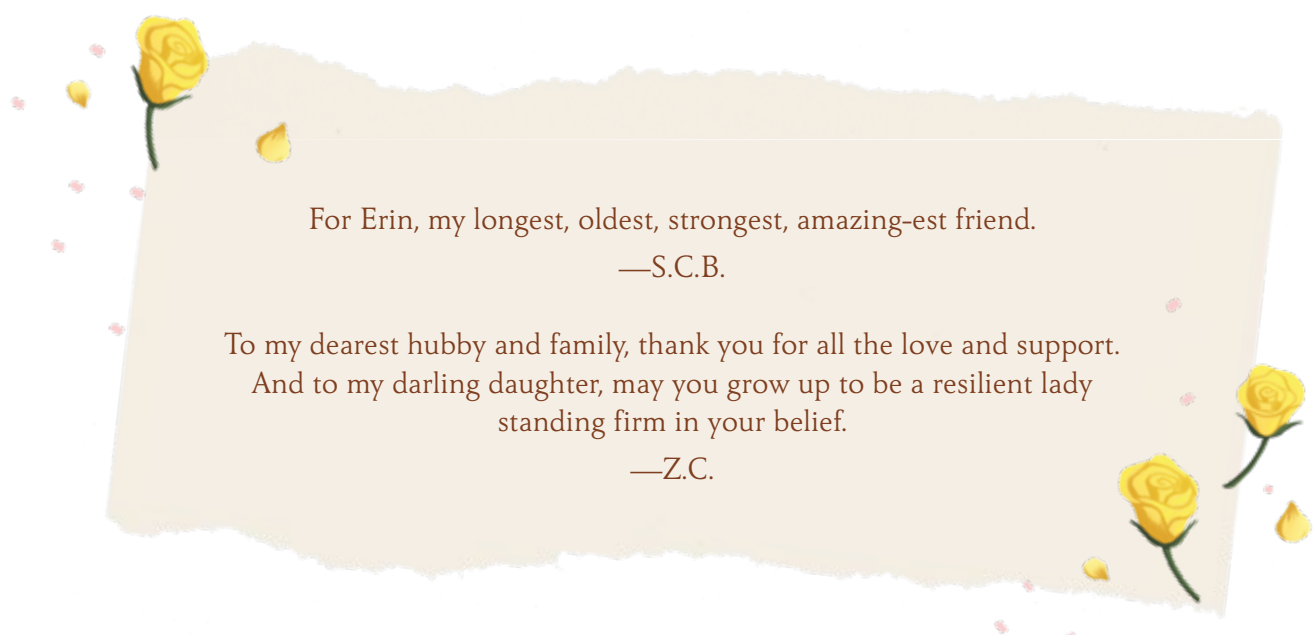


HOW WOMEN WON THE VOTE

ALICE PAUL, LUCY BURNS, AND THEIR BIG IDEA

Susan Campbell Bartoletti • illustrated by Ziyue Chen





For Erin, my longest, oldest, strongest, amazing-est friend.

—S.C.B.

To my dearest hubby and family, thank you for all the love and support.
And to my darling daughter, may you grow up to be a resilient lady
standing firm in your belief.

—Z.C.

How Women Won the Vote: Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and Their Big Idea

Text copyright © 2020 by Susan Campbell Bartoletti

Illustrations copyright © 2020 by Ziyue Chen

All rights reserved. Manufactured in China.

No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address HarperCollins Children's Books, a division of HarperCollins Publishers, 195 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

www.harpercollinschildrens.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bartoletti, Susan Campbell, author. | Chen, Ziyue, illustrator.

Title: How women won the vote : Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and their big idea / Susan Campbell Bartoletti ; illustrated by Ziyue Chen.

Description: First edition. | New York : HarperCollins, 2020. | Audience: Ages 8–12 | Audience: Grades 7–9 |

Summary: "A history of the iconic first women's march in 1913 and the suffragists who led the way to passing the 19th amendment"— Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019027293 | ISBN 978-0-06-284130-8 (hardcover)

Subjects: LCSH: Women—Suffrage—United States—History—Juvenile literature. | Suffragists—United States—Juvenile literature. | Feminism—United States—History—Juvenile literature.

Classification: LCC JK1898 .B37 2020 | DDC 324.6/23097309041—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019027293>

The artist used pencil, Procreate, and Adobe Photoshop to create the digital illustrations for this book.

Typography by Chelsea Donaldson and Honee Jang

20 21 22 23 24 SCP 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



First Edition

BEFORE ALICE MET LUCY

A Timeline of Significant Suffrage Events in the United States

- Blue=US or UK events
- Purple=Suffrage events
- Green=Alice events
- Red=Lucy events

July 19–20: The first Woman's Rights Convention takes place in Seneca Falls, New York. The fight begins for better educational and work opportunities, equal pay, property rights, marriage reform, and voting rights.

The American Civil War takes place. Women put suffrage work on hold and devote their time and energy toward war work.

The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) is formed. The Territory of Wyoming grants full voting rights to women.

- The National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA) petitions Congress for equal suffrage and requests that women be heard on the floor of Congress.
- Two hundred black women dress in men's clothing and vote in Johnson County, North Carolina.

At the July 4th Centennial Program at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Susan B. Anthony and other NWSA leaders pass out flyers titled "The Declaration of the Rights of Women of the United States." Ninety-four black women ask to add their names to the Declaration. The NWSA does not add their names.

July 28: Lucy Burns is born in Brooklyn Heights, New York, to Edward and Ann Burns. Lucy has three older sisters and will be the fourth of eight children.

October 23–24: Nearly a thousand people, including Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass, attend the National Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester, Massachusetts. Suffragists begin to organize national state and local meetings.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony form the American Equal Rights Association. Its goal is equal suffrage for all, regardless of gender or race.

The territory of Utah grants full voting rights to women.

Susan B. Anthony is arrested and fined \$100 for voting. Elsewhere, fifteen women are arrested for voting. Sojourner Truth is turned away at a polling booth in Battle Creek, Michigan.

A Woman Suffrage Amendment is proposed and later defeated in the US Congress.

The territory of Washington grants full voting rights to women.

1848

1850

1861–1865

1866

1869

1870

1871

1872

1876

1878

1879

1883

Lucy graduates from the Packer Institute. She enrolls in Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York.

Utah becomes a state and restores woman suffrage. Idaho also grants women suffrage.

NWSA and AWSA merge, forming the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

Wyoming is admitted as a state to the Union.

January 11: Alice Stokes Paul is born to William and Tacie Stokes Paul in Mt. Laurel, New Jersey. Alice will have two younger brothers and a sister.

Carrie Chapman Catt becomes president of NAWSA.

Mary Church Terrell, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and others form the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. The NACWC is dedicated to improving the lives of African Americans and safeguarding their civil and political rights.

Colorado grants women suffrage.

Alice attends the Moorestown Friends School in Moorestown, New Jersey.

Lucy Burns attends the all-girls Packer Collegiate Institute.

Congress revokes the right of women to vote in Utah.

Sixteen-year-old Alice enters Swarthmore College near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1901

1900

1899

1896

1896

1893

1891

1890

1890

1890

1887

1885

Lucy graduates from Vassar College.

Lucy continues her graduate studies in etymology at Yale University Graduate School in New Haven, Connecticut.

Alice graduates from Swarthmore College and studies social work at the New York School of Philanthropy on the Lower East Side in New York City. For the first time, Alice sees what it's like to live in poverty.

Lucy quits teaching. She sails to Germany, where she studies linguistics at the University of Berlin and then the University of Bonn.

- Spring: Alice earns a master's degree in social work from the University of Pennsylvania.
- Summer: Alice moves to Berlin, Germany, and studies at the University of Bonn.
- Fall: Alice studies at Woodbrooke Study Center in Birmingham, England, and works at a settlement house.
- December: Alice attends her first suffrage event, sponsored by the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU).

- June 21: Alice attends a large suffrage rally in London. The next month Alice marches in two parades and attends weekly meetings.
- Fall: Alice enrolls in the London School of Economics.

Alice sells newspapers on street corners for the suffrage cause.

- Lucy enrolls in the doctoral program at Oxford University in London, England, to study linguistics.
- After attending a suffrage meeting, Lucy quits Oxford and joins the Woman's Social and Political Union (WSPU).

June 29: Alice and Lucy line up at Caxton Hall in London. They join two hundred women in a protest march to Parliament.

Alice's father, William Paul, dies from pneumonia.

Lucy teaches high school English and coaches basketball at Erasmus Hall, a public school in Brooklyn, New York.

Alice earns a certificate in social work from the New York School of Philanthropy.

1902

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1906

1907

1908

1909

1909

SOURCES & NOTES

For anyone wishing to dive deeper into the story of Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and the brave women who won the vote, I recommend Mary Walton's *A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2016) and J. D. Zahniser and Amelia Fry's *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Alice's personality and passion for the suffrage cause shine in her letters to her long-suffering mother, Tacie Paul. The Alice Paul Papers are housed at the Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and available online, <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/8/resources/5012>. And don't miss hearing Alice herself in a conversation with Amelia Fry, at www.alicepaul.org/audio-interview/.

Below you'll find full citations for sources and attributions for instances of direct quotes, indirect quotes, paraphrased quotes, or a person's thoughts or feelings, as well as notes to extend or deepen a discussion. Enjoy! I did.

Page 7. *Wear your heaviest . . . protect your body*: Alice Paul, "Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment," interview by Amelia R. Fry, 48–49. Transcript available at www.alicepaul.org/audio-interview/

Page 8. "La Marseillaise": Estelle Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette: the history of the women's militant suffrage movement, 1905–1910* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1911), 384. To the tune of the French anthem, British suffragettes wrote the "Women's Marseillaise." The 1908 protest song begins with the words "Arise! Ye daughters of a land/That vaunts its liberty!/ May restless rulers understand/That women must be free/That women will be free."

Page 8. *Eyes forward!*: *New York Times*, May 4, 1913, 1.

Page 10. *Votes for Women!* and *Shame! Shame!*: Alice Paul, letters to "Mamma," n.d. July 1909, MC 399, Identifier 29, Alice Paul papers.

Page 11. "We have come here": Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 385; Paul, *Conversations*, 48; Paul, letters to "Mamma," n.d. July 1909.

Page 11. "The Prime Minister . . . regrets": Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 385.

Page 12. "Deeds Not Words": Paula Bartley, *Emmeline Pankhurst* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 116.

Page 13. *The crowd shouted*: Paul, letters to "Mamma," n.d. July 1909.

Page 15. "Dear Mamma . . . one awful nightmare": Paul, letters to "Mamma," n.d. July 1909.

Page 15. *But Alice wasn't ready*: Paul, letters to "Mamma," July 10, 1909.

Page 16. "We had thrilling times": Paul, letters to "Mamma," July 10, 1909.

See Alice's letters, July 10 through October 27, 1909, for the quotes and descriptions included here and for her gleeful accounts of her escapades to her much-worried mother. Later, Alice doesn't recall—and then denies—that she climbed onto the St. Andrew Halls roof (see Paul, *Conversations*, xiv, 53). The incident, however, is reported in the *Glasgow Herald*, August 21, 1909, 8.

In her letters home, Alice explains that suffragettes used hunger strikes as a means of nonviolent resistance to a government that treated them as criminals and not as political prisoners exercising their right to petition the government.

Page 16. "I cannot understand": *New York Times*, November 13, 1909, 6. It seems hard to believe that Alice puzzled her mother. As Quakers, Alice and her family did not support violence or war. They believed people are equal and should work to improve society. Some Quakers, including Alice's own ancestors, went to prison when they stood up for their beliefs.

Page 17. "How can you dine": *New York Times*, November 12, 1909, 1.

Page 17. "Votes for Women!": Paul, *Conversations*, 56; *New York Times*, January 21, 1910, 18; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 21, 1910, 1, 7.

Page 18. *This is called a force-feeding*: *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 22, 1910, 1; *New York Times*, December 10, 1909, 1. Today, the American Medical Association and the Red Cross condemn force-feeding a prisoner as a form of torture. In later life, Alice refused to talk about the forced feedings, explaining that she had "vanquished" the past. Alice Paul, "I Was Arrested, Of Course," Interview by Robert Gallagher. *American Heritage*, February 1974, Vol. 25, Issue 2. www.americanheritage.com/alice-paul-i-was-arrested-course.

Page 19. "I hope I will never": Paul, letters to "Mamma," December 27, 1909.

Page 22. "You must resort . . . over there": *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 21, 1910, 1, 7.

Page 23. *Alice grew excited*: Caroline Katzenstein, *Lifting the Curtain* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1955), 44.

Page 25. *Alice and Lucy visited*: Paul, *Conversations*, 63.

Page 26. "hysterical": William Howard Taft, "Votes for Women," *The Saturday Evening Post*, September 11, 1919, 5. "On the whole," wrote Taft, "it is fair to say that the immediate enfranchisement of women will increase the proportion of the hysterical element of the electorate to such a degree that it will be injurious to the public welfare."

Page 26. "a fundamental necessity": Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom: A Call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of a People* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 294.

Page 26. *It's time to take*: Paul, *Conversations*, 63–65.

Page 27. *Alice predicted one year*: Paul, *American Heritage*. Here, Alice explains, "When you're young, when you've never done anything very much on your own, you imagine that it won't be so hard."

Page 28. *The Treasury will not contribute*: Paul, *Conversations*, 65, 72–74; Paul, *American Heritage*.

Page 30. *This woman wanted . . . No other day would do*: Paul, *Conversations*, 72–73; *Hearings*, 128–136. Later, Alice denied difficulty in obtaining the permit (see Paul, *American Heritage*).

Page 30. *You're asking for trouble*, "riff-raff," and "roughscuff": United States. "Suffrage Parade. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia, United States Senate, Sixty-third Congress, Special Session of the Senate, V.1.," HathiTrust, Accessed October 19, 2019. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.rslfb8&view=1up&seq=5>, 131–132.

Page 31. "right to the avenue" . . . Sylvester caved: Paul, *Conversations*, 72–73; *Washington Post*, January 10, 1913, 2.

Page 33. *A Piegan Blackfoot woman*: *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 3, 1913, 8.

Page 34. *In mid-January, a schoolteacher*: Paul, *Conversations*, 133–134; Sidney Roderick Bland, *Techniques of Persuasion: The National Woman's Party and Woman Suffrage, 1913–1919*, PhD diss., George Washington University, 1972, 54–55; Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 63–65; and Mary Walton, "The Day the Deltas Marched into History," *Washington Post*, March 01, 2013. Accessed April 08, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-day-the-deltas-marched-into-history/2013/03/01/eabbf130-811d-11e2-b99e-6baf4ebe42df_story.html

Page 34. *But when black women*: *The Crisis*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (April 1913), 42–43.

Page 34. *Alice offered a compromise*: Paul, *Conversations*, 133–134; Bland, *Techniques of Persuasion*, 53; Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 64. Alice insisted that she, as a Quaker, believed in equality. From her remarks in *Conversations*, however, Alice's failure to act seems to stem from her fear that she'd lose the "many, many, many splendid supporters" who refused to march with black women.

Page 35. "We do not wish": Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power*, 140–141; Walton, "The Day the Deltas Marched."

Page 35. "I shall not march": *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 4, 1913, 3.

Page 35. "The suffrage movement stands" . . . *Let black women*: Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 64; Bland, *Techniques of Persuasion*, 55.

Page 37. "This is a woman's movement": *Washington Post*, February 22, 1913, 1.

Page 37. *Anna Howard Shaw refused . . . parade route*: Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 65–67.

Page 37. *Twice, Alice asked Sylvester . . . Boy Scout*: Paul, *Conversations*, 72–73; *Hearings*, 128–136, 211. See also "What the Boy Scouts Did at the Inauguration," *Boy's Life*, April 1913, 2–4.

Page 39. "If the Illinois women": *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 4, 1913, 3.

Page 45. "I am doing it": *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 4, 1913, 3.

Page 48. *Many smelled like the seedy . . . "sidewalk falls through"*: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 7, 1913, 1; *New York Times*, March 5, 1913, 8; *Hearings*, 7, 28, 31–32, 35, 111, 128–143, 461.

Page 49. "Girls, get out your hat pins": *Hearings*, 456.

Page 54. "Somebody has to make": as quoted in Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 126.

Page 54. *Boycott! Boycott Democrats!*: Paul, *Conversations*, 129; Zahniser and Fry, 194.

Page 54. *Call off the boycott*: Paul, *Conversations*, 326; Zahniser and Fry, 229–230.

Page 57. *Just sit on the stage*: Paul, *Conversations*, 172; Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 141. Inez suffered from pernicious anemia and was too weak to undergo surgery for infected tonsils.

Page 57. "president wilson how long": Stevens, 48.

Page 58. "Why do you oppose": *Suffragist*, July 8, 1917; Zahniser and Fry, 244.

Page 59. "Puerto Rico," "Suffragists," and "We feel we did our duty": *Boston Post*, December 6, 1916, 1, 3; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 6, 1916, 1, 5; *Gazette Times* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), December 6, 1916, 1, 3; *Warren Evening Times* (Pennsylvania), Dec. 6, 1916, 1.

Page 60. "bad manners and mad banners": *Washington Post*, April 23, 1917, 8.

Page 60. "childish": as quoted in Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 154.

Page 60. "Silly women," "crazy," and "pathological": Doris Stevens, *Jailed for*

Freedom (New York: Boni and Liveright, Inc., 1920), 64.

Page 61. "Dear Alice, I wish": as quoted in Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 150.

Page 62. "safe for democracy": Wilson, "Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany (1917)," <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=61&page=transcript>. See also Paul, *Conversations*, 175–176. Alice notes that one woman — Jeannette Rankin — voted against the war. "We told her we thought it would be a tragedy for the first woman ever in Congress to vote for war," said Paul. "That the one thing that seemed to us so clear was that the women were the peace-loving half of the world and that by giving power to women we would diminish the possibilities of war."

Page 63. *We, the women of America*: Stevens 92.

Page 63. "Treason!" "Shame!" . . . "Come on, boys": *New York Times*, June 21, 1917, 1, 2.

Page 64. *Guilty! Pay a twenty-five dollar*: *The Suffragist*, July 21, 1917, 7.

Page 64. "It will merely be": as quoted in Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 192.

Page 65. "Shut up there, you!": as quoted in Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 200.

Page 66. "an act of right and justice": *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.

Page 67. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage": Phoebe Burn, Harry T. Burn Papers, C. M. McClung Historical Collection, Knox County Public Library System, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Page 71. "Alice at last saw her dream realized": Tacie Paul's Scrapbook, Alice Paul Papers, MC 399, Identifier 211.

Page 72. "I have become": Lucy Burns, Eighteenth Annual Bulletin (1931), Vassar University Library Special Collections, 11.

Page 72. "We shall not be safe": <https://www.equalrightsamendment.org/history>. Has your state ratified the ERA? Find out here: <https://www.equalrightsamendment.org/era-ratification-map>



In Illinois, voters from Chicago and Cicero used this wooden box to cast their ballots on the woman suffrage question on April 9, 1912. Illinois would grant women the right to vote on June 12, 1913.

FURTHER READING FOR THE YOUNG ACTIVIST

What Young People Have Done and Can Do

Marching for Freedom: Walk Together, Children, and Don't You Grow Weary by Elizabeth Partridge

Notorious RBG: The Life and Times of Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Young Reader's Edition, by Irin Carmon and Shana Knizhnik

Shaking Things Up: 14 Young Women Who Changed the World by Susan Hood, illustrated by Selina Alko, Sophie Blackall, Lisa Brown, Hadley Hooper, Emily Winfield Martin, Oge Mora, Julie Morstad, Sara Palacios, LeUyen Pham, Erin Robinson, Isabel Roxas, Shadra Strickland, Melissa Sweet

Shall Not Be Denied: Women Fight for the Vote, the Official Companion to the Library of Congress Exhibition, with a foreword by Carla D. Hayden

We Were There, Too! Young People in U.S. History by Phillip Hoose

You Are Mighty: A Guide to Changing the World by Caroline Paul, illustrated by Lauren Tamaki