vacationed together, and their relationship was well-known among their colleagues. Their letters reveal that they shared a loving, intimate, and nurturing long-term relationship.

Ida B. Wells (1862-1931)



"Ida B. Wells-Barnett was a prominent journalist, activist, and researcher, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In her lifetime, she battled sexism, racism, and violence. As a skilled writer, Wells-Barnett also used her skills as a journalist to shed light on the conditions of African Americans throughout the South.

Ida Bell Wells was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi on July 16th, 1862. She was born into slavery during the Civil War. Once the war ended Wells-Barnett's parents became politically active in Reconstruction Era politics. Her parents instilled into her the importance of education.

In 1893, Wells-Barnett, joined other African American leaders in calling for the boycott of the World's Columbian Exposition. The boycotters accused the exposition committee of locking out African Americans and negatively portraying the black community. In 1895, Wells-Barnett married famed African American lawyer Ferdinand Barnett. Together, the couple had four children. Throughout her career Wells-Barnett, balanced motherhood with her activism.

Wells-Barnett traveled internationally, shedding light on lynching to foreign audiences. Abroad, she openly confronted white women in the suffrage movement who ignored lynching. Because of her stance, she was often ridiculed and ostracized by women's suffrage organizations in the United States. Nevertheless, Wells-Barnett remained active in the women's rights movement. She was a founder of the National Association of Colored Women's Club which was created to address issues dealing with civil rights and women's suffrage. Although she was in Niagara Falls for the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), her name is not mentioned as an official founder. Late in her career Wells-Barnett focused on urban reform in the growing city of Chicago."

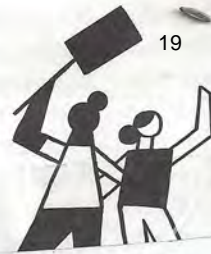
From:

<https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/ida-b-wells-barnett>

design by Lorin Jackson

Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954)

By: Lorin Jackson



Mary Eliza Church Terrell is a famous Black suffragist who is a graduate of Oberlin College who attained both a Bachelor's and Master's degree there. Her parents were born into slavery, while Terrell was born free. Even though her father has been born into slavery, he defied the odds to become one of the South's first Black millionaires.

1826 - 18th St N.W.
Washington D.C.
November Twenty Seventh 1914



Terrell's activism began after a friend of hers, Thomas Moss, was lynched in 1892. She joined with Ida B. Wells-Barnett in campaigning against lynching. She helped found the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in 1896 and served as president of the association from 1896 to 1901. In addition to the NACW, Terrell was also a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909.

Notably in 1940, she published an autobiography titled, "A Colored Woman in a White World," narrating her experiences of discrimination and injustice. She would go on to be staunchly involved in activist campaigns against segregation.



Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955)

"The daughter of former slaves, Mary Jane McLeod Bethune became one of the most important black educators, civil and women's rights leaders and government officials of the twentieth century. The college she founded set educational standards for today's black colleges, and her role as an advisor to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave African Americans an advocate in government.

Born on July 10, 1875 near Maysville, South Carolina, Bethune was one of the last of Samuel and Patsy McLeod's seventeen children. After the Civil War, her mother worked for her former owner until she could buy the land on which the family grew cotton. By age nine, Bethune could pick 250 pounds of cotton a day.

A champion of racial and gender equality, Bethune founded many organizations and led voter registration drives after women gained the vote in 1920, risking racist attacks. In 1924, she was elected president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and in 1935, she became the founding president of the National Council of Negro Women. Bethune also played a role in the transition of black voters from the Republican Party—"the party of Lincoln"—to the Democratic Party during the Great Depression.

From:

<https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/mary-mcleod-bethune>



Hannah Bailey (1893-1923)

By Wendy E. Chmielewski

Hannah Clark Johnston Bailey was a Quaker minister and peace activist. In the 1890s she served as the president of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association. Bailey was also a member of national suffrage organizations, including the National Council of Women and the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

From the 1880s onward Bailey worked with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an organization which supported suffrage for women so they could pass laws to prevent alcoholism. Bailey was the leader of the U.S. and international WCTU's peace efforts. As head and business manager of the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, the publishing arm of the WCTU, Bailey edited two magazines which promoted the organization's goals, *The Pacific Banner*, for adults and *The Acom*, a children's magazine.



Bailey's many other reform interests included the influence of militarism on children, reform of women's prisons, and the abolition of capital punishment. She also served as an officer of the Universal Peace Union and was a representative to the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration.

By Celia Caust-Ellenbogen



1920-2020: Shortcomings of the 19th Amendment

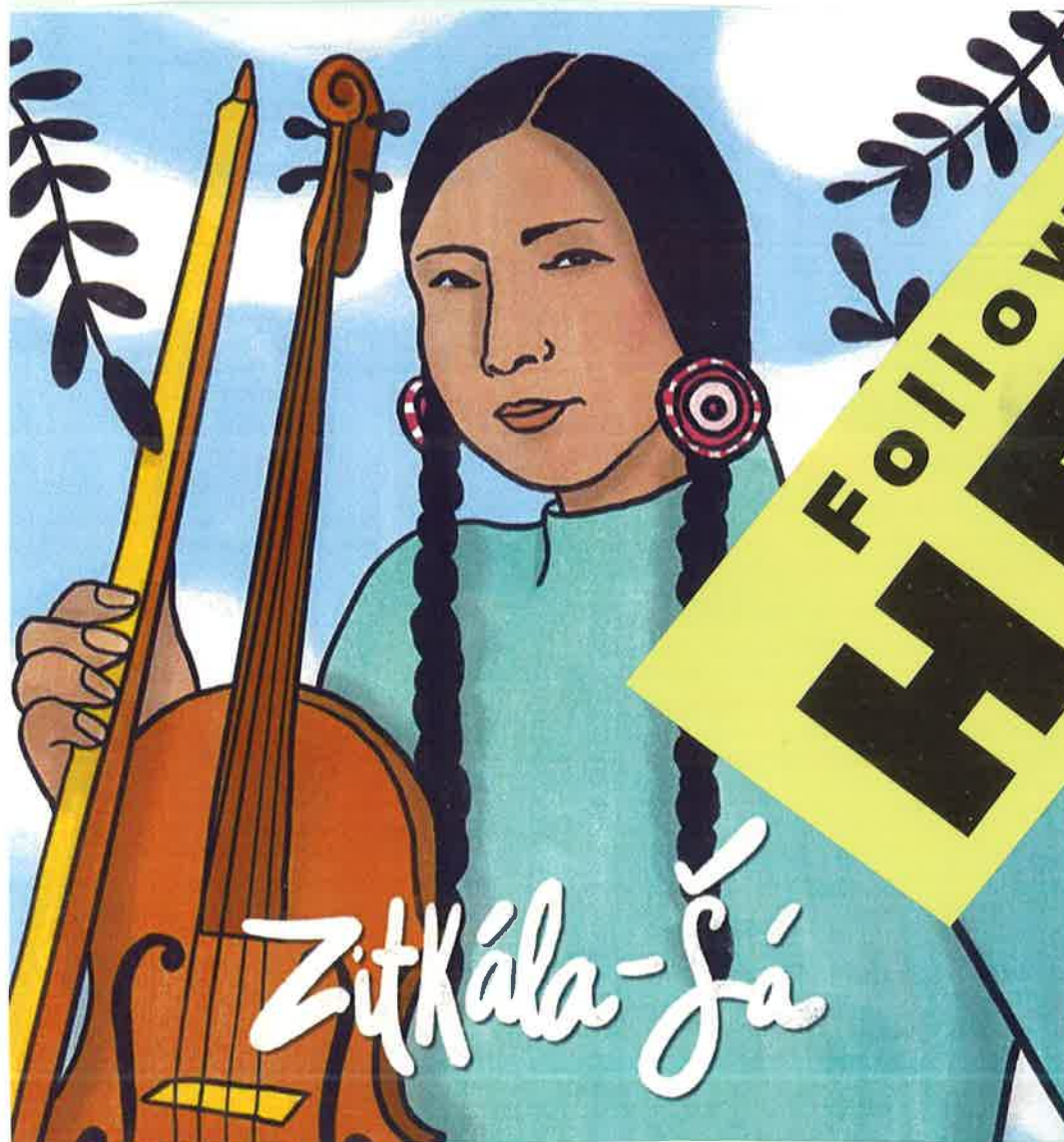
While the 19th Amendment purported to award voting rights to American women, in reality many American women were barred from voting. Until 1952, American women of Asian descent were prevented from voting because federal policy barred them becoming U.S. citizens and having the right to vote. Obstacles such as poll taxes and bogus literacy tests blocked women of color, especially Black women, from voting, particularly in the South, until the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act. Native American women still faced a variety of barriers to voting in the wake of the 19th Amendment, and some of these challenges continue to exist today. Most recently, a Native American Voting Rights Act (H.R. 1694) was introduced to U.S. Congress in March 2019. In nearly every state, incarcerated women are denied the right to vote. In more than half of states, they do not regain that right even after release from prison, until the end of parole, probation, or even longer. Because people of color are incarcerated at disproportionate rates, these policies have an outsized impact on communities of color.

Illustration by Emmanuel Sofolawe



Fannie Lou Hamer was one of the most passionate and powerful voices of the civil and voting rights movements. She was also a leader in the fight for greater economic opportunities for African Americans. Fannie was not just the inspiration for Project HOME's fight for equality, but also for our motto, "None of us are home until all of us are home."

One of the most powerful voices for Native American women's rights was Zitkála-Šá (1876-1938), also known as Red Bird or Gertrude Simmons Bonnin. A Yankton Dakota Sioux writer and activist, she attended an Indian Boarding School and Earlham College, both run by Quakers. Her negative experiences there informed her later activism criticizing the Indian Boarding School movement, lobbying for Native American rights, and celebrating both traditional and contemporary Native American culture.



Shortly after the passage of the 19th Amendment, Zitkála-Šá joined the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1921 and created an Indian Welfare Committee under its auspices a few years later. She fought powerfully for the passage of the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, which conferred granted citizenship to all Natives born in America, and with that, the right to vote. However, states continued to deny voting rights to Native Americans - particularly those living on reservations - and Zitkála-Šá agitated for full voting rights for the rest of her life.

Timeline of Voting Rights in the United States

by Kerry Kristine McElrone

design by Susan Dreher

For the complete timeline go to:

<https://guides.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/19th-amendment-centennial>



1776-1807

Women in New Jersey had equal voting rights if “they could credibly declare they had property worth 50 pounds.”

1870-1965

Poll taxes, literary tests, violence and other intimidation tactics are employed to implicitly deny the vote for non-whites.

1848

The first Women’s Rights Convention takes place in Seneca Falls, New York, as a result of a tea party hosted ten days prior by Jane Hunt for fellow Quakers Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia and Martha Wright, and Mary Ann McClintock.

1866

The American Equal Rights Association was founded by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, with the stated goal of suffrage for all regardless of gender or race.

1868

Gender is mentioned in The Fourteenth Amendment, which defines eligible voters as “male citizens” over twenty-one years old.

1870

The 15th Amendment declares “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.” It does not broaden rights to non-males as previously identified in the 14th Amendment.

1872

Sojourner Truth demands a ballot at a Michigan polling place. She is turned away.

1876

Native Americans continue to be denied the vote by the Supreme Court & the 14th Amendment, as they are not considered citizens--despite the fact that the U.S. Constitution delineated branches of government according to the model set by the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace. The Senate acknowledged this influence in 1987 with a special resolution.

1890

Wyoming is the first state to include legislation in its constitution for women's voting rights. Twenty years earlier, Louisa Swain of Laramie cast the first documented vote by a woman in Wyoming.

1893

The week-long World's Congress of Representative Women was held in Chicago at The World's Fair. Nearly 500 women from 27 countries spoke.



1913

The Woman's Suffrage Procession, the first national women's march, is held in Washington D.C. It was organized by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns.

1917

The first woman was sworn in to Congress: Jeannette Rankin of Montana.

1920

Congress ratifies the 19th Amendment, guaranteeing all American women the right to vote in state and federal elections.

1924

Writer, musician, composer, lecturer, and activist Zitkála-Šá, or Red Bird, also known as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, is instrumental in the passage of the Indian Citizenship Bill. The bill granted United States citizenship to Native Americans, but did not grant them the right to vote per states' rights, despite the 15th and 19th Amendments.



1952

Asian-Americans are granted the right to vote by the McCarran-Walter Act after nearly a century of being denied citizenship.

1964

Patsy Mink of Hawaii is elected to Congress. A third-generation Japanese-American, she is the first female U.S. Representative of Asian-American descent as well as the first woman of color to sit in the House.

1965

The Voting Rights Act prohibits, nationwide, the denial or abridgment of the right to vote on account of race or color.

1975

A third extension of the Voting Rights Act removes barriers for so-called "language minorities" like LatinX & Native populations.

1984

Geraldine Ferraro joins Walter Mondale's Democratic ticket as the first female and Italian American vice-presidential nominee representing an American major political party.

2016

Hillary Rodham Clinton wins the Democratic Party nomination as the first woman to be nominated for president of the United States, and is the first woman to win the popular vote in a presidential election.

2017

Lisa Blunt Rochester is the first woman and the first African American to represent Delaware in Congress.

2018

More than 100 women are sworn into the 116th House of Representatives. Ninety-one are part of the House Democratic Caucus: the largest number of women ever in a party Caucus in the United States Congress.

2019

Kyrsten Sinema was elected as Arizona's first female and first openly bisexual Senator.

2020

Kamala Harris joins the Democratic Presidential ticket as the Vice-Presidential nominee. She is the first Black and South Asian American woman chosen for national office by a major political party, and the first person of Indian descent to appear on a presidential ticket.





Credits & Contributors

This zine is the culmination of two years of intensive work at Swarthmore on the *In Her Own Right* project, a multi-institutional digitization project focusing on documentation of women's activism, 1820-1920. <http://inherownright.org>

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Section authors and designers are: Wendy E. Chmielewski, Pam Harris, Lorin Jackson, Chloe Lucchesi-Malone, Kerry Kristine McElrone, Susanna McGrew '20, and James Truitt. Susanna McGrew '20 received a 2020 Moore Student Fellowship supporting research in the Friends Historical Library and Peace Collection. She infused creativity into converting her fellowship research into a zine entry! Susan Dreher pitched in with design work and oversight. I must acknowledge the monumental contributions of Lorin Jackson, who wrote and designed several entries as well as created the beautiful front and back cover. Moreover, her past zine work inspired the project and she provided resources to get us started. This project could not have happened without her!

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Celia Caust-Ellenbogen, editor



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