Catt Hall Review Committee: Final Report

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The mission of the Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy is to review the controversy over the name of Catt Hall and to make recommendations of specific action items that will help bring about closure of the issue.

Closure is defined as establishing open communication, reviewing and considering all relevant information, and taking all reasonable steps to generate a proposal that shows evidence of active and fair consideration of the diverse viewpoints on the issue. This is by no means intended to close or limit dialogue-in a sense "closure" is a process of expansion in that the Committee will encourage different views and freedom of debate on a college campus where people have been impassioned about this issue for a very long time.

The intent is for this process to be a means by which the Iowa State University community can openly and legitimately address this issue. The communication and dialogue will facilitate a sense of closure being developed on an individual basis, and in turn, a larger sense of closure will come about when the community as a whole is able to successfully move on to focus on other pressing issues of diversity and student needs.

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Proposal for the Creation of the Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy

Government of the Student Body
Iowa State University

APPROVED BY THE GSB SENATE, APRIL 1, 1998

Mission Statement

The mission of the Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy is to review the controversy over the name of Catt Hall and to make recommendations of specific action items that will help bring about closure of the issue.

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Purpose

The first and foremost purpose of the Committee is to:

1) Review historical information about Carrie Chapman Catt in an attempt to find out to what extent, if any, her actions were racist, xenophobic, and classist;
2) Investigate the naming process that occurred for Catt Hall to determine whether that process adequately addressed any found historical concerns and included a true diversity of opinions from the university community.

Once these two points have been addressed, the Committee will have the opportunity to consider information about the conflict over the name of Catt Hall that has occurred since the naming process concluded, with the limitation the Committee will not pursue an extensive investigation of general university processes but rather will focus on the specifics of the naming process for Catt Hall and the resulting conflict. It is up to the discretion of the Committee to determine to what extent they wish to pursue this and what is relevant to their findings and purpose in accordance with their mission statement.

The Committee will then:

1) Prepare a proposal for specific action items that will help bring about closure of the issue;
2) Present the proposal to both the Government of the Student Senate and the Office of the President of Iowa State University by the fourth regular Senate meeting of the fall 1998 semester.

The Committee’s proposal may include a recommendation to the President and the university community about the future of the name of Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, but it is recognized that this would not replace the authority of the Advisory Committee on the Naming of Building and Streets. However, the Committee needs to be able to review all pertinent information about the issue, including the process used to select the name for Catt Hall, in order to facilitate a healthy dialogue. In the event that the Committee’s recommendation regards the name of Catt Hall, then
the findings of the Committee and all supporting documentation will be forwarded to the Advisory Committee on the Naming of Building and Streets.

Structure

The Committee will be composed of 14 members plus a chair who will not vote except to break a tie. The composition of this group will be determined to by the following two sets of restrictions, each of which is as equally important and fundamental to the existence of this Committee as the other.

The Committee will be composed of:

- Five current Iowa State University students;
- Three members of the Iowa State University faculty;
- Three members of the Iowa State University administration and staff;
- Three Iowa State University alumni;
- A chair who will be a current Iowa State University student.

The members of the Committee will be selected on the basis of:

1) Opinion on the Catt controversy and degree of vocality on the issue;
2) Gender;
3) Ethnic background and identification with a recognized minority group, such as African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, non-United States citizens, and LGBT;
4) Association with the different curriculums and colleges of Iowa State University;
5) Geographic background and life experiences.

The Committee will be comprised of members that reflect a balance of these priorities.

Representation must also be ensured from groups that have a vested interest in the outcome of this process in order to ensure partial ownership of this process by such groups and to strive towards balance in committee composition. At least two members of these 15 must be affiliated with The September 29th Movement.

Establishment

A selection committee will be composed of two members of the Government of the Student Body Senate, one member of the GSB administration, and two at-large students: Kate Kjergaard, Jamal White, Matt McLaren, Brian Johnson, and Sarah Williams. This committee will have the authority and responsibility to organize the selection process and ultimately identify the members of the Review Committee.

The selection committee will advertise and seek out candidates to serve on the committee. Candidates may also be nominated or recommended by the other parties.

Concerns have been raised about the inclusiveness of processes in the past, and as a result, it is important that continuous efforts be made to include all individuals, groups, and opinions, but most especially those that feel as though they may not have been fully included in the past. As part of this focus, the following groups will be asked to provide both a list of candidates for the Review Committee and a non-voting representative to attend the meetings of the selection committee:

1) the Office of the President of Iowa State University or another designated representative of the university administration;
2) the Faculty Senate;
3) the Iowa State University P & S Council;
4) the Iowa State University Alumni Association;
5) the Office of Minority Student Affairs;
6) the Black Faculty and Staff;
7) the Black Student Alliance;
8) the Latino Student Council;
9) the International Student Council;
10) the Vietnamese Student Association;
11) the American Indian Rights Organization;
12) the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Alliance;
13) the Black Graduate Student Association;
14) Hillel;
15) APAAC;
16) the College of Agriculture;
17) the College of Business;
18) the College of Design;
19) the College of Engineering;
20) the College of Family and Consumer Sciences;
21) the Graduate College;
22) the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences;
23) the College of Veterinary Medicine.

These groups have been identified as a cross section of the university community. By asking them to each assist with the selection process, they are not all necessarily being asked for endorsement of this committee process, but simply involvement as the representative and administrative bodies of Iowa State University.

The selection committee will review the pool of candidates and select the 15 committee members, including a specifically identified chair.

Process

The Committee will meet regularly and conduct as much of its activities as possible during the remainder of the spring 1998 semester. The Committee will not actively meet during summer 1998, however that time can be used for distribution of information and review of materials. The Committee will resume activities as the beginning of the fall 1998 semester by starting to work on its final report with the intention of presenting it at the fourth regular Senate meeting of the semester.

It is critically important that the Committee do as much as possible to seek out opinions and suggestions about the issue from both the student body and the Iowa State University community as a whole during the spring 1998 semester. The Committee will hold at least two open forums on the issue before the end of the semester, and it will devise a method to receive additional feedback—for example, by mail or electronic mail.

The operation of the Committee will be as public as reasonably possible, meaning that the Committee’s meetings will be open to the public unless the Committee specifically decides to close them. The chair of the Committee will be responsible for providing regular information about the status of the process to the GSB Senate, the Office of the President, and the Iowa State community.

The President of the Government of the Student Body will identify a student involved with the GSB Senate or administration to serve as a resource person for the Committee. This person will be an ex-officio, non-voting member of the Committee. Their purpose will be to serve as an active liaison between the Government of the Student Body Senate, the GSB administration, and the Committee; to work with GSB, the university administration, and other necessary bodies to provide resources such as meeting locations, materials, and funding; and to assist the chair of the Committee with scheduling, making information public, and ultimately keeping the process efficient and on track.
List of Contributors

DAN PASKER, Chair
Senior, Ceramic Engineering

VIRGINIA ALLEN
Graduate English Examiner

JOSE AMAYA
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ANTHONY BATEZA
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PAMELA THOMAS
Women’s Center Coordinator

LYNN WELLNITZ
Sophomore, LAS
Committee Statement

The following recommendations and conclusions were reached by consensus:

1. The committee did not arrive at a consensus about whether Catt Hall should be renamed.

2. The committee did not arrive at a consensus about whether the naming process should be reopened.

3. The committee expresses regret that during the course of the controversy, many stereotypes were perpetuated and reinforced throughout the public debate. Stereotyping is always a shorthand approach to reasoning and never satisfactory.

4. Generic bricks in the Plaza of Heroines were used to replace bricks removed by those who chose to bear witness in that way during the controversy. The committee recommends that those generic bricks be replaced by bricks of black granite and that an official letter from the university be sent inviting the individuals involved to insert a personal statement on the official roster of those honored (as the honorees have done) and, if they choose to do so, a statement concerning the removal of those bricks. We further suggest that the letters addressed to these individuals apologize for any misunderstanding and express an assurance that it should go without saying that Iowa State University supports the right of any member of the university community to petition and seek redress.

5. The committee recommends that the Robert W. Parks Library be officially designated as the archival home for materials by and about Carrie Chapman Catt and that the university actively begins to acquire and to make those materials accessible.

6. The committee further recommends that free and open inquiry be encouraged at the Provost level into questions about the extent to which the various branches of the woman suffrage movement may have deliberately or inadvertently contributed to a post-Civil War backlash against African Americans, particularly following the Plessy vs. Fergusen Supreme Court decision in 1896 ("separate but equal"). The committee further recommends that acquisition of primary and secondary materials relevant to this question be given the highest priority by Parks Library.

7. The committee concludes that accusations of poor scholarship and academic dishonesty during the on-going public controversy over the naming of Catt Hall tarnished the reputation of Iowa State University. We recommend that examples of the claims and counter-claims of fair use brought up during the Catt Hall controversy be an integral part of the instruction suggested in our recommendation about improving campus-wide knowledge and understanding of fair use.
8. Individuals on the Catt Review Committee have decided independently to put together a representative collection of the speeches, publications, and newspaper accounts of Carrie Chapman Catt to introduce readers to Catt and to the larger controversy about the woman suffrage movement and race relations in the United States. We recommend that President Jischke encourage and support the publication of that collection. The committee recommends that the ISU Press be offered the right of first refusal to that collection.

9. The interdisciplinary course recommendation: Among the more telling claims of the supporters of the naming of Carrie Chapman Catt Hall has been their claim that some of Catt's remarks have been taken out of context. In teaching history, one is always pulled between the conflicting needs to put the material in context and to provide enough depth into any aspect of a subject to make it understandable in its own right. The only solution to this pedagogical problem is life-long learning: depth and breadth, one at a time, first one then the other, in a constant process of thinking and learning. Therefore, the committee recommends that an undergraduate interdisciplinary course—probably at the 200-level; probably open to graduate students in congruence with a parallel graduate seminar—on the Catt controversy be offered experimentally.

10. The committee recommends that lecture-discussion sessions in the experimental course suggested above could be turned into essays for an edited collection. One or two exemplary student papers should be rewarded with publication. A panel of editor-judges would probably choose the winning essays, and the faculty essays would be subjected to independent peer review on their own merits. Again the committee recommends that this project should be supported and openly encouraged by the university.

11. The committee recommends that an educational exhibit be constructed in Catt Hall that displays information about Carrie Chapman Catt and the Catt Hall naming controversy (see Michael Gartner's response letter dated September 30, 1998). However, we believe it is the university's responsibility to support this effort and not rely on an outside scholar.

12. The committee recommends that University Museums arrange “heritage walks” about people whose names grace our buildings (see Jackie Manatt's response letter dated October 20, 1998).

13. The committee recommends that a plaque be placed at Catt Hall with the following quote from Alice Walker's Anything We Love Can Be Saved: “...it is the awareness of having faults, I think, and the knowledge that this links us to everyone on Earth, that opens us to courage and compassion.” (see Charlotte Nelson's response letter dated October 14, 1998).
Subcommittee Reports
Scholarship on
Carrie Chapman Catt
CHRONOLOGY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

1833

The Female Anti-Slavery Society was formed in Philadelphia; it was believed to be the first woman's organization in the world.

Oberlin College was established admitting women as well as men and all races. Forty-four students entered, fifteen of them, women. This was the first school in the world to offer women a college education.

1834

Prudence Crandall, a Quaker woman of Canterbury, Conn., established a school for girls of color in 1832. After she had been twice arrested, tried and convicted, all shops were closed to her and her students, physicians would not see them, her well was filled with manure, rotten eggs and stones were thrown at her house. Her house was finally set on fire in 1834 and the school closed.

1835

The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society held its annual meeting. Over six thousand men gathered about the hall demanding adjournment of the fifteen to twenty women gathered within. The society adjourned to the home of its President as the mob was growing dangerous.

Eight hundred women of New York petitioned Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This required brave women since it was believed by most that women had no right to petition.

1836

Ernestine L. Rose and Paulina Wright Davis attempted to circulate petitions in New York for property rights for married women, but succeeded in securing only five names. Men said women had too many rights already.

The Female Anti-Slavery Society held a public meeting addressed by women, believed to be the first public meeting managed and addressed by women not Quakers.

1837

John Quincy Adams, in his famous Congressional contest for the "right of petition," introduced several petitions from women for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.
The National Female Anti-Slavery Convention was held in New York City, with seventy-two delegates present—the first representative body of women ever convened.

Angelina Grimke addressed the Legislature of Massachusetts on slavery. A mob gathered because a woman was speaking.

Catherine Beecher published an "Essay on Slavery" with reference to the "Duty of American Females." It was answered by a pastoral letter issued by the general association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts. The letter bitterly condemned all attempts of women to do public work of any kind and especially public speaking. Among other things the association said:

We appreciate the unostentatious prayers and efforts of women in advancing the cause of religion at home and abroad, and in leading religious inquirers to the pastor for instructions, but when she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, our care and protection of her seems unnecessary; we put ourselves in self-defense against her; she yields the power which God has given her for protection, and her character becomes unnatural. We say these things not to discourage proper influence against sin, but to secure such reformation as we believe is Scriptural and will be permanent."

Sarah Grimke entered vigorous protest saying:

The business of men and women who are ordained of God to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to a lost and perishing world is to lead souls to Christ, and not to pastors, for instruction.

John Greenleaf Whittier poured out his indignation and Maria Weston Chapman (an African-American speaker and writer) held the association's letter up to ridicule.

This controversy is believed to have raised the "Woman's Rights" agitation into public notice. From this time it became an important question in the abolition societies.

1838
Mary Gove Nichols gave public lectures on anatomy; the press ridiculed the possibility of any woman understanding the subject.

1839
The American Anti-Slavery Society composed of men and women affirmed by resolution the right of women to labor for abolition, thus sanctioning public work of women.

1840
Seven occupations were open to women—teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in cotton factories, typesetting, bookbinding, and household service.
A division of the Anti-Slavery Society was created over the right of women to hold office and take public part in organized anti-slavery work, a portion of the society repudiating the resolution of the year before.

A World’s Anti-Slavery Convention was held in London, with women delegates from America. After stormy discussion, in which it was vehemently declared that “all order would be at an end” if the women delegates were admitted, it was voted to bar them out. Lucretia Mott, a rejected delegate, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the wife of a delegate, indignant at the treatment the women had received, planned to call a convention upon their return to America, which should consider the status of women and plan a method for improving it.

1841
Three young women, Mary Hosford, Elizabeth S. Prall and Caroline M. Rudd, were graduated at Oberlin with degrees, the first women in the world to bear this honor.

1842
Women students at Troy Seminary reported seeing thick paper pasted over illustrations of the human body in text-books, having been accounted by parents too indecent for women students to observe.

1843
The Legislature of Alabama gave power to married women to make a will.

1844
Control of their own property granted married women of Maine—the first State and the first country to permit such liberty in modern times.

1845
Illinois permitted married women to make a will.

1846
Anaesthetics were discovered, and being used in cases of severe suffering at maternity, brought forth several sermons upon the subject, the clergymen declaring that such relief from pain was contrary to scripture, since pain at maternity was a part of the “Curse.”

1847
Lucy Stone graduated from Oberlin, fourteen years after it had been opened. The same year she began speaking for “woman’s rights” and reported that even though she had had eggs thrown at her, they were fresh and not rotten.

1848
A call for a Woman’s Rights Convention to be held at Seneca Falls, New York was issued without signature by Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and
Mary Ann McClintock. At the appointed hour the Wesleyan Methodist church was filled. A declaration of principles was presented and the convention resolved to inaugurate an organized movement to secure educational opportunities for women, to help women support themselves, to secure the control of the woman’s own property and wages, and to secure their enfranchisement. One hundred men and women signed the declaration, but many soon withdrew their names because of public ridicule.

Emily P. Collins formed the first local suffrage society in the world at South Bristol, New York.

Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell was graduated in medicine at Geneva, New York, the first graduated woman physician in the world. The women at her boarding-house refused to speak to her during her years of study, and on the streets drew aside their skirts if they chanced to meet her, lest they should become contaminated by contact.

**1849**
The power to make a will was granted to married women in Virginia.

**1850**
The first Woman’s Rights Convention was held in Worcester, Mass.

Antoinette Brown was graduated in theology at Oberlin, the first woman in the world to receive a theology degree.

**1851**
The first State Woman’s Rights Society was formed in Indiana.

**1852**
Harriet Beecher Stowe published Uncle Tom’s Cabin. Ten thousand copies sold within a few days. Eight presses were run day and night to supply the demand. It was commonly claimed that the book did more than any one factor to change public sentiment on the slavery question.

Beginning in Maine a wave of interest in temperance societies began to build. By the following year it had lessened, the intensity of the anti-slavery societies driving other movements from the scene.

**1853**
When the “friends of temperance” met in New York; the ten women delegates present were excluded. After their departure, one minister expressed pleasure at being “now rid of the scum of the convention.” The right of women to labor for temperance had become the chief question of the temperance movement, as a decade before it had become the mooted question in the abolition movement.
1854
B. F. Hamilton, a merchant of Saco, Maine, employed a young woman as clerk in his store. Both merchant and clerk were highly respectable, but the store was “boycotted” by the “best women in the town” due to the woman clerk.

1855
Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell married. They were obliged to send thirty miles to secure a minister who would perform the ceremony with the word “obey” omitted. Finding that no law compelled the change of name at marriage, Lucy Stone kept her own.

1856
The power to make a will was granted married women in Rhode Island

1857
The first woman’s hospital in the world was opened in New York by Marion Simons.

1858
Higher education, public speaking and self support were accounted “unwomanly”, and the word “unsexed” was commonly in use.

1859
The power to make a will was granted to married women in Indiana and Wisconsin.

1860
Civil war was declared.
Dorothea Dix was appointed Superintendent of Nurses.
Iowa State University admitted women.
Clara Barton began her work in the field among soldiers; this eventually lead to the Red Cross.
Tenth annual women’s rights convention was held in New York.
Woman’s rights were all but forgotten as the country turned to war.

1861
The Ladies’ Relief Society was formed by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell in New York; afterwards it was developed into the Sanitary Commission. Its service was to provide food, clothing and money for care of the sick.

1862
United States Brewers’ Association organized.
General Spinner appointed seven women clerks in the National Treasury; the appointment brought forth a storm of disapproval.

Organization of Woman’s Loyal League was effected, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president, and Susan B. Anthony as secretary. It circulated millions of tracts and sent nearly 400,000 names on petitions to Congress asking the unconditional emancipation of slaves as a “war measure.”

1863
The Emancipation Proclamation goes into effect.

1865
Civil War ends.

The Thirteenth Amendment was passed which said, “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment from crime whereof the party shall have been convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.” The principles of human rights seemed to be coming to the forefront.

1866
The Fourteenth Amendment was passed. It stamped women as a disfranchised class and placed them in a political status inferior to the one they then occupied. Section 2 of the Amendment read in part:

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 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 proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such a State.

The Fourteenth Amendment presented an option to the South to enfranchise African-American men or reduce representation. It did not give African-American men the right to vote, yet it threatened to punish States if they did not. On the other hand, the Fourteenth Amendment said in no uncertain terms that women were not considered voters under the Constitution.

After the elections of 1866, resulting in an overwhelming Republican victory, a bill was introduced to confer suffrage upon African-American men of Washington D.C. with the qualification of one year’s residence. A motion was made to make the motion apply to women as well, but such a motion was defeated by a vote of nine for and thirty-seven against. Many Senators believed that the nation would not accept two reforms at one time and therefore Black male suffrage must come first.

1867
Congress passed a bill that in all territories to be organized the right to vote should not be denied on the grounds of race.

Horace Greeley wrote to women, "It would be wise and magnanimous in you to hold your claims, though just and imperative, I grant, in abeyance until the Negro is safe beyond peradventure, and your turn will come next."

When the women replied that they had stood with the black man in the Constitution for half a century and it was fitting that the two should pass through the door at the same time to political freedom, Greeley replied that if women persisted, they should expect no helm from him or his paper.

Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony went to Kansas where two suffrage amendments were being debated, one for Black male suffrage and one for woman’s suffrage. Men who had been with the women in their work before and during the war now told the women they were being selfish in their desire for the vote and that this was "the Negro’s hour."

Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass and others would not help the women who had helped them struggle for their causes. Mrs. Stanton said that the loss of friends at the moment when they were the most needed was the hardest experience the suffragists had had to bear.

African-American men were turned against the woman’s suffrage by being told that any support of the women would defeat their own hopes.

United States Brewers’ Association warned political parties that any political figure who was in favor of abstinence would be punished.

1868

The American Equal Rights Association held its annual meeting. The meetings were crowded, but a spirit of dissension prevailed due to the determination of the men advocates of woman suffrage to compel the women to work for African-American male suffrage and to let their own cause go. At political conventions the issues were debated. The New York Herald wrote in July, "The Democrats has a splendid opportunity to take the wind out of the Republican sails on womanhood suffrage against manhood suffrage and for white women especially as better qualified for an intelligent exercise of the suffrage than the thousands of black men just rescued from the ignorance of Negro slavery. The Democratic convention can turn the radical party out of doors upon this issue alone if only bold enough to take strong ground upon it."

Both the Democratic and Republican parties did not support woman suffrage. The term "impartial suffrage" came to be used to denote male African-American suffrage as the words "universal suffrage" could be used to include women.
Congress moves toward a Fifteenth Amendment by giving African-American men the right to vote.

Power to make a will given married women in West Virginia.

1869
At the women’s rights convention several African-American men spoke to the women. All denounced the women for jeopardizing the black man’s chances for the vote. One declared that “God intended the male should dominate the female everywhere.” Abolitionists made similar speeches to the women.

The women’s rights advocates split into two groups over several issues, one being whether to support African-American men in their quest for the ballot since women’s rights did not seem to be getting support from them. The two organizations were The National Woman Suffrage Association led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and The American Woman Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone. The National emphasized a split with the African-American men and emphasized the federal suffrage method. The American emphasized support of African-American men and emphasized the state-by-state method.

Lincoln wrote an open letter that women should not be excluded from voting.

The Fifteenth Amendment was introduced to Congress. It said, “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.

Wyoming, at the first session of its Legislature, granted full suffrage to women.

Control of wages given married women in Illinois.

Women were admitted to Michigan University at Ann Arbor.

Mrs. Belle A. Mansfield was admitted to the bar in Iowa. She was the first woman lawyer in modern times.

1870
Fifteenth Amendment was ratified. California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oregon, and Tennessee rejected it. With the ratification of this amendment, the United States became the first country in the world to elevate all men to voting citizenship.

Congress also passed what was known as the Force Bill in an effort to overthrow the Ku Klux Klan and insure Republican control over the South. The bill “was based upon the idea that until the colored man should have reached the point at which he could compete on even terms with the white man, his undeveloped powers must be reinforced.”

Utah granted full suffrage to the women of that Territory. The privilege was taken away by Congressional action in 1883.
1871
Control of property and wages was given to married women in Nebraska.

1872
The Nebraska Legislature submitted a woman suffrage amendment to the voting public. The Brewers Association sent out order to defeat the amendment. The popular vote was overwhelmingly opposed.

Cornell University admitted women.

Susan B. Anthony tried, pronounced guilty, and fined under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution when she tried to vote. Authority for the U.S. government to arrest her was drawn from the Ku Klux Klan law that had been passed by Congress to prevent disfranchised rebels from exercising the suffrage before being pardoned.

1873
The power to make a will was given to married women in Iowa, Nevada, and New Jersey.

1874
A movement known as “Woman’s Crusade” began and rapidly spread over the whole country. The movement ended in the organization of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union with Frances E. Willard as leader.

In Michigan a special session of the Michigan Legislature debated a woman suffrage constitutional amendment. The debate included a discussion that justice would only be done if women were given the right to vote since they had been made political inferiors of the recent slaves. Forty thousand men voted in favor, no further action was taken.

1875
Thousands of women were now employed in the various departments of the Government.

1876
Colorado admitted into the Union with school suffrage in its constitution.

Upon the occasion of the Centennial celebration of the U.S. at the Philadelphia Exposition, a “Declaration of Independence for Women” was prepared, but its reading was denied because of its content and because a woman was to read it.

1877
The Legislature of Rhode Island submitted a woman suffrage amendment. Both political parties put out the word that it was to be defeated and it was by a margin of three to one.
Control of property was granted to married women in Connecticut and Virginia.

1878
Mrs. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony wrote a proposed amendment to the constitution giving women the right to vote. It was introduced to the Senate. It would be reintroduced every session until 1919 when it was passed.

A loose gown, called the “Mother Hubbard” had been introduced, but it excited the animosity of innumerable legislators and many town and city councils forbade women to appear upon the streets wearing it.

1879
Control of property and wages, with power to make a will, was given married women in the new state of Washington.

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the U.S.

1880
M.E. Conference refused to ordain women.

1881
The power to will was given married women in Nebraska

1882
Control of wages was granted to married women in Maryland.

1883
The typewriter was being rapidly introduced into offices and thousands of young women were accepting the new occupation it offered.

1884
The power to control her own wages was given to married women in New Mexico and Utah.

1885
William T. Stead demonstrated the prevalence of crimes committed against young girls. It was the beginning of change of age of consent laws in the U.S. At the time, Oregon was the only State where the age was over twelve.

1886
The Senate again voted down the woman suffrage amendment on the grounds given by one Senator, “there are too many incompetent voters now, why double them?”
School suffrage was granted in Washington Territory.

1887
Municipal suffrage was granted Kansas women by legislative enactment.

1888
An International Council was held in Washington the object of which was to furnish a medium of exchange of experiences and aspirations to the women of all associations of all countries for the improvement of the welfare of humanity.

1889
The enemies of prohibition in Washington Territory passed through the state Supreme Court a decision saying that the territory had no right to enfranchise women.

Control of property given married women in Missouri.

1890
Wyoming was admitted to Statehood, with equal suffrage for women in its constitution, but only after bitter opposition to the suffrage clause in both Senate and House of Representatives.

The question of woman suffrage was introduced in South Dakota. Suffragists looked forward to the possibility of victory. Again, enemies of prohibition bought votes in the thousands to defeat the proposed bill.

For the first time in twenty years, the two suffrage associations joined to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as President.

The first “anti” organization appeared in Boston and was titled “The Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women”.

1891
School suffrage was granted women in Illinois.

Susan B. Anthony became president of NAWSA.

1892
The bicycle had grown into sudden popularity. Newspapers published numerous editorials and a number of sermons were preached condemning the exercise as unwomanly.

1893
Colorado granted full suffrage for women on the same terms with men. It was carried by a majority of 6,347 votes.

Woman suffrage came to a vote in Kansas. It was claimed by the Republican Party that giving women the right to vote would make the state Populist instead of Republican. The measure was defeated.

1894
Bond suffrage was granted women in Iowa.

Six hundred thousand men and women petitioned New York Constitutional Convention for woman suffrage

1895
Utah was admitted to Statehood with equal suffrage in its constitution, a measure which had been adopted by popular vote. The Populist, Republican, Silver Republican, and Democratic parties all endorsed the issue.

1896
Full suffrage on same terms as man suffrage was granted women in Idaho by state constitutional amendment.

Woman suffrage came to a vote in California. The entire state was carried for the amendment with the exception of San Francisco and Alameda counties. It was believed that once again, votes were purchased in those two areas, but it was enough to defeat the amendment.

1898
Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee was appointed surgeon on medical staff of army, with rank of lieutenant, forty-five years after the first woman physician was granted in the face of almost universal disapproval.

1899
Arizona prepared to enter the U.S. as a state and a woman suffrage bill was introduced. The bill never made it to the floor of the Legislature due to threats made by tavern owners.

The Second International Council of Women was held.

1900
At the age of eighty, Susan B. Anthony resigns as president of NAWSA and Carrie Chapman Catt is elected to that office.
Woman suffrage came to a vote in New Hampshire. The Granges solidly backed the women. Again, the amendment was defeated due to paid votes.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton dies.

1904
Carrie Chapman Catt resigns as president of NAWSA and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw is elected.

1906
Susan B. Anthony dies.

1910
William Howard Taft addressed the national gathering of suffragists, the first President to do so. He was hissed when he compared the women to “Hottentots”.

1911
California passed woman suffrage by 3,5000 votes.

1912
Kansas passed woman suffrage. Oregon passed woman suffrage by 4,161 votes. Oregon, Michigan, Wisconsin defeated it. As in other states, Wisconsin found a way to check the bribes; a small pink ballot was used in the vote to separate the suffrage vote from the rest of the ballot.

1913
The President of the German-American Alliance was quoted as saying, “If the suffrage would be laid into the hands of the nativeborn American woman, the results, which surely will follow, can easily be predicted. Narrowmindedness will triumph everywhere; fanaticism will flourish, prohibitionists, and their refuse, the Anti-Saloon League, will easily set up for dictators in the State of Michigan.”

The United States Brewers’ Association placed into print its policy “To build up organizations, chiefly to be recruited from the foreign population, having the appearance of voluntary bodies with public-spirited aims, but in reality existing solely to defend the trade.”

1914
Seven States had suffrage referenda and suffrage campaigns were in progress in four others in which the vote was taken the following year. The only two won were Montana and Nevada.
1915
Carrie Chapman Catt again becomes president of NAWSA.

After a hard fought battle, woman suffrage fails in the state of New York. A victory in New York is thought to be an essential step towards winning a Federal Amendment.

1916
The issue came to a vote in Iowa. The suffrage ballot was separate from the other ballots and yellow. This helped show those whose votes were purchased, how to vote.

Prohibition was established in the state of Michigan by popular vote.

1917
The state of New York is won for woman suffrage.

1918
The suffrage amendment passes the House of Representatives, but fails in the Senate by two votes.

The United States Senate calls for an investigation of the United States Brewers’ Association charging them with corrupting political campaigns “on a scale without precedent”. One of the specific charges stated, “The same man or men who conducted the anti-prohibition campaign directed the anti-suffrage contests in Legislatures, constitutional conventions, and referenda campaigns.”

1919
The woman suffrage amendment passes Congress. It the Senate, it passes by only two votes.

Georgia becomes the first state to vote against the proposed amendment. One Senator said, “the sole intent of this voting privilege is to equalize white women with Negro women...these suffragists, men and women, are out with a propaganda for race suicide.”

Wisconsin becomes the first state to ratify followed by Michigan.

1920
The final and thirty-sixth state needed for ratification becomes Tennessee where ratification in the House was won by a single vote.

The Nineteenth Amendment was ratified giving all women in the United States the right to vote under the U.S. Constitution.
Lucretia Mott (1798-1880)
Elizabeth Stanton (1815-1902)
Lucy Stone (1818-1893)
Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906)
Carrie Chapman Catt (1859-1947)
Submitted by Jane Cox, a member of the G.S.B. subcommittee for Research on Carrie Chapman Catt


This is the only biography written by someone who actually knew Catt and worked with her intimately.

Mary Peck was an English professor at the University of Minnesota when she became interested in the suffrage movement; she left teaching to work for the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She and Catt first met in 1909. Later they both served on the Empire State [New York] Campaign Committee. Catt was the chair of the entire committee; Peck served as chair of the Speakers Bureau. In the late 1920’s Catt suggested that Peck move to New Rochelle where Catt already lived and Peck agreed to do so.

The two women wrote many letters to each other; a great number survive and are in the Library of Congress collection. Peck admired Catt and often wrote of her love. In 1928 Peck wrote, “It has been one of the joys of my life when I had you for my friend.”


This biography is very useful in that it contains many interesting personal glimpses of Catt and detailed descriptions of her environment. There are descriptions of what the houses looked like on the South Dakota frontier when Catt arrived there in 1890 to campaign and board and eat with the settlers, descriptions of the battle to persuade NAWSA to adopt a Federal Amendment Campaign [1915-1920] and the positions taken by members of the organization, descriptions of what the forests and gardens looked like in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela when Catt arrived there in 1922.

There are also many quotes from Catt that show her way of working and thinking. For example, Peck writes, “One great thing, however, the disastrous South Dakota campaign [1980] had accomplished. It had taught Carrie Chapman Catt the things which are essential to winning a referendum at the polls—not one of which this campaign could boast. She listed them as, first, endorsement by great citizens’ organizations; second, endorsement by the political parties; third, an adequate campaign fund; fourth, organized and energetic campaign forces. Never again did she go into a campaign with all the cards
stacked against her.” Peck then illustrates throughout the biography how these lessons influenced future campaigns.

Peck also illustrates that Catt was a great optimist and a strong believer in evolution. Peck’s final paragraph returns to this theme, “All her [Catt’s] life she had viewed human history against the tremendous background of cosmic evolution. She knew that regardless of how it turned out, this war was not the end of man’s saga. It had taken him perhaps a million years to climb to his present level, but the pace was quickening. In her lifetime she had seen more changes in social living and thinking than had taken place in all the preceding ages. She had given everything she had to the setting free of the maternal spirit which was the profoundest social movement of her time—perhaps of any time.”

This biography quotes letters, speeches, and articles, but is not written as an analysis of Catt’s rhetoric, writing style, or work. Peck herself wrote, “The most difficult thing in the world is to write the life of a person who has been intimately associated with the writer, and the greater the subject is, the harder it is to be impersonal.”

Although another of Catt’s biographers, Robert Fowler, has said that Peck succeeded too well and that the biography is too impersonal, I disagree on this point. Peck reveals a great deal about Catt, the woman, her circumstances, and the beliefs that motivated her.

Carrie Catt Feminist Politician by Robert Booth Fowler
published by Northeastern University Press, Boston 1986 226 pages

This is the only biography written by a man. The book is dedicated to his mother for whom Catt was a heroine.

Robert Booth Fowler is a professor at the University of Wisconsin; much of this material was gathered for his PhD dissertation. Fowler has lectured on Catt in Iowa on different occasions, most recently at the invitation of the National Nineteenth Amendment Society in Charles City, Iowa. He has said publicly that he does not believe that Catt was a racist.

In his preface Fowler states that during the process of exploring Catt he intends to show that Catt “...ultimately sought to encourage the growth of a society in which women (and men) were united as a community of free, equal, and dignified persons, a society in which politics as she knew it (and practiced it) would be no more. It was this vision that influenced her throughout her career.”
Fowler writes that the first major challenge is the enormous amount of primary material by and about Carrie Catt “...constitutes both a researcher’s dream and a nightmare.” Fowler continues that he has mainly used the collection at the Library of Congress, the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe College and the Sophia Smith Library at Smith College.

The second major challenge Fowler mentions is to pursue the subject with a sense of Catt’s historical setting; he writes, “Because her thought and her politics can be reasonably understood in no other way, an historical context is essential to any portrait of Catt.” He terms his approach “phenomenological”.

This biography is not organized in the usual manner, as Fowler himself acknowledges. It is divided into nine chapters:

(1) Carrie Chapman Catt: The Early Years
(2) The Road to Victory, and Beyond
(3) The private Catt
(4) The Case for Suffrage: Catt’s Ideal for Women
(5) Democracy and Politics
(6) A Reformed Democracy
(7) The Gospel of Organization
(8) The Mysteries of Leadership
(9) Strategy

This organization may have its advantages, but it also brings disadvantages. The arrangement of the material, with the exception of Chapters 1 and 2 (35 pages), means there is a lack of chronological order. Thus a chapter such as “The Mysteries of Leadership” concludes that “Such a recognition of the personal dimensions of sacrifice and idealism is the correct note on which to conclude consideration of Catt’s conception of leadership. For her leadership was no abstraction nor was it a role that she played out in politics but kept rigorously separate from her private world. Her vision of leadership was her vision of what she demanded for herself as a person.”

However the development of this conception of leadership is not shown as developing or forming. Fowler does include a sentence, “As she became more the leader and less the impatient, young activist, this reputation [for criticizing others] faded, but Catt was never afraid of conflict when it was essential.” Fowler does not indicate the motivation for the change; in fact it is one of the few changes noted.

There seem to be differences in tone and style through some of the book. There are also inaccuracies. The wrong speech or article is occasionally cited; at times only a few words or phrases are placed in quotes without a citation being given. This makes checking the quote close to impossible.

Fowler also seems disposed to sweeping comments such as “It is rather sad to observe that she [Catt] had not a moment of doubt about the choice she made.” This is written about a woman Fowler also describes as “intensely personal”.
A second example is when Fowler hints that Catt made the decision to be buried next to Mary Hay instead of George Catt because of a possible greater love. He obviously was unaware that George Catt had donated his body to science and that decision, because it was so rare at the time, was printed on the front page of the New York Times.

Fowler includes three pages in his book on the subject of Catt's views of African-Americans. These three pages have often been quoted as proving that Catt was racist. He writes, "Indeed, racism was as pervasive in the NAWSA as it was among white Progressives in general, and the black was rarely on any white's Progressive agenda." While this statement is, without doubt, true, I question many of his other views expressed in the three pages. Although Fowler says that Catt's views require "careful treatment", he does not appear to give it. He misquotes speeches; he writes of Catt's "faithful support" for states' rights when she worked for years against states' rights; he writes of her view of intermarriage between races as the only subject on which Catt spoke in terms of nature and race, but does not give the circumstances under which Catt wrote with disapproval of intermarriage nor does he relate the writing in which she states that the United States makes far too much of this issue. Intermarriage, of course, was illegal in many states at the time. These three pages need as much "careful treatment" as Fowler said Catt's views required.

Fowler includes 35 pages of notes at the end of his book and 17 pages of Bibliography. He concludes, "Her [Catt] ideal was a down-to-earth, "rational individuality," as she had said on many occasions and demonstrated as often. She opted to stand on her record as a practical activist. This was her great strength—and her great weakness—as she struggled to help women achieve the self-mastery she sought for herself all her life.


I have no information concerning the author. She states that the subtitle, "A Public Life" grew from the fact that before her death Catt destroyed materials of a private nature. Thus there are no letters extant from or to either or her husbands or her parents. Van Voris speculates that since Catt's life was spent so much in public, she guarded what privacy she had.

Van Voris writes in her Preface, "Catt's unique contribution to the women's movement was her global view; her international work has never before been examined for its own merits. This biography traces the development of Catt's outlook from deep suspicion of all foreigners ("a regular jingoist" she later called herself) to a certainty that the world's
peoples would have to live peacefully together if the species were to survive... This is an account of a life that publicly was lived with enthusiasm and faith in the progress of the human race. Catt’s vision of the women’s movement as an international force extended her influence and importance far beyond her own time and country; the impact of her ideas and her organization of women continues to influence the lives of millions.”

It is interesting that Van Voris calls Catt’s travel diary “as illuminating as it is exciting.” Fowler calls it “banal.” As I read them, I found myself agreeing with Van Voris.

The biography is divided into five parts, “Education of an Activist, 1859-1891, Apprenticeship as Leader, 1891-1900, From Nativist to Internationalist, 1900-1924, Road to Victory, 1913-1920, and Peace and War 1920-1947.

The key sources used are the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, Manuscript Division, the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College and the Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

This biography contains excellent accurate information concerning Catt’s life as a young woman in Iowa and the causes of the loss of the newspaper she and Leo Chapman owned. Van Voris uses the early research of Louise Noun to describe these events.

As Van Voris promises, the book contains a great deal of description concerning Catt’s international work which lasted for decades. The chapters include material on Europe, South Africa, the Philippines, China, and South and Central America. The author makes the point that Catt’s long life spanned the years when the United States emerged from a frontier society to become a world power.

The book also gives much detail concerning Catt’s response to events around her. Catt herself once wrote that during her life time there had been the Civil War, the Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II. Van Voris described how these events and others affected Catt.

Van Voris also explores the tie between Catt and Mary Church Terrell, the President of the National Association of Colored Women.

This is the only biography to use all of the important collections of primary sources. I consider it to be the best of the three.
Lynn,

This is just a note to say that I have just received your message and your statement that you look forward to a response. Since I now only have a little over twenty four hours, even though the review of the books was written weeks ago, I will do my best in the time remaining. I ask you to remember that I have classes during the days as well as production meetings and four hours of rehearsal each evening. Thus the response you anticipate must come later in that 30 hour time frame rather than sooner. I will be happy to discuss these items with you tomorrow afternoon.

Jane

From: Lynn M Wellnitz
To: jfcox@iastate.edu
Cc: valen@iastate.edu
Date: Wednesday, October 28, 1998 12:11AM

Jane,

Here are some initial comments regarding your Catt biography summaries. I'm sorry it's taken so long - am still waiting on two of the biographies that are still charged and overdue at the library. I have taken another look at Fowler's book and am writing from memory on the other two.

It would be helpful to our audience to reflect on each writer's coverage of the following issues: racism or political racism, nativism, xenophobia, and elitism. It would also be helpful to our audience to understand what contexts and perspectives the biographers explore in their effort to "frame" Catt.

Here are some other comments: (I have put the portions that I am commenting on after a >> at the left hand margin). I look forward to your response.

SUMMARY OF MARY GREY PECK'S BIO

>>Peck admired Catt and often wrote of her love. In 1928 Peck wrote, "It has been one of the joys of my life when I had you for my friend."

COMMENT: What does it mean that Peck knew Catt intimately and admired her?

(1) Peck knew Catt well, therefore her portrayal of Catt is close to The Truth. OR

(2) Peck knew Catt and admired her greatly, As a close friend, Peck wanted Catt remembered in the most flattering light.

We have discussed amongst the three of us that writers and scholars are oftentimes influenced by factors that guide their writing. I think an objective summary would have to touch on this. How might Peck have been influenced by her close friendship to Catt?
This biography is very useful in that it contains many interesting personal glimpses of Catt and detailed descriptions of her environment.

COMMENT: Recognizing that this biography was written by a close friend, I would suggest the personal glimpses that we get of Catt were carefully selected by Peck to portray "her vision" of Catt.

There are also many quotes from Catt that show her way of working and thinking?

Her way of working and thinking? We've been led to believe that Catt's way of working and thinking evolved from the time she was a child to when she was a mature adult. Does Peck's book illustrate this, and if so, how? Does Peck illustrate her way of working and thinking on "all" issues, or only some? What is excluded and what is included?

SUMMARY of FOWLER'S BIO

Your summary is VERY confusing to me as a reader.

Are you discrediting Fowler as a scholar or only portions of his work?

Are you agreeing with some of his "facts" but not his opinions?

Or are you selectively agreeing with some of his opinions and facts and disagreeing on other points?

He has said publicly that he does not believe that Catt was racist.

COMMENTS: This is supposed to be a summary of Fowler's book. Why state what he has said publicly? It sounds as though you are quoting Fowler as an "authority" on Catt in this passage of your summary -- but later discredit his scholarship.

OR

Is it to counter what is written in his book?

page 88 of Fowler: "That blacks were inferior [Catt] took for granted; she was surely a racist in this sense."

Later on page 8 "Thus, it is not surprising that Catt, very much the single-issue politician, made the racist decision to cooperate with what southern white allies she could find."

Still later, "That Catt was accepting racism did not particularly concern her. She did not want to think about the issue, nor, indeed did she want to think about black Americans. It was Mary Peck's view that "she instinctively . . . wishes there were no Negroes in the country." Yet is was also Catt's belief that racial barriers should all in the United States. She was eager for black women to have the vote and claimed they belonged in the N.A.W.S.A."

Fowler also seems disposed to sweeping comments such as "It is rather sad to observe that she [Catt] had not a moment of doubt about the choice she made."
COMMENT: When reading your summary, I had no idea what choice Fowler was talking about. You should clarify that Fowler's statement refers to the preceding passage: "Still, there is no denying [Catt's] dismal public record during the suffrage crusade. She wanted white southern support and she correctly knew she would obtain none, in her time, without pandering to racism. She made what she felt was a necessary politician's choice...."

>>Fowler also seems disposed to sweeping comments

COMMENTS: Are the sweeping comments that portray Catt favorably equally objectionable or only the comments you disagree with?

For example, Fowler writes "And once she had her suffrage amendment safely in the Constitution [1920] she joined those bucking northern as well as southern popular opinion in calling for an immediate end to racial discrimination." (quotes a draft document from 1940(?!)) as the basis for this statement - an "immediate" end?)

Is Fowler's book a sham?

>>I question many of his other views expressed in the three pages. Although Fowler says that Catt's views require "careful treatment," he does not appear to give it. He misquotes speeches

COMMENT: Which speeches are misquoted, and how do they contribute to a misunderstanding about Catt's racism or lack thereof?

>>...he writes of Catt's faithful support for states' rights when she worked for years against states' rights

COMMENT: I don't think Catt was opposed to states' rights across the board - re-read Chapter 6. Reread her book coauthored with Nettie S. The Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage could be passed, while the states governed voting restrictions.

>>...he writes of her view of intermarriage between races as the only subject on which Catt spoke in terms of nature and race, but does not give the circumstances under which Catt wrote with disapproval of intermarriage...

COMMENTS: Fowler writes that Catt's statement of disapproval of intermarriage was written in response to Tennessee anti-suffragists' attempts to portray Catt as an advocate of interracial marriage on the eve of the ratification of the Federal Amendment in which Tennessee was of course a key state. It is clearly implied by Fowler that Catt's statement about inter-marriage was a reaction to the political climate and pressure she felt at that time.

Are you arguing that Fowler's context (circumstances) of Catt's statement is wrong?

>>Intermarriage, of course, was illegal in many states at the time.

COMMENT: What exactly is your point here?

>>These three pages need as much "careful treatment" as Fowler said Catt's views required.
COMMENT: It sounds like an attempt to discredit these three pages in the absence of effectively doing so.

>>Fowler also seems disposed to sweeping comments

COMMENT: Is Fowler's book a sham? Should we believe anything he says?

Fowler dedicated his book to his mother, noting that Catt was her heroine. Any possible influence or bias here?

SUMMARY OF VAN VORIS'S BIO

>>This biography traces the development of Catt's outlook from deep suspicion of all foreigners ("a regular jingoist" she later called herself) to a certainty that the world's peoples would have to live peacefully together if the species were to survive..."

COMMENTS: I do not feel that Van Voris successfully demonstrates or argues the development of Catt's outlook. For example, Catt's early rhetoric took on a demeaning tone towards American Indians. Did her outlook of American Indians change and evolve? If so, where does Van Voris successfully argue this point?

How did Catt's characterization of Black Americans differ from her characterization of those Black persons she encountered while visiting Africa?

Van Voris points to Catt's recognition within the Jewish community. How did Catt's outlook on Jews change? Did she have a deep suspicion of Jewish persons as a young person, and that outlook evolved to her later position in life? Or did Catt simply view American Indians and Jewish persons differently.

What about the difference in outlook of "international" people when those people are not such a threat, when they are in their own countries, as opposed to being ignorant "foreigners" threatening to thwart or degrade "our" civilization.

Would you argue that there was a time in Catt's life that she didn't believe that "the world's peoples would have to live peacefully together...."? Could she have the latter belief while holding onto prejudices?

Was there a time in Catt's life when she believed the world's peoples ought to be at war with one another?

You have claimed to me that a passage in her book was the source of confusion and incorrectly led people to believe that Catt had argued in front of large audiences, at hotel conferences, against discrimination at those same hotels. The passage instead cites a written letter between Catt and a planning committee of the NCCCW, not a public statement in front of a large crowd. You should clarify this problematic passage in Van Voris's book.

>>Van Voris also explores the tie between Catt and Mary Church Terrell, the President of the National Associate of Colored Women.

COMMENT: What is the depth of Van Voris's exploration of the tie between
Catt and Terrell?

What is the depth of Van Voris's exploration of the tie between Catt and the National Association of Colored Women as an organization (independent of her relationship to Terrell)?

>>It is interesting that Van Voris calls Catt's travel diary "as illuminating as it is exciting." Fowler calls it "banal." As I read them, I found myself agreeing with Van Voris.

COMMENT: I have read Catt's travel diaries that are on microfilm at the library. I would say that they are sometimes both illuminating AND banal, among other things. Does either author discuss Catt's outlook and characterizations of the people of color she met while traveling abroad -- in a way which explores differences between her international and national outlook/rhetoric?

>>("a regular jingoist" she later called herself)

COMMENT: What does it mean that Catt later called herself "a regular jingoist." Was this a flattering term or an explanatory message as to something that in retrospect wasn't so flattering? Are people today denying what Catt obliquely admitted about herself?

Just some initial comments. I'm not sure I would rank Van Voris's book as the "best" but I'm not sure how I would "vote" out of these three. Van Voris gives better coverage to the international work of Catt's, but yet her coverage on important issues of race, ethnicity, class, and political expediency within the suffrage movement is extremely weak for such a contemporary work. I found her book to be very disappointing.

-Lynn
RESPONSE FROM JANE COX TO MEMO FROM LYNN WELLNITZ DATED WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1998

COMMENTS ON PECK'S BIOGRAPHY

COMMENT: What does it mean that Peck knew Catt intimately and admited her?

I gather from what follows that the word "admited" is meant to be "admired". Looking at the two choices given, I feel they are too diametrically opposed to choose either. "The Truth" as Wellnitz labels it in choice one is probably known only by a Supreme Being.

The second choice regarding what Peck "wanted" I can also not choose. I have no idea what Peck "wanted".

I included the sentence about Peck’s feelings for Catt to show the perspective from which Peck was writing. I believe, as does Wellnitz, that "writers and scholars are oftentimes influenced by factors that guide their writing." A biography written by a close friend most usually has negative and positive factors. A minus is that friendship generally means that we like or admire the qualities our friend possesses and we may full well realize the faults of the friend, but forgive them. A plus is that information has been shared with that friend, information that another source would not have.

Robert Fowler makes the same point in his Preface when he writes of Peck’s biography, "It is richly detailed and has the advantage of being written by a person who was very close to Catt, but also that disadvantage which Peck knew herself...”.

COMMENT: Recognizing that this biography was written by a close friend, I would suggest the personal glimpses that we get of Catt were carefully selected by Peck to portray "her vision" of Catt.

I would suggest that all biographers after reading thousands of primary sources, reach some "vision" of the personality and life work of the individual involved. Again, Fowler makes this point, but concludes "Nonetheless, it remains an important source, not least because it was written in close collaboration with Catt and thus serves as a sort of official biography."

SUMMARY OF FOWLER’S BIOGRAPHY

COMMENT: This is supposed to be a summary of Fowler’s book. Why state what he has said publicly? It sounds as though you are quoting Fowler as an "authority" on Catt
in this passage of your summary—but later discredit his scholarship. OR. Is it to counter what is written in his book?

I included in the summary of these biographies, information concerning the authors where I had knowledge of them. Obviously I had no information on one author and stated that fact. Since Fowler was the only one of the three to lecture in Iowa, I felt that was worth including. I thought it was interesting that while he had not been asked to lecture at Iowa State, he HAD been asked to speak at the National Nineteenth Amendment Society in Charles City. I included his public remarks about Catt’s lack of racism because they have bearing on the discussion at hand and he is the only one of Catt’s biographers to have spoken extensively in Iowa, Wisconsin, and neighboring states.

COMMENT: When reading your summary, I had no idea what choice Fowler was talking about. You should clarify that Fowler’s statement refers to the preceding passage: “Still there is no denying [Catt’s] dismal public record during the suffrage crusade. She wanted white southern support and she correctly knew she would obtain none, in her time, without pandering to racism. She made what she felt was a necessary politician’s choice...”

Wellnitz misunderstood the intent of the inclusion of the quote. It was not germane to the point to know what the choice was, merely that the author said with certainty that Catt “had not a moment of doubt” about the choice. How did he know?

COMMENTS: Are the sweeping comments that portray Catt favorably equally as objectionable or only the comments you disagree with?

I would question any author who made a statement such as Catt “had not a moment of doubt about the choice she made.” How can another person possibly know that about another individual?

I would equally object to a statement from Chapter 3, “Indeed, as Catt knew very well, her soul was often just not practical; it was often downright mundane.”

I object less to sentences such as “As far as one can tell, Catt had no sense of the possibility of mixed motives in herself.” That at least does not give the impression that the author has been able to read the mind, heart, and soul of his/her subject from birth.

COMMENT: Which speeches are misquoted, and how do they contribute to a misunderstanding about Catt’s racism or lack thereof?
One of the most interesting examples is “She bemoaned the “existence in our body politic of nearly a million illiterate Negroes...and the problems of poverty, insanity and criminality arising out of these conditions.” This is attributed to “Mrs. Catt’s Address,” Woman’s Journal February 20, 1904.

This quote has been used by Milton McGriff in The Daily with the same speech cited as Fowler. There is no such quote in the February 20, 1904 speech. It is thus easy to tell when this quote is cited, that the quoter has not read the speech, only Fowler.

COMMENT: I don’t think Catt was opposed to states’ rights across the board—re-read Chapter 6. Reread her book coauthored with Nettie S. The Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage could be passed, while the states governed voting restrictions.

I understand Wellnitz’s point. There are far more direct examples. I think that one of the most interesting conventions in NAWSA’s history was that of 1915 when Catt, to the anger of many Southern women “steam rolledered”, (in the words of delegate Kate Gordon) the convention to move in the direction of the Federal Amendment. Peck describes the reaction of many Southern women:

No objection ever was registered by the Southerners to the Federal amendment during many years when they appeared at Congressional hearings with Miss Anthony and Mrs. Catt. It was only now when there was a prospect of getting it that their states rights traditions came to the surface

There are hundreds of examples where Catt speaks against states’ rights.

COMMENTS: Fowler writes that Catt’s statement of disapproval of intermarriage was written in response to Tennessee anti-suffragists’ attempts to portray Catt as an advocate of interracial marriage on the eve of the ratification of the Federal Amendment in which Tennessee was of course a key state. It is clearly implied by Fowler that Catt’s statement about inter-marriage was a reaction to the political climate and pressure at that time. Are you arguing that Fowler’s context (circumstances) of Catt’s statement is wrong?

His context in the previous paragraph is correct. In the following paragraph Fowler discusses how intermarriage was the only subject on which Catt spoke in terms of nature and race and that her assumption was that “blacks’ inferiority was grounded in culture, not nature, and therefore would not be permanent.”

My point was that since Catt at other times wrote of intermarriage between races as something which seemed to be condemned far more in the U.S. than in other countries, she did not see intermarriage as against “nature”, but against convention. In fact, in an essay presented to the G.S.B. committee, Catt defends black soldiers who have married white civilians.
COMMENT: What exactly is your point here?

My point here was that the statement made by the Nashville newspapers was an attempt to discredit Catt in the eyes of those who believed in the law. Liquor bottles were also placed under her pillow in her hotel room in an attempt to show that she was a heavy drinker.

COMMENT: It sounds like an attempt to discredit these three pages in the absence of effectively doing so.

Wellnitz is entitled to her opinion about when she feels that I am attempting to do and whether I have achieved it.

COMMENT: Is Fowler’s book a sham? Should we believe anything he says?

I did not say that Fowler’s book is a sham. I did not say we should not believe anything he says. That is an example of another sweeping statement.

SUMMARY OF VAN VORIS’S BIOGRAPHY

COMMENTS: I do not feel that Van Voris successfully demonstrates or argues the development of Catt’s outlook. For example, Catt’s early rhetoric took on a demeaning tone towards American Indians. Did her outlook of American Indians change and evolve? If so, where does Van Voris successfully argue this point?

I would suggest reading the chapter on “Aliens and Alienated”. Van Voris discusses the South Dakota campaign of 1890, Catt’s attitude toward the single women and widows who were homesteading and the Sioux, Catt’s meeting with Elaine Goodale who was then superintendent of Indian instruction, Catt’s viewing of the Ghost Dance in South Dakota in 1890, and the fact that Catt modified her views concerning what she had seen later after she had more experience in life.

How did Catt’s characterization of Black Americans differ from her characterization of those Black persons she encountered while visiting Africa?

I would suggest reading the chapter on “South Africa to the Philippines”. Catt discusses what those she sees are wearing, what they are doing. Van Voris relates a visit to a Kaffir kraal in Maritzburg where she and the chief had an immediate
rapport. Van Voris said of Catt, “She described the chief in great detail, his surroundings, his duties, his dignified hospitality.”

Her characterization of “Black Americans” as described in Van Voris’s book includes how Catt wrote “An Appreciation” of Terrell for the June 1936 issue of “The Oberlin Alumni Magazine” that so pleased Terrell that she had it reprinted. A reprint of that article is available. Van Voris does not mention any time Catt spoke against African-American women. I know of no such instance myself.

It is true that what Catt visited other countries she wrote in much greater detail concerning visual impressions, as is usual.

How did Catt’s outlook on Jews change? Did she have a deep suspicion of Jewish persons as a young person, and that outlook evolved to her later position in life? Or did Catt simply view American Indians and Jewish persons differently?

I know of no source that suggests that Catt had a “deep suspicion” or indeed any suspicion of Jewish persons. I know of no such proof or even suggestion that her outlook evolved. Catt often had a rabbi offer a prayer at national meetings just as she asked Mary Church Terrell to speak at national meetings of NAWSA. As a little girl growing up on the frontier, there is some evidence to suggest she was frightened of American Indians. There is no evidence I know to support a theory that she was frightened of “Jewish persons.”

What about the difference in outlook of “international” people when those people are not such a threat, when they are in their own countries, as opposed to being ignorant “foreigners” threatening to thwart or degrade “our” civilization.

I don’t understand the question.

Would you argue that there was a time in Catt’s life that she didn’t believe that “the world’s peoples would have to live peacefully together…”? Could she have the latter belief while holding onto prejudices?

I know of no time what Catt did not hope that there would be peace. She said that she was a pacifist before she was a suffragist. I don’t know if she could have had the “latter belief while holding onto prejudices”.

Was there a time in Catt’s life when she believed the world’s peoples ought to be at war with one another?

I don’t thing Catt would say that war was the best way to solve a problem. She may have felt World War II was inevitable and in the end justified.

You have claimed to me that a passage in her book was the source of confusion and incorrectly led people to believe that Catt had argued in front of large audiences, at hotel conferences, against discrimination at those same hotels. The passage instead cites a written letter between Catt and a planning committee of the NCCCW, not a public
statement in front of a large crowd. You should clarify this problematic passage in Van Voris’s book.

You are quite right that I made a mistake. The fault lies not so much with Van Voris as with me. As you know, Van Voris has extensive notes, 53 pages of them. They are rich in detail and even though I made a great effort to refer to each one, on this occasion my memory of the notes was not perfect. I was in error.

COMMENT: What is the depth of Van Voris’s exploration of the tie between Catt and Terrell?
Van Voris states that “Terrell found in Catt a lifelong friend who was remarkably free from racial prejudice.” She discusses how Catt and Terrell traveled to the 1904 International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting in Berlin and then stayed on to attend the International Council of Women Convention and how Terrell suffered far less from racial prejudice in Europe than in the U.S. She relates that the friendship lasted over forty years and that Catt wrote an “Appreciation” of Terrell which was treasured.

What is the depth of Van Voris’s exploration of the tie between Catt and the National Association of Colored Women as an organization (independent of her relationship to Terrell)?

It is not explored and would be very difficult to assess since Catt and Terrell were friends from 1900.

COMMENT: I have read Catt’s travel diaries that are on microfilm at the library. I would say that they are sometimes both illuminating AND banal, among other things. Does either author discuss Catt’s outlook and characterizations of the people of color she met while traveling abroad—in a way which explores differences between her international and national outlook/rhetoric?

I’m not sure what is meant by “either author” in this context, but I would still answer “yes”.

What does it mean that Catt later called herself “a regular jingoist.” Was this a flattering term or an explanatory message as to something that in retrospect wasn’t so flattering? Are people today denying what Catt obliquely admitted about herself?

I assume that Wellnitz means “jingoist”. I would imagine it was used in the dictionary meaning of the word: extreme chauvinism or nationalism. I don’t know what “people today” are doing.
By Lynn Wellnitz
November 13, 1998
Catt Review Committee

SCHOLARSHIP ISSUES

The scholarship on Carrie Chapman Catt and the woman’s suffrage movement has led both sides of the Catt Hall conflict to assert their positions are academically supported. To the community, these occasional soundbites of claims are confusing. How can both sides claim the same scholarship in support of their positions regarding the naming of Catt Hall? It is because much of the contemporary scholarship speaks to the issues raised by The September 29th Movement while simultaneously “exonerating” the white woman suffrage leaders as being women with good intentions, women of their times, who achieved great things for the betterment of U.S. society and the world. What has not been acknowledged by the University is that many of the claims asserted by The September 29th Movement have also been asserted by contemporary scholars as well as historical figures from Catt’s era.

Unfortunately, it is an easier tactic to try to discredit the reputation of others rather than respond to the numerous claims about Carrie Chapman Catt. But the claims must be identified, analyzed, and responded to. I hope those of us who are committee this ideal can collaborate and do this much. It has been suggested time and time again that the amount of documentation available must be completely overwhelming. Speaking personally, I do not agree and will submit that this image of a mysterious mountain of unavailable primary documentation serves as a deliberate obstacle to access and learning. For progress to be made, we have to move past the “data dump” and begin a real discussion of the claims and counterclaims followed by a thorough reading of primary and secondary source materials.

Exploration of Historical Debates and Conflicting Ideologies

One of the biggest existing misperceptions is that Catt existed in a realm where everyone agreed on tactics, suffrage rhetoric, and political expediency. A good example of conflicting interpretation of suffrage rhetoric from Catt’s era can be found in Anna Julia Cooper’s A Voice from the South (1892) and Catt’s “Subject and Sovereign” (1892). Cooper, an educated Black American, responded to an address entitled “Woman Versus the Indian” delivered by Anna Shaw in 1891 at a National Woman’s Council meeting with the following concerns:

It cannot seem less than a blunder, whenever the exponents of a great reform or the harbingers of a noble advance in thought and effort allow themselves to seem distorted by a narrow view of their
own aims and principles. All prejudices, whether of race, sect or sex, class pride and caste distinctions are the belittling inheritance and badge of snobs and prigs....

It is not the intelligent woman vs. the ignorant woman; nor the white woman vs. the black, the brown, and the red,—it is not even the cause of woman vs. the man. Nay, 'tis woman's strongest vindication for speaking that the world needs to hear her voice....

What a travesty of its case for this eye to become plaintiff in a suit, Eye vs. Foot. "There is that dull clod, the foot, allowed to roam at will, free and untrammelled; while I, the source and medium of light, brilliant and beautiful, am fettered in darkness and doomed to desuetude." The great burly black man, ignorant and gross and depraved, is allowed to vote; while the franchise is withheld from the intelligent and refined, the pure-minded and lofty souled white woman. Even the untamed and untamable Indian of the prairie, who can answer nothing but 'ugh' to great economic and civic questions is thought by some worthy to yield the ballot which is still denied the Puritan maid and the first lady of Virginia.

Is not this hitching our wagon to something much lower than a star? Is not woman's cause broader, and deeper, and grander, than a blue stocking debate or an aristocratic pink tea? Why should woman become plaintiff in a suit versus the Indian, or the Negro or any other race or class who have been crushed under the iron heel of Anglo-Saxon power and selfishness? (Cooper 121-123)

While Cooper published her concerns with Shaw's rhetoric, Catt advanced a similar theme to Shaw's and in "Subject and Sovereign" (1892) recounted Shaw's encounter with the two American Indians who could only respond "Ugh! Ugh!" to questions about American politics.

Although W.E.B. DuBois was not associated with Cooper, he expressed similar concerns about rhetoric used by woman suffragists. DuBois felt the rhetoric could lead listeners to believe that Black Americans had fewer rights that needed to be respected than white women. Both DuBois and Cooper demonstrate the existence of expressed differences in ideology and tactics. They were opposed to a type of rhetorical argument used by suffragists, regardless of color. Catt did not only receive pressure from some "southern racists" with regard to universal suffrage. Mary Peck, the earliest of Catt's biographers, noted that Catt received "adjurations to 'take a stand for unrestricted universal suffrage--white and black alike!'" (Peck 130). The context of Catt's life within the suffrage movement and Cooper's life in the margins of mainstream society were different; therefore, comparisons would need to include further exploration of the contexts in which they both existed.

Biographies:

The three biographies written about Carrie Chapman offer various insights. Mary Peck, who was a good friend of Catt's, published her biography in 1940. It largely excludes the history of disenfranchised people of color and their relationship to the woman's suffrage movement, with the exception of a small passage that discusses the
earlier split between the abolitionists and suffragists. After her comment on the adjurations Catt received regarding
universal suffrage, Peck explained:

At this was the time of heavy foreign immigration, easy naturalization papers, and flagrant
manipulation of the immigrant vote in the industrial states, suffragists were divided on the
question of admission of these newcomers to voting citizenship almost as strongly as on the
colored vote. The last day of the New Orleans convention was featured by a discussion of an
educational qualification for the vote, by which device the two controversial issues were
considered together. When a vote was taken, all but five delegates voted for the educational
qualification, Charlotte Perkins Gilman being the only person on the platform to vote against it. A
month later, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes was to hand down the opinion of the United States
Supreme Court upholding the educational clause in the Alabama Constitution, which in effect
disfranchised Negroes and opened the way for other Southern states to take similar action. (Peck
130)

Robert Fowler’s biography, Carrie Chapman Catt: a Feminist Politician, presents an overall flattering
portrayal of Catt while validating some of the claims of The September 29th Movement. Therefore his book
presents a quandary, a good example of scholarship that will be used by both the supporters and opponents of the
Catt Hall naming. For example, Fowler writes:

Catt did not believe she was a nativist. The evidence, though, suggests she was. The distinction
she made was that the problem she saw had its origins in neither nature nor ancestry. It was a lack
of knowledge and “the vast amount of illiteracy” that made the “task imposed on us” of fashioning
a better world “appalling” in its difficulty. Yet since the problem was a cultural one, it could be
addressed by property education. Time would solve it....

Her reason was a practical one. It was not that she hated “the others,” but rather that she thought
they were a force blocking the changes she wanted. However, in her mind there was nothing
permanent about their opposition or their liabilities that engendered it. Catt’s judgment was that
America could and should accept “the others” only when it “educated’ and transformed them.
Their origins might be varied, but their culture and basic values would then be uniform. This was
her ideal, and until that ideal was reached they were enemies. (Fowler 86)

Regarding Black Americans and Catt’s treatment thereof, Fowler writes:

The question of black Americans was even more sensitive for Catt and the suffragist movement.
Many black women leaders and organizations enthusiastically supported woman suffrage. As
Rosalyn Terborg-Penn’s scholarship has shown, however, they were never welcomed by the
mainstream suffragist movement (nor later by the National Woman’s Party). Indeed racism was
as pervasive in the N.A.W.S.A. as it was among white Progressives in general, and the black was
rarely on any white’s Progressive agenda.

Catt was no exception. There was no doubt that blacks were among “the others” she saw as the
enemy. Though her views require careful treatment, no gloss can be given to her routine
discussion of blacks in generic and highly unflattering terms. Moreover, Catt felt just as
negatively about others she saw as nonwhites. Intense Hispanic opposition to suffrage did not
surprise her, for example, because “the lower the civilization, the more bitter and vindictive the
opposition.” Nor did she have much enthusiasm for American Indians, as she said in her famous
“Comparisons are Odious” oration (which the Woman’s Journal labeled “brilliant”). Given their
scant progress on the ladder of civilization, it was literally incredible to her that male Indians
could vote while white women could not.
Most of Catt's complaints, though, were directed towards blacks. She frequently objected to the fact that some blacks still had the vote, despite the efforts of many white southerners, including Progressives, to impose voting tests that eventually disenfranchised blacks in the South until the 1960s. She bemoaned the "existence in our body politic if nearly a million illiterate Negroes... and the problems of poverty, insanity and criminality arising out of these conditions."

Furthermore, her critics fairly direct us to her faithful support for "states' rights" in racial matters. She never proposed for a minute repudiating "the policy of allowing local attitudes on race... to determine local policy." And it is true enough that Catt "condoned avowed racism and encouraged it by holding conventions in southern cities and supporting known racists for national N.A.W.S.A offices." (Fowler 87)

Fowler's analysis gets more complex:

That Catt was accepting racism did not particularly concern her. She did not want to think about the issue, nor, indeed, did she want to think about black Americans. It was Mary Peck's view that "she instinctively... wishes there were no Negroes in the country." Yet it was also Catt's believe that racial barriers should fall in the United States. She was eager for black women to have the vote and claimed they belonged in the N.A.W.S.A. Yet when such issues came to a head in the 1903 N.A.W.S.A. Convention Catt decided the odds against fighting the southern perspective were too great and she quickly agreed not to demand the vote for black women. Her remarks even on that occasion, however, could not have been reassuring to confirmed racists. First she affirmed the Progressive gospel that the answer in the end would be cooperation -- in this case for all the races to work together for progress. Second, Catt went out of her way to challenge the idea that there was a superior race. She reminded her listeners that the Anglo-Saxons were once a pretty insignificant "race" in world terms. And she saw no reason why their subsequent history provided any particular basis for self-congratulation.

In fact, as Catt's correspondence shows unmistakably, she had no use for overt racism, which appealed to the ugly side of people. As she lamented to Mary Peck in a letter on the Tennessee fight in 1920: "Women... are here appealing to Negro phobia and every other cave man's prejudice." To black audiences she made clear that rights must apply to all, writing, for example in the N.A.A.C.P.'s Crisis in 1917 that "suffrage democracy knows no bias of race, color, creed or sex." And once she had her suffrage amendment safely in the Constitution she joined those bucking northern as well as southern popular opinion in calling for an immediate end to racial discrimination.

Still, there is no denying her dismal public record during the suffrage crusade. She wanted white southern support and she correctly knew she would obtain none, in her time, without pandering to racism. She made what she felt was a necessary politician's choice. But it is rather sad to observe that she had not a moment of doubt about the choice she made. Even if one can sympathize with her distaste for moral purists who accomplished little, and she suspected, actually liked to lose, her lack of ambivalence in acquiescing so quickly to racism is impossible to condone.

Immigrants, illiterate, and blacks were her adversaries, but they were not the exclusive list of Catt's opponents, of "the others" she feared so much. They were constant worries, but Catt also occasionally singled out others, underlining the constant preoccupation of this sometime democrat with the failings of so many of her fellow citizens. Catt fretted about the "morally unfit," for instance, though exactly who or what they were was sometimes murky--except that they tended to be against what she favored..... (Fowler 88-89)

While another biographer, Jacqueline Van Voris argues that Catt's outlook evolved over time from her earliest expressions of nativism, Fowler explains how Catt's worldly view coexisted simultaneously with her nationalist outlook:
This seemingly worldly-wise Catt must be kept in mind when reflecting on her sometimes heated denunciations of "the others," since sophistication seems contradictory with such obvious prejudice. What Catt felt she learned from her world travels and international friends was that people were fundamentally the same, just as the sexes were. What kept people apart so often were cultural chasms.... Cultural difference was something to be overcome at home and abroad, and education could accomplish this goal.

That Catt at the same time seemed to believe in culturally specific values does not negate her belief that the world was one. But it certainly explains why she rejected the idea that cultural differences were basic while at the same time she was a cultural nationalist. Quite unconsciously Catt rejected cultural pluralism because people were one and because she assumed that, if they were properly educated, they would agree with her about what was really important in life. Thus for her, internationalism and cultural nationalism went together, happily united in her mind, if only there. (Fowler 87)

Fowler has publicly stated he doesn't believe Catt was "racist." But his book suggests the topic is much more sophisticated than a simple answer. It could be a matter of complexity and explanation, a difference between being "personally racist," "politically racist," making "racist decisions," or being seen as "racist" with explanatory distinctions (outlook of Black persons: culturally/temporarily inferior vs. inherently/permanently inferior).

Other texts

In "Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America," Philip Cohen asserts that white woman suffrage leaders "practiced a nationalism based on exclusive citizenship that was conditioned on whiteness." Cohen characterizes their politics as nationalist as well as "racist." Cohen also argues against the philosophy that suffragists simply responded naively to the racism created by a white male hegemony. Instead he argues that:

"The leaders of the white women’s suffrage movement were often quite explicit in their opposition to nonwhite (or foreign-born) women and men. Theirs was less an error in feminist analysis than a political strategy reflecting and creating real privilege. The movement they led contributed to the subordination of nonwhite women and men by helping to solidify a system of domination by whites." (Cohen 708-79)

Regarding Catt's rhetoric, Cohen asserts:

"As Catt requested recognition for contributions to the nation, she used a language that at once glorified the national past and made the white woman its quintessential woman, in opposition to all nonwhites" (712)

According to Cohen, it is simplistic to attribute "racism" by itself to the study of white woman suffrage leaders. Instead, Cohen believes the suffragists were involved in a "struggle over national identity" which resulted in an alliance between white men and women -- an alliance than did not equally benefit all American citizens:

Although this alliance advanced white women’s suffrage, it not only reinforced women’s separate and subordinate role in political life but also contributed to the oppression of nonwhite women and
men who were excluded from the alliance—ideologically defined (and politically pushed) out of the citizenry. To understand better the implications of the woman's suffrage movement, feminist scholars and activists need to treat their historical predecessors as agents whose choices were purposeful. Those choices were conditioned, but not determined, by the exigencies of their historical juncture. White women acted in their own political interests and yet worked against nonwhite women. This history suggests that white women may benefit from alliances with white men, but if they are unwilling to challenge such privilege, women of subordinate groups will justifiably continue to hold suspect white feminism's claims to serve the good of all women. (724-725)

One of the most serious claims that needs to be addressed is an excerpt from “Woman Suffrage (Not Universal Suffrage) by Federal Amendment” by Ann D. Gordon (a chapter from Votes for Women! The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, the South, and the Nation (1995)):

By continuing to deny the relationship between their demand and the rights of African Americans, woman suffragists moved their cause to the racist center of American politics. As it became clear that woman's demand would indeed be met, African-American leaders remained hopeful about the effects of the change on their own suffrage struggle. “[A]ny agitation, discussion or reopening of the problem of voting must inevitably be a discussion of the right of black folk to vote in America and Africa,” W.E.B. DuBois had written in the Crisis in 1912 to rouse African-American support for the woman suffrage demand. But white suffrage leaders were bent on reassuring the South that their demand posed no threat to white supremacy. Echoing the National's 1903 position on states' rights, Alice Paul, in 1919, described her goal as “removing the sex qualification from the franchise regulations... to see to it that the franchise conditions for very state were the same for women as for men.” States could impose any restrictions allowed by the Constitution they desired. Carrie Chapman Catt distinguished between “qualifications” of the voter—reserved to the states—and what the National sought—“removal of the sex restriction, nothing more, nothing less.

If there were any doubts in 1919 as to the intent of the code words that Paul and Catt used to indicate they would not tamper with the right of states to disfranchise black women, they soon vanished when the woman suffrage movement turned its back on African-American women. Within months of the amendment's ratification in 1920, additional needs of black women became evident. At the November elections of 1920, there were reports from the South of harassment and rights denied. A year later the situation had worsened, and more women met resistance at the polls. The next phase of woman suffrage history had begun. African-American leaders sought the support of white suffragists for investigations into compliance with the Nineteenth Amendment. If earlier refusals to oppose the disfranchisement of blacks in the South could be understood (but not forgiven) as efforts to ensure congressional support for the amendment's passage or state ratification, surely by 1921 white suffragists might find a way to use their new political power to undo the earlier damage. Both Paul's National Woman's Party and Catt's League of Women Voters met in 1921, and both refused to back an investigation. In the League, the debate prompted southern delegates to walk out, and the needs of black women were sacrificed to hold the South within the new organization. The measure met defeat at the Woman's Party convention as well, and the party refused to include black women's disfranchisement on its list of unfinished business of woman's emancipation.

Affirming their political judgment that the first for woman suffrage had been won, suffragists closed their histories at 1920 as well, shunting into a separate history the subsequent suffrage movement embedded within the Civil Rights movement. Carrie Chapman Catt closed her own historical contribution, published first in 1923, with the old resentful refrain about the privileges according black men. Describing the political consciousness “American women” would now bring to the voting booth, she wrote: “American women who know the history of their country will always resent the fact that American wives and mothers, ...” With black women excluded from the categories “American women” and “Negroes” and with the reality of disfranchisement
ignored, Catt chose to close the movement’s history on a divisive and vicious note. The significant part played by African-American women in the ongoing struggle to gain the universal suffrage that had once been the objective of the woman suffrage movement would thereafter come in separate historical packages. National protection of voting rights would be not the achievement of the woman suffrage movement, but the twentieth-century Civil Rights movement. (19-20)

This text can be compared to David Birdsell’s scholarship on Carrie Chapman Catt. Where one sees concessions for partial or limited suffrage, Birdsell argues that Catt did not compromise her argument for universal suffrage. Gordon argues that by closing up shop after 1920 and moving on to other endeavors instead of working for the enfranchisement of Black Americans, white woman suffrage leaders like Catt demonstrated through their actions distinctions between universal suffrage and limited suffrage. Birdsell argues that Catt was an advocate of universal suffrage:

By rooting difference in perspective, not inherency, Lane Catt preserves a traditional ground for fundamental equality. Furthermore, by arguing that immigrants are not bad voters, but susceptible to influences that make them bad voters, she makes her principal distinction the character of the vote—“honest” votes versus “dishonest” votes—rather than the character of the voter. Although this concern was not turned into a fully reasoned position early in her career, she developed a powerful argument for nonpartisan voter education and was a guiding influence in the League of Women Voters. (Birdsell 330)

Rosalyn Terborg-Penn has written about the scholarship on the woman suffrage movement, specifically the roles of black men and women and their neglect by early and contemporary historians. In “The Historical Treatment of Afro-Americans in the Woman’s Movement,” Terborg-Penn explains that the scholarship evolved from the early history of woman’s suffrage movement that omitted black persons to the method of viewing blacks from a “distorted perspective” (Historical Treatment, 250). One of the distortions was the peripheral and minimal inclusion of black women within the woman’s suffrage movement by historians like Aileen Kraditor in The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement. According to Terborg-Penn, Kraditor’s analysis was broader than most scholars because she covered topics of discrimination and “racial chauvinism” of both the suffragists and political leaders. Regarding one of the earlier “documentaries” on the woman suffrage movement, History of Woman Suffrage (volumes V and VI), Terborg-Penn cited the absence of the history of African Americans. Acknowledging that peer and societal pressure contributed to the compromise of principles of some white woman suffrage leaders, Terborg-Penn nevertheless summarized the latter years of the suffrage movement:

“By the second decade of the twentieth century, the woman’s suffrage movement had consciously decided to sacrifice the push for enfranchisement of black women in exchange for support from southern suffragists and Democrats who advocated white supremacy.” (250)
In 1969 Louise R. Noun published *Strong Minded Women: The Emergency of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa*. Her book includes a chapter about Carrie Chapman Catt and her role as a leader of that movement. Absent in Noun's 1969 coverage of Catt were issues of bigotry, xenophobia, and racist policies within the woman's suffrage movement. When asked in 1993 whether Catt was a bigot, Noun responded by authoring an editorial to *The Des Moines Register*. Therein she confirmed Catt's xenophobia and political racism while arguing that this "down side" of Catt's character is not overshadowed by her accomplishments as a suffragist and a peace advocate. Noun asserted the Product of Her Times argument, noting that Catt's "views were generally acceptable in her social milieu." Nearly twenty-four years after *Strong Minded Women*, Noun admitted she was reluctant to admit Catt's bigotry because she did not want it to overshadow Catt's accomplishments. It has been suggested at times that Noun has revised her opinion as expressed in *The Des Moines Register*, but to my knowledge a revision has not been published. More important than Noun's current opinion about Catt is that her editorial essay confirmed issues like bigotry and nativism: those who have asserted similar opinions have been harshly criticized.

To get a good contrast in coverage and interpretation of one historical document, I recommend reading Jacqueline Van Voris's *Carrie Chapman Catt: a Public Life*, and Linda Schott's "'Middle-of-the-Road' Activists: Carrie Chapman Catt and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War." In a letter to the Arrangements Committee of the NCCCW, Catt answered the question of accommodations for black delegates by explaining "the so-called first class hotels have an agreement that no colored person shall be accommodated either by room or in the dining room." To Van Voris, Catt "resented" and blamed the absence of black delegates on the hotel's discriminatory policy. In contrast, Schott's interpretation of the same letter was that Catt "did not seem particularly concerned about such segregation policies," noting that Catt did not recruit African American women to attend the conference, nothing the National Association of Colored Women (with 50,000 members) was not invited to participate. Black women could attend if they were a member of one of the other invited organizations, and apparently if they found "colored families of good standing" in Washington to stay with -- Catt's solution to the hotel's discriminatory policies.

Schott compares Catt's lack of action upon discovery of the hotel's discriminatory policy with the action taken by WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) in 1930 when it learned that the National Council for Prevention of War was to take place in a hotel that discriminated against African Americans. According
to Schott, WILPF and two other pacifist organizations persuaded the National Council for Prevention of War to move its headquarters to the Friends Meeting House.

Schott and Van Voris both discuss various details about the NCCCW, but Schott looks at the organization of the NCCCW and concluded that it defined itself through its membership as "middle-class, European American women" and did not attempt to include working class women or women of color. The positive aspects of the NCCCW, the education of its members about international affairs and the furtherance of the general cause for peace, is confirmed by both Van Voris and Schott. However, Schott concludes that the NCCCW marginalized "other" women who were not middle-class, European American women.

Terborg-Penn wrote more about the scholarship and historical coverage of Black Americans involved in the woman’s suffrage movement in “African American Women and the Vote: An Overview” in African American Women and the Vote 1837-1965. Terborg-Penn explains that “educated suffrage” was a strategy used by some suffragists and was “obviously meant to limit the black and foreign voters.” The debate over educated suffrage is not something created by contemporary scholars looking back on history. Educated suffrage, and its implications, were discussed and debated by Catt’s contemporaries; and some felt that “educated suffrage” was an attempt to disenfranchise Black Americans.

In “Clubwomen and Electoral Politics in the 1922s,” Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham explains that

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, having adopted a states’ rights policy towards its member organizations in 1903, paved the way for its southern wing to argue the expediency of woman’s suffrage in nullifying the intent of the Fifteenth Amendment and buttressing the cause of white supremacy in general. An assent, if not a direct contributor, to the disfranchisement and segregation of southern blacks of both sexes, the strategy assured the denial of black women’s ballots. (136)

Terborg-Penn also notes that after 1920 white suffragists abandoned disfranchised black women (African American Women, 19). Terborg-Penn explains that white suffragists encouraged the involvement of black women during the suffrage movement but it is not assumed their motivation was universal suffrage but instead a tactic to gain the support of black male voters (African American Women, 19). And Higginbotham in “Clubwomen and Electoral Politics” concludes that:

“The Racist policies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association continued in the 1920s with its successor organization, the League of Women Voters, to discourage black participation.” (151)

This is just a sampling of the “negative” claims about Carrie Chapman Catt; more exist in contemporary scholarship. Enough claims exist to warrant a closer reading of Catt’s writings and a more thorough understanding
of historical and political context. Some claims may be hasty generalizations and others based in more careful scholarship and analysis. Iowa State can either lag behind in addressing these claims or support research and scholarly efforts to engage in the current discourse on Carrie Chapman Catt and the woman suffragists.

Works Cited


As I struggled to make sense of the rhetoric of Carrie Chapman Catt, I was always aware of the possibility that there was no "sense" to be made. Going in, I thought it was probable that she was not a consistent philosophical thinker, but a political mind bent on accomplishing her singular goal—the enfranchisement of women—no matter the compromises she might have to make along the way. I have resisted the delusion that I might master her total output and through the pursuit of encyclopedic comprehensiveness somehow see through to the figure hidden in her carpet. While it seemed to me that everyone else speaking on the Catt case had readily staked out their positions and gone to work sifting through the evidence to find the pieces that matched their preferred claim, I hemmed and hummed and hawed, unwilling or unable to make a claim and set about defending it. Still, being part of a species known for its pattern-seeking behavior, I have persisted in trolling for repetitions of key terms and concepts through her diffuse and scrappy corpus of handwritten manuscripts, typed speeches, and poor photocopies of published articles, references, and published accounts of her speaking engagements.

My one certainty throughout my search has been that the unifying theme, the pattern I was after, had not yet been found. The inconsistencies in arguments for and against her made me sure enough of that. And then I finally closed the circle and came to understand how she could reason as she did. I think she was wrong, but I am confident enough to say that she was consistently wrong.

I haven't the time—nor the casual reader probably the patience—to develop the close connection between the abolitionists' arguments against slavery and the antebellum feminists' arguments for universal suffrage. Catt herself spoke often enough of the sense of betrayal and, for her, the humiliation of remaining disenfranchised after black males and "savage Indians" were granted suffrage denied to women. In truth, Mrs. Catt did not think highly of the intelligence of the average person—male or female, and the conviction of her own mental and moral superiority became the lens through which she viewed injustice all her life (if I am reading her right). Encouraged by a common reader's understanding of the prevailing science of her era, she believed that the vast majority of the population—possibly without regard to race or country of origin—were incapable of understanding abstract ideas (70% she supposed on the authority of Dr. Goddard in "College Women as Citizens" in 1922), and so it was the duty of "the thirty per cent of superior-minded people of this country who have brains enough to understand the intricacies of politics" to educate those prone to manipulation by the vote purchasers and "set them on the right track" (615). Ordinary people "think" in slogans such as "Mr. Hylan is a friend of the poor man" without understanding or evidence beyond the slogan. After 1916, Woodrow
Wilson was elected on the slogan "He kept us out of war" and was defeated on the slogan "He sold us out." Her last example contextualizes the post-Civil War struggle for woman's suffrage:

The women would have had the vote fifty years ago if it had not been for a slogan. The whole country united in repeating after the Civil War, "Women must wait; this is the negroes' hour." (617)

A subtle reasoner might fairly distinguish between Mrs. Catt's call to educate the ignorant and illiterate for citizenship and Mississippi's literacy and "understanding" tests as requirements for voting rights. It would be difficult to argue that she believed the "normal" intelligence could make the distinction. Again and again, she can be heard repeating the same theme: let stand whatever qualifications for suffrage are deemed appropriate, but let those qualifications apply equally to men and women. You may hastily conclude that the decision to concentrate on a federal amendment instead of slogging along with the state-by-state drive superceded that argument, but you would do so by forsaking her entirely consistent argument for international woman's suffrage. Her goal was not to change a culture or a stable political system, but to ensure that women would have an equal voice with men in whatever the local system might be. The long-term consequence was—without much doubt—to reinforce the status quo.

An underlying principle
I will argue that Carrie Chapman Catt's representation of American liberty was flawed. If we could understand her error, the prolonged and bitter controversy over renaming Old Botany in her honor might begin to make more sense. Here is Catt's statement of principle as represented in "The American Sovereign," her stump speech for woman's suffrage:

The great underlying principle of the far-famed American liberties, the very foundation of the government itself is that here the will of the majority shall be the law of all. That will is our only ruler, the only sovereign America knows. Take away that sovereign and what kind of government do we possess? Only resumption of power, despotism or anarchy. Yet in many localities in the U.S. this principle is no longer true. The true sovereign has been deposed and the political adventurer has stolen the scepter of power. Unconsciously, the American Sovereign has dropped his ermine and the political boss has donned the imperial robe. (Dated 1888/1892 by the New York Public Library; handwritten manuscript, pp. 64-65)

Was political corruption undermining the American ideal during the 1890's? Absolutely. What Catt got wrong was the nature of that ideal, "the great underlying principle." The same claim is repeated in the same words in Catt's 1924 piece entitled "The Kluxers" where she said: "The education of public opinion, which is the only real sovereign we know in this country, is endangered by these pillow and sheet maskers."

Her fundamental error justified a politics of expediency, and the perpetuation of that same error—I think—accounts for the controversy on this campus. The majority, we have been told, are satisfied with a Hall named Catt; therefore, those who are dissatisfied or questioning should let the matter drop. I have often heard a quotation attributed to Winston Churchill come from the lips of various upper administrators at ISU: "Democracy isn't perfect, but it's better than all the other alternatives."
If the claim were true (and I will argue that it is not), then one could justify almost anything that would bring public opinion around to supporting a worthwhile goal—such as the abolition of slavery or the enfranchisement of women. To expand on Catt’s metaphor: if public opinion (our American sovereign) rules like a drunken and tyrannical king, then we are justified in working against public opinion with whatever tools fall to hand. Indeed, it is the duty of the superior-minded to “set them on the right track.” Her conviction that imported feeblemindedness and insanity were making a dramatic and negative impact on the mental and moral capacities of the average citizen was never, as far as I can determine, repudiated. She completely blurred the line between illiteracy and intelligence.

Didn’t everyone?

No. I offer H. G. Wells as the an influential counter-example. He described the emotions underlying American racism as “a cult” and remarked upon the obvious fact that the blood of Anglo-Saxon nobility flowed through the veins of biracial southerners.

So, just what are the alternatives to democracy?

Aristotle long ago explained the three types of governance devised by human kind: autocracy (kingship), aristocracy, and democracy. Each type can get the job done, but each turns corrupt, Aristotle said, when the base power rules for his/their/its own gratification. The king becomes a tyrant; the aristocracy turns into an oligarchy anxious to protect their right to property conquered, stolen, or even legally gained at the expense of the larger society; the demos, or the people, turn into a mob driven by lust, religious zeal, the passions of prejudice, or greed. The problems described by Aristotle are well known, and our founding fathers were fully aware that the greatest threat to the new republic was human depravity. When the majority population asserts its “majority rule” against the liberties of others within the institutional community, the result is what DeTocqueville termed a tyranny of the majority.

The tyranny of the majority is as real a danger as the tyrant who rules for his own pleasure. Power corrupts—not “tends to corrupt,” as Lord Acton famously supposed. It corrupts. Even the most upright ruler, determined not to yield to the seduction of power, will bend a bit in the name of expediency. After all, the shady means will surely justify a noble end, won’t it? To secure the greater good for the greatest number, surely it won’t do that much harm if we trample the individual rights of a very small minority?

By itself, there is nothing magical about democracy as a sovereign. As Catt rightly observes, democracy is easily corrupted by “the political adventurer” who promises some small advantage, like a couple of dollars or the promise of a job to an immigrant unable to speak English. We are a hierarchical species: we acknowledge established authority and, despite our jealously guarded right to individual expression and cultural identity, we conform to the normative structures of the environment within which we find ourselves. We follow our leaders, and we go along to get along until the status quo becomes intolerable. A clever tyrant will offer up a scapegoat when the community becomes restive and grumbly; an administration committed to diversity will institutionalize normative standards that promote inclusion rather than exclusion.

The majority position stated

Former Dean of LAS, Elizabeth Hoffman reiterates the majority position in a letter to the GSB Catt Hall Review Committee:
alumni and friends across the country took ownership in the legacy of Carrie Chapman Catt and embrace the building as a symbol of that legacy. Hundreds of men and women bought bricks in the Plaza of Heroines, honoring women in their families whom they believed exemplified Catt's legacy. At every campus event involving a Catt Hall open house, hundreds of people come to see the building and find their loved ones in the Plaza.

When the September 29 Movement began to challenge the decision to name Old Botany for Catt, letters and calls poured into my office, asking and pleading with us to not remove Catt's name from the building. Students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds made a point of stopping by the office to tell us they supported keeping the building named for Catt. As you consider the position you wish to take on maintaining the name of Catt Hall, I urge you to consider the fact that, while there is a small, vocal group of opponents, there are thousands of largely silent supporters of Catt among the students, faculty, staff, alumni, and friends of Iowa State.

(October 23, 1998)

It is the university administration's position.

Democracy balanced by a guaranteed protection of individual rights

The genius of our system of government is not democracy; the genius of our system is democracy grounded in a guaranteed protection of individual rights. The underlying principle that sustains our far-famed liberties is the Constitution of the United States, and what it establishes is a balance of powers. As Aristotle noted, corruption results from imbalance. The seeds of this country's corruption were planted within the Constitution itself when (for reasons of expediency to secure passage of the document itself) a slave was counted as a 3/5th person and women counted for naught. But the balancing element was always there within the Constitution: slavery and the disenfranchisement of adult women were always at odds with the assertion of the inalienable rights of individuals. But that, as an argument, was given up on after the passage of the 14th Amendment in 1866 explicitly excluded women from the Constitution for the first time.

To put the problem in rhetorical terms: presumption is always on the side of individual rights. The burden of proof lies with whoever would violate our guaranteed protections. This is the theme of On Liberty, co-authored by Harriet Taylor (deceased) and John Stuart Mill and published the year of Carrie Lane's birth. The question posed by the Mills was fundamental to a free society that also values domestic tranquility: when is the society justified in controlling the behavior of the individual? Whoever would presume to control an individual, said the Mills, has the burden of proving the violation of individual rights is absolutely necessary to the preservation of society itself. The principle of yielding to individual rights when they conflict with the will of the majority is not an algorithm for resolving controversy, anymore than majority opinion is our sovereign.

Because slavery and the disenfranchisement of women are inconsistent with the presumption of an individual's inalienable rights, logic entailed that eventually reason ought to prevail. To hand the presumption back to majority opinion is tantamount to granting authority to a mob. The logical analysis of Catt's reasoning is particularly relevant, I think, because it was so frequently remarked upon by her contemporaries. The fact that her speeches had the external trappings of logic enhanced their appeal at the time. As a rhetorician concerned about the
demise of logic in the education of the common reader (the educated citizen) at the turn of the century and as a quasi-informal-logician myself, I have found this aspect of the debate (if such it is) most interesting. Rhetorical scholars of today have noted Catt's constant appeals to logic, and local advocates on Catt's behalf have used the existence of logical structures within her arguments as evidence of their cogency.

Farwell Brown and anonymous others have even claimed that the infamous "Chapter Six," in which she demonstrates persuasively that white supremacy will not be threatened by female suffrage, is a commonly recognized method of "refutation" called "reversal." The rhetor proves the falsity of the opposing claim while abrogating any ethical responsibility for the consequences of that refutation. Are they serious?

If you argue that white supremacy will be threatened by woman's suffrage and that result would be awful, can I argue without taking on the ethical burden of the claim that, in fact, white supremacy will not be threatened? It seems preposterous on its face. A standard method of revealing the underlying structure of one bad argument is to make another outrageous argument in the same form. For example:

If you argue that the free practice of prostitution will be threatened by X, and I demonstrate to you that it won't at all, can I avoid the charge of complicity in traffic in prostitution?

If you argue that parents will be prevented from beating their children by X, and I demonstrate to you that child welfare will remain a parental prerogative under X, can I make a credible claim that I oppose child abuse? Surely not.

Who would make such claims in good faith? It is hard, I think, for the honest native speaker of America English to deny awareness of my presumed approval of each preposterous utterance. Ethical neutrality in the face of evil is not a credible option. Did someone at Iowa State College during the 1880's teach The Crescent Debating Society that it was a perfectly legitimate rhetorical move? It would be interesting to find out who it was and on what authority; even more interesting would be to find out what rhetorician on this same campus today would teach the same strategy. Not, I'll wager, someone who teaches Aristotle, Quintilian, Whately, Mill, or Toulmin.

In a perverse (some will say a "typical") rhetorical move, while working on the recommendations the GSB Catt Hall Review Committee might make, I slipped in one of my own: "The Committee did not vote to censure President Jischke or the upper administration," I wrote. Such an uprising of protest and horror rose up from my colleagues on the committee, I was quickly voted down. Even though the statement is entirely true, what it doesn't say is far more troubling than what it does.

To get back to Aristotle, no argument is value free. "Reversal" is certainly a rhetorical move, but it carries profound ethical consequences, and everybody knows it. If you look closely enough in Catt's most offending speeches, you will—it is true—come across subtle disclaimers; however, you must assume that Catt knew what she was doing, what kind of argument she was making. If missing those subtle disclaimers is "taking her words out of context," then we had best go back and look at the entire context.

In hasty conclusion
Historians do not separate characters from past times into heroes, villains, and bit players.
Biographers do not search out and reveal the underlying morality of their subjects.
Rhetoricians do not provide the one true interpretation of what was said or written. "That noble
dream” of objectivity has been abandoned by the present generation of academics, if any serious scholar, past or present, ever really believed in the possibility of achieving it in the first place. And yet there are limits to interpretation: an event happened or it didn’t; a speech was written in a language we share or it wasn’t; a politically powerful man stood in a school house door refusing to let American citizens go inside or not. Those things it would be perverse to deny we call facts. Getting the facts right is the first obligation of researchers, teachers, and students.

When history is written (or rewritten) to support a political agenda, we call it propaganda. When biography is written to praise or honor the subject, we call it hagiography. When an interpretation is written to prove a predetermined theory, we call it—alas—rhetoric. Propaganda, hagiography, and ethically obtuse reasoning ought not be passed off as credible academic research, no matter how noble the goal.

In the controversy over renaming Old Botany after Carrie Chapman Catt, the most troubling suggestion made for reaching resolution was that the university should commission an scholar to come research the evidence. If ISU had no historians, no biographers, no rhetoricians who could speak to the community in conflict about how such research should be done, the idea might have some merit.

It is the responsibility of the university community to make good academic sense out of this controversy. The real losers throughout this public embarrassment are those in the large homogeneous European-American student body who might have grown in personal maturity and enhanced their capacity to live and work in an inhomogeneous world, but who have instead learned from their elders to discount, disparage, and disrespect those who exercise their rights as citizens in a free society.

People who make a difference in the world are often flawed; they stumble, they learn from their mistakes, correct them as best they can and go on. To be flawed is to be human. In her own statement (attached) Charlotte Nelson from the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women quotes Alice Walker from Anything We Love Can Be Saved: “it is the awareness of having faults, I think, and the knowledge that this links us to everyone on earth, that opens us to courage and compassion.” Exactly.

Denial is among the most common human foibles, but unlike the other human failures, denial closes us off from both courage and compassion. Denial is a rejection of self-knowledge, and stonewalling is probably its most common manifestation.

This entire episode has been an embarrassment to the university, and the students of the September 29 Movement are not the cause of that embarrassment. When Meron Wondwosen, Milton McGriff, and Allan Nosworthy were arrested and put on conduct probation for actions that “adversely affected the academic community” (sitting in President Jischke’s reception area waiting for an appointment), Thomas Jefferson must have turned over in his coffin and banged his skull against the satin pillow. Every single claim of injury and every individual challenge to the decisions or behavior of university administrators is a challenge to the integrity of the institution itself. The open confession that upper administrators are not allowed to disagree with the president has, in my opinion, had a chilling effect on the entire campus climate. The Society Against Academic Dishonesty has accused members of the September 29 Movement with academic dishonesty under a thin veil of anonymity without putting forward anything that would constitute substantiating evidence, and to my knowledge, I am the only person on campus who has objected in a public forum to that behavior.

What you don’t say sometimes makes as much difference as what you do say. Public opinion is no sovereign, and our institution is not supposed to be an autocracy.
Speeches of Carrie Chapman Catt

New York Public Library:

The American Sovereign
1888/1892

Subject and Sovereign
1888/1892

The Bible and Woman Suffrage
1890/1981

President’s Address
1902

Statement to the Judiciary committee, U.S. House of Representatives
February 16, 1904

Empire State Campaign Committee Report
1914

Speech Before the Congressional Committee
1915

Speech, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
March 7, 1916

The Crisis
1916

A National Survey
1916

A Call to Action
April 13, 1921

Baccalaureate Address, University of Wyoming
December 1921

The Problem Stated
1924

Men, Women and War
April 1925
Report of the Sixty Anniversary League of Nations Dinner
January 11, 1926

Opening Address
December 6, 1926

The Status of War v. Peace
1927

Three Times Three
July 18, 1927

World Alliance for International Friendship
November 14, 1934

International Farm Women
June 4, 1936

What Shall We Do About War?
November 11, 1946

What Shall We Do About War?
December 8, 1936

Speech at the Cause and Cure Dinner
1938

The Inheritance of the Woman Movement
April 14, 1938

The Outlook Today
October 19, 1938

The Happenings of Eight Years
January 9, 1939

Who Can Answer?
December 8, 1939
Address to the Congress of the United States by the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association
1917

Address of the President at the 7th Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Budapest, Hungary
1913

An Address to the Legislatures of the United States
1919

Do You Know?
1914

The Nation Calls: an Address to the Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association
1919

Feminism and Suffrage
1914

How to Work for Suffrage in an Election District or Voting Precinct
1917

Mrs. Catt's International Address at the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Amsterdam, Holland
1908

Our Real Enemy
1918

Political Parties and Woman Voters
1920

Presidents Address before the 34th annual convention of NAESA and the First International Woman Suffrage Conference, Washington D.C.
1902

President's Annual Address, Washington D.C.
1904
War Aims War Messages to the American People
1917

The Presidential Address delivered to the Sixth Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Stockholm, Sweden
1911

Carrie Chapman Catt Collection, Microfilm Collection, Library of Congress

An Appeal for Liberty
1915

Be Joyful Today
1920

A Call for Action
1921 and 1943

The Case for Woman Suffrage
Undated

The Enfranchisement of Women
Undated

Feminism
Undated

Gaps in the Machinery of Peace
1930

The Hope of the Founders
Undated as to year

Is Our Foreign Policy at Fault?
1927

The League of Women Voters
Undated

Looking Forward
Undated

Men, Women, and War
1925
A Message to the Home
Undated

The National Calls: An Address to the Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association
1919

Nazis and Nazism
1938

Neutrality
1935

On the Inside
1920

Partisans or Non-Partisans
1921

Peace or War—What Shall We Do About It?
1923

Political Parties and Women Voters
1920

Poverty After War
Undated

The Price of Peace
1935

Scattered Thoughts About After-War Reconstruction
Undated

Ten Suggestions to Young Workers for Peace
Undated

Then...and Now
1939

They Shall Not Pass
Undated

This Changing World
1930
The Traffic in Women 1899

1936
The Vote as a Safeguard of Democracy

1923
War or Peace

What Have Women Done With the Suffrage?
Undated

What is the Monroe Doctrine?
1929

What Shall We Do About War?
1936

Who Won Suffrage?
Undated

Woman Suffrage as a War Measure
1918

Woman Suffrage Now Will Stimulate Patriotism
Undated

The Woman’s Century
1936

Woman Voters at the Crossroads
1919

Untitled
1892

1900

1902

1904

1905

1908

1916

1917 (three folders)

1918 (two folders)

1920 (three folders)

1921
1923 (two folders)
1925 (two folders)
1926
1928 (two folders)
1930 (three folders)
1931 (two folders)
1932 (two folders)
1933
1934
1935 (five folders)
1936 (two folders)
1937 (two folders)
1938
1939 (eight folders)
1940
1944 (two folders)

Fragments (four folders)
Notes for speeches (two folders)
Undated speeches (two folders)
Lecture notes (two folders)

Poverty After War
Undated

The Price of Peace
1935

Scattered Thoughts About After-War Reconstruction
Undated

Ten Suggestions to Young Workers for Peace
Undated

Then, and Now
1939

They Shall Not Pass
Undated

This Changing World
READING MATERIALS SUBMITTED TO EACH MEMBER OF THE G.S.B. CATT COMMITTEE:

The material submitted to the committee came from three individuals: Lynn Wellnitz (W), Tim Lane (L), and Jane Cox (C). What follows is but a small sampling of the thousands of primary documents available.

PRIMARY SOURCES CONCERNING CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

1888
“The American Sovereign” (speech probably given through 1892) NYPL (W)
“Subject and Sovereign” (speech probably given through 1892) NYPL (W)

1890
Publicity pamphlet for Catt as a lecturer listing the titles of her first public speeches and reviews that discuss them. (C)

1892
Speech by Catt to the Congressional Hearings for Woman Suffrage. This is the first Hearing at which she spoke. She urges a Federal Amendment. (C)

1893
“The Boston Tea Party” a speech delivered by Catt in Boston where she describes working with labor in the suffrage campaign in Colorado. Printed in The Woman’s Journal (C)

1899
“The Traffic in Women”, a speech (C and W)

1900
Catt’s speech given at a Hearing before the U.S. Senate. Catt is urging a Federal Amendment. (C)

1903
Page from minutes of the National American Woman Suffrage Association noting the answer made by Dr. Anna Shaw to the question “Will not woman suffrage make the
black woman the political equal of the white woman and does not political equality mean social equality?” (C)

1904
page from the minutes of the National American Woman Suffrage Association describing Catt’s response to Miss Kearney’s speech praising Anglo-Saxon supremacy (C)

Catt’s address to NAWSA as printed in The Woman’s Journal, delivered February 17, Washington D.C. (W)

1908
“Mrs. Catt’s International Address” delivered as President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, at the Congress in Amsterdam, June 15 (C)

1909
“The Party Plan” and “More Votes for Women” Catt, as President of the International Suffrage Alliance discusses women’s rights in various parts of the world. Published in The Woman Voter (C)

1913
“Gave up Jingoism Many Years Ago” Short article printed in The Woman’s Journal discussing a speech Catt gave to the New Jersey State Suffrage Convention. (C)

1914
Excerpts from Catt’s speech delivered as President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, a position she held for over twenty years. (C)

1915
Catt’s speech given at the Senate Hearing of 1915. She urges a Federal Amendment. (C)

Catt’s “Suffrage Platform” as printed by The Woman’s Journal of June 12. In this platform Catt describes how no suffrage association has endorsed any party or reform other than “the right of every individual citizen to have his or her opinion at the ballot-box. (C)

“Our Real Enemy” Catt describes “rich women” and those who are paid by them as the real enemies of the right to vote for women. (C)
“God and the People” Catt discuss that popular government, with no privileged class based on religion, wealth, race, or sex to claim especial God-given powers, will become an established fact. (C)

“Disfranchisement” by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Copies were also sold by the organization. (C)

The announcement of the “National Grange in Favour of Votes for Women”. Catt had worked with local granges since 1890. (C)

1916
Article published in the February 12 issue of The Woman’s Journal in which Catt states that the concentration must be changed from the states to a national concentration and a Federal Amendment. (C)

Article by Catt published in the March 11 issue of The Woman’s Journal again directing women to fight for the Federal Amendment using “all the force that can be brought to bear” on national legislators. (C)

The “National Call” to the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention printed in The Woman’s Journal of July 29. Catt began to again to direct focus toward a Federal Amendment rather than State’s Rights (C)

Catt’s speech to a 1916 Chicago suffrage meeting. She asked for women to compel Congress to make it “submit the nation-wide suffrage amendment, and a power behind your Legislatures to make them ratify it.” (C)

“Response” (actually speech titled The Crisis) delivered before NAWSA LOC (W)

“The Crisis” as printed in The Woman’s Journal (C)

Correspondence Course in Suffrage presented by the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. Catt headed the Empire State Campaign Committee. Lesson 10 “Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered” deals with the major objections to giving women the right to vote in the state of New York. (C)

Lesson 8 in the same course makes the argument that suffrage will help working women. (C)

“The Planks of 1916” as published in The Woman’s Journal and the State’s Rights call of the Republican and Democratic parties. (C)

1917
Catt's speech to the Senate Suffrage Committee given on April 20. She urges a Federal Amendment (C)

The speech as reported in The Woman's Journal of April 28. Catt condemns “sectionalism, State's rights, political party balance, and other forms of mental anesthesia”. (C)

Catt's remarks as the Forty-Ninth national convention began as published in The Woman Citizen. She said in part, “It is as a political issue that the Federal Amendment must now be dealt with by Congress. (C)

“Votes for All, A Symposium” published in the November issue of The Crisis (W)

Chapter 6 from Woman Suffrage by Federal Constitutional Amendment, a book edited by Catt. Also Chapter 6 as printed as a suffrage pamphlet by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. in 1919 (W)

“How to Work for Suffrage in an Election District or Voting Precinct” Catt describes how to best accomplish getting voters to support woman suffrage (C)

“What the Vote Will Do For the Woman”. Catt writes of how the woman voter will be able to “answer to her conscience and to her social ideals.” (C)

Press release issued after the winning the right for women to vote in the state of New York. Catt announces that the suffragist will move on to Washington D.C. to ask for a Federal Amendment. (C)

1918
Catt's article published in The Woman Citizen on March 2 describing the three major types of opposition to the Federal Amendment as opposed to State’s rights. (C)

A report on the hearings before the House Woman Suffrage Committee published in The Woman's Journal on January 12. Again Catt disputes with members of the House on the question of State’s Rights. (C)

“Address to the Congress of the United States” (C and W)

Page from the minutes of the National American Woman Suffrage Association describing Catt's address and her response to the “negro problem” as raised at the 1918 meeting of NAWSA (C)

“The Citizen and the Vote” An editorial in The Woman Citizen describing how finally in South Dakota votes would no longer be given to immigrants before they became citizens. (C)
"In Advance of the Vote" An editorial in The Woman's Citizen answering Mr. Bailey of Texas who is opposed to a Constitutional Amendment (C)

1919

"The Nation Calls: An Address to the Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association" delivered March 24 in St. Louis, Missouri (C and W)

"An Address to the Legislatures of the United States" Catt pleads for a Federal Amendment (C)

"First Steps in the Suffrage Movement" an article in The Woman Citizen including the exact wording of the proposed amendment giving all women the Constitutional right to vote. (C)

"What Next?" Article printed in the American Legion Weekly concerning intolerance. (C)

1920

Catt’s "Last Speech for Ratification" made March 27 where she describes how state's rights is a lost cause and that the people will govern. (C)

A letter from Catt sent to her friend Mary Peck describing how two Southern women are “appealing to Negrophobia and every other cave man’s prejudice.” Dated August 15 (C)

Catt’s address delivered in Geneva, Switzerland calling for “encouragement [to be] given to all national organizations struggling to establish man or woman suffrage or both.” (C)

"Why the Southeastern States of the U.S. Refused Suffrage to Women" New York Public Library (W)

"Political Parties and Women Voters" Catt discusses the “States Rightsy” attitude and the problems it created. Address delivered in Chicago, Illinois on February 14 (C)

The sixth of a series of articles on citizenship published in The Woman Citizen. This describes the problems caused the world by the Caucasian race. (C)

Pages from the minutes of the National American Woman Suffrage Association minutes describing African-American women voting in Nashville, Tennessee (C)

1921
"The Truth About the Black Troops on the Rhine" Editorial published in *The Woman Citizen* written in defense of the black troops. (C)

"Baccalaureate Address" delivered at University of Wyoming, June 12 (W)

"Dead Wrong" Editorial in *The Woman Citizen* describing the difficulty of getting the word "white" and the word "male" out of the state constitutions. (C)

"The Rights of Women in the Moslem World" editorial printed in *The Woman Citizen* (C)

1922

"College Women as Citizens" a speech given to the New York Alumnae Club reprinted in the June issue of *The Arrow* LOC (W)

"Call to the Third Annual Convention of the Pan-American Conference of Women" Catt was President (C)

"A Glimpse of Gandhi" Catt describes her 1911 meeting with Gandhi in Johannesburg, South Africa. *The Woman Citizen*, March 25 (C)

1923

"Resolutions adopted at the 1923 International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting in Rome". This calls for women of all nations "to promote the conception of human solidarity as superior to racial or national solidarity." (C)

*Woman suffrage and politics: the inner story of the suffrage movement* Book co-authored by Catt (W)

"Brazil" One in a series of articles concerning countries involved in the Pan-American Conference. Catt was President. (C)

"Summing Up South America" printed in *The Woman Citizen* concerning Catt’s travels as President of the Pan American Association. (C)

1924

"The Kluxers" Editorial appearing in *The Woman Citizen* concerning Catt’s view of the Klan. (C)
"The Three I's"  Catt's speech describing the support of the Federal Educational Bill, the Child Labor Amendment, and the enforcement of law and peace of the world as ideals women support.  (C)

"Are You a Normal?"  (W)

Front page of El Sufragista published in Cuba and describing Catt's visit to that country  (C)

1925
"Men Women and War"  Excerpts from an Address before the New York Society for Ethical Culture (W)

Letter to National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War Arrangement Committee  (W)

Catt's remarks during the first Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. She stresses land the white race has stolen.  (C)

1927
"Is Our Foreign Policy at Fault or Elements in a Constructive Foreign Policy"  Address Given in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 23  (W)

"Preamble" Catt discusses and is critical of American foreign policy  (C)

Letter from Women's International League for Peace and Freedom thanking Catt for her support. Also included are two pages of the Statement of Policies one of which mentions the passage of federal legislation against lynching.  (C)

"Peace and Pacific Relations" speech given at the Second Meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations reprinted in The Woman Citizen  (C)

1928
A radio broadcast delivered by Catt urging all to vote. She ridicules women who lie the "teas and bridges" but did not vote "because it was too much trouble."  (C)

A radio broadcast concerning the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. Catt asks for tolerance.  (C)

1929
"What is the Monroe Doctrine?" Address by Catt to the Fourth Conference on Cause and Cure of War, Washington, D.C. reprinted in The Woman's Journal (C)

1930
"Message From Mrs. Catt" Catt describes progress since she worked on the establishment of the League of Nations. (C)

1933
"American Women Speak Out" Article from America Hebrew and Jewish Tribune describing the work of Catt and the petition she established to support the Jews in Europe (C)

"Honor to Whom Honor is Due" Address given when Catt was awarded the American Hebrew Medal presented by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. (C)

1936
An address delivered by Catt at a banquet of International Farm Women in 1936. She mentions the one thing which she is sure interests all women, "the women of all continents, of all races and nations, of all classes and kinds—and that is the Abolition of War." (C)

"The Woman's Century 1820-1920" A Message to Sweet Briar College, delivered June 9 (W)

1938
"Nazis and Nazism" address delivered at the Fifth Annual Luncheon of the American Jewish Congress March 30 (W)

1939
"Speech given on the Pan Hellanic Program", New York World's Fair June 13 (W)

"Then and Now" Address at 80th Birthday Celebration, January 9 (W)

Radio Broadcast delivered June 23. Catt calls on "every man and woman" to render the highest and most effective service to the fundamental task of making a democracy. (C)

1940
Catt's address at the Woman's Centennial Congress, November 25 (C)
Pages of the Mission Statement of the Congress written by Catt (C)

1947
Telegrams at the death of Catt: (1) from Mary Church Terrell, first President of the National Association of Colored Women (2) from Luisa Frias de Hempel, President of the Union de Mujeres Americanas (3) from a representative of the "Hungarian Feministak Egyesulete", (4) from a representation of the "World Festivals for Friendship", and from Elizabeth Christman representing the National Women’s Trade Union League (C)

Undated
Speech fragment. This discusses the situation of women in the world and concludes that “The one result of the tyrant, the bigotry, the superstition of ages past has been to limit the opportunities of human beings.” (C)

Speech Catt states that “the race” is divided into races, nations, sexes, and classes and yet it is “one and indissoluble.” She states that all “realize the oneness of their purpose, they cheer each other on, and lend a helping hand when one falters, that they may arrive at the summit together. (C)

Speech fragment in which Catt discuss the “last stand” objection, “that women to not want to vote.” (C)

Our Real Enemy published by National American Woman Suffrage Association (C)

“The Enfranchisement of Women” delivered by Catt as President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. (C)

“Ten Commandments for an Ideal Democracy” (C)

Speech on slavery. Untitled (C)

SECONDARY SOURCES
1929
Young, Rose, The Record of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., 1917-1929 (L)

1973
Frederick Douglass and Woman Suffrage printed in *The Black Scholar*, March-April (W)

1983

Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn, "Discontented Black Feminists: Prelude and Postscripts to the Passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in *Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement 1920-1940* (W)

1986
Andolsen, Barbara. *Daughters of Jefferson, Daughters of Bootblacks* (W)

1987
Takaki, Ronald "Reflections on Racial Patters in America: An Historical Perspective from *Different Shores: perspectives on race and ethnicity in America.* (W)

1988

1989

1993

Lebsock, Suzanne Woman Suffrage and White Supremacy: A Virginia Case Study printed in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (W)

1996

Schott, Linda Middle of the Road Activists Carrie Chapman Catt and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War printed in *Peace and Change*, January (W)

1997
Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn African American Women and the Vote: An Overview printed in *African-American Women and the Vote 1837-1965* Edited by Ann Gordon (W)

1998
Lane, Tim A., 100 Reasons Why ISU, All Iowa, and the Nation Should Honor Carrie Lane Chapman Catt (L)

Chronology and Historical Context of Catt's Life
Chronology and Historical Context of Catt's Life
CHRONOLOGY OF CATT’S LIFE

1859
Carrie Chapman Catt is born in Ripon, Wisconsin

1877
After teaching and earning money for her advanced education, Catt enters Iowa State College as a sophomore

1880
Catt graduates with a Bachelor of Science degree and is the highest ranked person in the class of 1880.

1883
After working as an assistant in a lawyers office and teaching high school, Catt is made superintendent of schools at Mason City, IA

1885
Catt marries Leo Chapman, former reporter for the Des Moines Register, and now owner of the Mason City Republican. Catt begins to write columns for the newspaper and circulates a petition through Mason City which supports women's suffrage. She then sends it to the Iowa Legislature

1886
Leo Chapman dies of typhoid.
1887
Catt begins to support herself through lecturing through the Mid-west and is appointed state organizer of the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association.

1888
Catt attends her first National Convention of the Association for the Advancement of Women, and later is elected Recording Secretary of the Iowa Suffrage Association.

1890
She attends first National Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and gives first speech before this group. She also marries a classmate from Iowa State, George Catt. Carrie Catt then takes part, with Susan B. Anthony and others, in her first state suffrage campaign in South Dakota. She makes hundreds of speeches in grain elevators, barns, school houses, in open fields, from open wagons, etc.

1892
Catt again attends the National Convention of NAWSA and is selected by Susan B. Anthony to be one of the speakers at the suffrage hearing granted by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives; she is also made Finance Chairman of NAWSA and organizes the Mississippi Valley Conference for woman’s suffrage.

1893
Catt is appointed chair of the Committee on Civil Law and Government of the Columbian Exposition, more popularly known as the Chicago World’s Fair. She is then asked to organize the campaign for suffrage in the state of Colorado. The state suffrage workers at the time are twenty-eight in number and have managed to raise $25.00. Catt travels widely in Colorado and speaks in all but five counties. Suffrage is passed in the state.

1894
Catt works in the New York Constitutional Convention campaign and the Kansas campaign. In Kansas Catt spoke in all but two of the hundred and five counties. Suffrage fails in both states.

1895
Catt accompanies Susan B. Anthony on tour of five Southern states. Catt speaks in African-American churches and organizations. This is her first speaking tour of the South. Anthony appoints Catt chairman of the Organization Committee of NAWSA.

1896
Catt addresses Republican, Democratic, Silver Republican, and Populist conventions to ask for a suffrage plank. She also speaks in Idaho campaign where suffrage is passed; then she organizes the California campaign. The cities of California defeat the amendment. Catt also addresses state conventions in Nevada, Iowa, Kansas, and Ohio.
1897
Catt continues fundraising, organizing, and campaigning in Iowa, South Dakota and Illinois.

1899
Catt campaigns in Oklahoma and Arizona trying to get suffrage bills passed. Her father dies. Catt spends rest of the year in fund raising and attends state conventions in Ohio, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, Utah, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nebraska, and Kentucky. During this, her last year as chairman of the Organization Committee, she visits twenty states and traveled over 13,000 miles. She earns her own expenses by lecture fees and sleeps in private homes.

1900
Catt is elected President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and campaigns in Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, Massachusetts. She also addresses the platform committee of the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties. She organizes a plan of work for each state.

1901
Catt campaigns in Massachusetts and Connecticut. She hears Emma Goldman speak and is interested to learn that Goldman did not believe that women OR men should have the right to vote.

1902
Catt organizes an international suffrage meeting in Washington. Countries with delegates attending are Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Turkey, Russia, Australia, and Chile. She also campaigns in the Western states and speaks at the National Education Association meeting. She leads the New Hampshire effort to win suffrage, living at a boarding house as she does so. When suffrage loses, she is told that elections in New Hampshire must be paid for if they are to be won.

1903
Catt’s husband and Mother both become ill. Catt decides to resign as President at the next meeting in February, 1904.

1904
As the health of members of her family appear to be improving, Catt organizes and is elected President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The first meeting is held in Berlin and conducted in three languages.

1905
Catt’s husband and Susan B. Anthony die. Catt becomes director of Women’s Peace Circle.

1906
The International Woman Suffrage Alliance of which Catt is President meets in Denmark. Catt also visits Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Slovakia to speak on behalf of women’s rights.

1907
Catt’s brother and mother die. She is appointed the NAWSA delegate to the First National Arbitration and Peace Congress held at Carnegie Hall.

1908
Catt travels to Amsterdam to organize IWSA’s international meeting. Catt also organizes the Interurban Suffrage Council of Greater New York in an effort to unite the suffrage efforts of New York City.

1909
Catt works to organize suffrage plans in England, Hungary, Slovakia, and Germany

1910
Catt founds the Woman Suffrage Party to begin work to try to win the state of New York and to work for suffrage in the political arena.

1911
Catt collapses shortly after making a speech before the National Suffrage Association and is near death. She is ordered by her doctor to rest for two years. She decides that she will travel around the world speaking for suffrage.

1912
Catt leaves U.S. for South Africa where she meets Gandhi, then travels across the Red Sea to Jerusalem, Palestine, Beirut, Port Said, Cairo, Ceylon, India, Burma, Sumatra, Java, Hong Kong, Philippines, Canton, Shanghai, Peking, Tokyo, Hawaii, and California. Catt spoke about women’s rights on every stop and on the ships as well.

1913
Catt attends suffrage meetings in England and Hungary as well as holding the meeting of the IWSA.

1914
She continues to direct the New York suffrage campaign and work for suffrage in England.

1915
Catt as head of the Empire State Campaign Committee spends the year organizing the state of New York for a bid for woman’s suffrage. She speaks and works in 52 of the 62 counties in the state of New York and raises $20,000. The bid was defeated; two days later Catt starts a campaign to introduce the bill in the state again. At the national convention of NAWSA in December, Catt is asked by membership from every state to again become president. She finally accepts.
1916
Catt tours Western states, attends the Mississippi Valley Conference, attends the Republican and Democratic conventions and tries to get a plank in the platform to support suffrage. She also speaks in Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Topeka, and Des Moines. At the national meeting of NAWSA Catt gives a speech that says all forces will now be concentrated on a Federal Amendment.

1917
President Wilson appoints Catt as member of the National Defense Committee. She speaks in Denver, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Toronto, Columbus, New York. She works in the states of Indiana, Maine, New York. New York passes woman’s suffrage, a measure which was felt would greatly push the possible Federal Amendment forward.

1918
The Suffrage Amendment finally passes the House, but fails passage in the Senate by two votes. Catt’s plan to defeat four Senator’s opposed goes into operation. Catt mainly travels between New York and Washington building support for the Amendment in the next session of Congress.

1919
Catt establishes the League of Women Voters. She also is asked by President Wilson to speak in support of the League of Nations and travels through the U.S. doing so. Congress passes the proposed Amendment; it passes by a margin of only two votes in the Senate and the drive for ratification begins.

1920
Catt assumes the opposition would be seen most strongly in the conservative East and South, but Eastern states for the most part pass the Amendment. Catt campaigns in Utah, South Dakota, Illinois, Colorado, California, New Mexico. Energies are not directed toward states believed to be “unwinable”. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance meets for the first time since the war in Geneva. Catt attends but immediately returns to the U.S. where only one more state is needed for ratification. She travels to Tennessee for the final battle. Tennessee is won by one vote and thirty-six state legislatures having ratified, the Nineteenth Amendment becomes law.

1921
Catt is awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Iowa State College and an honorary Ph.D. from Smith College

1922
Catt organizes and is asked to become President of the Pan American Women’s Conference. She writes “Woman Suffrage and Politics” in only a few months and then travels to Rome for the IWSA meeting. She then goes to Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and England again lecturing and organizing for women’s rights. Later in the year Catt travels to South America to help women there organize.
1924
Catt organizes a national Conference on the Cause and Cure of War

1925
The Conference held in January and has 450 delegates representing five million women members of the nine sponsoring organizations. Afterwards Catt embarks on a lecture tour in behalf of the World Court and Kellogg Pact.

1926
Catt organizes the second Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.

1932
Catt retires as chair of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.

1933
Catt is awarded the American Hebrew medal “for promoting better understanding between Christians and Jews” presented by Eleanor Roosevelt.

1936
Catt is honored by Turkey as a feminist leader and a stamp is issued in her honor there.

1940
Catt organizes the Woman’s Centennial Congress and later in the year the National Institute of Social Sciences confers on her their gold medal for eminent achievements. Moravian College for Women awards Catt a LL.D degree

1941
Chi Omega gold medal is awarded to Catt. The presentation is made by Eleanor Roosevelt at the White House.

1975
Catt is elected to the Iowa Women’s Hall of Fame

1992
Catt is named one of the ten most important women of the century.
Historical context

of Carrie Chapman Catt's Life

(1859-1947)

Column A compiled by

Jan Beran

and Jane Cox

Column B compiled by

Lynn Wellnitz

and Virginia Allen
Historical context of Carrie Chapman Catt's Life (1859-1947)

1859
Oregon becomes a state
On the Origin of Species by Charles Darwin published
Critique of Political Economy by Karl Marx published
Work on Suez Canal begun
Sioux Wars (1854-1890) between U.S. troops and Sioux nation continue

1860
Abraham Lincoln elected 16th President
Lenoir constructs first practical internal-combustion engine
Baseball becomes popular in New York and Boston.
914,000 emigrate from Ireland to U.S.
First horse-drawn tram

1861
Kansas becomes a state
Confederate States of America formed.
Civil War begins
Emancipation of serfs in Russia
Pasteur discovers the germ theory of fermentation
Krupp begins arms production in Germany
U.S. population grows to 32 million

1862
Battle of Bull Run and Fredericksburg
Gatling constructs a 10-barrel gun
Red Cross founded
Little Crow leads successful uprising against settlers in Minnesota. Hundreds are killed.

1863
Emancipation Proclamation issued on Jan 1
Arizona and Idaho organized as territories
U.S. Congress establishes free city mail delivery

1864
General Sherman marches from Chattanooga through Georgia
African American sailor awarded U.S. Congressional Medal of Honor (Joachim Pease, for his role in the naval battle
Abraham Lincoln re-elected
Territory of Montana organized
Pasteur invents pasteurization for wine
Grant becomes Commander-in-Chief of Union Army

1865
Confederate States of America surrender
Abraham Lincoln assassinated
13th Amendment abolishes slavery
Atlantic cable completed
Ku Klux Klan founded in Pulaski, Tenn.
[Question of fact here. Indiana should get the honor?]
First woman appointed as professor of astronomy, Vassar College

1866
14th Amendment to US Constitution prohibits voting discrimination against men who are citizens, denies government office to certain Civil War rebels, and repudiates Confederate war debts
Alfred Nobel invents dynamite

1867
Nebraska becomes a state
Russian sells Alaska to U.S.
Marie Curie born
Discovery of South African diamond field
Gold discovered in Wyoming

1868
President Johnson impeached in House but acquitted by Senate
Revolution in Spain
Grant elected President of U.S.
Little Women is published
First Trades Union Congress held at Manchester, England

between USS Kearsage and the USS Alabama off the coast of France)

1865
Congress establishes Freedmen’s Bureau

1866
Fisk University, an historically black school, opens
Race riot in Memphis, Tennessee. 48 persons die.
Race riot in New Orleans, Louisiana. 35 died; over 100 wounded.

1867
Howard University, an historically black university, opens
Atlanta University, an historically black college, is chartered

1868
Hampton Institute (now Hampton University), an historically black college, opens
First black Lieutenant Governor, Oscar J. Dunn, Louisiana
1869 (Carrie Lane is 10)
Parliamentary system reintroduced in France
U.S. National Prohibition Party formed in Chicago
Gandhi born
*On the Subject of Women* by J. S. Mill
*Hereditary Genius* by Francis Galton
published (pioneering treatise on eugenics)
Mendeleev formulates his periodic law for the classification of the elements

1870
Franco-Prussian War
Lenin born
John D. Rockefeller founds Standard Oil

1871
British Act of Parliament legalizes labor unions
U.S. population at 39 million

1872
Civil War in Spain
Ballot Act in Britain—voting by secret ballot
Grant re-elected
Brooklyn Bridge opened
Edison perfects the “duplex” telegraph

1873
Abolition of slave markets in Zanzibar
Germans evacuate France
Color photographs first developed

1870
First African American appointed to West Point (James Webster Smith of South Carolina)
First African American to sit in U.S. Senate (Hirman Revels of Mississippi)

1871
Congress passes Ku Klux Klan Act in an attempt to eradicate the Klan and restore order in the South
John C. Smith University, an historically black school, awards its first bachelor’s degrees

1872
First African American appointed to U.S. Naval Academy (John H. Conyers)
Howard University awards its first bachelor’s degrees

1873
First African American judge is elected. Mifflin Wistar Gibbs, judge in Little Rock Arkansas. Gibbs also served as U.S. consul to Madagascar.
1874
Disraeli becomes (Queen Victoria’s favorite) prime minister
*Far from the Madding Crowd* published

1875
Risings in Bosnia and Herzegovina against Turkish rule
*Science and Health* by Mary Baker Eddy published (Christian Science document)
Religious orders abolished in Prussia
Bizén’s *Carmen* performed in Paris

1876 (Carrie Lane graduates high school)
United States is 100 years old
Colorado becomes a state
Alexander Graham Bell invents telephone
Johns Hopkins University opens
Insulin discovered
U.S. National Baseball League founded
Battle of the Little Big Horn (Custer’s Last Stand)

1877 (Carrie Lane enters Iowa State as a sophomore)
Russia declares war on Turkey
Edison invents phonograph
First public telephones in the U.S.

1878
Paris World Exhibition
First bicycle manufactured in U.S.
Anti-Socialist Law enacted in Germany

1879 (Carrie Lane is 20)
British Zulu War
Panama Canal Company organized
Anti-Jesuit Laws introduced in France

1880 (Carrie Lane graduates first in class)
Garfield elected President
*Brothers Karamazov* by Dostoevsky published
First practical electric lights devised

1875
First African American Roman Catholic Bishop in U.S. is installed (Bishop James Augustine Healy)
Historical context 1859-1947

Carnegie develops first large steel furnace
Canned fruits and meats first appear in stores
U.S. has 87,800 miles of railroads

1881
Garfield shot and killed
Freedom of press established in France
Flogging abolished in British Army and Navy
Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions formed in U.S.

1882
U.S. bans Chinese immigrants for 10 years
British occupy Cairo
Beginnings of psychoanalysis

1883 (Carrie Lane appointed Superintendent of Schools in Mason City, Iowa)
Reform of U.S. Civil Service begins
Britain evacuates the Sudan
Nietzsche’s “Thus Spake Zarathustra” published
W. F. Cody organizes his “Wild West Show”
Bismark introduces sickness insurance in Germany

1884
Germans occupy South-West Africa
Oxford English Dictionary begins publication
Mark Twain’s Huckleberry Finn published
Grover Cleveland elected President

1885 (Carrie Lane resigns as Superintendent to marry Leo Chapman)
Congo becomes the possession of King Leopold II of Belgium
Germany annexes Tanganyika to Zanzibar
Great Britain establishes protectorate over Niger River region and South New Guinea
Pasteur devises a rabies vaccine

1881
Tennessee segregates railroad cars.

1882
Chinese Exclusion Act; purpose was to restrict immigration of Chinese laborers

1883
Sojourner Truth, a black suffragist and abolitionist, dies.

1885
First Black Bishop named within the American House of Bishops. Reverend Samuel David Ferguson of Charleston, South Carolina.
1886 (Leo Chapman dies of typhoid)
AF of L founded
Steam used to sterilize surgical instruments
Pasteur Institute founded in Paris
Gladstone introduces Bill for Home Rule in Ireland

1887 (Carrie Chapman begins work with the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association)
Queen Victoria celebrates her Golden Jubilee
First Sherlock Holmes story published
Celluloid film invented

1888
Benjamin Harrison elected President of the U.S.
Kodak box camera perfected
Cecil Rhodes amalgamates Kimberley diamond companies
King of Matabele grants Cecil Rhodes mining rights

1889 (Carrie Chapman is 30)
North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington becomes states of the U.S.
Oklahoma is opened to non-Indian settlement
Austrian Crown Prince commits suicide at his hunting lodge at Mayerling
*The Master of Ballantrae* published by R.L. Stevenson
“Agnosticism” published by T. H. Huxley (called “Darwin’s bulldog” he is credited with coining the word agnostic)

1890 (Carrie Chapman marries George Catt and goes to South Dakota to work for suffrage)
The National and American Suffrage movements unite
Idaho and Wyoming become states
Wyoming enters Union giving women the right to vote
Global influenza epidemics

1888
Chinese Exclusion Act broadened to restrict immigration of all Chinese persons
Carrie Chapman’s first use of “American Sovereign” and “Subject and Sovereign” speeches

1890
Mississippi adopts literacy and “understanding” tests as devices to disfranchise black male voters.
First movie is shown in New York
"Picture of Dorian Gray" by Oscar Wilde is published

1891
Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria, Italy—renewed for 12 years
Young Turk Movement is formed in Geneva
Widespread famine in Russia
Beginnings of wireless telegraphy

1892
Iron and steel workers strike in U.S.
Diesel patents his internal combustion engine

1893 (Catt leads campaign in Colorado)
Colorado gives women the right to vote
Swaziland annexed by Transvaal
France acquires protectorate over Laos
Henry Ford builds his first car
Trial over Panama Canal corruption in Paris

1894
Uganda becomes a British protectorate
Kipling's Jungle Book is published

1895 (Catt appointed chair of the National Organization Committee)
Chinese defeated by Japanese
Rhodesia is formed
Oscar Wilde's unsuccessful libel action against Marquis of Queensberry
H. G. Wells publishes The Time Machine

1896
Plessy vs Ferguson: Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of segregation
(estabishes "separate but equal" rule)
Utah becomes a state
First modern Olympics is held
Radioactivity discovered
Nobel prizes established

1891
1.3 million African Americans are members of the National Colored Farmer's Alliance

1894
Congress repeals 1866 Civil Rights Act

1895
Booker T. Washington delivers his Atlanta Exposition "Compromise" Speech
W.E.B. DuBois is first African American to receive Ph.D. from Harvard University.
Frederick Douglas dies.

1896
National Organization of Colored Women Organized
1897
Germany occupies North China
Malaria bacillus discovered
Severe famine in India
Sultan of Zanzibar abolishes slavery
Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee
Joseph Conrad publishes “Nigger of the Narcissus”
H. G. Wells publishes *The Invisible Man*

1898
U.S. declares war on Spain over Cuba
Spain cedes Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines for $20 million
Pierre and Marie Curie discover radium
Von Zeppelin builds his airship
H. G. Wells publishes *War of the Worlds*

1899 (Carrie Chapman Catt is 40)
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Convention
Philippines demands independence from U.S.
First Peace Conference at The Hague

1900 (Catt becomes president of NAWSA)
Boxer uprisings in China against Europeans
Commonwealth of Australia created
First trial flight of Zeppelin
World Exhibition in Paris
Theodore Dreiser’s *Sister Carrie* published

1901
Queen Victoria dies
Peace of Peking ends Boxer rebellion
President William McKinley assassinated
Marconi transmits telegraphic radio messages from Cornwall to Newfoundland
Ragtime jazz develops in U.S.

1902
Enrico Caruso makes his first phonograph recording
Coal strike in U.S. May—October
U.S. acquires perpetual control over Panama Canal
Cedil Rhodes dies
Historical context 1859-1947

Leon Trotsky escapes from a Siberian prison and settles in London
Aswan Dam opened

1903
King and Queen of Serbia murdered
Herbert Spencer dies
Alaskan frontier is settled
Film “The Great Train Robbery” first shown (longest film to date, 12 minutes)
Emmeline Pankhurst founds National Women’s Social and Political Union
Henry Ford founds the Ford Motor Company
First coast-to-coast crossing of the American continent by car (65 days)

1904 (Catt resigns as president of NAWSA; is elected president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance)
Russo-Japanese War breaks out in February
Theodore Roosevelt wins U.S. presidential election
Abbey Theatre, Dublin, founded
Henry James’s The Golden Bowl published
London Symphony Orchestra gives its first concert
Steerage rates for immigrants to U.S. cut to $10 by foreign ship lines
Helen Keller graduates from Radcliffe College
First telegraphic transmission of photographs

1905
Sinn Fein Party founded in Dublin
Greeks in Crete revolt against Turks
Albert Einstein formulates Special Theory of Relativity
Rayon yarn manufactured commercially
Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan formed
1,026,499 immigrants sail to U.S.; H. G. Wells visits the U.S.

1903
The Souls of Black Folk published, W.E.B. DuBois

(unsubstantiated rumors persist that a woman in Chicago actually read The Golden Bowl from cover to cover)

1905
Niagara Movement - group of black intellectuals adopt resolutions, calling for full equality of Black Americans.
1906
Self-government granted to the Transvaal
U.S. troops occupy Cuba
Turkey cedes Sinai Peninsula to Egypt
President T. Roosevelt takes first trip outside U.S. by a president in office
Night-shift work for women internationally forbidden
Ruth St. Denis introduces modern dancing
First radio program broadcast

1906
Black novelist and poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar dies.
Atlanta Race Riot; twelve die.
H. G. Wells publishes *The Future in America: A Search after Realities*:
"Usually one is told with great gravity that the problem of colour is one of the most difficult that we have to consider, and the conversation then breaks up into discursive anecdotes and statements about black people ... These emotions are a cult." (261) ...
"Ignorant people can only think in types and abstractions, can achieve only emphatic absolute decisions, and when the commonplace American or the commonplace colonial Briton sets to work to 'think over' the negro problem, he instantly banishes most of the material evidence from his mind—clears for action as it were.... One hears a good deal about the high social origins of the southern planters; very many derive indisputably from the first families of England. It is the same blood flows in these mixed coloured people's veins. Just think of the sublime absurdity, therefore, of the ban. There are gentlemen of education and refinement, qualified lawyers and doctors whose ancestors assisted in the Norman Conquest, and they dare not enter a car marked "WHITE" and intrude upon the dignity of the rising loan-monger from Estonia. For them the 'Jim Crow' car...." (266-69)

1907
Universal direct suffrage instituted in Austria
President T. Roosevelt bars Japanese from immigrating to U.S.
Panic of 1907 causes run on banks

1907
Alain Locke, first black American to receive Rhodes Scholarship; later earned Ph.D. at Harvard in 1918.
1859–1947

1908
Leopold II transfers to Congo to Belgium Union of South Africa established E.M. Forster’s *A Room with a View* published General Motors Corporation formed The first Model “T” is manufactured (15 million were eventually sold)

1909 (Catt is 50)
Civil War in Honduras Sigmund Freud lectures in the U.S. Gustav Mahler composes Symphony No. 9 Women admitted for the first time to German universities U.S. explorer Robert E. Peary

1910
China abolishes slavery Japan annexes Korea Mark Twain dies Frank Lloyd Wright becomes influential in Europe for his domestic architecture Manhattan Bridge in New York completed The “week-end” becomes popular in the U.S.

1911
Armistice ends Mexican Civil War Revolution in Central China Winston Churchill appointed First Lord of the Admiralty Roald Amundsen reaches the South Pole Marie Curie wins the Nobel Prize for Chemistry Edith Warton’s *Ethan Frome* is published

1912
Arizona and New Mexico become states Woodrow Wilson becomes wins U.S. Presidential election S.S. Titanic sinks First successful parachute jump

1913
Suffrage demonstrations in London

1908
Illinois race riot; conference was called that led to founding of the NAACP Jack Johnson becomes first black world heavyweight boxing champion

1909
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses is founded.

1910
First publication of *The Crisis*, the journal of the NAACP National Urban League Established to assist Southern blacks emigrating to North.

1912
First blues composition - W.C. Handy’s "Memphis Blues" James Weldon Johnson anonymously publishes *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*

1913
Harriet Tubman dies
Federal income tax introduced in U.S.
King George I of Greece assassinated
Balkan War begins
Willa Cather’s “O Pioneers!” published
Albert Schweitzer open his hospital in French Congo
Zippers become popular
First woman magistrate is sworn in in England

1914
Archduke Ferdinand is assassinated in Sarajevo and World War I begins
James Joyce’s “Dubliners” published
10.5 million immigrants enter U.S. between 1905 and 1914

1915
World War I continues
Tetanus epidemics in the trenches
Margaret Sanger jailed for writing the first book on birth control
Henry Ford develops a farm tractor
D.H. Lawrence’s “The Rainbow” published

1916
World War I continues
Food rationing in Germany
Theory of shell shock suggested
Prohibition gains ground as 24 states vote for it
Law establishing eight-hour work day for railroad workers prevents national-wide strike
“Lawrence of Arabia” appointed British offer to King Faisal’s army

African American heart surgeon Danial Williams becomes first black member of the American College of Surgeons.

1915
Association for the Study of Negro Life and History is founded by Carter G. Woodson.
Booker T. Washington dies
(date uncertain) Carrie Chapman Catt writes to birth control pioneer Margaret Sanger: “Your reform is too narrow to appeal to me and too sordid.”
NAACP protests the showing of D.W. Griffith's controversial film “Birth of a Nation”

1916
First issue of Journal of Negro History is circulated
Black Film Production Company formed (the Lincoln Company)
1917

World War I continues
U.S. joins conflict
Bread rationed in Britain
Starvation year in Germany
Bobbed hair becomes new fashion

Women arrested for picketing the White House in favor of women's suffrage are sentenced to six months in jail

U.S. Senate rejects suffrage bill

1918

World War I ends
Czar Nicholas II and family executed
Austria becomes a republic
Women over 30 get the vote in Britain
World-wide influenza epidemic strikes; by 1920, 22 million are dead
8.5 million killed in World War I

1919 (Catt is 60; establishes League of Women voters)

Prohibition amendment to U.S. Constitution ratified
Peace Conference opens at Versailles
First League of Nations meeting in Paris
Peace celebrations in Britain
First experiments in shortwave radio
Carl Sandburg wins Pulitzer Prize for "Corn Huskers"

Proposed suffrage amendment passes U.S. Congress

1920 (Catt leads 2,500,000 members of NAWSA to ratification)

Woman Suffrage ratified by 36 states; becomes 19th Amendment
League of Nations comes into being; U.S. Senate votes against joining
Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street* published
Red Army captures Odessa

1917

African Americans fight in World War I

Literacy requirements for U.S. citizenship passed

Race riot in St. Louis, Missouri; at least 40 blacks were killed, martial law was declared

New York Silent March; approximately 10,000 African Americans marched on New York City's Fifth Avenue in protest of racial oppression.

1918

First Pan-African Congress, held in Paris.

"The Red Summer." More than 30 race riots occurred this summer in the U.S.

1919

Race riots in Chicago
Historical context 1859-1947

1921
- Britain and Ireland sign peace treaty
- First Indian Parliament meets
- Premiäre of Japan assassinated
- Washington Conference on disarmament

1922 (Catt becomes President of the Pan American Women's Conference)
- Gandhi sentenced to six years imprisonment for civil disobedience
- James Joyce's *Ulysses* published in Paris; burned in U.S.
- Irish Free State officially proclaimed

1923
- Centers of Tokyo and Yokohama destroyed by earthquake
- Teapot Dome oil scandal hearings in Washington
- Hitler's coup d'état in Munich fails
- Nevada and Montana become the first states to introduce old-age pensions
- London dock strike

1924 (Catt organizes conferences on the cause and cure of war)
- Greece proclaimed a republic
- Hitler sentenced to five years imprisonment
- E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India* published
- Ford Motor Company produces 10 millionth car

1925 (Catt goes on lecture tour in behalf of the World Court and the Kellogg Pact)
- State of Tennessee forbids sex education in schools
- Unemployment Insurance Act enacted in Britain
- Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* published
- Mrs. Nellie Ross of Wyoming becomes the first woman governor in America
- Japan introduces general suffrage for men

1921
- Ku Klux Klan activities become violent through southern U.S.

1922
- Ku Klux Klan gains political power in U.S.

1923
- Tri-state conclave of Ku Klux Klan held in Indiana (draws 200,000 members)
- Martial law established in Oklahoma to protect people from attacks by Klan

1924
- National Origins Act - prohibits Japanese immigration
Japan introduces general suffrage for men
Mrs. Nellie Ross of Wyoming becomes the first woman governor in America

1926
Fascist youth organizations in Italy and Germany
Queen Elizabeth II is born
A.A. Milne’s “Winnie the Pooh” published
Gertrude Ederle becomes the first woman to swim the English Channel
Germany admitted to League of Nations

1927
Germany’s economic system collapses
Babe Ruth hits 60 home runs for Yankees
F.B. Kellogg, U.S. Secretary of State, suggests pact for renunciation of war
Bertrand Russell’s “The Analysis of Matter” published
Charles Lindbergh flies from New York to Paris in 33.5 hours

1928
Women’s suffrage in Britain reduced from age of 30 to 21
Herbert Hoover elected President of U.S.
Brazil’s economy collapses
First color motion picture shown
Italy signs 20-year treaty of friendship with Ethiopia

1929 (Catt is 70)
The term “apartheid” used for the first time
U.S. Stock Exchange collapses; world economic crisis begins
St. Valentine’s Day Massacre: six notorious Chicago gangsters machine-gunned to death by a rival gang
Arabs attack Jews in Palestine
Dictatorship established in Yugoslavia
Construction begins on the Empire State Building

1927
U.S. Supreme Court upheld Mississipi Court ruling that Chinese people could be classified as “colored” in the state to secure segregation of Chinese persons; Gong Lum v. Rice

1929
Martin Luther King Jr. born.
**1930**
Austria and Italy sign a treaty of friendship
Revolution in Argentina
In the German elections, Nazis gain 107 seats from the center parties
France begins building the Maginot Line
Sinclair Lewis wins the Nobel Prize for *Babbitt*

**1931**
U.S. Senate passes Veteran’s Compensation Act
Collapse of Austria leads to financial crisis in Central Europe
German banks close due to bankruptcy of German Danatbank
Thomas Edison dies
German millionaire Hugenberg undertakes to support the 800,000 strong Nazi Party

**1932**
Indian Congress declared illegal; Gandhi arrested
Franklin D. Roosevelt wins U.S. presidential election in a landslide
Famine in U.S.S.R.
Basic English proposed as a prospective international industry
Amelia Earhart is first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic
13.7 million unemployed in the U.S.

**1933** (Catt awarded the American Hebrew medal for “promoting better understanding between Christians and Jews”)
Adolf Hitler appointed German Chancellor
Francis Perkins, appointed Secretary of by F.D.R. becomes first woman cabinet member
Hermann Goering named Prussian Prime Minister
American banks closed by presidential order
Japan withdraws from the League of Nations
The first concentration camps elected by the Nazis in Germany
60,000 artists emigrate from Germany

**1930**
Jessie Daniel Ames forms Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Starvation in U.S.S.R. reaches disastrous proportions
Boycott of Jews begins in Germany
21st Amendment repeals prohibition in U.S.

1934
General strike staged in France
Gandhi suspends civil disobedience campaign in India
Hitler promotes blood bath in Germany; many assassinated
Hitler and Mussolini meet in Venice

1935
President Roosevelt signs U.S. Social Security Act
Chiang Kai-shek named President of China
German Luftwaffe is formed
Persia changes its name to Iran
Nazis reintroduce compulsory military service

1936 (Catt honored by Turkey as a feminist leader)
German troops occupy Rhineland
Spanish Civil War begins
Mussolini and Hitler proclaim Rome-Berlin Axis
Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone with the Wind* published
Ford Foundation established

1937
F.D.R. signs U.S. Neutrality Act
Japanese seize Peking
Wall Street stock market declines
U.S. Supreme Court rules in favor of minimum wage law for women
Italy withdraws from League of Nations
Golden Gate Bridge opens

1938
Nazi troops march into Austria
Anti-Jewish legislation enacted in Italy
40-hour work week established in U.S.

1934
Joe Louis wins his first fight

1936
Franklin Roosevelt appoints Mary McLeod Bethune as director of Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration
Jesse Owens wins four gold medals at Summer Olympics held in Berlin.
Residential Segregation Outlawed by U.S. Supreme Court

1937
First Black Federal Judge is confirmed; William Hastie

1938
U.S. Supreme Court rules that the University of Missouri Law School must admit blacks because of lack of facilities in the area
Historical context

Harvard University grants an honorary doctorate to Marian Anderson
F.D.R. recalls American ambassador to Germany

1939 (Catt is 80)
Germany occupies Bohemia and Moravia
Italy invades Albania
England and Poland sign a treaty of mutual assistance
John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* published
Germany invades Poland
Britain and France declare war on Germany
U.S. economy begins to recover because of orders from Europe for war equipment
U.S. Supreme Court rules sit-down strikes are illegal

1940 (Catt awarded the gold medal for eminent achievements from the National Institute of Social Sciences)
World War II
Butter, sugar, and bacon rationed in Britain
Germany invades Norway and Denmark
Churchill becomes British Prime Minister
Trotsky assassinated

1941
Lend-Lease bill signed in U.S.
German air raids on London
U.S. freezes German and Italian assets in U.S.
Germans advance on Moscow
U.S. Savings Bonds go on sale
Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor

1942
U.S. government transfers more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans to inland camps
Bataan Death March of American and Philippine prisoners of war
Americans defeat Japanese at Midway
Sugar rationing and gas rationing begins in U.S.
Millions of Jews murdered in Nazi gas chambers

1940
Hattie McDaniel is first black American to win Oscar: for best performance by actress in supporting role for performance of Mammy in *Gone with the Wind.*

1859-1947

U.S. Congresswoman Maxine Waters is born
Historical context

1859-1947

Gandhi demands independence for India and is arrested

1943
Russians defeat German army southwest of Stalingrad
Hitler orders “scorched earth” policy
Massacre in Warsaw ghetto
F.D.R. freezes wages, salaries, and prices to forestall inflation
Polio epidemic kills 1200 in U.S. and cripples thousands more
Shoe rationing begins in U.S. followed by rationing of meat, cheese, fats, and all canned foods

1944
D-Day landings in Normandy
German officers attempt to assassinate Hitler
Warsaw uprising
Roosevelt elected for a fourth term as president
“Battle of the Bulge” begins
Ernie Pyle’s “Brave Men” is published

1945
F.D.R. dies; succeeded by Harry S. Truman
German Army surrenders
Women’s suffrage becomes law in France
U.S. drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
Japan surrenders
Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals begin

1946
Truce declared in Chinese Civil War
UN General Assembly holds its first session
Women ensured the right to vote in Italy
President Truman creates Atomic Energy Commission
Juan Peron elected President of Argentina

1943
Race riots break out in several major U.S. cities
1947 (Catt dies)
Marshall Plan for European recovery is announced
India is proclaimed independent
*The Diary of Anne Frank* is published
British coal industry nationalized
U.S. airplane first flies at supersonic speed

1947
Jackie Robinson becomes first black to sign a contract with a major baseball club
Chronology of the Naming Process of Catt Hall
Chronology of the Naming Process

I. Description of the naming process summary description

A. Questions asked during interview with Dr. Eaton
B. Dr. Eaton’s response
C. Petition submitted to Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets, April 6, 1989
D. Advisory Committee meeting minutes, December 14, 1989
E. Memo to members of the Board of Regents from Robert Barak, June 19, 1990
F. Memo from Iowa State University to Board of Regents, June 27, 1990
G. Board of Regents motion to approve the request to rename Old Botany in honor Carrie Chapman Catt June 27, 1990
H. Iowa State University press release about the Catt Hall name
I. Letters of support for naming from various groups around the state
J. Synopsis of naming process by Laura Kline, University Archivist 1978-1994
K. ISU Library Search ICAT and information regarding Laura Kline’s papers vis a vis Catt Hall naming process

II. Funding the renovation of Catt Hall summary statement

A. Statement from Warren Madden, Vice President for Business and Finance regarding funding the restoration of Catt Hall November 1, 1998
B. “To Fund the Impossible Dream” from Fund Raising Management by Kay Kirkman, August, 1995
Chronology of the Naming Process of Catt Hall

August 1983-1989 Dr. Gordon Eaton, Iowa State University President, early in his presidency became interested in Old Botany Hall. At the time it was closed because of its deteriorated condition. Dr. Eaton requested a tour to view the building. Mr. Madden gave the tour. The decision was made to hire a firm to determine whether Old Botany could be saved. The architectural firm found it to be sound and considered that it could be saved.

President Eaton studied the information about Old Botany found in the Special Collections of the ISU Library. There he met university archivist, Laura Kline, and learned from her of Carrie Chapman Catt’s significant role in the achievement of women’s suffrage and her national and international prominence.

According to Dr. Eaton, factors in favor of naming Old Botany the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall including the following:

1) She was a woman
2) She was an Iowan
3) She had tremendous national importance, particularly in the area of citizenship rights, and citizenship advancement for all women
4) Old Botany was not an appropriate name for a building.

Dr. Eaton commented that racism was not an issue that was considered at the time.

Her overall contribution merited consideration for renaming Old Botany the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

Laura Kline, University Archivist, through her work familiarized herself with university faculty and alumni/ae who made significant contributions locally, regionally and nationally. She recognized Chapman Catt’s contributions and was aware that the university had not honored this important alumna nor her tremendous accomplishments. She organized a slide show describing her efforts and achievement and presented it to groups on campus, in Ames and surrounding communities.

1989 Following a program by Kline at a League of Women Voters of Ames meeting a study action group was formed with the purpose of supporting Kline’s efforts to have the university recognize Catt’s work through the naming of a major building on campus. Kline provided information regarding the formal procedure for naming buildings and began the necessary steps. They were as follows;

A. Draw up a petition explaining the request, why an individual was meritorious
B. Suggest a building
C. Discuss with staff and administrators most likely to inhabit the building to ascertain their response (this was done in a gradual and systematic way and included people from philosophy, history, political science)
D. The petition was then to be signed by all the officials involved and then be presented to the committee for naming buildings.
These procedures were followed. The LWV studied the chronology of Catt's efforts, compiled a list of items Catt and her husband donated and identified their location, and publicized the effort. The meetings held by the Ames LWV were held in the Memorial Union, members included one woman of color. Other meetings were held by various groups over the almost ten year effort. Meetings were open; it was a grassroots effort. The LWV of Ames organized support from the community and around the state. Groups such as the Women's Studies Program ISU, University Committee on Women, Iowa Commission on the Status of Women, the Delta Kappa Sorority, AAUW, UN-USA-Iowa Division Ames Chapter and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent letters of support to President Eaton for the naming of a major building. Letters, phone calls and personal statements came to Laura from all over the state endorsing the project. Alumni wrote personal remembrances of Catt. These efforts gave impetus to the effort. (See Kline memo dated May 25, 1998)

"Old Botany" was envisioned as the building to name for Catt because at the time it was the only major building without a namesake and was architecturally interesting. President Eaton was interested in preserving the building. (Petition attached)

December 14, 1989 The Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets took the following action:

That to honor Carrie Chapman Catt, Old Botany be named for her once the building is renovated, and if it is not renovated an alternate building be so designated. (Motion made by Faye Yates and seconded by Lois Tiffany) Minutes attached

June 27, 1990 Iowa State University requested action by the Board of Regents to rename Old botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt

June 27, 1990 Regent Fitzgibbon moved to approve the request to rename Old Botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt once the building is renovated. Regent Berenstein seconded the motion, and it carried unanimously. (Note this action was made in anticipation that Old Botany would be renovated. The university then had the building renovation on its list of projects scheduled for renovation in fiscal year 1995.) Regents meeting minutes.

In reconstructing the chronology of the naming process an interview was held with Dr. Gordon Eaton in Des Moines, Iowa, October 16, 1998, conversations were held with Phyllis Lepke, Director, Giving Program, ISU Foundation; Kay Kirkman, LAS Development Officer, 1990-1996: Carol Curtiss, President Eaton’s office; Carol Bradley, President’s office; Nancene Wengert, President Jischke’s office; Vice President Madden’s office, Charles Dobbs, President Jischke’s office; Dean of Student Hill’s office, Patricia Swan, Vice Provost’s office; Dr. Lagomarcino, chair of the Advisory on the Naming of Building committee and Kenneth Larson, Secretary, and George Burnett, of the same committee.
(While the university regents passed the decision unanimously one of them, Mr. Hatch, questioning the university announcing the decision prior to the official decision.)

The University announced the decision regarding Old Botany’s renaming contingent upon it being renovated at two events in June, 1998. One of the two announcement events was on campus at a small dinner event on the stage at C. Y. Stephens where President Eaton made the announcement. The second was at the League of Women Voters of the United States annual convention in Washington, D.C. on where the same evening Vice Provost Milton Glick made the announcement.

The Chapman Catt naming process decision took place prior to Dr. Jischke’s presidency. Old papers related to Dr. Eaton’s presidency are in Special Collections, ISU Library 4th floor. They have not been catalogued completely. Special Collections also has two boxes containing Laura Kline’s papers which include the letters of support sent to the Naming of Building Advisory committee chair. They are available to the public and identified as Laura Kline box 89, 25/4/52. They include the petition and correspondence relative to her speaking engagements on presidency.

*At the same meeting in which the Advisory Committee made the decision to forward to the President the action on Old Botany they also, at the President’s request, took the action to review the criteria for naming streets and buildings at Iowa State University. Before coming to ISU Dr. Eaton had worked in a state where there was real pressure from government politicians to name colleges and buildings for them. It was the intention of his request to the committee to review the criteria to circumvent the possibility of that happening at Iowa State University.
Date October 16, 1998

To Dr. Gordon Eaton

From Jan Beran
304 24th Street
Ames, Iowa 50010
Email gberan@iastate.com

You are perhaps aware that the Iowa State University Government of the Student Body has appointed a Catt Hall Review committee to 'bring closure' to the issue. There are students, faculty, staff and alumni on the committee. I am chairing the subcommittee that is reconstructing the naming process. Perhaps you can assist us. I realize that it is almost ten years ago and that it was one of a myriad of things about which you had to make decisions but if you could recall the process it would be appreciated.

When Laura Kline first presented the idea for the naming of the building for alumna Carrie Chapman Catt what was your response and others in the administration?

What factors led to your decision to support the effort?

Were there concerns regarding naming the building for Carrie Chapman Catt?

Was there a reason for suggesting that the Advisory Committee of the Naming of Buildings proceed to consider the petition to name Old Botany Catt Hall although it was asked that the committee develop new criteria for naming buildings and streets?

Thank you for your assistance.
Gordon Eaton, President of Iowa State University, 1988-1991 interview response.
October 16, 1998 in Des Moines, Iowa

1. When Laura Kline first presented the idea for the naming of the building for alumna Carrie Chapman Catt what was your response and others in the administration? You need to go back further than that. Mrs. Eaton and I used to go for walks. We walked past Old Botany. It was practically hidden by trees. I asked Warren Madden if I could see the inside. He gave me a ‘tour’. We then hired an architectural firm to determine whether Old Botany could be saved. The answer they gave after surveying the building was “Yes”. They said the building would have to be gutted but that they considered that it should be saved.

In addition, I studied the materials in the library about the building. While I was doing this I met Laura Kline. She had discovered through her work with the materials in the archives of Carrie Chapman Catt’s role in the passage of the suffrage amendment, her national and international achievements. Laura recommended that Catt should be recognized and I concurred.

2. What factors led to your decision to support the effort?
She was a woman, she was from Iowa, and she had tremendous impact. It all made good sense. I knew what Catt had done for women in that she helped advance them politically.
Old Botany was not an appropriate name for such a building.

3. Were there concerns regarding naming the building for Catt?
No, her overall contribution merited consideration for renaming Old Botany. Racism was not an issue that was considered at the time.

4. Was there a reason for suggesting that the Advisory Committee of the Naming of Buildings proceed to consider the petition to name Old Botany Catt Hall although it was asked that the committee develop new criteria for naming buildings?

Before coming to ISU I had been at Texas A&M. There was real political pressure there to get buildings named after politicians. I was hoping by asking for a review of the naming guidelines at ISU to prevent that happening at ISU. At the time when the Catt Hall proposal was made there was no politician who wanted a building named after him. Catt was not a politician in that sense.
If such a proposal regarding Catt would come again I would give the same support. I very favorably supported naming this building after this strong person.
Petition submitted to Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets, April 6, 1989

Advisory Committee meeting minutes, December 14, 1989
Memo to members of the Board of Regents from Robert Barak, June 19, 1990
Memo from Iowa State University to Board of Regents, June 27, 1990
Board of Regents motion to approve the request to rename Old Botany in honor Carrie Chapman Catt June 27, 1990

Iowa State University press release about the Catt Hall name

TO: Paul Morgan
Chair, Naming of Buildings Committee
104 Marston Hall

FROM: Laura Kline
University Archives
403 Parks Library

Attached you will find a petition for naming 'Old Botany' after our distinguished alumna, Carrie Chapman Catt. If you recall, I spoke with you awhile ago to discuss the correct steps to take for this undertaking.

Accordingly, I have contacted probable administrative tenants of the building once it is renovated, securing their firm support. As you will note from the petition, I have received additional support from several local groups including the Ames League of Women Voters (Catt founded the National League in 1920) and will continue working with them on the project.

I would encourage the committee to look through the research materials on Chapman Catt which we have in the University Archives. In addition, I would be more than happy to present my biographical slide/script program for the committee at its convenience.

As I understand it, once the committee has reviewed the petition satisfactorily, its recommendation would be forwarded to President Eaton. He, in turn, would then send on the proposal - assuming approval - to the Board of Regents for final granting of the petition.

I will look forward to hearing from you soon on this important matter. Thank you.

LSK/ds

Attachment

cc: President Gordon Eaton
    Provost Milton Glick
    William Kelly, Sciences & Humanities Dean
    Richard Van Iten, Sciences & Humanities Associate Dean
    Judy Jones, Women's Center Director
    David Kline, Philosophy Chair
    Richard Mansbach, Political Science Chair
    Andrejs Plakans, History Chair
    Kathleen Hickock, Women's Studies Program
    Margaret Healy, University Committee on Women
    Joyce Hertz, League of Women Voters
    Jan Beran, League of Women Voters
If historians are asked who are the most significant of Iowa State University's alumni, three names surface: George Washington Carver, Henry A. Wallace and Carrie Chapman Catt. There are, of course, many more but these three are the most frequently mentioned. Yet, on our campus today most people cannot identify the woman. Both men have buildings, scholarships and/or endowed chairs in their honor but Carrie Chapman Catt, who left her entire estate to her Alma Mater, has none of these.

It is time to correct this oversight; an appropriate beginning would be the dedication of a major campus building in Chapman Catt's honor. We propose that 'Old Botany' join the rank of its neighbors with an honored name. This should take place now rather than waiting indefinitely for interior renovations funding.

The possible future tenants of the building under discussion were consulted about the naming of the building and were unanimous in their enthusiastic acceptance of Chapman Catt Hall. Those contacted were William Kelly, Richard Van Iten (SEH administrative offices), Andrejs Plakans (Department of History), David Kline (Department of Philosophy) and Richard Mansbach (Department of Political Science). Given her educational background and accomplishments, all of these disciplines are relevant to her life.

One of the major objections has been: "If we name a building after Carrie Chapman Catt it would be called 'cathouse'." Suffice it to say that this does not justify a negative response and it would not be valid: the name would be Chapman Catt Hall. Carrie was most often referred to and signed her correspondence as Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

The following are just a few of Chapman Catt's accomplishments. She entered ISU in 1877, graduating three years later in 1880. While at the college, she established military exercises for women, gave the first oration by a female student and graduated as class valedictorian. She was the first woman to give the Commencement Address at ISU in 1921 and again in 1930. She went on to become Superintendent of Schools in the Mason City area followed a few years later by state, national and international suffrage work. She was President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association twice, first in 1900 succeeding her friend and mentor, Susan B. Anthony and second in 1915 taking her through to victory in 1920. She also founded the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance and became its first president. She received many awards including the Chi Omega, given to her at the White House by her friend Eleanor Roosevelt and she was voted one of the ten most admired women in the world numerous times. She was devoted to Iowa, where she had grown
up, and returned frequently. In 1936 she gave the dedication address at the Capitol in Des Moines for the placement of the pioneer suffragists plaque. She went on to found the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War and worked toward world peace until her death in 1947.

It is most appropriate that the University Archivist work jointly on this project with the League of Women Voters, the national organization that Mrs. Chapman Catt founded in 1920 after securing the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. We hope the Naming of Buildings Committee will take this petition up immediately for consideration so that this woman who was honored by her public during her lifetime will take her proper place in history at her Alma Mater, which she loved dearly and never forgot. Let us not continue to forget her.

We look forward to hearing from you soon. For an overall view of her life and accomplishments, a videotape of a presentation given to the League of Women Voters in Ames is available at your request as well as additional files located in the University Archives in 403 Parks Library.

Laura Kline, University Archivist

Joyce Hertz, President League of Women Voters, Ames Chapter

William Kelly, Dean of the College of S&H

Richard Van Iten, Associate Dean of S&H

Andrejs Plakans, Chair of Dept. of History

David Kline, Chair of Dept. of Philosophy

Richard Mansbach, Chair of Dept. of Political Science
Meeting was called to order by Chair Virgil S. Lagomarcino at 4:05 p.m. in the Conference Room of E262 Lagomarcino.


GUESTS: Janice A. Beran and Judith A. Dolphin (representing League of Women Voters).

Members and guests were introduced.

Dean Lagomarcino reviewed the history of the committee and shared contents of 2 letters of November 30, 1989 and December 5, 1989 from President Gordon P. Eaton to him. The letters related to (1) suggestions President Eaton had received from several individuals/organizations to naming Old Botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt and (2) the need to review the Operating Procedures for the naming of buildings and streets at Iowa State University before the committee considered recommending the naming of other buildings and streets, with the possible exception of a building named in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt. Chair Lagomarcino distributed the (1) 1973 Operating Procedures for the Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets and (2) compilation of the Names of Halls, Buildings, Streets, Residence Hall Houses and other facilities at Iowa State University. Following discussion, Dean Lagomarcino appointed Dr. Pearson, Dr. Burnet, and Dean Patricia B. Swan to serve on a subcommittee to review the 1973 Operating Procedures for possible revision and updating to accommodate needed changes and improvements in the procedures. All committee members were encouraged to review the document and send comments, suggestions, and/or points of view to the subcommittee members within the next month.

Dean Lagomarcino indicated that (1) not all buildings on campus need to be named in honor of individuals, (2) he was not a member of the Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets at the time Lagomarcino Hall was named, and (3) no further action would be taken on naming buildings and streets until the Operating Procedures were reviewed and revised or reaffirmed to fulfill current needs. Exception to this moratorium would be the consideration of naming Old Botany after Carrie Chapman Catt insofar as this request had been initiated by various individuals/organization several months ago.

Discussion pursued on the merits and feasibility of naming Old Botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt. Questions were raised on the relationship of Ms. Catt with Old Botany, future use of Old Botany, funding for renovation of Old Botany, alternate choice of buildings to honor Ms. Catt, and possible reasons not to rename Old Botany.
MOTION: That to honor Carrie Chapman Catt, Old Botany be named after her once the building is renovated, and if it is not renovated an alternate building be so designated. (Yates and Schmidt).

PASSED.

The recommendation will be transmitted to President Eaton by Dean Lagomarcino.

Once the Operating Procedures for naming buildings and streets have been reviewed and approved and the moratorium for naming same has been lifted, the committee will consider new requests for committee action.

Meeting adjourned at 4:58 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Kenneth L. Larson
Designated Secretary

KLL\skf
To: 

From: Board Office 

Subject: Request to Rename Old Botany in Honor of Carrie Chapman Catt 

Date: June 19, 1990 

Recommended Action:

Approval of the request to rename Old Botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt once the building is renovated.

Highlights:

- Iowa State University is requesting approval to rename the Old Botany building in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt, a distinguished Iowa State University alumna and a leader in the Women's Suffrage Movement.
- This request is being made in anticipation that Old Botany will be renovated.
- The university currently has the Old Botany building renovation on its list of projects scheduled for renovation in fiscal year 1995.

Background:

Iowa State University, in anticipation of Old Botany building being renovated, requests permission to rename the building in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt. Carrie Chapman Catt was a distinguished Iowa State University alumna and a leader in the Women's Suffrage Movement. She was president of the National American Women's Suffrage Association twice: first in 1900 succeeding her friend and mentor Susan B. Anthony, and second in 1915 taking her through to victory in 1920. She also founded the International Women's Suffrage Alliance and became its first president. She received many awards including the Chi Omega given to her at the White House by her friend Eleanor Roosevelt. She was voted one of the ten most admired women in the world numerous times.

The information submitted by ISU for the Five Year Capital Priority Plan indicates that the university will seek funding for the renovation of Old Botany Hall in fiscal year 1995. The information also indicates the university will seek an appropriation for $2.5 million of the $5 million total needed for the project, with the remaining $2.5 million being considered a capital campaign match.

It should be noted that the university's press release dated 6/13/90 did not indicate the need for Board approval of this proposal to rename the facility resulting in some confusion regarding this proposal. It would be appropriate for future press releases of this type to note that the action is pending Board approval.

/Signature/ 

Robert J. Barak 
gep/AA.DwC/ISUB5.jun
Naming of Building - Old Botany to be Named in Honor of Carrie Chapman Catt

Iowa State University of Science and Technology
Des Moines, Iowa
June 27, 1990

Action Requested: Authorization requested to rename Old Botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt

In anticipation of Old Botany being renovated we are requesting that it be renamed in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt.

Carrie Chapman Catt was a distinguished Iowa State University alumna and a leader in the women's suffrage movement. She was President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association twice, first in 1900 succeeding her friend and mentor, Susan B. Anthony and second in 1915 taking her through to victory in 1920. She also founded the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance and became its first president. She received many awards including the Chi Omega, given to her at the White House by her friend Eleanor Roosevelt and she was voted one of the ten most admired women in the world numerous times. In 1936 she gave the dedication address at the Capitol in Des Moines for the placement of the pioneer suffragists plaque. She went on to found the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War and worked toward world peace until her death in 1947. She was devoted to Iowa, where she had grown up, and returned frequently. She entered ISU in 1877, graduating three years later in 1880. While at the college, she initiated the effort to establish military exercises for women, gave the first oration by a female student and graduated as class valedictorian. She was the first woman to give the commencement address at ISU in 1921 and again in 1930. She went on to become Superintendent of Schools in the Mason City area followed a few years later by state, national and international suffrage work.

: catt
This request was made in anticipation that Old Botany will be renovated. The university currently has the Old Botany building renovation on its list of projects scheduled for renovation in fiscal year 1995.

Laura Kline, Iowa State University Archivist, discussed the chronology of the life of Carrie Chapman Catt.

Regent Hatch said she felt that a move of this nature could be planned in a more timely fashion to allow for Regents approval before university officials make a public announcement. She said it was handled very poorly.

MOTION: Regent Fitzgibbon moved to approve the request to rename Old Botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt once the building is renovated. Regent Berenstein seconded the motion, and it carried unanimously.

FINAL OPERATING BUDGET FOR FY 1991. The Board Office recommended the Board (1) Approve the Iowa State University general university final operating budget for fiscal year 1991:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General University</td>
<td>$217,428,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural &amp; Home Econ. Exp. Station</td>
<td>26,486,462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative Extension Service</td>
<td>24,494,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$268,409,728</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Approve the preliminary budget presented in March for the university residence system for fiscal year 1991.

(3) Approve the final intercollegiate athletic council budget for fiscal year 1991.

(4) Approve the final student health services budget for fiscal year 1991.

The changes from the preliminary operating budget include adjustments between salary categories due to using differential rates by employee class for calculating employee fringe benefits. Since several benefit components are not proportional to salary, benefits are a higher percentage of direct salaries for professional and scientific and merit staff than for faculty. A change to the budget system provided for more precise benefit calculations using prior year actual benefit rates by employee class and adjusting for anticipated cost increases. This change reduced the reported faculty budget line and increased professional and scientific and general service lines. This change does not affect budgeted positions but shows a more accurate reflection of fringe benefit costs. The other change noted by Iowa State University officials is a reduction of $300,000 to the utility expenditure category and an increase in building repairs of $300,000.
With ENGINEERING ANIMATION, INC., for its use of approximately 514 square feet of office space (Suite 614) within the ISIS Center of the ISU Research Park for a six-month period beginning June 1, 1990, at a rate of $425 per month;

With the IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF RESIDENCE for the university’s use of approximately 8,320 square feet of space within Elm Hall of the university’s residence system continuously beginning July 1, 1990, at a rate of $46,176 per year in accordance with the terms of the original executed agreement;

With the CITY OF AMES for the university’s access to 10 megawatts of firm power effective July 1, 1990, through June 30, 1992, to meet the university’s electrical load growth;

With the YMCA OF AMES for the university’s use of "Easement A" and "Easement B" as legally described within the easement document for the placement of communication cables located generally east of the Applied Sciences Center and conveyed at no cost to the university;

With the CITY OF AMES for the city’s use of land, more particularly described within the easement document, to serve for the placement of a transmission line at the Applied Sciences Center. This easement shall serve as a revision to an original easement entitled, "City of Ames Transmission Line Easement--Applied Sciences Center" dated June 1989. This easement will be conveyed to the City of Ames at the cost of $1 and other considerations as outlined within the easement.

MOTION: Regent Hatch moved to approve leases and easements, as presented. Regent Furgerson seconded the motion, and upon the roll being called, the following voted:
AYE: Berenstein, Fitzgibbon, Furgerson, Greig, Hatch, Pomerantz, Tyler, Westenfield, Williams.
NAY: None.
ABSENT: None.

NAMING OF BUILDING. The Board Office recommended the Board approve the request to rename Old Botany in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt once the building is renovated.

Iowa State University officials requested approval to rename the Old Botany building in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt, a distinguished Iowa State University alumna and a leader in the Women’s Suffrage Movement.
6-13-90

Contacts:
Laura Kline, University Archives, (515) 294-6672
Diana Pounds, News Service, (515) 294-4845
Jan Beran, League of Women Voters of Ames, (515) 232-2790

ISU HONORS CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

AMES, Iowa--A historical building on the Iowa State University campus will be restored and renamed to honor one of ISU's most famous graduates--Carrie Chapman Catt, leader of the woman suffrage movement and founder of the League of Women Voters.

The campus building known as Old Botany will become Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, ISU President Gordon P. Eaton and Provost Milton D. Glick announced in Ames and Washington, D.C. Tuesday evening (June 12).

Glick made the announcement during a National League of Women Voters meeting in Washington, D.C., while Eaton spoke to a group of ISU alumni and supporters during a reception at [WHERE??].

"This action will allow Carrie Chapman Catt to take her proper place in history at the university which she loved dearly and never forgot," [EATON OR GICK? SAID]

The announcement caps a campaign by university archivist Laura Kline and the Ames League of Women Voters to garner more recognition for Catt.

"She accomplished so much and yet, she's relatively unknown, even here at Iowa State," said Kline, who has made nearly a hundred presentations about Catt during the past few years.

Catt, who graduated from Iowa State as valedictorian in 1880, is best known for leading the National American Woman Suffrage Association to success with the passage of the 19th Amendment ensuring women the right to vote.

(over)
However, the woman who was pictured on a 1926 cover of Time magazine also founded the League of Women Voters and International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, worked to establish the League of Nations and later, the United Nations, and was voted among the most admired women in the world numerous times.

Catt was active on the ISU campus during her student days, initiating military exercises for women, and remained interested in the university throughout her life, Kline said. She was the first woman to deliver a commencement address at ISU in 1921 and gave another in 1930. She donated $100,000 to a scholarship fund, which has grown with interest to $270,000 and provided several hundred ISU students with Catt Scholarships. She also left her entire estate to ISU, including her furniture, art, and more than 1,000 books from her peace library.

Last year, the Ames League of Women Voters threw its support behind Kline's proposal to name a campus building after Catt. League members gathered support from throughout the nation for the proposal.

"Catt has been recognized throughout the U.S. and the world for her commitment to individual rights and world peace and we are proud to celebrate her achievements at ISU," said Jan Beran, who led the Ames League's study of Catt.

The Old Botany building, designed in 1892, is on the National Register of Historic Places. Originally called Agricultural Hall, the building has housed departments in agriculture, agricultural engineering, botany, psychology and women's physical education, and art and design.

Plans call for setting aside an area in the restored building, featuring information about Catt's accomplishments and items she donated to the university, Kline said.

Funds for the renovation will be sought as part of ISU's Partnership for Prominence capital campaign, which is officially scheduled to begin in the fall. Those interested in donating to the building fund should contact Harriette F. Roller at (515) 294-6984.
"Carrie Chapman Catt accomplished so many wonderful things in her lifetime and she always, no matter what she was working on, remembered Iowa and her alma mater in a variety of ways," Kline said. "It's only fitting that she's finally recognized by Iowa State. She will serve as a wonderful role model for the students, the staff and the community."

-30-

EDITORS: Laura Kline, (515) 294-6672, is available for interviews and can provide examples of Carrie Chapman Catt artifacts, including portraits, photographs, suffrage buttons, a suffrage banner, and a dress and tablecloth owned by Catt.

Also available for interviews are Jan Beran, (515) 232-2790, chairperson of the Ames League of Women Voters Committee on Carrie Chapman Catt, and Marlene Rudolphi, (515) 232-6048, president of the Ames League of Women Voters. (Rudolphi is available after June 13.)
September 12, 1989

Laura Kline, Archivist
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50010

Dear Laura:

I read with interest the article this morning in the Des Moines Register about Carrie. Note our letterhead.

We have the same situation here, especially with the house. Since it is located in the country the interest is very low locally. Do we take these things too much for granted?

I wish you luck in your project and hope you meet with success in each aspect.

When you finish with yours, maybe there will be enough incentive that I can create interest in this area of her life.

Keep me posted on your progress.

Sincerely,

Ken Johnson
President
September 6, 1989

Dr. Virgil Lagomarcino, Chair  
Naming of Buildings Committee  
E262 Lagomarcino Hall  
Iowa State University  
Ames, Iowa 50011

Dear Dr. Lagomarcino:

I am pleased to write on behalf of the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women in support of the naming of a major building at Iowa State University as Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. The Iowa Commission on the Status of Women officially endorsed this proposal at its meeting on August 25, 1989.

The significance of the life of Carrie Chapman Catt was recognized when, in 1975, the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women established the Iowa Women's Hall of Fame and named her as one of the first four inductees. Her outstanding contributions—in the areas of education, women's suffrage, responsible government and world peace—continue to be a credit to Iowa, and to her alma mater, Iowa State University.

The impact of the life and work of Carrie Chapman Catt on ISU, the State of Iowa, and the nation, is a matter of public record. We encourage you to take the appropriate step of paying tribute to that life and work by naming a building at ISU for a woman for the first time, as the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

Thank you very much for your consideration of this proposal.

Sincerely,

Naomi Christensen  
Chairperson

cc: Jan Beran
August 20, 1989

Dr. Virgil Lagomarcino
Chair
Building Nomenclature Committee
Iowa State University
E262 Lagomarcino Hall
Ames, Iowa 50010

Dear Dr. Lagomarcino:

The Board of Directors of the Ames Chapter of the United Nations Association has gone on record as favoring the renaming of Botany Hall as the Carrie Chapman Catt Building.

Sincerely,

A. Weldon Walsh
Secretary
League of Women Voters
of Cedar Rapids - Marion
318 5th Street S.E.
Cedar Rapids, IA 52401

July 31, 1989

The League of Women Voters of Cedar Rapids-Marion, which counts many Iowa State University alumnae among our members, joins the many organizations and individuals who are coming forward to endorse the suggestion that "Old Botany" receive the honored name of Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

In this seventieth year of the League of Women Voters of the United States, of which Carrie Chapman Catt was a founder, it is appropriate that Iowa State University honor this illustrious woman by bestowing her name on a University building. Not only was she a person of whose academic and public policy career the University can be proud, but also her achievements in women's suffrage have brought honor to the State of Iowa and accomplishment to the citizens of the United States.

We urge the Naming of Buildings Committee to consider honoring Carrie Chapman Catt in this timeless way and recognizing the contributions she made to her Alma Mater, her state, and her nation.

Thank you for your consideration of our recommendation.

Sincerely yours,

Mary M. McKee
President
July 31, 1989
Des Moines, Iowa

Dr. Virgil Lagomarcino
Naming of Buildings Committee
E262 Lagomarcino Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

Dear Dr. Lagomarcino:

We would like to enthusiastically endorse the effort to name a major Iowa State University building for Carrie Chapman Catt.

This Iowa woman's work for women and world peace is well known to us and is a source of pride on our part as we continue to work for these same goals.

Very truly yours,

LaVon H. Cooper
President of Des Moines Branch
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
1430 - 55th St.
Des Moines, Iowa 50311

cc: Laura Kline, University Archivist
Mr. Virgil Lagomarcino
Chair
Naming of Buildings Committee
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

Dear Dr. Lagomarcino,

We have recently learned your committee has received a request to name the current Botany Hall the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. Our associations, the Ames League of Women Voters and the Iowa League of Women Voters, support this effort to give tribute to a woman who was an early Iowa educator, probably one of the first female superintendents of a large city school district before 1900. Iowa State University has benefitted from her generosity. She and her husband gave $100,000 for scholarships, left the university her substantial personal collection regarding her involvement in social issues and also personal belongings.

Chapman Catt's leadership of the women's right to vote effort is well known. Over a thirty year period she gave leadership to the American Women's Suffrage association and was president when the XIX amendment was passed. She was also involved internationally in this effort. The later years of her life were spend in efforts directed toward international peace and understanding including being involved in the founding of the United Nations.

It seems timely and appropriate that Iowa State University recognize this alumna who was so honored during her lifetime. The naming of a major building on campus would ensure her proper place in the history of her alma mater.

Sincerely,

Jan Beran, Chair
Ames League of Women Voters Study Committee

cc. Laura Kline

311 Physical Education
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011
November 2, 1989

Dear Dr. Lagomarcino:

Thank you for your May 23, 1989 response to our letter regarding the naming of 'Old Botany' the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. We were pleased to learn that you will present our request for discussion at the first meeting of the Buildings Advisory Committee. Because of the confusion of the members of the Committee, we are enclosing the Petition which was earlier circulated.

We assume that you will soon be calling a meeting. We would like to request that a representative from the League of Women Voters be permitted to present a brief description of Chapman Catt and the achievements of this illustrious graduate of ISU.

Thank you very much for your attention to this matter. We would appreciate your early response.

Sincerely,

Jan Beran, Chair
Ames League of Women Voters Study Committee

cc: Buildings Advisory Committee
President Gordon Eaton

Marsha Readhead
President, Ames League of Women Voters
May 19, 1989

Dr. Virgil Lagomarcino, Chairman
ISU Building Names Committee
Lagomarcino Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, IA 50010

Dear Dr. Lagomarcino:

The Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of Iowa supports and has endorsed the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that the LWVIA support the renaming of an Iowa State University building in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt's contributions to the establishment of the women's suffrage movement and the League of Women Voters, as well as to the furtherance of world peace. This woman, Carrie Chapman Catt, who was so honored during her lifetime, will then take her proper place in history at her alma mater."

The resolution was also presented to all the local leagues in Iowa at our state convention in April 1989.

Please keep us informed as to the progress of this project.

Sincerely,

Joan Hartsuck
President

JH/ug
January 22, 1990

Dr. Virgil Lagomarcino, Chair
Naming of Buildings Committee
E262 Lagomarcino Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, IA 50011

Dear Dr. Lagomarcino:

The Eta Chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma, an honor society for women educators, joins the many organizations and individuals who are coming forward to endorse the proposal that "Old Botany" receive the honored name of Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

The significance of her outstanding contributions in the areas of education, women's suffrage, and world peace continue to be a credit to Iowa and her alma mater, Iowa State University.

We encourage the Naming of Buildings Committee to pay tribute to that life and work by naming a building Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Janet Glaser
Professional Affairs Chairman

cc: President Eaton
    Provost Glick
June 10, 1989

Memorandum

TO: Virgil Lagomarcino, Chair  
Naming of Buildings Committee  
E 262 Lagomarcino Hall

FROM: Kathleen Hickok, Chair  
Women's Studies Program

RE: Suggestion to rename Old Botany "Carrie Chapman Catt Hall"

On behalf of the Women's Studies Program Committee, I am writing in support of the suggestion to rename Old Botany after distinguished ISU alumna Carrie Chapman Catt. You may not be aware that for several years the now defunct Iowa Women's Studies Association gave an annual Carrie Chapman Catt Essay Award. Chapman Catt is a figure highly regarded by women's studies students and faculty for her contributions to the suffrage movement in this country. I saw Laura Kline's slide show about Ms. Catt at the Midwest Women's Studies Association Conference, and I urge you to see it for yourself if you have not already done so. I know you will be impressed, as I was, with the depth and breadth of Ms. Catt's distinguished career. I hope it will be possible for your committee to forward to President Eaton a favorable recommendation on this matter. Please let me know the outcome of your deliberations. Thank you.

cc: Laura Kline
Phi Alpha Theta
Faculty Women's Club
National Veterinary Services Lab
Brunnner Gallery - Docents
Junior Monday Club of Boone
Pi Beta Phi Alumnae Club
Federally Employed Women - Iowa Chapter
Rotary Club (a.m.)
AAUW
Pi Beta Phi
Memorial Lutheran
Questers
Questers
Phi Delta Gamma
Phi Delta Kappa
Unitarian Church

(History Grad Honor Group)
(M. Goeppinger)
(M. Goeppinger)
(Penny Thompson 245-8502)
(Elaine Bath 292-5864)
(Willie Struss 232-0865)
(Willie Struss ""
)(Deborah Gitchell 232-7447)
(Jane Nuhu 296-8084)
(Daphanne Thomas 294-9550)
(Charlotte Bruner)

Some of the groups I showed Carrie to.
Laura Klein 1990
To the Editor:

I had elected to let the errors in the July 3rd article about 'Old Botany' and Carrie Chapman Catt stand, thinking matters would be made worse by drawing attention to them. However, after the letter by John Anderson and the editor's note, I realized I need to respond.

First, Anderson is absolutely correct, the headline was quite inappropriate and premature. There are procedures to go through for naming a building beginning with a petition to the Advisory Committee on Naming Buildings. I explained all of this to the Daily reporter who interviewed me. I have been making presentations about Catt for three years but the campaign for renaming 'Old Botany', which I share with the local chapter of the League of Women Voters, did not begin until this past spring. I sent a petition to the Committee who have responded and will take up the matter once the committee is fully staffed - several members have retired. As far as the statement attributed to me regarding
Editor, Iowa State Daily  
July 6, 1989  
Page 2

donated money, it is true that I said it has become a much larger factor than in the past, e.g., Durham Center, but not the only factor.

A couple of other minor points, Chapman Catt graduated in 1880, not 1888 and it was she who founded the League of Women Voters. In spite of the misconceptions and errors, however, the article was well intentioned. The main idea remains relevant: Carrie Chapman Catt is an alumna worthy of recognition, someone the entire campus community should be aware of and proud of for her many accomplishments.

Laura Kline  
University Archivist

Botany Hall to be named after Catt
Synopsis of naming process by Laura Kline, University Archivist 1978-94

In August 1983, I became University Archivist at Iowa State University, having worked at the University Library as a professional librarian since 1978. As I became familiar with the University Archives as well as the other components of the Special Collections Dept., I set out to learn as much as possible about the ISU faculty and alumni who had made significant contributions locally, regionally, and nationally.

In doing so, I was amazed that I hadn't heard of Carrie Chapman Catt previously to being ISU Archivist. Susan B. Anthony I knew well (she was from Rochester NY and my alma mater, University of Rochester, named my dorm after her among other things). But her hand-picked successor I did not know. The more I learned about her, the more ashamed I was not to have known about her. I therefore enthusiastically set out to develop a program about her, after being asked to do so by the ISU history graduate student club. I used several sources including books, journal articles and newspaper accounts, as well as material held in our archives.

The slide show presentation was so successful that I began to give it fairly frequently. Not only did I receive requests from on-campus groups but also from numerous organizations in Ames and surrounding communities. As archivist, this was part of my outreach duties, meeting with the public, educating one another about ISU, local and state history. It was also something I enjoyed. And at every occasion I presented my show - whether to the Tuesday Club, Questers, Rotary Club or Carrie's sorority, I received the same responses: "Why hasn't the school done something in her honor? Why isn't a building named after her? We didn't realize all the things she had accomplished."

It wasn't until I gave my talk to the Ames Chapter of the League of Women Voters that I began to feel maybe something could actually be done to honor Carrie. All the chapter members voiced their desire to help in this endeavor. Later that week, I received a call from the chapter president to find out how we could work together to achieve getting a building named after Carrie. I asked my colleagues and school administrators about the formal procedure for naming buildings and began the necessary steps.

The first was to draw up a petition, which would explain the request: why this particular person, which building, etc. The idea was then to be discussed with the ISU staff and administrators that would most likely inhabit the building to determine how they felt about it. (This was done on a gradual yet systematic basis, and included people from several areas such as the philosophy, history and political science departments, as well as relevant administrators). If everyone was in favor, which they were, the petition was then to be signed by all the officials involved and then presented to the committee for naming buildings.
All along I had envisioned "Old Botany" as the building to name after Carrie. The reasoning was simple: it was the only major building left on the older campus area without a namesake, it was architecturally interesting, it was 19th century, and it was on the "endangered" list and needed saving.

All along this whole procedure was done openly with lots of support on and off campus. Various committees took shape throughout this campaign, which was not quick but rather long and drawn out. It basically took over ten years! The LWV Ames chapter formulated several committees to help the project, such as one that worked on compiling a list of items Carrie and her husband, George Catt, had left to ISU; another on publicizing the campaign; another doing research, and so on. We had local people involved from the community outside the LWV, we had ISU students, we had faculty and administrators. In addition, there were alumni/ae who wrote to us about Carrie from personal remembrances. People from all over the state were regularly calling, writing or stating their endorsement of the project. It really was a grassroots effort.

The last year I was in Ames, there were several meetings of committees, such as the LWV which met fairly regularly, informal discussions with ISU administration, and eventually with the committee concerned with naming buildings. The meetings were always open and at least two or three of us representing the campaign were present. I remember it was difficult setting up meetings with the building committee - finding a time good for all of them to meet with us was difficult, and on more than one occasion, it was postponed. But eventually everything took place and the formalities were carried out.

At no time was anything secretive or underhanded. My motive and that of the hundreds of people who worked on the campaign was simply to honor this deserving ISU alumna, Iowan, American. Nothing in my years of research changed my beliefs regarding her character or her aims. Next to my family, I am most proud of having taken part in this heartfelt endeavor, working together with so many people with noble intent and positive spirit.

*See chronology in ISU Archives for Carrie Chapman Catt's specific accomplishments
Record 1

Laws and regulations governing the University of Minnesota / Author: University of Minnesota. Publisher: Minneapolis : University of Minnesota, 1931. Location: PARKS LIBRARY General Collection Call Number: LB2529,M6 M6 1931 Status: Available

Record 2

MINUTES> Author: IOWA, STATE BOARD OF REGENTS. Publisher: <Des Moines> State Board of Regents. Location: PARKS LIBRARY Archives (Spec Coll) Call Number: L148.B5 Status: Not available Circ. info not available (2 others)

Record 3

<Minutes> Author: Iowa, State Board of Regents. Publisher: <Des Moines> State Board of Regents. Location: PARKS LIBRARY Archives (Spec Coll) Call Number: L148.B5 micro-, film Status: Not available Circ. info not available

Record 4

Minutes of meeting <microform> / Author: Iowa, State Board of Regents. Publisher: Des Moines, Iowa : State Board of Education, Location: PARKS LIBRARY Microforms Center Call Number: 17-P982 14: microfiche Status: Available (1 others)

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Also ISU Library Archives
Laura Kline boxes 25/4/53
Petition in box 84
Funding the renovation of Catt Hall

Once the building naming decision had been made the challenge was to raise the five million dollars projected as the renovation cost. In contrast to other named buildings there was no large donor and none was projected. The future occupants were not identified with major research projects, which might have had funding potential. The programs likewise were not known to be fundraisers.

The initial development officer assigned to the fund raising had hopes that the project might receive monies through the funding of historic building renovation through the National Endowment for the Humanities. That did not materialize.

For three years the Catt Hall project was one of the projects in a very successful capital campaign but only $30,000 had been raised to cover the projected cost. (See Kirkman’s To Fund the Impossible Dream” which is attached)

The College of Science and Humanities hired a new development officer in 1991. One of her major responsibilities starting in 1993 was to raise $825,000 in private gifts in two years in cash and in hand. Almost concurrently the Department of Political Science Advisory board suggested plans to found a Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics and became the first major donors. That effort gave greater visibility to the Catt name and was beneficial in fund raising.

Renovating the building became the top priority for the S & H College in 1993 as projected by the Board of Regents in 1990.

The fundraising was successful and reached the goal earlier than the target date of December 1994. The amount raised reached approximately one million dollars and costs for the fund raising were paid out of the funds raised.

Success for the private fund raising is attributed to a number of factors. They included they Plaza project wherein individual women could be honored, a public relations campaign committee, more than 50 presentations of the “Yellow Rose of Suffrage” about Mrs. Catt’s life around the state in towns both large and small, an interactive video and booth at the State Fair where hundreds signed up for a chance to win a brick for the woman of their choice, recruitment of well-known people to endorse the project, and print and electronic news features.

The university allocated the following amounts from the listed funds:

- University Building Repair and Facility Improvement and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences $3,287,467.79
- Academic Revenue Bonds for Deferred Maintainence 900,000.00
- ISU Foundation Fundraising 657,735.00

Total $4,845,202.79

This amount also including the cost of removing Old Botany Annex.

Information for the financial portion of this was obtained from the office of Warren Madden, Vice president for Business and Finance, from the former LAS Development officer, Kay Kirkman, fund raiser for the project and from Jaye Stefani, secretary in the LAS college, and from Phyllis Lepke, Director of the Giving Program, ISU Alumni Foundation.

As of October 30, 1998, 2610 bricks, 172 pavers, and 63 large pavers had been purchased.
You requested information on the source of funding for the renovation of Call Hall.

University Building Repair, Facility Improvement and College of LAS funds $3,287,467.79
Academic Revenue Bonds for Deferred Maintenance 900,000.00
ISU Foundation Fund Raising 657,735.00

TOTAL $4,845,202.79

This is the total cost of the project including removing the old Botany Annex that was attached to the building. It was originally hoped that private fund raising would finance a larger portion of the cost. Additional donor interest was not forthcoming and there also was a change in the Dean of the College which plays a major role in fund raising making it more difficult. Fund raising for these types of projects is difficult. Morrill Hall is currently facing the same difficulty. In addition to the renovation of Catt Hall, this project permitted the relocation of the administrative offices of the College of LAS and space in Ross Hall which was critically needed for other programs. The space LAS vacated in Carver was needed for the College of Business as well as some of the problems the English Department had in Ross Hall. The Board of Regents approved the project budget based upon the Universities recommendation that solved several of these problems.
To Fund the Impossible Dream

Iowa State University created a Plaza of Heroines with paving bricks to honor women. The goal: raise $200,000 to honor 2,000 women. The campaign raised $400,000 and honored 3,000 women.

By Kay Kirkman

Soon or later, it happens to every development officer. A dream project comes along that will be great for your organization, but doesn’t appear to have the necessary donor backing. As the fund-raising expert, you’re asked to develop a plan to make this impossible dream come true. Can you guide your organization to success? Yes, if you follow some of the guidelines we’ve developed after our successful Carrie Chapman Catt Campaign.

Botany Hall on the Iowa State University campus is one of the few 19th-century buildings still standing although it has been empty for some time. A coalition of campus and community women placed it on the National Register of Historic Places and the administration agreed it should be renovated and renamed Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. Mrs. Catt was an 1880 ISU graduate and a leader of the woman’s suffrage movement, and 1995 marks the 75th anniversary of her movement’s crowning achievement, the passage of the 19th Amendment giving women the right to vote. What a wonderful dream, to name the renovated building in her honor this year!

But the dream seemed to be turning into a nightmare. After three years as one of the projects in a very successful capital campaign, only $30,000 had been raised towards the projected $5-million dollar renovation. What was wrong? Well, let’s look at the criteria everyone knows a successful campaign must have:

- Major donors committed to the campaign. Everyone talked enthusiastically about it but few took out their checkbooks.
- An exciting project. The renovated building will mainly hold offices for the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.
- Identifiable prospects with a natural interest in the project. The building had housed such a variety of offices and classrooms over the years that there was no one group that identified with Old Botany and wanted to save it.
- A reasonable time frame. The College committed to raise $825,000 in private gifts in two years—all in cash and in hand. No five-year pledges or estate gifts—on June 30, 1995, we must hand over the money. (The balance will come from the University’s construction funds.)

Yet, with a little luck, a lot of work, and some creative approaches, we did it. In fact, we completed the fund raising six months before our deadline, and gifts are still coming in. Here’s some of the things we learned in the process.
Kirkman

- An interactive video and booth at the State Fair where hundreds of people signed up for a chance to win a brick for the woman of their choice. Of course, many also decided to donate to the Plaza.
- More than 50 performances around the state of excerpts from a one-woman play, "The Yellow Rose of Suffrage," about Mrs. Catt's life. These performances were introduced by a college representative who also explained the Plaza project.
- Development of brochures, flyers, stationery and other pieces.
- Recruitment of well-known people to publicly endorse the project, ranging from the Governor and Lt. Governor to television personalities, relatives of Mrs. Catt, the League of Women Voters, etc.
- Major articles about the project in the Des Moines Register and Ames Tribune as well as other Iowa newspapers. A popular news hook before Mother's Day talked about the bricks as special gifts for special mothers.
- Radio and television appearances by the dean and other college representatives, plus numerous speaking engagements at service clubs and other organizations.

I could never have managed the amount or quality of publicity associated with the Carrie Chapman Catt Campaign while handling the fund-raising chores, yet the campaign's success was enormously impacted by it. If you have an impossible project, get a good group to handle its promotion. They'll free you to spend time working with donors, and the publicity will bring you new prospects.

3. Expect to spend more, at least in the beginning.

By their very nature, impossible projects will incur higher fund-raising costs and your administration needs to understand that. When you go outside the lines to design a campaign, you'll almost assuredly go outside the normal parameters of expense. Publicity costs may be higher, you may have higher travel and telephone bills, donor recognition may cost more.

In our case, we increased the total amount to be raised by $75,000 to cover the cost of constructing the Plaza of Heroines as well as some extra fund-raising expenses. For instance, we printed 15,000 four-color brochures as well as collateral materials such as letterhead, envelopes, etc. Our postage bill jumped as we mailed invitations to special events as well as the brochures. We also saw an increase in office expense as we hired part-time help to enter information for the Plaza of Heroines in a computer database, sent over 2,000 acknowledgment letters, and responded to many questions by telephone, fax and in person. Many of these charges had to be paid before any money had been received.

Although all the bills haven't been tabulated, we expect the project's final direct fund-raising expense to be less than 10 percent. In part this is because the Foundation and the College absorb some of the costs in their general development and public-relations budgets. However, you may not have the luxury of a larger organization to help provide a financial cushion. Perhaps you'll need to do as we did and increase the total amount you seek to raise, or find a donor with a strong commitment to your project who will underwrite its promotion. Don't try to get by with a minimal budget on an impossible project.

4. Don't forget the basics.

Just because it's an unusual project and you're taking a creative approach to its funding doesn't mean you can forget the basics of fund-raising management. For instance, keeping good records and acknowledging gifts promptly may be even more important in the unusual effort. You'll be adding new donors who have never seen your organization at work and first impressions are important if you expect them to become continuing donors.

In addition to a basic acknowledgment letter from the ISU Foundation which was mailed immediately, each donor received another thank-you letter which included the name of the honoree as we recorded it. This gave us one more check of spelling and an opportunity for the donor to add a maiden name or abbreviate or expand the designation. These letters inspired many donors to make an additional donation as they thought about other friends and relatives they might honor.

In addition, we offered to send an acknowledgment card to each living honoree or a member of her family. These were very popular, especially at Christmas and Valentine's Day as well as for birthdays and anniversaries. Although we sent the cards as a small benefit for the donor, they in turn inspired additional gifts as honorees donated for their mothers, grandmothers, daughters, teachers and friends.

We also pursued the traditional fund-raising efforts such as grant proposals and major donor solicitation. Although we did not receive any of the grants we sought, we have been pleasantly surprised to discover some of the granting agencies remember our project and have even asked about its results. We hope that we've built some bridges that will help us be successful in future proposals.

We formed a campaign committee, another traditional fund-raising strategy. Committee members made their own gifts, hosted events, identified potential donors, and attended meetings. Since we didn't have many major gift prospects, they were for the most part spared the one task committee members usually dread—personal solicitations. As a result, they enjoyed their participation in a successful campaign and will be good candidates for future fund-raising efforts.

Remember the basics of giving donors the opportunity to repeat and upgrade, too. We've been very low-key in this regards but as you can tell, many of our donors have in fact made additional gifts. Others have upgraded from two or three $100 bricks to a $1,000 granite paver.

5. Use the momentum of the project to attract major donors.

If you've turned your project upside down as we did and gone after the small donors first, you will find a momentum building that's different from a traditional project. In most capital campaigns, it seems there's a burst of enthusiasm as you make your initial announcement and the first rush of donors appears. The balance of the campaign is often a slow march as you try to close the necessary gifts and find those last few donors.

In our campaign, the first few weeks were the slow—and scary—ones. As the publicity began to mount and people began to talk about the Plaza, the momentum was noticeable in our office. We discovered that people made an early decision that they wanted to take part, but that they delayed sending their donation while they talked to friends and family about what they would say in the narrative, how exactly they would have the woman's name engraved, and whether or not it should be a surprise. We have had more telephone calls about this project than any other one. People want to tell us about their mothers, teachers, wives or other women when they call to ask about the size of the bricks or when the dedication will be. Most of the telephone calls become fairly long and are wonderful cultivation tools. Fortunately, we have
7 Tips for Funding an Impossible Dream

1. Think outside the lines.

When you're faced with an impossible project, you can't rely on typical fund-raising methods. For instance, everyone knows that in a capital project, you get a few donors who commit over half the necessary funds, take a public announcement, and go over the small gifts to finish it up. But that approach may not always work. After a lot of thinking and worrying, we decided to go after the small donors first and then develop larger donors to complete the project. No, we weren't looking for 8,000 donors to give $100 each since we know that lies madness. But if we could find a way to raise perhaps a fourth of the total goal with small gifts, then it'd still end up with a traditional pyramid. The question was, how?

Since the building will be named for a famous woman and women had been instrumental in saving it from demolition, we decided to honor women with the Plaza of Heroines holding bricks and granite paving blocks engraved with women's names. Donors could place a woman's name in the Plaza for $100, with larger granite pavers available for $500 and $1,000. We thought the amount was small enough to encourage new donors, but large enough to represent a commitment which we could tap in the future.

Our goal was to raise $200,000 from the Plaza. Another $400,000 would come from unrestricted donations (in our annual calling program, donors were told that renovating Carrie Chapman Catt Hall was the College's top priority and were asked to give to the College's unrestricted fund). The balance of $225,000 would come from naming opportunities—offices, small conference rooms, benches, the porch and staircase at $10,000-$50,000 each. These were the larger gifts that would complete the campaign. You can see that we'd be depending on a lot of small gifts, and we had no statistics to show this approach would work.

A couple of creative ideas helped the process. First, we offered anyone who honored a woman the option of writing up to two pages about her and submitting her photograph to be used in a computer display. This opened a flood of emotions from many of our donors. Second, we decided early on to never say "buy a brick" but instead "honor a woman." That one small detail has had tremendous impact.

2. Publicity is vital for an "impossible" project.

Everyone knows that we need as much publicity and public exposure as we can get to be successful in fund raising. But it's even more important that you position your impossible projects to get maximum publicity.

One of the best things the University and the ISU Foundation did was to form a committee to develop a public-relations plan for the Carrie Chapman Catt Campaign. This group looked at everything from publications to news releases to public presentations. Here's just a partial list of the promotion that came from the committee:

- Publicity about Carrie Chapman Catt and the Plaza campaign in every University publication for alumni and friends.
- News releases to hometown papers with the name of every area resident who was being honored in the Plaza of Heroines. Not only did the releases get published, but they often led to calls and more in-depth stories about both the women being honored and the Plaza itself.

A brochure explains how to get involved with the Plaza of Heroines at Iowa State University.
The stories being submitted are wonderful, ranging from a young woman who wrote, "For my grandmother who taught me how to live and how to love," to stories of women who raised children during the Depression or were early leaders in a variety of professions. Famous women from Eleanor Roosevelt to Sojourner Truth to Oprah Winfrey are being honored in the Plaza, but the majority by far are women whose life stories might otherwise be unpublicized.

Small donors rarely get special invitations and personal attention, but we're trying to reverse the process for the Plaza of Heroines. Each donor and honoree will receive a personal invitation to the dedication ceremonies. Their names will be listed in the dedication program as well as in the computer. I've already mentioned that news releases have been sent to hometown papers for every gift. These carry both the name of the honoree and the donors.

On the other hand, we've also provided a special recognition club for the top donors. One of the fascinating stories about Mrs. Catt says that she sold her sapphire jewelry to further the cause of woman suffrage. We give a star sapphire necklace or pin to donors of $25,000 or more, and membership in the Sapphire Club now totals 13. (These include donors to the Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics as well as the building.)

Another special recognition group includes 19 women who gave $1,000 each to underwrite a performance of "The Yellow Rose of Suffrage" at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, DC. The women traveled to the Capitol where they attended the play as well as two days of special tours, receptions with our Senators and the Swedish Ambassador, and a luncheon at the Senate Office Building. Each woman received a crystal rose and paperweight to commemorate her participation.

7. Celebrate your success.

A special project deserves a special celebration and that's what we are planning. When we dedicate Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, it will be the culmination of a week of activities based on the Chautauqua, a social and cultural experience which was especially popular around the turn of the century. (It is still held annually in Chautauqua, New York.) Chief Wilma Mankiller, Bernice Reagon, and Molly Ivins will be featured speakers. A
How Other Universities Have Handled Similar Situations
Lee Hall's name will remain

Virginia Tech President Paul Torgersen has issued a statement declining to recommend a name change for Lee Hall, which was named in 1968 for alumnus and 50-year electrical engineering professor Claudius Lee.

Suggestions to change the hall's name arose when a student discovered Claudius Lee pictured in the 1896 Bugle on a student organization page associated with the Ku Klux Klan.

Torgersen arranged a historical review of the yearbook material by a committee headed by history professor Peter Wallenstein. Torgersen also consulted with John Kneebone, a specialist in the history of the Klan at the State Library of Virginia.

Investigation found no evidence of Klan activity in Virginia during Claudius Lee's student days. Torgersen condemned the yearbook material as "sickening," but concluded it unlikely that the pages "represented real Klan activity or even genuine student organizations."
Henry Garrett and the APA

"The controversy surrounding Cattell recalls similar events more than 30 years ago when Henry E. Garrett, then past-President of the American Psychological Association, publicly embraced the segregationist agenda of the Citizens' Council movement. In one January 1968 article Garrett published in the Citizens' Council monthly journal *The Citizen*, the Columbia University psychologist argued that "Despite glamorized accounts to the contrary, the history of Black Africa over the past 5,000 years is largely a blank," and, "The crime record of the Negro in the United States is little short of scandalous." (*The Citizen*, "Scientist Explains Race Differences," by Henry E. Garrett, Ph.D., pp. 14-19). Garrett was a militant opponent of the 1954 Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education which mandated school desegregation and he used his credentials as a psychologist -- and as a past president of the APA -- to legitimize his opinion that, "Should school desegregation becomes complete either North or South, we can expect total demoralization and then disorganization in that order." (Ibid. See, also, "I.Q. and Racial Differences," by Henry E. Garrett, Ph.D. Newport Beach, CA: Noontide Press, 1980).
Honolulu Star-Bulletin Obit (2/4/98)

Dr. Cattell's Obit

The following death notice was posted by Raymond B. Cattell student, John Horn. Dr. Cattell withdrew his name for consideration for the Gold Medal Award two weeks before his death. The Blue Ribbon committee that was organized to review the decision has been disbanded leaving the Cattell affair unresolved. The award, however, was never bestowed.

Date: Thu, 5 Feb 1998 01:37:10 -0800
Reply-To: SEMNET Discussion List <SEMNET@UA1VM.UA.EDU>
Sender: SEMNET Discussion List <SEMNET@UA1VM.UA.EDU>
From: John Horn <jhorn@almaak.usc.edu>
To: SEMNET@UA1VM.UA.EDU

Raymond B. Cattell died in his sleep, at his home in Honolulu, on the evening of February 2. Born in 1905, he would have celebrated his 93rd birthday on March 15. He had been sick with colon cancer, prostate cancer and congestive heart failure. The latter was the primary cause if death. His son, Harry, a physician, reported that his father's heart had become very weak. Over the last several months, it had been pumping only a fraction of the blood needed to sustain life. It was a marvel, Harry said, that his father had held on to life for so long.

Cattell received the "Gold Medal Award for Life Achievement in Psychological Science," announced in the American Psychologist, August, 1997 (pp 797-799.). The citation accompanying the award reads as follows:

In a remarkable 70-year career, Raymond B. Cattell has made prodigious, landmark contributions to psychology, including factor analytic mapping of the domains of personality, motivation, and abilities; exploration of three different medias of assessment; separation of fluid and crystallized intelligence; and numerous methodological innovations. Thus, Cattell became recognized in numerous substantive areas, providing a model of the complete psychologist in an age of specialization. It may be said that Cattell stands without peer in his creation of a unified theory of individual differences integrating intellectual, temperamental, and dynamic domains of personality in the context of environmental and hereditary influences.

Take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again.
In response to accusations of racist views on the part of a designated award winner, the presentation of the 1997 Gold Medal Award for Life Achievement in Psychological Science—originally scheduled to be given on Aug. 16—was postponed by the American Psychological Foundation (APF) Board of Trustees.

On Aug. 13, the foundation decided to postpone the presentation of the award to Raymond B. Cattell, PhD. Cattell is well-known for his work in the field of personality theory, assessment and testing, but in the week proceeding the opening of APA’s 1997 Annual Convention, concerns that Cattell’s writings were racist and advocated the separation of the races were voiced to the association.

In an effort to ensure fairness for Cattell and to protect the integrity of the science awards program, APF announced it would appoint a Blue Ribbon Panel of both psychologists and nonpsychologists to review the award. The panel will undertake a thorough review of Cattell’s work.

In a statement released to the media in Chicago, Cattell denied being racist and pointed to the fact that his work “has been organized around measuring and understanding the individual person, regardless of race, religion, class or gender.”

The work of the Blue Ribbon Panel is expected to be completed by early 1998. The panel will report its findings to the APF Board of Trustees, which will determine what further action is appropriate.
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i last month passed a resolution calling for the renaming of Porteus Hall on the Manoa campus. In their resolution (contact the ASUH office in the UHM Campus Center for a complete text) the students contend that the academic work of Professor Stanley D. Porteus "was generally discriminatory in nature" and that a building bearing his name is not in keeping with our institution's focus on diversity.

Professor Porteus, who died two years before the building was named in 1974, was internationally recognized for his contributions to the field of psychology, especially for the Porteus Maze Test that he devised to measure intelligence, and fundamental contributions to clinical psychology.

What ASUH objects to is the theory he developed of race differences based on genetic inheritance, from which he drew social implications supporting the dominant beliefs of his day concerning race and gender.

ASUH also proposes the building be given a Native Hawaiian name "to advance the University's stated focus of preserving the Native Hawaiian heritage."

The Board of Regents, which is authorized to name or rename buildings based on recommendations from the administration, upheld the Porteus Hall decision in 1975 after public hearings generated strong and emotional testimony on both sides of the question. A history of the debate appears in the book Building a Rainbow.

I believe that we should follow through on the ASUH proposal as expeditiously as possible. We need to review the request to ensure that it conforms to board and University policies and procedures, study the history of the naming of the building and obtain as much input as possible from UHM students, faculty, staff and administration, as well as external constituents who may have an interest in the matter.

I invite input on the ASUH proposal. You may send written comments to me through the end of November via e-mail at uh-president@hawaii.edu or via campus mail to Bachman Hall on the Manoa campus.

President, University of Hawai‘i and Chancellor, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa
In response to the ASUH vote, On November 21, 1997, UH President Kenneth P. Mortimer notified the university community that he planned to "follow through on the ASUH proposal as expeditiously as possible," and he invited "as much input as possible from UHM students, faculty, staff and administration, as well as external constituents who may have an interest in the matter." In January 1998, the President appointed a committee to make a recommendation of the re-naming of the Social Science building by the end of March.1

The remainder of this report focuses on the charges and countercharges that arose on this matter in 1974-75, and that have come to the fore again today. Specifically, the report first examines the claim against Porteus that his major work, Temperament and Race, published in 1926, is a racist volume, and the contrary claim by Porteus's supporters that it is unfair to make this charge against a work that, they allege, was wholly consistent with prevailing scholarly opinion at the time it was produced. Next, this report examines Porteus' scholarly career from the 1930s to the time of his final publications in 1969 and 1970. This is of particular importance in light of the claim of Porteus's critics that he displayed racist proclivities and biases for the entirety of his adult life—and the counterclaim of his defenders that he revised his opinions significantly after 1926. The report then concludes with a summary and recommendations.

All the available written commentaries regarding the central document in the Porteus controversy are agreed that contrary to the 1974 BOR description of Temperament and Race as "a classic in its field" the book has generally been regarded as, at the very least, a scholarly embarrassment.
THE PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND WORK OF STANLEY D. PORTEUS:
A REPORT ON THE PROPOSED RENAMING OF PORTEUS HALL

David E. Stannard
Professor of American Studies
University of Hawai'i at Manoa
December 1, 1997
Revised and edited by Dr. Barry Mehler
March 1, 1998

Background

On July 18, 1974 the Board of Regents of the University of Hawai'i voted in favor of naming the Social Science Building on the Manoa campus in honor of Professor Stanley David Porteus. Between 1922 and his retirement in 1948 Porteus had been a professor at the University of Hawai'i. From 1948 until the time of his death in October of 1972 he held the title of Emeritus Professor of Psychology. In describing the scholarly accomplishments of Professor Porteus that justified bestowing on him so distinguished an honor, the Regents' statement gave particular emphasis to his 1926 book, Temperament and Race, "which," the Regents said, "has since become a classic in its field."

At the start of the fall semester of 1974—less than two months after the Regents' vote on this matter—a group of students and faculty calling itself the Coalition to Rename Porteus Hall organized a large-scale effort to convince the Regents to remove Porteus's name from the building. The coalition wrote letters, held forums, and circulated petitions to advance their position. Like the Regents, the Coalition also placed particular emphasis on Porteus's book, Temperament and Race—but unlike the Regents they denounced the volume as a flagrantly racist attack on all non-white peoples, and as particularly insulting to the indigenous and non-white immigrant groups who, then as now, make up the overwhelming majority of the population of Hawai'i. Porteus, of course, had his defenders, and they spoke up in reply to the attacks.

For the remainder of the 1974-1975 academic year the debate continued. On March 14, 1975 the Regents voted to reaffirm their decision to name the building in honor of Stanley Porteus. And, because the controversy persisted following their March decision, they stated their reaffirmation a second time at a meeting on May 15, 1975.

Throughout the next two decades the matter seemed settled, although it was not uncommon for students and faculty alike to refer to the building not by its formal name, but as "Racism Hall." Then, last month—on October 20, 1997—the Associated Students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa revived the issue and voted unanimously, with two abstentions (16-0-2), to urge the Board of Regents, once again, to rename Porteus Hall. Their enumerated reasons were many, but they all focused on the allegedly racist nature of Porteus's professional work and the particular inappropriateness of honoring such a person at a university with a student population that is 85 percent people of color—and a university that is officially committed to ethnic diversity and equal opportunity.
For more information on this controversy:

Porteus Hall Protest:
http://www.uavenue.com/packages/porteus/index.html

Edited by Victor N. Kobayashi
(1983 University of Hawaii at Manoa/Hui O Students)
http://www.uavenue.com/packages/porteus/rainbow.html

Professor Robert S. Cahill, Department of Political Science
Testimony to the Board of Regents
University of Hawaii
April 23, 1975
http://www.uavenue.com/packages/porteus/porteus.html

University of Hawaii Web Page
http://www.hawaii.edu/campusmap/Campus/Porteus.html

See also the ISAR web page on:

Raymond B. Cattell
A. James Gregor
Stanley Porteus Homepage

Porteus Hall to be Renamed
Biography of Stanley D. Porteus
Saul Dubow. Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa
Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.222
Testimony of Beverly Ann Deepe Keever Member of the President's Commission on Diversity, Presented to the President's Ad Hoc Committee on Porteus Hall (March 4, 1998, Campus Center Ballroom)

Porteus Works With Shockley in Late 1960s
University of Hawaii President Calls For Comment On Porteus Protest

Student Protest at University of Hawaii

Students and campus leaders protested November 17 demanding Porteus Hall — the social sciences building on the UH-Manoa campus — be renamed. Protestors argued that Stanley Porteus promoted "blatantly racist" theories. Students spread a banner across Porteus Hall calling for an end to racism at the University of Hawaii. They plan to petition the Board of Regents to rename the Hall.

Porteus was a eugenics activist and member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the Mankind Quarterly and on the Executive Committee of the International Association for the Advancement of Eugenics and Ethnology — two notorious eugenics organizations of the 1960s. Two other University of Hawaii faculty were also associated with Mankind Quarterly - A. James Gregor and Raymond B. Cattell.

Regents named the building after Stanley Porteus in 1974 in the face of a full-scale campus protest led by students and faculty "who believed that Porteus had promoted racist views which were detrimental to society, and that, therefore, the name of Porteus ought not to be given to the building." Despite the protest, the Regents decided to stand firm by its original decision to keep the name of Porteus Hall. The Coalition called the decision a "victory for
September 24, 1998

To: GSB Carrie Chapman Catt Review Committee  
From: José M. Amaya  
Subject: Report regarding how other colleges and universities have responded to similar situations

I have gathered the scant information available (attached) regarding the controversy over the naming of Porteus Hall at the University of Hawaii and others. In addition, I have received a verbal response from an administrator at the Ohio State University, Vice Provost for Minority Affairs, Barbara Rich.

I asked her the following question on Thursday, September 24, 1998: “How would the office of Minority Affairs at Ohio State handle a situation similar in nature to the Carrie Chapman Catt controversy?”

Dr. Rich responded: “While I am not an expert on this situation, I do know of it. The first thing we would do here is to gather some history. What did she write? What were some of her contributions, both to the university and the community at large? Secondly, we would gather focus groups representing the views of opponents and proponents and ask for their input. Thirdly, we would ask why the naming of the building is so important, that is, why is there opposition to keeping/ changing the name? Finally, we would re-read the writings she authored to determine if the charge of racism is borne out in the literature. We would then offer a report with recommendations for closure or further discussion.”

Submitted to the committee along with attachments, on September 25, 1998.
Public Surveys
Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy
Survey Subcommittee Report

Chair: Alicia N. Kaiser
Members: Anthony Bateza, Patricia Hulsey, Pamela Thomas, Lynn Wellnitz

As the Committee for the Review of the Catt Controversy, we were commissioned to inspect and examine all aspects of the controversy surrounding the renaming of Catt Hall, with the intent of recommending specific action items that would help achieve closure of this issue. "Closure" was a goal specifically defined within our mission statement as "establishing open communication, reviewing and considering all relevant information, and taking all reasonable steps to generate a proposal that shows evidence of active and fair consideration of the diverse viewpoints on the issue."

Understanding that the claimed exclusion of certain voices and opinions was central to this controversy, we took this charge seriously and strove to make certain that every voice was heard in our consideration of the controversy and in our drafting of recommendations. We sought out ways to solicit community opinions throughout the course of our deliberation of the Catt issue, especially from groups who felt they had been under-represented in previous considerations of the issue. We wished to include as many people as possible in the process of achieving closure which, in a sense, began with the formation of the Committee.

One of the first options discussed as we attempted to draw the community into the process of closure was the notion of holding a series of public forums during the Fall 1998 semester, to encourage dialogue on the issue and perhaps provide the community with an informed evaluation of the controversy, as well as to gather community feedback.
and input. However, upon further consideration, the Committee rejected this notion on
the basis that such forums had already been held before the Committee’s formation, and
had not been particularly productive or effective in the resolving of differences of opinion.

We felt that future forums would fail to accomplish anything new unless we as a
Committee had reached new understandings, interpretations, or facts to lend to a
discussion of the Catt controversy. We also felt that we would be unable to adequately
speak on the issue until Committee members had fully researched, evaluated, and
discussed the issues at hand, i.e. until the Committee had run its course. Therefore, the
Committee decided that public forums would perhaps be beneficial after the completion
of the Committee’s work, but saw little purpose in holding them prior to this point in
time.

The Committee decided instead to pursue the option of performing an extensive
survey that would target the university community, particularly the segments of the
community who felt they had been under-represented in past treatment of the subject.
We believed a survey would help us to gain an understanding of the varied viewpoints and
concerns felt by all those whom the Catt Hall issue had affected. A subcommittee was
conceived to investigate the prospect of doing such a survey.

The Survey Subcommittee began to explore its survey options with three criteria
in mind; that the survey would be valid and defensible, that it would be within our
financial means and time constraints, and that it would provide useful and/or relevant
information. The Subcommittee consulted Human Subjects Surveys Manager Dianne G.
Anderson of the ISU Statistics Department to help us decide which options, if any, were
plausible.
Among the survey designs laid out by the Statistics department were Internet surveys, telephone surveys, and mail surveys. After advantages and disadvantages of each type of survey were discussed with Anderson, these options were considered by the Subcommittee.

The Subcommittee discussed the idea of an Internet survey which would have entailed the posting of our survey on a Web page, and subsequent sending out of postcards to a random sampling of individuals asking them to respond to the posted survey. The chosen respondents would be able to access the survey and fill it out exactly one time by means of an access code printed on their card. We the Subcommittee generally liked this notion due to its inexpensive nature and the relative brevity of its duration.

We eventually rejected this idea, however, when we were advised by the Statistics department that our results would lack a considerable degree of legitimacy. Anderson and colleague Jean Opsomer, also of the Statistics department, warned that such a survey would have little statistical credibility and would be relatively indefensible due to the fact that the access number could be passed on to anyone, leaving us with little or no certainty about whose opinions would have actually been gathered. Conducting a survey in such a fashion may also have skewed results in favor of those with greater computer proficiency, and would have marginalized community input since Internet resources are not readily available to all persons of the community.

Anderson and Opsomer presented the option of a mail survey, which shared the Internet survey’s advantage of being generally inexpensive, and would have been a more valid and recognized survey form with less discriminatory procedures. The disadvantages
of a mail survey, however, included a characteristically low response rate, typically only 20-50% as cited by Anderson, and an extensive time period required to conduct them, typically a minimum of 6 weeks. Anderson also advised against launching a survey during the current semester due to the interruptions that Thanksgiving and Christmas dismissals would cause, thus making it impossible for the Committee to perform such a survey during the remaining span of its existence.

Finally, the Subcommittee explored the option of conducting a telephone survey. The preferred method of the Statistics department, the telephone survey had several advantages over other survey designs explored by the Subcommittee. Characterized by high response rates (80-90% as quoted by Anderson), relatively non-discriminatory procedures, a controlled duration of research, and a controlled research environment in which certainty about the identity of the responders produces legitimate and accurate results, the telephone survey met many of our essential criteria.

The one insurmountable disadvantage of such a survey was its price. The Subcommittee found that trained interviewers would be needed to conduct a valid telephone survey. The hiring of trained professionals in the Statistics department was one option, but the fees for such services, estimated at a $5,000 minimum by Anderson, much exceeded our Committee's funding. I also investigated the possibility of training Subcommittee members to be professional interviewers in order to conduct the survey ourselves, but such an endeavor would have required commitments of time and effort that Subcommittee members were unable to fulfill. The telephone survey met our criteria in terms of quality and legitimacy but proved to be beyond our financial resources. We were unable to find volunteer resources to compensate for this lack in funds.
Unfortunately, and to our great disappointment, our Subcommittee explorations eventually concluded in a realization that the ability to conduct a valid and useful survey were beyond the reach of this Committee. We found no single survey design to simultaneously be sufficiently accurate, credible, inexpensive, brief in a manner to merit or allow its undertaking. We the Subcommittee regretfully decided that the Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy would be unable to conduct a meaningful survey under the budget constraints and time limits that the Committee faced.

We have, however, proceeded with alternate attempts to foster open communication on the issue and to expose the varying viewpoints of all those who are a part of this community. For one, we have solicited the opinions of a wide variety of individuals and groups who have been involved, or have vested interest, in the controversy. We achieved this by mailing a letter of solicitation to some 20 individuals and organizations, asking for their ideas on the controversy as well as for suggestions on healing and closure.

Secondly, the Committee has erected an Internet Web page which is designed to solicit responses from the community in general. We also hope that this will give interested individuals outside the Iowa State community, especially at the other two state universities in Iowa, an opportunity to express their views, concerns, and suggestions about the controversy surrounding Catt Hall.

Finally, because we believe that an extensive survey of the Iowa State community would provide a wealth of insight into the views of the community on the matter, we are proposing as an action item that such a survey be undertaken by GSB in the near future. We the Committee regret that we were unable to accomplish this valuable endeavor, but
continue to assert that a statistically accurate and meaningful survey should remain an important goal of Iowa State University in order to understand how to better avert conflicts of this nature in the University’s future.

Alicia N. Kaiser
Survey Subcommittee Chair
Individual Statements from Committee Members
A Statement from the Chair

As chair of the Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy, I must begin by affirming that we have not finished our job. Our job, as stated by the GSB mandate, was “to review the controversy over the name of Catt Hall and to make recommendations of specific action items that will help bring about closure of the issue.” This requires intense, focused research of the pertinent literature. This requires discussion of what claims were made during the controversy, their qualifiers, and how they should be addressed. This requires a synthesis of opinions and suggestions from the public. This did not take place. The committee did “meet” since the previous spring semester. So, what happened, you may ask? Was this a complete and utter waste of time? My answer would be an emphatic “No.” What did happen was that for the first time in the more than three years that this controversy has persisted on this campus, a group of individuals with conflicting viewpoints sat down together in a non-threatening atmosphere. Bonding even took place between specific members that I would have thought ludicrous to imagine only a few months ago. Though much time was taken talking around the issue, we have finally reached the point in which we can move forward as a committee. And I would consider that something of an awesome accomplishment.

Since our committee was initially mandated to prepare specific action items concerning the Catt Hall naming controversy, I would like to address this myself even though the committee as a whole may have failed to do so. After overseeing this process of researching the personage of Carrie Chapman Catt and the naming process of the building so named; giving an ear to those who still have the courage to speak about the situation; and taking into account what I have personally experienced in my four years on this campus, I have become overwhelmed by the complexity of this issue. My conclusion is that the conflict encompassing the naming of Catt Hall has caused much injury. This includes not only those who advocated that the name of the building be changed and those who defended the name of the building—the matter is much too complicated to categorize it into two opposing viewpoints. The controversy has even tarnished the legacy of Catt herself. Healing of this gaping wound is long overdue. It has tormented this campus for much too long. Now, my question is this: Why was this allowed to occur? I
think it could not be said better: The Catt Hall controversy is evidence of the suffocating atmosphere on this campus due to poor leadership by the administration. It is just another item on the laundry list of what I have seen. I saw students screaming at a stone wall. I saw faculty members choose to remain silent at a time when a situation needed to be spoken to. I saw an administration that took four months to do a job as simple as removing bricks. I saw decisions dictated behind closed doors. I saw “toe the line or resign.” I saw smoke billowing from the Knoll. This toxic waste of an embarrassment to higher education was the result of the power games and stonewalling that are unfortunately becoming a tradition on this campus. During this process of addressing the GSB and the Office of the President of Iowa State University, I was warned to not place blame and to include options in the final proposal. I cannot in good conscience do this. It troubles me that we live in such a society in which our appointed leaders are not permitted to admit that they are imperfect. Sounds pathetic doesn’t it? And this is the reason I give for why we have a man like Martin Jischke running this so-labeled “No.1 land-grant university in the nation.” I ask that the complete blame for the state of the campus political environment must ultimately rest on his shoulders. Initially, I thought that a type of formal mechanism to foster open communication on this campus was needed as a remedy. However, upon further consideration, I have decided that such a Band-Aid won’t work. What is needed is a leader who respects faculty, staff, and the student body. What is needed is an administration that gives a hearing to those individuals who wish to speak. This is an obligation that holds even if those in power are criticized. It takes courage for a single voice to stand up for what they believe when it is a view not held by the majority. That courage needs to be fostered for an environment of open dialogue to exist at this university.

Dan Pasker
Chair, Catt Hall Review Committee
MEMORANDUM

FROM: Lynn Wellnitz
TO: Catt Review Committee
DATE: November 13, 1998

As our Committee disbands, I would like to thank all of you for participating in this process. I hope that those of us who remain in the Iowa State community will use this experience as a foundation to continue working together, in some capacity, to address many of the issues that remain unanswered.

One of the most exciting benefits to come out of this Committee's work is the collection of primary and secondary source materials that people can use to further their education and knowledge on Carrie Chapman Catt, the woman's suffrage movement, and the issues related to the Catt Hall controversy. We should support the effort to make Iowa State University a depository of Carrie Chapman Catt's writings and efforts to publish a collection of her writings.

I would like to thank Matt Ostanik for his dedication and hard work in forming the Catt Hall Review Committee and Dan Pasker for taking on the responsibility of chair. Also, special thanks to Jane Cox for providing the Committee with a nice collection of primary documentation.

At one point or another, everyone on the Committee has provided special or unique insights about the Carrie Chapman Catt, the naming of Old Botany, and/or the Catt Hall Controversy. Because of this, I feel more enriched by interacting with all of you.

Best wishes.
Personal statement
Virginia Allen
November 16, 1998

The GSB Catt Hall Review Committee took as a foregone conclusion that President Jischke would not agree to renaming the building—no matter what the outcome of our deliberations might be.

Since we agreed among ourselves that no recommendation made by our committee was likely to accomplish the goal of the September 29 Movement (to see the name of the building changed or, at least, to reopen the naming process), and since we agreed further that no simple band-aid solution (such as a plaque acknowledging the existence of a controversy) would satisfy Catt's defenders and detractors at the same time, you are entitled to question why so many of us persevered for so long on the committee. The easy answer is that, having no personal lives, we had nothing better to do with our time. Given that the only time we could all get together during the fall semester was at 5:30 on Friday evenings, that easy answer has a certain appeal. Another possible answer is that we were all so invested in our respective positions on the controversy that we were committed to ensuring that our positions were represented down to the bitter end. In other words, knowing ahead of time that we were not likely to "win," we were each determined that there would be a stalemate rather than a default victory to the "opposite" point of view. Fears that the work of the committee would be sabotaged from within were openly expressed and, indeed, some of our time was spent without profit.

A different kind of explanation for our tenacity is also possible: no matter what our individual positions going in, we each and all thought it mattered. We thought the controversy mattered; we thought the outcome mattered. Different individuals on the committee wanted different questions investigated by the committee, but there was a grudging acknowledgment that we would have failed in our charge if we could not see our way clear to support the efforts of the committee to get beyond the placing of blame and to get on with a process that would nurture healing. There was little hope expressed by anyone that we could come up with "a solution" that would put the entire matter to rest. Indeed, the most hopeful outcome of our process of deliberation and negotiation was coming to accept that none of us had a lock on the absolute truth and that learning, educating ourselves and others, professing what we did know and investigating more thoroughly what we did not know was the only approach to the controversy over the naming of Catt Hall, or any other.

What we settled for in our final report was a document that removed every controversial claim and left behind a bare skeleton of work that needs to be done. It is not satisfactory in its present form, but all claims that the job is impossible are unfounded. Whether it is possible at this time in this place by these people is a different question altogether.

My personal best hope is that other individuals will make use of some of the work that we have compiled and go on from where we have, rather abruptly, left off.
Responses from Solicitation Letter
September 21, 1998

Dear

In April 1998, the Government of the Student Body (GSB) at Iowa State University appointed a Review Committee to address the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall naming conflict. The Committee is comprised of Iowa State faculty, staff, students, and alumni. The Committee is not sanctioned by Iowa State University; however, we will present our findings to the GSB Senate and the Office of the President of Iowa State University.

The mission statement of our Committee is as follows:

The mission of the Committee for Review of the Catt Controversy is to review the controversy over the name of Catt Hall and to make recommendations of specific action items that will help bring about closure of the issue.

Closure is defined as establishing open communication, reviewing and considering all relevant information, and taking all reasonable steps to generate a proposal that shows evidence of active and fair consideration of the diverse viewpoints on the issue. This is by no means intended to close or limit dialogue—in a sense “closure” is a process of expansion in that the Committee will encourage different views and freedom of debate on a college campus where people have been impassioned about this issue for a very long time.

The intent is for this process to be a means by which the Iowa State University community can openly and legitimately address this issue. The communication and dialogue will facilitate a sense of closure being developed on an individual basis, and in turn, a larger sense of closure will come about when the community as a whole is able to successfully move on to focus on other pressing issues of diversity and student needs.

The Catt Hall Review Committee would like to invite your input or analysis of the Catt Hall naming conflict. We hope to get feedback from persons who will provide us with perspectives from all sides of the issue. Because we will include or attach responses to our final report, we ask that you limit your response to no more than ten pages. Since we are working under a GSB imposed deadline, we need to receive your response by October 21.

The Committee is interested in suggestions that could assist in healing the community. We would also like to hear of any ideas you may have regarding resolution. What does resolution mean to you? Please feel free to give examples or ideas.

If you have any questions or comments, please do not hesitate to contact me at #(515) 268-0673 or dpasker@iastate.edu. We are looking forward to hearing from you by October 21.

Sincerely,

Daniel J. Pasker
Chair, Catt Hall Review Committee
November 6, 1998

Summary of statements and suggestions made in response to Catt Hall Review committee letter requesting responses regarding the naming controversy

Suggestions for action are identified with asterisks

1. Michael Gartner, Editor Ames Tribune
   *Invite a fair minded scholar to chronicle the dispute-to find what Catt actually said about women, about men, about blacks, and what the context was. Ask her to research the decision making re the building naming, the rise of the movement in opposition, etc. Ask her to offer no judgements. Take that work and develop it into a display and put it in an exhibit in proximity to Catt Hall. It would be a great lesson in history, in feminism, in race relations, in democracy, in the spirit of academic freedom.

2. Charlotte Nelson, Executive Director Iowa Commission on the Status of Women
   Statements made by Catt, particularly later in her life, indicate her commitment to racial justice and world peace. If she had a clear bias, it was in favor of equality for women. She quoted African American writer, Alice Walker “aligning ourselves with activists who have made mistakes, not excusing them, but allowing them their humanity”.

3. Kirk Smith, former ISU faculty member and head of African American Studies
   Clarification is necessary for resolution. Clarification requires time consuming and deliberate work. Smith suggests:
   Communicate the facts about Catt’s life
   Communicate the facts about the naming process
   *Call for personal and public apologies to Catt’s living relatives from both her accusers and the administration.
4. Dorothy Paul, Executive Director, United Nations Association, Iowa
We are victims of time and place. We can not judge her by standards of today. To do
that negates all Carrie Catt’s accomplishments and in balance does not deserve the same
consideration as her accomplishments. Human beings are just that, human, the list of
imperfections of world side leaders is legendary—Martin Luther King, Gandhi, John F.
Kennedy, and yet, the world remembers their positive accomplishments. By obtaining
responses, you are moving forward to healing you community.

5. 19th Amendment Society
We commend and endorse ISU naming such a visible and historic building in
honor of one of Iowa State’s most outstanding graduates and one of Iowa’s most
notable native daughters. Attached a position paper.

*We request a copy of your final report.

6. Jackie Manatt, Past President, Ames and Iowa League of Women Voters
The name should remain because we need a constant reminder that the right to vote
should not be taken for granted.

*Suggest that University Museums arrange ‘heritage walks’ to learn about the people
whose names grace our buildings.

7. Abigail P. Swanson, Past President Cornell and Iowa League of Women Voters
I am not in favor of renaming Catt Hall.

*Place a permanent plaque in a visible place with wording something like this,
“This plaque serves as a reminder to all that the lives and beliefs and public or written
words of many famous individual individuals are open to differing interpretation.
Carrie Chapman Catt was no exception. Although she accomplished much in her
lifetime, some statements attributed to her are of a controversial nature.” Date the
plaque if desired, thereby showing the difference in time between the renaming of
Catt Hall and the plaque’s addition to the building.

*In the computer’s registry of names add the names of those women who chose to
have their own name removed as a result of the controversy surrounding Carrie Catt.
Give a simple explanation of why those names were removed.

8. Celia E. Naylor-Ojurongbe, former director, ISU Women’s Center
I was a member of the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning commitment. I
spoke up at a planning committee meeting regarding the critical issue of racism and
the US Women’s Suffrage movement and asked how we could exactly address the
issue. I reviewed documents in the Parks Library. I compiled specific several
documents and brought them to the planning committee meeting. One of the
outcomes of the discussions was the creation of a panel discussion on “Race,
Ethnicity, and Gender in the Suffrage Movement” during the celebration. I had
strong negative reactions to the panel. My bringing up the issue of racism in the
suffrage movement is not recorded in the minutes.

I became involved in the September 29th Movement and encouraged students,
staff, faculty and Ames community to examine carefully the primary and secondary materials related to racism in the Women’s Suffrage movement.

*I strongly believe the building should be renamed.

9. Farwell Brown, Ames Historian

Carrie Chapman Catt was one of Iowa State’s all time most highly acclaimed graduates. She lived and devoted her talents to the betterment of our female ‘minority’ at a time in our nation’s history when there were many social currents that conflicted her progress. She graduated from Iowa State only 15 years after the end of the Civil War. It is an important principle in the evaluation of a person’s impact on society to not discredit or blame a person who lived in an earlier time period for the lack of knowledge not then available or for circumstances beyond their control.

Dr. Martin Luther King spoke at ISU in 1960, he stated that time was the threshold of the greatest era in race relations. Brown attached a chapter of a forthcoming book, the title of the chapter is Carrie Chapman Catt, 1859-1947. He also included a paper titled “Carrie Chapman Quotes were without Context” wherein he urges readers and analysts to read carefully the entire article “Woman Suffrage by Federal Amendment” to understand the statements. He describes the then current debate procedure of ‘reversing the argument’. Her logic destroyed their argument. Another point made was the early 1900’s understanding of ‘white supremacy’ which meant majority voting power in contrast to the 1990’s which prejudicial definition holds that one race is entitled to special consideration over another race because of inherent racial superiority. Catt’s use of supremacy in 1917 was strictly numerical and factual.

10. Dianne Bystrom, Director Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics

Bystrom writes from her discipline specialty of political rhetoric, specifically examining the styles and strategies of women political leaders and activists. She wrote a scholarly article describing the goals and methods of contextual analysis. In the letter accompanying the article she suggests that through scholarly examination and reflection we can learn to appreciate the complexities of understanding historic figures through contemporary analyses of their written records.

She suggests that if we do not choose to take the time to read as full representation of Catt’s speeches we should rely on rhetorical and historical scholars such as Campbell, Birdsell and Marilley who have conducted comprehensive studies on women’s suffrage and/or its leaders. She adds that allegations against Catt have been waged through articles in the local media, rather than through scholarly research. Bystrom concludes that Catt should be honored for her lifetime of accomplishments and achievements by her alma mater.
September 30, 1998

Daniel J. Pasker  
Chair, Catt Hall Review Committee  
Memorial Union  
Iowa State University  
Ames, Iowa 50011

Dear Mr. Pasker:

Thank you for your letter asking about Catt Hall. My views were expressed in an editorial in The Tribune on February 4 of this year. I am enclosing a copy.

Good luck with your review committee.

Best wishes,

Michael Gartner  
Editor and co-owner
EDITORIAL

A SIMPLE SOLUTION FOR THE DEBATE OVER CATT HALL

Let's face it. Iowa State University and the people in the September 29 Movement are never going to settle their differences.

The movement people demand that Iowa State change the name of the building named for Carrie Chapman Catt, whom they consider a racist. But the Iowa State people will never remove the name of Catt, whom they consider a famous alumna.

Now, the students in the movement and the administrators at the university aren't even talking to each other. In effect, they say they can't trust each other. The Community Relations Service of the Justice Department, which tried to mediate one aborted meeting, now says it wants nothing more to do with the process. It says the movement leaders haven't acted in good faith "in addressing their concerns through our process."

The movement leaders now talk of "direct action," whatever that means.

No good will come of this. Unless...

Unless the university people and the movement people can agree on one thing: that the long and rancorous debate over Carrie Chapman Catt and her sayings and writings has been informative and enlightening and in the spirit of academic dialogue and scholarly dispute. If they can agree on that, there is a solution.

This is it:

Ask a fair-minded scholar or journalist — the name Allison Engel always comes to mind after that phrase — to chronicle the history of the dispute. Ask her to find what Carrie Chapman Catt actually said about women, about men, about blacks, and what the context was. Ask her to research the decision-making that went into naming the Iowa State building after its famous alumna. Ask her to chronicle the rise of the campus movement that so opposes Catt. Ask her to read everything that's been written about Catt by her supporters and detractors and to lay it all out clearly and fairly in the contexts of the 1900s and of the 1990s. Ask her to offer no judgments.

And then take that work — the history of Carrie Chapman Catt and the history of the Iowa State dispute — and work with someone from university museums to mount a permanent exhibit that tells those stories. Clear some space on the plaza in front of the building and put the exhibit there for all to see, forever.

It would be a great lesson — in history, in feminism, in race relations, in democracy, in the spirit of academic freedom and in robust debate. It would tell about activism at the turn of the century — and activism now. It would teach students and visitors alike that Iowa State is a place that encourages debate and dissent, that embraces controversy as a tool of education, that emphasizes the lessons to be learned in even the most heated disputes.

It would allow, too, for students and visitors to reach their own conclusions about Carrie Chapman Catt, about Iowa State's decision to name the building for her, and about the September 29th Movement's disgust with that decision. It would present facts accurately and thoroughly, without passion or persuasion but with an intellectual rigor and a journalistic flair.

For the truth is, Carrie Chapman Catt and the members of the September 29th Movement have much in common. She was a vocal activist, and so are they. She believed passionately in her cause, and so do they. She fought the system for what she thought was right, and so do they.

And all, of course, were nurtured in their vigor and determination at Iowa State. The university should embrace them all and tell their stories.

For they are Iowa State's own profiles in courage.
6 October 1998

Dear Daniel J. Pasker:

This letter is to members of the Review Committee to address the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall naming conflict. I support the continuance of the present name as a fitting memorial to a woman who advanced women’s rights nationally.

We are all victims of time and place. Even though some claim that she espoused inappropriate racial views, views that were acceptable by many at that point in time, we cannot judge her by the standards of today. To do that, negates all Carrie Chapman Catt accomplished, and, in balance, does not deserve the same consideration as her accomplishments. Human beings are just that—human. The list of imperfections of worldwide leaders is legendary—Martin Luther King: Gandhi; Jack Kennedy, etc. And yet, the world remembers their positive accomplishments.

By obtaining responses from Iowa communities, you are moving forward in healing your community. Good luck with your efforts.

Sincerely,

Dorothy M. Paul
Executive Director for Programs

Dorothy M. Paul
Executive Director for Programs

Daniel J. Pasker, Chair
Catt Hall Review Committee
Iowa State University
Memorial Union
Ames, IA 50011
October 14, 1998

Daniel J. Pasker
Chair, Catt Hall Review Committee
Government of the Student Body
Memorial Union
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

Dear Daniel Pasker:

Thank you for your letter of September 21 soliciting input for the Catt Hall Review Committee.

In 1975, the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women inducted Carrie Chapman Catt into the Iowa Women’s Hall of Fame, one of the first four women to be so honored. The Commission deemed it fitting to recognize her significant accomplishments in this state and in the nation. Woman suffrage had been denied several times in Iowa, and the national effort had been underway for 72 years. Ultimate success was attributable to many stalwart women and men, and to Carrie Chapman Catt in particular, whose organizing, public speaking, determination and commitment to the cause prevailed in the end. She has been honored across the nation for her vital work for suffrage, one of the most far-reaching events of the century.

In 1992, the ICSW also supported the selection of Carrie Lane Chapman Catt as recipient of the prestigious Iowa Award, for her leadership in suffrage and in world peace. The Iowa Centennial Memorial Foundation (including present and past Governors, State Treasurer, Attorney General, President of the Board of Regents, and several citizen trustees) agreed that she be in this very select group of Iowans because of the significance of her contributions.

The ICSW is painfully aware of the concerns raised by students, faculty and citizens over what they believe to be racist and classist remarks made by Catt. Absolutely committed to equity for all people, the ICSW totally rejects any racist or classist opinions or statements. However, at the same time, we recognize that racism, classism, and sexism have been attributed to many of this country’s most illustrious citizens and leaders; yet, their accomplishments have been, and still are, a part of our history that cannot be denied. Also, there are statements made by Catt, particularly later in her life,
that indicate her commitment to racial justice and world peace. If she had any clear bias, it was in favor of equality for women.

A quote from Alice Walker’s *Anything We Love Can Be Saved* may be relevant: "... it is the awareness of having faults, I think, and the knowledge that this links us to everyone on earth, that opens us to courage and compassion." Walker talks about loving/aligning ourselves with activists who have made mistakes, not excusing them but allowing them their humanity.

The ICSW is not in a position to advocate for or against Catt Hall at Iowa State University, but commends the Government of the Student Body for seeking closure through communication and dialogue. Addressing issues of diversity and inclusiveness in the broader sense at ISU, and everywhere in our country, is a high goal.

Sincerely,

Charlotte Nelson
Executive Director
October 15, 1998

Daniel J. Pasker  
Chair, Catt Hall Review Committee  
Government of the Student Body  
Iowa State University  
Memorial Union  
Ames, Iowa 50011

Dear Mr. Pasker:

Thanks for inviting me to provide my input regarding the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall conflict. I would like to extend my congratulations to all members of your committee. The fact that you have all devoted a significant amount of time and energy to evaluating the naming process of the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall is truly commendable.

At first, I was unsure whether to write a statement to your committee. Since I left ISU in July, 1997, and am no longer a member of the ISU/Ames community, I initially thought it might be better to stay out of the current deliberation process regarding the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. However, because this issue is an important one, I have decided to make a statement after all.

As you know, I was a member of the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning Committee; the charge of this committee was to organize the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the passage of the 19th Amendment (August, 1920) and the Dedication of Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. I was, however, not a part of the long naming process of Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, that took place prior to 1993. Although some members of the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning Committee started meeting early in 1994, I did not start meeting with members of this committee until April, 1994. I was asked by Elizabeth Hoffman, then Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, to become a member of the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning Committee (in a memo dated March 11, 1994). I assumed I was asked to be a part of the committee because of my position as Director of the Margaret Sloss Women’s Center.

After my first couple of meetings, I became uncomfortable with the lack of discussion about a certain aspect of the Women’s Suffrage Movement in the United States, namely racism in the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement. I decided I could no longer deny what I felt was a critical issue. So I spoke up and stated that I was concerned about the issue of racism and the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement and
exactly how could we address this issue. Although I do not remember everything I said, or the specific responses of other committee members, I do remember that my words were not warmly received by many of the committee members. I did bring this issue up a couple of times and the only people I remember who seemed to listen to my concerns were Pat Miller, Judy Dolphin and Jennifer Smyser (then a staff member of the Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics). Just in case there is any confusion, I am not saying that Ms. Miller, Ms. Dolphin and Ms. Smyser agreed with my concerns, just that they seemed to hear them. What they thought at that time is for them to say.

I was particularly disturbed by the continual references to the idea that ALL women had the right to vote after the passage of the 19th Amendment. Indeed, in the United States, after the passage of the 19th Amendment all women had the right to vote by law (de jure); however, in reality, most African-American women, particularly those who lived in southern states, were unable to exercise this right (de facto). It would not be until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that most African-American women and men would be able to exercise their right to vote in the United States. I was initially focused on the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement (and not Carrie Chapman Catt) due to the fact that a significant part of the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning Committee’s charge was to plan the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the passage of the 19th Amendment (thus the name of the committee). This celebration was not only going to occur at ISU, but also throughout the United States. Interestingly enough, the whole celebration related to the 19th Amendment has been completely overshadowed by the controversy surrounding the naming of the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

Realizing that the majority of the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning Committee members were inclined not to recognize my concerns, I decided to research the issue. I naively believed that having documentation would make a difference to the other committee members. I reviewed documents and books housed in ISU Parks Library’s Special Collections and circulating collection, as well as my own personal collection, for information regarding racism in the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement. While reviewing this information, I also came across material specifically related to Carrie Chapman Catt’s involvement in the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement. I then compiled several documents (primary and secondary sources) and brought them to a 19th Amendment Planning Committee meeting. I suggested that committee members review these documents. As far as I can remember, only three committee members asked to review the documents (Judy Dolphin, Pat Miller and Steve Sullivan). Again in order to avoid any confusion, I do not know if these three individuals actually read the documents, or if other members, unbeknownst to me, also read the documents. A couple of committee members specifically told me they did not want to read any of the documents.
One of the direct outcomes of the very brief, but intense, discussions about this issue in the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning Committee meetings, and discussions in the Chautauqua Subcommittee meetings, was the creation of a panel discussion on "Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the Suffrage Movement" during the week of the celebration/dedication. I was not a member of the Chautauqua Subcommittee, so questions about that subcommittee should be directed to Judy Dolphin, Chair of the Chautauqua Subcommittee, and other members of the subcommittee. In the end, I had a very strong negative reaction to the actual panel discussion on October 5, 1995, as a result I wrote a letter to the ISU Daily which was published on October 17, 1995. I have attached a copy of my letter for your information.

Now to the issue that will forever be a lesson to me about the singular importance of accurate and comprehensive committee minutes (indeed the minutes of any meeting). This issue has been brought up particularly by those who have contracted historical amnesia (some might just say lying). I had always assumed that the brief discussions about racism in the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement during the 19th Amendment Celebration Planning Committee meetings had been noted in the committee’s minutes. It was not until someone asked me to show it to them in the minutes that I realized this was not the case. This request happened about a year after the celebration/dedication occurred. I was very surprised, upset and frustrated that I had overlooked the omissions. I remember the day I checked all the committee minutes I had, desperately hoping that some mention of the issue was in the minutes somewhere. Unfortunately, I never found any mention of my bringing up the racism issue or of my mention of the materials I had compiled for the committee’s perusal.

I will not speculate about why neither my mention of racism in the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement, nor my bringing materials on the subject to at least two committee meeting, was not noted in the committee’s minutes. I leave that up to your own critical imagination. I wish I could say that these omissions were non-intentional, but I do not believe this is the case. I will say that some committee members have clearly chosen to remember what they prefer to remember and not what actually happened during those meetings, thus the recurring nature of historical amnesia among some committee members.

For the record, after the celebration/dedication occurred, I did become involved in the September 29th Movement. I did encourage students, staff, faculty and Ames community members, to examine carefully the extant primary and secondary documents related to racism in the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movement and specifically Carrie Chapman Catt’s written works and recorded speeches where she invoked race (read: racism), ethnicity (read: ethnocentrism) and nationality (read: Eurocentrism) as it related to the Women’s Suffrage Movement in the United States.
As far as my personal views on the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall issue are concerned, I vehemently believe that the hall should be renamed. Some may say that it does not matter what Carrie Chapman Catt said so many years ago, but it does matter. As a historian, I understand that history is not an objective science. Indeed, we subjectively approach our past, present and future. However, the decisions that were made in the past oftentimes affect the past, present and future. No doubt, you have all been reading and listening to a variety of perspectives as a result of your involvement in this current Catt Hall committee. I urge you to take your deliberations seriously and, most important, know that your decisions will affect the future of ISU — in ways that you would not even dream of today. I hope my statement helps with the process. Please feel free to contact me (celia@nmia.com) if you have any questions or comments. I wish you all the best!!!!!

Peace,

Celia E. Naylor-Ojurongbe
Director of the Margaret Sloss Women’s Center, July 1993-July 1997
Can we talk? Racism: now and then

In My View...

By Celia E. Naylor-Ojurongbe
Guest Columnist

The week of October 2-6 represented a celebration of the 75th anniversary of the passage of the 19th Amendment, the dedication of the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall and Women's Week 1995.

As the Director of the Women's Center and advisor of the Women's Week Committee, it seemed "natural" that I would serve on the 19th Amendment Planning Committee. During a number of the 19th Amendment Planning Committee meetings the issue of racism and ethnocentrism in the suffrage movement had been raised and discussed.

Part of the reason why a session entitled "Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the Suffrage Movement" was held during the week was precisely because of some of these discussions. This session was held on October 5, 1995, at noon in the Chautauqua Tent south of the Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

There were three panelists (Nancy Isenberg, Susan Traverso and Sharon Wood) and one moderator (Edith Mayo). During the formal presentations there was little or no reference made to race or racism in the suffrage movement. When the issue of ethnicity was finally mentioned (at approximately 1:15 p.m. when over half of the audience had left) it was limited to the experiences of Irish/Irish-American Catholic women.

After the formal presentations, as a result of my own question to the panelists about racism and ethnocentrism, there was some discussion about the issue. There was another question towards the end of the session regarding Carrie Chapman Catt and the issue of race and racism. At first, all of the panelists were silent, then a few of them stated that they were not knowledgeable enough about Carrie Chapman Catt to make a statement about this issue.

However, one panelist stated that she had read to some extent about Carrie Chapman Catt. She stated that there were "inconsistencies" in Carrie Chapman Catt's talks, depending on the audience to which she was speaking. Since no one had really addressed the question, the moderator requested that Jane Cox address the issue. This seemed appropriate since Jane Cox, a member of the faculty in the ISU Theatre Department, had devoted a great deal of her time and energy researching Carrie Chapman Catt, in order to write her one-woman play entitled "The Yellow Rose of Suffrage." Her first response to the question was to state a "dictionary definition" of the word racism.

After she had quoted the dictionary's definition of racism, she said with the definition in mind, "Carrie Chapman Catt was not a racist." I cannot even begin to articulate how much anger, frustration and disappointment I felt when she uttered those words. All I could think about was how in this time someone like Jane Cox could actually define racism by using a dictionary. I thought about what a privilege it is for someone to talk about, indeed to define, racism in all its complexity with a simplistic definition offered by a dictionary. All the works that I have read on racism, all the classes I have taken on racism, all of the racist comments I have heard, flooded my mind, and yet for Jane Cox, as well as for others, the yard stick for defining a racist person was a dictionary's definition. What a privilege!

After the definition, Jane Cox began to justify her statement about Carrie Chapman Catt not being a racist. One of the reasons why she believed that Catt was not a racist was because Mary Church Terrell, the founder of the National Association of Colored Women, had spoken of Catt in her autobiography as a friend and as a person who she did not consider to be racist. Can we assume that because Carrie Chapman Catt was a close friend of Mary Church Terrell that somehow this friendship translates into Catt not being a racist? One often-repeated, supposedly non-racist comment that some European-Americans state comes to mind: "Some of my best friends are black." Here we are at an institution of "higher learning" and one of the reasons used to justify a nonracist Catt was the friendship between Catt and one African-American woman. I am not going to offer all the details about why this kind of thinking has been, is and will continue to be flawed. However, I hope that you will consider that merely because a European-American woman created a friendship with an African-American woman, or with several African-American women, the European-American woman could still be racist against other members of the African-American community. She could still hold racist views about African-American people in general; she could still perceive African Americans as being less than or innately inferior to herself and to European-Americans in general; she could
still express racist views in her interactions with African Americans; and she could bring all of those views with her when she sits and drinks tea with her African-American woman friend. This, unfortunately, is part and parcel of living in a racist society and symptomatic of the disease we call racism.

Another reason that was offered by Jane Cox in defense of Carrie Chapman Catt was Catt's actions and involvement with people in countries all over the world. Again, you cannot imagine the feelings that this justification created within me. I hope that you will be able to understand this justification as yet another flawed one. Just in case, however, consider that often someone who is interested in working with people who live in countries outside the United States can simultaneously remain racist towards people of color from and living in the United States. The fact that Catt worked with people in countries outside of the United States does not mean that she could not have been racist. Again, the complexity of the disease and ideology of racism cannot be approached in such a simplistic manner. Perhaps the most disappointing part of the session occurred at the end of Jane Cox's comments when almost all the members of the audience, including members of the 19th Amendment Planning Committee, enthusiastically clapped in support of Cox's comments.

In closing, I would urge all of you to read as much as possible about the suffrage movement, and about Carrie Chapman Catt, from as many different perspectives as possible. I would like to congratulate the students who wrote an article about Carrie Chapman Catt and the women's suffrage movement in the United States for the most recent issue of Uhuru-- a newsletter created by students of African descent at ISU. It is, however, most disappointing that one of the students who contributed to this newsletter has received a couple of threatening calls from members of this community because of this article. I thought this was supposed to be a place of "higher learning?" I hope that an EDUCATED discussion about race, racism, ethnicity and ethnocentrism within the suffrage movement, whether or not it relates to Carrie Chapman Catt, will continue on this campus. I hope that this past week of events will not represent the end of these discussions, but rather the beginning.

Celia E. Naylor-Ojurongbe is the director of the Margaret Sloss Women's Center.
October 16, 1998

Dan Pasternak - Chairman
G.S.B. Office Memorial Union
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

Re: Catt Hall Review Committee

Dear Mr. Pasternak,
This is to inform you and to again confirm, the naming of the building Carrie Chapman Catt Hall.

Carrie Chapman Catt was a member of Iowa Gamma Pi Beta Phi Sorority while she attended Iowa State College in the late 1800's. She was an excellent example for women of all race. Her action in promoting the right to vote for women became a very important issue. She touched the lives of every woman in the past and now in the present.

For the Plaza of Heroines, the National Pi Beta Phi Office donated a $500 (five hundred) plaque, the Pi Beta Phi Chapter of ISU bought a brick, and many Pi Beta Phi members throughout the United States bought bricks. A lot of money has gone into this building in her honor. Also, many Pi Phi Women from the chapter and Alumni Club have dedicated hours of service for this building.

As a representative of Pi Beta Phi Alumni Club, and as a Alumni of ISU, I strongly urge this committee to maintain the present name of this building.

Sincerely,

Elaine V. Bath
Panhellenic Representative of Phi Beta Phi Alumni Club
524 Forest Glen Ave.
Ames, Iowa 50014
Dear Mr. Pasker:

In response to your letter of September 21, 1998, I would respond briefly. I have just completed a project that has occupied my time for a number of months. At the moment I am trying to get rested up. A lengthy tome is not likely to flow from my keyboard right now.

I am interested in the Carrie Chapman Catt story. For whatever it may be worth to you, let me suggest the following:

First, let me say clearly that Carrie Chapman Catt was one of Iowa State's all time most highly acclaimed graduates. As a graduate of 118 years ago, she attained a level of accomplishment and productivity equaled by very few. I need only refer you to her public record on that matter.

Second, she lived and devoted her talents to the betterment of our female "minority" at a time in our nation's history when there were many social currents that conflicted her progress. Especially note that she graduated from Iowa State in 1880 - only 15 years after the end of the Civil War.

Third, it is an important principle in the evaluation of history's impact on society that it is improper, and incorrect to discredit (or blame) a person who lived in an earlier time period for the lack of knowledge not then available or for circumstances beyond their control. (During Mrs. Catt's day one of the problems concerned immigration from countries where the culture was male dominated.) (Variable across the nation, but I wish only to state here that the situation then was not as it is today.)

In connection with my third point, Dr. Martin Luther King, speaking on the Iowa State Campus in 1960, forty years after Carrie Chapman Catt had won (1920) the vote for women suffrage, stated that we were now (1960) standing on the threshold of the greatest era in our time in race relations. Fact: Society in Catt's day presented serious complexities for her to deal with.

Finally, I am enclosing copies of my account of Carrie Chapman Catt's relationship with Ames and the Campus of Iowa State after her graduation. Also a copy of my statement regarding some of the quotations used in criticizing Mrs. Catt. Note that both articles have footnotes that I hope you do read.

Sincerely,

Farwell T. Brown

Enclosures

1 See Carrie Chapman Catt's reference to the "unfinished work of reconstruction," p. 5 (the account of her commencement speech of June 20, 1921). (The Civil War was being waged when Carrie Lane was starting grade school in Charles City, Iowa.)

2 The Youth's Companion, August 21, 1919, Editorial page, "Immigration." "Amid such conflicting testimony the layman must turn to the experts. There he will find the definite, well established belief that further restriction is necessary on economic, social, political and moral grounds." ie. example of centrist attitude of that time.

3 Iowa State Daily, January 26, 1960, p.1 "King Asks For Broader Ideas."
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
1859 - 1947

She was an Iowa State graduate of 1880, a world leader of the woman suffrage movement who became an international promoter of peace among the nations. Acclaimed and honored by the educational and political leaders of our nation, she continued to "possess the qualities that endeared her to her classmates and friends"\(^1\) in Ames. The following calls attention to some of her Ames connections following graduation from Iowa State.

Carrie Lane was born January 9, 1859 on a family farm near Ripon, Wisconsin. When Carrie was seven, the family moved to a farm near Charles City, Iowa. She came to the Iowa Agricultural College in 1877 in spite of her father's belief that women did not need a college education. From her Iowa farm background that included teaching in an Iowa one-room school, she brought determination and strength of character with her to the Ames campus. From the beginning, she was a woman with a purpose -- a mission in mind.

As a member of the Crescent Debating Society at Iowa State, and as a campus activist of her day, Carrie Lane was an exceptional student. Advancing the position of women in society was central to her nature, even in her student days at Ames. It was here on the Iowa State campus that she developed the special talents that would make her one of the best known and respected women of her generation in the entire nation. To many, she would eventually be one of the best known women in the world.

She became the women's suffrage movement's ultimate leader - the one who would take the action all the way to final success with the establishment of the nineteenth amendment granting U.S. women constitutional voting rights. It was a long and arduous battle that faced the young woman from Iowa. Tough and bitter fights were ahead. Carrie Chapman Catt proved equal to the task.

Following graduation, she continued to demonstrate leadership abilities. Becoming a school superintendent at Mason City while still in her twenties was but one example.

Marriages

She married Leo Chapman, a Mason City newspaper editor. Her advancement as a public activist continued its upward direction.

\(^1\) The *Ames Milepost*, June 12, 1930, p. 4. Editorial (col. 2). See Footnote No. 12.
untimely death of Chapman and her later marriage to her Iowa State classmate, George Catt, were significant chapters in her life.

In 1890, just ten years following her graduation from Iowa State, the *Ames Intelligencer* on April 24 announced, "Mrs. Carrie Lane Chapman, the well known Iowa writer and lecturer will be in Ames the evening of the 25th and deliver an address in the Congregational Church under the auspices of the Women's Suffrage Association." The May 1, 1890 *Intelligencer* had this commentary, "Mrs. Carrie Lane Chapman gave a lecture in the interests of equal suffrage in the Congregational Church last Friday evening. All were pleased with the speaker. Her subject was pleasantly but forcefully presented and abounded in sparkling and interesting points which made it well worth hearing." While in Ames, Mrs. Chapman was a house guest of Mrs. Rowena Stevens.

By 1900, Carrie Chapman Catt had assumed a lead position in the women's movement. On April 26, 1916, she spoke again in Ames where she was greeted by her many friends on the Iowa State campus and by townspeople, as well.

**Warm Welcome**

The *Ames Tribune* of April 27, reported, "Mrs. Catt has been received with a warm welcome by the citizens of Iowa, both male and female, but she has not received a warmer welcome at any point than she has received in Ames. She was a resident of this city at one time, attended the Iowa State College, and married a man who was a student at the same college. Her heart beats just a little faster for good old Iowa State, and the hearts here are always for her."

The *Tribune* continued, "It is particularly fitting that an Iowa woman should be at the head of the world suffrage movement when her native state is engaged in a campaign to give the ballot to its women. The work that Mrs. Catt has been doing in behalf of the suffrage cause has stamped her as a world's citizen of more than ordinary prominence. She is the dominant figure in the suffrage world today."

Referring to a recently publicized statement by Mrs. Phillip Snowden, the distinguished English woman, that Mrs. Catt was the first and greatest woman

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2 *The Intelligencer*, May 1, 1890, p.1.
3 Details of her talk at the Congregational Church were not published. Rowena Stevens, mentioned as Mrs. Chapman's hostess, was an 1873 graduate of Iowa State. Stevens was a local leader of the suffrage movement.
of the English-speaking world, the Tribune observed that "such sentiment met with the hearty approval of all Ames people."

As a prelude to her speech that day, Mrs. Catt stated how much pleasure it gave her to return to Ames. She pointed out that in every state where a campaign had been waged to get the vote for women there had been a secret influence, an influence that was manifested in many different ways. Deceptive letters and gross misrepresentation of facts had to be dealt with. Even sincere opposition to granting the vote to women was based upon imagined fears.

"By her own gracious charm, by her genius of leadership, by her executive ability and her power for constructive service, Mrs. Catt has achieved the place she holds today," concluded the Tribune.

Details of Mrs Catt's remarks from that April 26, 1916, address are found in the Ames Evening Times of that same day. Referring to the huge crowd that was present that morning in State Gymnasium, the Times, in a headlined story, stated that, "For more than an hour the assembly listened attentively to the words of the speaker and were fully rewarded for their attendance. Mrs. Catt's address was not the hysterical outburst of an agitator but the sane, forceful arguments of a brainy American woman whose efforts for the recognition of American women are bound to be successful sooner or later."

The Times observed further, "The quiet dignified bearing of Mrs. Catt, the impressiveness with which she spoke, and the unexpected lapses into the comical aspects of the topic held their attention throughout the lengthy discourse." She cited the example of how easily immigrant men were granted the right to vote -- while native born American women were denied the right to vote. (The point of such comparisons was always the injustice of denying women the right to vote!)

Skilled in Debate

From reading her early-day addresses made here in Ames, we recall how Carrie Chapman Catt excelled during her debating society days at Iowa State. The ability to make it precisely clear to her audience just how ridiculous it was to discriminate against our women citizens was a skill that she had

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*Carrie Chapman Catt may fairly be regarded as the woman who best represents the women of the civilized world at the present time.* - Cutline below the photograph of Mrs. Catt.
6 *Ames Evening Times*, April 26, 1916, p. 1, "Large Audience Hears Suffrage Leader at Gym."
acquired in the days of her college English language studies and debate activity. A sharp sense of humor served her well in making her points.7

"No country has ever repented giving the vote to women," Mrs. Catt said. "The best thought of the land knows that woman suffrage works no ill to women or children, but where tried, has been a blessing to their state." Mrs. Catt spoke of the victories won in Canada and the Scandinavian countries. "Finland's women have had a voice in their government longer than in any other country in the world, and the women of America, admittedly the equal of those of any other nation, are still denied the right to vote."

She closed her remarks with a plea for the men voters of the state to recognize the intelligence of their women - and give them the right to vote.

By 1920, Carrie Chapman Catt had led the suffrage movement to a final victory with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Mrs. Catt's insistence upon acquiring the right to vote for American women by the constitutional method had been a monumental example of her unwillingness to bow to a state's-rights approach. With the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, all women acquired a basic civil right no matter where they lived in the United States.8 In a real sense, the Nineteenth Amendment was Catt's answer to southern racism.

Commencement Speech

On June 20, 1921, Carrie Chapman Catt was again in Ames, this time to become the first woman to deliver the commencement address at an Iowa State College graduation. On that occasion, she received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from her alma mater.9

The Ames Tribune of June 21, 1921, gave front page attention to Mrs. Catt's address. "Speaking intimately and directly to the graduates before her in this 50th commencement of the college, Mrs. Catt gave a message of

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7 Woman Suffrage by Federal Amendment, compiled by Carrie Chapman Catt, - 1917. Chapter Six - Note her response to southern congressmen and state legislators who were asking their people to vote against Woman Suffrage because it would "Interfere with white supremacy in the South." Catt spelled out the fact that the population figures in all but two of the southern states demonstrated that white women outnumbered black women. She expressed doubt as to the sincerity of the southern politicians, "If the South really wants white supremacy, it will urge the enfranchisement of women," she said. She had thrown their argument right back at them - a debating skill she had learned right here on the Iowa State campus. By "reversing" their argument she had taken the wind out of those southern racist's sails. A sense of humor can be seen in that procedure.

8 ibid, published by the National Suffrage Publishing Co. Inc.

encouragement and inspiration drawn from the varied activities of her own life."

The Tribune's account continued, "Challenging her hearers to the unfinished work of reconstruction, Mrs. Catt told the Iowa State College graduates that it is their job, and the job of other graduates of American colleges this June, to grasp a vision of what the world should be and work unremittingly toward that goal."

**Courage and Strength**

"Vision," declared Mrs. Catt, "is the comprehension of something of benefit to the world, not a burden, but an inexhaustible source of courage and strength." "As she elaborated this idea her audience heard behind her words the echoes of her own achievements. They caught a glimpse of the clarity and intensity of the vision which she had as a young woman and to which she had devoted her life," stated the Tribune.

"Mrs. Catt did not deliver a set address, but passed on to the young men and women, where she sat forty-one years ago, the ideals and convictions which she has gathered in her unusually full life," the Tribune observed.

"We face a bigger problem than our forefathers dreamed when they declared that all men are created equal," Mrs. Catt declared.

"The time when a parochial outlook on life was enough is past. I believe that one of the great weaknesses of our country is that we have forty-eight different states and we are wont to think of them rather than the country as a whole. I urge you, first to think nationally, but even that is not enough. You must think internationally; you are members of the human race. You must extend your hands across the seas to men and women all over the world. Let us grow closer together for greater happiness in the world at large. Let us be a nation with sympathy enough to put war out of the world."

"The most serious result of wars," she said, "is the wild, ill considered demands of radicalism at one extreme and over conservatism at the other extreme which constitutes a reaction in thought and leads to pessimism in politics. We face this result in our own country today."

"Find your vision and stand fast. You graduates will have to take your place as directors of the nation," That was her advice to Iowa State graduates of seventy-six years ago. That was exactly what she had attempted to do when she had graduated and left the Iowa State campus forty-one years earlier."
International Interests

Carrie Chapman Catt called the first conference on the Cause and Cure of War that met in Washington, D.C, January 18-24, 1925. Her continued international interests and efforts toward world peace had become for her a driving force. Her address, delivered in 1926, on "The Outgrown Doctrine of Monroe" and her support of the League of Nations following the First World War and later of the United Nations, are examples among many of her expanded activity.

On June 9, 1930, Mrs. Catt was back in Ames again at the invitation of her alma mater to deliver the commencement address. The occasion was also the fiftieth anniversary of her own graduation from Iowa State.

Two days later, on June 11, Mrs. Catt addressed more than 1,600 Iowa 4-H girls and their leaders assembled on the Iowa State campus for their third annual convention.

"The farmer has made the world," was her theme, stated the Ames Tribune. "I was a farm girl," she prefaced her words about her own childhood. For more than forty years she had been a prime mover in the cause of woman suffrage, the Tribune observed. "She has seen equal suffrage spread through thirty-two of the sixty-four civilized nations of the earth." Today, her word is: "the task is never done."

The Tribune described Mrs. Catt as speaking "with the characteristic vein of rich humor which lights all her words and highlights the appeal of her beautiful speaking voice." She told the girls, "I left the farm, but always I have been thinking of the farm. As a child I loved everything that grew."

Carrie Chapman Catt was back in Ames on special occasions in her later years. During Alumni Reunion days in 1933 she received Iowa State College's Alumni Award in recognition of "preeminent service in advancing human

10 The World Tomorrow, - November 1926 - p. 193
11 Ames Tribune, June 9, 1930, p.1, "Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a graduate of Iowa State College in 1880, who has been prominent in the National Women's Suffrage Movement since 1892 and who has been president of that organization since 1916, gave the commencement address at the exercises Monday morning."
12 The Ames Milepost, June 12, 1930, p.4, Editorial comment stated, "The most notable member of the State College alumni at the commencement this year was Carrie Chapman Catt. She was a member of the class of 1880, and received the gold 50 year medal with the rest of her class present. The distinction that has come to her as being one of the outstanding workers for the betterment of government and welfare of the women of her day and generation has not affected her attitude toward associates of her youth. She still possesses the qualities that endeared her to school companions and friends of her youth."
welfare." The list is long of the honors that this Iowa girl, this 1880 graduate of Iowa State, who died in 1947 at New Rochelle, N.Y., received during her lifetime. In 1975, Carrie Chapman Catt became one of the first inductees into the Iowa Women's Hall of Fame. In 1992, she was named one of the ten most important women of the century by the Iowa Centennial Memorial Foundation.

November 12, 1997

Renee Brown
1801 20th St Apt K25
Ames, IA 50010-5129
There are three quotations that have repeatedly been "lifted" from a Carrie Chapman Catt commentary. These quotations have often been given top line emphasis in such a manner as to create the impression that Mrs. Catt was a racist. I refer to quotes taken from chapter six of the booklet entitled "Woman Suffrage By Federal Constitutional Amendment," written and edited by her in 1917.

I question the accuracy in the way those quotations, and others like them, have been used. It results in a major error - a misrepresentation!

The quotations are these:

"Woman Suffrage in the South would so vastly increase the white vote that it would guarantee white supremacy if it otherwise stood in danger of overthrow."

"White supremacy will be strengthened, not weakened, by woman suffrage."

"If the South really wants white supremacy, it will urge the enfranchisement of women."

They failed to include any part of Mrs. Catt's written word that sets forth the reason for the statements quoted. The missing words are essential to understanding what has been said.

Consider the heading of the section in which the quotes are found: "Southern Members of Congress Very Generally Urge That They Oppose the Federal Amendment Because It Will Confer the Vote Upon the Negro Women of Their Respective States; and That Will Interfere With White Supremacy in the South."

Next, the words that Carrie Chapman Catt used in introducing her statements have been omitted. She prefaced her statements with, "It is difficult to believe this objection to be sincere, since the facts do not support their contentions."

Immediately following the second quotation given above, Mrs. Catt had provided official U. S. Government Census figures showing that in the fifteen states south of the Mason and Dixon line there were 8,788,901 white women and 4,316,565 negro women. Futhermore, she stated, "white women (in these states) outnumbered both black males and females by nearly half a million."
She had stated her belief that those southern politicians were not sincere in their objections. Then she offered irrefutable proof that they were entirely without credibility. It is all there in plain English!

It was from that base that Mrs. Catt hit those southern legislators with the inescapable conclusions now so carelessly lifted out of context!

Carrie Chapman Catt was using a long acceptable debate procedure. It was one that, I believe, she had learned right here on the Iowa State campus. It will be recalled that, as a student at Iowa State, she had succeeded in being the first woman to engage in inter-society debates. The procedure is called "reversing" an argument. (She had shown those southern congressmen that their reasoning had been 100% "upside down" in relationship to reality.) Her logic had destroyed their argument! When available, it is a desirable approach today, it was a very appropriate approach in that 1917 setting.

Carrie Chapman Catt was a no-nonsense debater. She was conceding nothing. She was stating facts. There is no compromise, no double talk to be found in her arguments. It is as good a procedure today as in 1917.

There is more to be said, I believe. The term "white supremacy" was a term that had not attained what one major dictionary publisher considers to be a common "currency" until after World War II. It is interesting that an examination of a number of dictionaries indicates that it is difficult to find the term "white supremacy" in any dictionary published before the 1950s. Used as early as 1867, the extent of its use and its meaning have been subject to change over the years.

When Carrie Chapman Catt used the term "white supremacy," she was using the obvious meaning implied by those southern politicians, (their fear of losing a majority white vote) and also as the word "supremacy" was defined by the dictionaries of that day - namely, the position of dominance or power. The only form of dominance or power that enters the subject matter of Mrs. Catt's remarks is that of a majority voting power.

It would appear that those who have been using Mrs. Catt's quotes as shown above, have been attempting to convey the idea of "white supremacy" as it is generally defined in the 1990s. The prejudicial or philosophical definition that

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1 Two local debate coaches were consulted on this use of the word "reverse". It means that a reverse meaning is shown to prevail over that intended by those complaining southern legislators.
3 Michael Gartner, Editor of the Daily Tribune, an authority on word origins and usage, when consulted on this question advised me that I am "on safe ground" in making this point.
4 James Lowe, Senior Editor, Merriam-Webster, Inc. Springfield, MA in a telephone consultation 18 Dec., 1997 reported that the term "White Supremacy" was not in their 1934 edition of the New Webster's International Dictionary. (Unabridged) He states that it first appeared in the 1961 edition.
holds that one race is entitled to special considerations over another race because of inherent racial superiority had no part whatsoever in any of those 1917 statements credited to Carrie Chapman Catt.⁵

Also note that following the first quotation above referred to, Mrs. Catt stated, "If a sly dread of female supremacy⁶ is troubling the doubter he may find comfort in the rather astonishing fact that white males over 21 are considerably in excess of white females over 21 in all but Maryland and North Carolina." That remark makes Carrie Chapman Catt a male chauvinist, no doubt? Obviously not! Throughout her 1917 commentary, the connotation relating to her use of the word "supremacy" was strictly numerical and factual.

Those quotes being used to deliberately discredit Carrie Chapman Catt have been seriously flawed by the omission of any explanation of their historical context.

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⁵ James Leonardo, Reference Librarian, Drake University. Specialist in Civil War Era, and the Culture of the South. His statement to me is as follows: "There exists few references to "white supremacy" prior to 1919. The pejorative context seemed to develop out of the Nazi era in Germany."

⁶ Mrs. Catt's use of the word "supremacy" here is further indication that the meaning was that of numerical majority.
October 18, 1998

Dear GSB Committee:

Thank you for the invitation to comment upon the three year long unjustified attack on the character of Carrie Chapman Catt and the proposed resolution of the situation that your community is left with regarding this heroine of the first order.

I find the term resolution to be interesting as you apply it to the Catt scenario (as defined by those who report to have been disgusted by her alleged historical crimes). The concept of resolution is perhaps a premature solution for a situation that might have been illuminated years ago if the concept of clarification had been taken more seriously both by the administration and Catt's rabid accusers. To have clarified the irresponsible wildfire of misinformation in an intelligent way would have been more in keeping with the mission of a major educational institution. However, those who chose to use ridiculous outdated rhetoric from days long gone by, an administration operating under the fear of the then current political correctness, and even members of GSB fearfully ignored the primary sources and materials that were handed to them in official public meetings as recent as three years ago. I even doubt that at this writing all of the members of your committee have taken the considerable time to read and evaluate the all of the speeches, biographies, and credible sources that have been submitted for its current deliberations. I would also guess that many on your committee (including those with the most strident voices) had no earthly idea how much primary material was ultimately available for consideration. Just imagine all the expenditure of time you all have spent on an issue that has never really been clarified beyond the amplitude of the proverbial megaphone. And, think of all of the opinions that have been generated by those who knew almost nothing of Catt's life, except what they read on a tee-shirt or in a newspaper. Taking a historical figure to task requires work that is both deliberate and time consuming. So in effect, resolution is impossible without clarification.

What is there to clarify? Did she write, say or do what she was accused of doing by those who had trouble finding the Scholar terminals in Parks Library? By the use of primary resources and without the presuppositions of less than informed opinions one can certainly come to a decision resulting from clarification. Was she an advocate of the hate and convenience of racism and the litany of snowballing charges leveled at her by people who knew little else than the slogans on hastily assembled posters? One can not spend serious library time reading her writings and come to the inaccurate and popularly disseminated negative conclusions with any measure of seriousness. Did she seek to oppress women of color collectively or individually? One can not read her life’s work with any degree of care and reach an affirmative decision. If you want to do something meaningful, then challenge yourselves to clarify.
So, if your committee comes to some sort of clarity on the primary issues that GSB has defined, then and only then is resolution possible. I believe your resolution must lie in the honest accounting of what you have found in the way of primary information as well as what you have not found, i.e., 929 accusations. If you cannot come to conclusions that are more than the result of group therapy sessions then please do not waste more time by reiterating the same old tired inaccurate misinformation. Either say you have not done the work required to make a recommendation, or do the work until you have the clarity to submit something that is honest and honorable. Then whatever “healing” that needs to take place can start from honest common ground.

My recommendations are as follows:

First, communicate the facts of Catt’s life, rather than what someone supposes or hypothesizes carelessly through the three year veil of faulty research and innuendo. Second, the naming process for campus buildings should be formalized and directed to be taken seriously by both administration and community-at-large factions. One would hope that those who have “gone to the wall” over the process of naming buildings will be the first to volunteer their time to actively serve on future committees. Third, if those who volunteered to serve on this GSB Catt committee have not done the work necessary to honestly evaluate the myriad charges against Catt (shame on you, you did volunteer for it), then at least display the common decency to call for public and personal apologies to Catt’s living relatives from both her accusers and the administration. This would begin to recognize the regrettable lack of clarity concerning the controversy as well as the acknowledgement of wrong doing by those who sought to slander her even through youthful (or not) ignorance.

Finally, I recognize that some on your committee have strong opinions against Carrie Chapman Catt, regardless of how ill-informed those opinions may be. While it is their right to have and express ill-considered opinions, those who now choose to address the serious business of commentary on a person’s life must consider the consequences that reach well beyond the next arduous march from the Memorial Union to Beardshear’s steps. Please cherish the importance of your work as a community of scholars. If you don’t, then nobody will.

I wish your committee the advantages of hindsight, clarity and courage.

Most sincerely yours,

Kirk E. Smith
Director of Orchestral Activities
Instrumental Music Education Coordinator
California State University, Hayward
Dear Daniel; (My brother's name is also Daniel, and I am reminded as an aside of the Biblical story of Daniel in the lion's den- you and your committee are certainly in the middle between a rock and a hard place!) Anyway...I wanted to respond to your request for comments before the deadline, so here goes.

First, as a past president of the League of Women Voters of Iowa, you can guess that I am not in favor of renaming Catt Hall. However, in the interest of "closure," I have the following specific suggestions to make for your committee to consider:

* Placing a permanent plaque, on the front or immediately inside on the first floor, (in a very visible place is the point) which would have wording somewhat like this: "This plaque serves as a reminder to all that the lives, beliefs and public or written words of many famous individuals are open to differing interpretation. Carrie Chapman Catt was no exception. Although she accomplished much in her lifetime, some statements attributed to her are of a controversial nature." Date the plaque if desired, thereby showing the difference in time between the renaming of Catt Hall and the plaque's addition to the building.

* In the computer registry of names on the bricks in the plaza, add (in some sort of addendum) the names of those women who chose to have their own name removed as a result of the controversy surrounding Carrie Catt. Give a simple explanation of why those names were removed. I hope these ideas will be of some help- or least provide a position of some compromise.

Feel free to write or call
Abbi Swanson, 205 2nd Ave. North, Mount Vernon, IA. 52314; 319-895-6866
aswanson@cornell-iowa.edu
October 19, 1998

Dear Mr. Pasker,

The Board of the 19th Amendment Society has asked me to respond to your letter of September 21, 1998 requesting input on the name of Catt Hall on the Iowa State University campus.

I have enclosed a copy of a position paper on the subject prepared by the Society Board for internal circulation in October, 1996.

The Board of the 19th Amendment Society, and, by extension, our organization of over 400 individuals nationwide, commends Iowa State University for naming such a visible and historic campus building in honor of one of Iowa State's most outstanding graduates and one of Iowa's most notable native daughters. We endorse President Martin Jischke's June, 1998 statement quoted in the Des Moines Register that Carrie Lane Chapman Catt deserves the recognition granted to her by Iowa State University and that he does not plan to see the name of the building changed.

We request a copy of your final report and findings be sent to the 19th Amendment Society to be included in our archives.

Sincerely,

Toni Noah, Secretary
19th Amendment Society

pc: Editor, The Ames Tribune
In Regard to the Name of the Building Formerly Known as Old Botany

The controversy swirling around Carrie Lane Chapman Catt and the building named for her at Iowa State University is of more than passing interest to the members of the 19th Amendment Society. It is of interest despite the fact that it is, in its essence, an academic power struggle because it is seen by them as a symbol of the value of role models and principled beliefs to the establishment of a better society.

The goals of those arguing in favor of re-renaming "Old Botany" and those who have been scraping mortar off bricks, planting flower beds and diligently pursuing every available source of restoration funding to reclaim the childhood home of Carrie Lane couldn't be more different. On one hand is a group of people who must assert their position in what they see as a basically thoughtless and insensitive atmosphere. On the other is a grassroots organization which perceives itself as being fueled by a concern for preservation of the remnants of a world which shaped the character of one of Iowa's foremost contributors to the passage of the 19th Amendment.

While different, the goals of the two groups are not mutually exclusive. It is understandable that the group now espousing a change in building name would be offended when their feelings and their concerns were not addressed in a major and visible decision affecting the University. In Genesis the power to name was reserved for the superior entity, at Iowa State the renaming of Old Botany could have been an example of inclusive authority, but it wasn't. It is also understandable that the members of the 19th Amendment Society would have a dream of saving Carrie Lane's childhood home as the nucleus of a study center dedicated to arming future generations to follow Carrie Lane's example in questioning society's inequities and fighting, with all the weapons at their disposal, to undo personal and collective wrongs. Since the two groups began with different objectives, the success of one does not require the failure of the other.

As has been pointed out so often and so well by commentaries in the Des Moines Register, Carrie Lane Chapman Catt was a product of her time. She accomplished wonderful things and she fought hard for what she knew to be right, but she also said and thought things that, at the very least, make us wince today while they anger and embarrass us. We would probably have the same reaction to learning the content of the conversations carried on between almost any of our grandparents. That does not diminish the contributions made by our grandparents. It means that they gave us an opportunity to learn more and understand more. By an evolutionary process this will allow our children to build on our mistakes and ultimately become a society governed by concern for others rather than by hatred and fear.
Racism is ugly and must be stomped out. So is the unbridled exercise of authority. It is unfortunate that Carrie Lane Chapman Catt's name got caught in the middle of a controversy begun for the purpose of fighting injustice and the unequal distribution of power. It is mainly unfortunate because she probably would have been on the side of those fighting against them.

The 19th Amendment Society has a worthwhile mission. They believe that Carrie Lane Chapman Catt made a valuable contribution to American society. They believe that Iowa should be proud of her contributions. They believe that if it is important to preserve her childhood home as a reminder of the strength and values which enabled her to continue a long and discouraging fight for equal rights, to ultimately win that battle and to go on from there to provide leadership to another whole generation as the battle continued. She needs to be honored and she needs to be remembered.

Whether she needs to be honored and remembered by having a building on the campus of her alma mater named after her is, fortunately, not a decision that those supporting the goals of the 19th Amendment Society have to make. There is no controversy here. We can support her for what she accomplished and only wish she had been around to offer her brand of dedication and guidance to the fight against that problems of today's world.
October 20, 1998

TO: Daniel J. Pasker  
Chair, Catt Hall Review Committee

FROM: Jackie Manatt

Thank you for the opportunity to contribute my 2¢ worth.

I believe the name Carrie Chapman Catt Hall should remain because we need a constant reminder that the right to vote should not be taken for granted. With voter apathy continuing to escalate, we cannot allow reminders of the fight for suffrage to be lost.

Further, I suggest that a group like University Museums arrange something like "heritage walks" based on the format of their popular "Wednesday Art Walks." Learning about the people whose names grace our buildings could add a wonderful new dimension to our rich and proud ISU history.
October 21, 1998

Mr. Daniel J. Pasker
Chair, Catt Hall Review Committee
Government of the Student Body
Memorial Union
Iowa State University

Dear Mr. Pasker:

Thank you for the opportunity to provide input about the decision of Iowa State University to name a building after one of its most distinguished alumnae, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman Catt.

As a communication researcher who specializes in political rhetoric, especially the styles and strategies of women political leaders and activists, I hope that I can contribute to an understanding about the use of textual analysis in interpreting and understanding the speeches, articles and publications of Ms. Catt. After briefly describing the goals and methods of textual analysis, I will draw upon the work of scholars who have studied in-depth the rhetoric of Ms. Catt and the women’s suffrage movement as well as my own research into the works cited by the September 29 Movement in raising its allegations.

My research into the rhetorical style of Ms. Catt began in 1994 as a doctoral student in communication at the University of Oklahoma. For my doctoral dissertation examining the communication styles and strategies used by contemporary women and men political candidates in their televised advertising, I used a construct known as “feminine style” developed by noted rhetorical scholar, Dr. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, of the University of Minnesota. Dr. Campbell’s “feminine style” construct, which is used in many studies examining historic and contemporary political rhetoric, is based on her critical analysis of early feminist rhetoric, including the speeches of Ms. Catt. Her study was published in 1989 in the two-volume book, Man Cannot Speak for Her.

Thus, my introduction to the rhetoric of Ms. Catt occurred before the allegations raised in September 1995 at Iowa State and at a university hundreds of miles away. I first became aware of the controversy at ISU concerning Ms. Catt’s rhetoric in February 1996 when I interviewed for director of the Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics. Before accepting the position, I conducted additional research on Ms. Catt and talked to several scholars who specialize in textual analysis about the allegations raised. I have continued to read primary sources written by Ms. Catt as well as secondary sources by scholars who have examined her life and times since becoming director of the Catt Center in July 1996.

I believe that a thorough, scholarly examination of the allegations about Ms. Catt at the time that they were raised would have elevated the tenor of the discourse that followed. At least, through scholarly examination and reflection, we may have learned to appreciate the complexities of understanding historic figures through contemporary analyses of their written records. Perhaps it is not too late.

Sincerely,

Dr. Dianne Bystrom
Director
Who was Carrie Chapman Catt?

Was she an esteemed political strategist, rhetorician and organizer who not only advocated the expansion of women’s rights in the United States and throughout the world but also denounced racism and promoted international understanding through her speeches and writings?

Or was she a racist, classist and xenophobe who disparaged “poor people of all colors”? (September 29 Movement, “Catt Hall: A Symbol of Exclusion,” April 29, 1998).

And, should a building at her alma mater, Iowa State University, be named in her honor?

The answer, I believe, must be found in a thorough, scholarly analysis of her body of rhetoric as presented during the women’s suffrage movement in the United States and, following ratification of the 19th amendment in 1920, during her international peace efforts. And, for the most part, scholarly research into the life, times and rhetoric of Carrie Chapman Catt has been sadly lacking in the debate over the naming of Catt Hall.

In this commentary, I will briefly describe the methods of textual analysis used by communication researchers to describe and interpret recorded texts. Then, I will draw upon the works of prominent researchers who have studied Catt’s rhetoric and the women’s suffrage movement in-depth as well as my own investigations of allegations raised about her speeches and motivations.

By its very nature, the analysis of historic texts requires interpretation of the words used and their intended meaning apart from the actual communication event between the speaker and his or her intended audience. In analyzing historical documents, the “shared reality” between the original author and original audience no longer exists (Littlejohn, 1989). “Once written, discourse can be consumed by anybody who can read, providing a multitude of meaning possibilities” (Littlejohn, 1989, p. 139).

Thus, through textual analysis, researchers attempt to understand “how people think, and consequently act, by studying patterns displayed in their discourse, broadly defined” (Frey, Botan, Friedman, & Kreps, 1991, p. 228.) Like all research, an important first step in textual analysis is determining the universe of relevant texts and selecting a representative sample.

The universe of texts from which to analyze the rhetoric of Catt includes more than 850 primary (authored by Catt) articles and speeches that are housed in libraries throughout the country, including Parks Library at ISU. Thus, researchers attempting to analyze Catt’s rhetoric should employ random sampling procedures to select a representative sample of her rhetoric over her lifetime or they should study a subset of the entire universe, for example, the texts related to her participation in the suffrage movement or her international peace work. In scholarly research,
texts should not be chosen only to support or advocate presuppositions about the person being studied while rejecting texts that do not support the researcher’s position.

After selecting a representative sample of texts to examine, researchers employ a variety of approaches or methodologies in textual analysis. A commonly used methodology in the analysis of historic texts is rhetorical criticism. Although rhetorical criticism serves a variety of functions, many scholars use this method to investigate the intended effects of discourse within the social and cultural contexts of time and place (Frey et al., 1991, p. 207). As noted rhetorical scholar Karlyn Kohrs Campbell states, “the aim of the rhetorical critic is enlightenment—an understanding of the ways symbols can be used by analyzing the ways they were used in a particular time and place and the ways such usage appealed or might have appealed to other human beings—then and now” (1989, p. 2). Rhetorical analysis, she adds, is based on the critic’s “general knowledge of rhetorical literature and criticism [and] familiarity with the rhetoric of a movement and its historical milieu” (p. 2).

In summary, a scholarly analysis of the words of historic figures requires the selection of a representative sample of texts, knowledge about rhetorical theories and methods, and an understanding about the context in which the communication being studied occurred. The findings of several researchers who have studied the rhetoric, life and times of Carrie Chapman Catt are summarized next.

In her two-volume book, *Man Cannot Speak for Her* (1989), Campbell notes the lack of analysis of the speeches and writings of women as compared to men. “As a rhetorical critic I want to restore one segment of the history of women, namely the rhetoric of the early women’s rights movement that emerged in the United States in the 1830s, that became a movement focused primarily on woman suffrage after the Civil War, and whose forces dissipated in the mid-1920s” (p. 1-2). She also describes the context in which their rhetoric occurred and the effects of other movements—e.g., abolitionist, temperance, and progressive—on the women’s suffrage movement over a course of nearly 100 years.

Catt came into the women’s suffrage movement in 1887, about 50 years after the movement began, and 19 years after the ratification of the 14th amendment, which inserted the word “male” into the U.S. Constitution. As Campbell and other scholars have noted, the ratification of the 14th amendment giving all men the right to vote, forced suffragists to take their case to male voters to seek a federal suffrage amendment for women. The anti-suffrage movement was at its peak of power from 1896 to 1909, Campbell notes. And, “hostility to woman suffrage did not diminish until progressivism grew in power and influence” after 1910 (Campbell, 1989, p. 158).

Thus, during the final 30 years of the women’s suffrage movement, leaders engaged in a campaign to persuade male voters and politicians to approve referenda, support a federal amendment and ratify it on a state level while agitating to attract attention in an effort that had gone on for some 70 years and maintain the morale of workers (Campbell, 1989, p. 158). According to Campbell, three women—including Catt—met the needs of the woman suffrage movement during this period. “The movement needed organization, and it found them in the special talents of Carrie Chapman Catt,” she notes (p. 164). “Catt was a skilled organizer, an effective leader, and an able
speaker” (pp. 164-165). “The ‘Winning Plan’ that she announced in 1916 was an administrative and tactical masterpiece designed to put the maximum political pressure on Congress to pass a suffrage amendment” (p. 165).

Catt also was a realist about suffrage rhetoric and what could be achieved, Campbell notes. “As a result of this pragmatism, her speeches included arguments addressed to the self-interest of political decision-makers as well as arguments based on principle” (p. 165). In a 1902 speech to the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), she advocated not only equal rights for men and women, but also argued against what she called “sex-prejudice.” According to Campbell, this was noteworthy as one of the earliest attempts to analyze what we now call sexism.

In a 1917 speech, “Address to the Congress of the United States,” Catt posed rhetorical questions to “highlight the discrepancy between traditional values and actual behavior, and to indicate the resentment U.S. women felt at the position in which they were placed” (p. 170). Still, her speeches reflected her firm belief that women’s suffrage was inevitable, based on natural rights theory, the practice of allowing women to vote in several states that had already approved suffrage, and the leadership role of the United States in the world (Campbell, 1989, p. 169).

An overview of Catt’s arguments and style in her suffrage speeches and peace rhetoric, to which she dedicated her efforts following ratification of the 19th amendment in 1920, is provided by David S. Birdsell in Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800-1925, A Biocritical Sourcebook (1993). Like Campbell, Birdsell notes that Catt’s “speeches combined narrative, logic, and practical advice with an unshakable faith in human progress, allowing her to transcend ideological differences among her supporters and lead the successful national amendment campaign.” According to Birdsell, Catt “used logic to narrow the range of the opposing argument” (p. 324). “By denying the logic of anti-suffrage, she could indict opponents without appearing unreasonable” (p. 325).

Birdsell concludes that Catt “was a formidable political leader, accustomed to results and inclined to speak her mind. It may not have been politic to do so, but she did not hesitate to voice her rage at human stupidity and her seething contempt for male belligerence” (p. 336). And, although some of Catt’s earlier speeches in the 1890s complained of the injustice of granting suffrage to Native Americans and immigrants while denying voting rights to women, Birdsell notes that she “claimed not to object to the immigrant vote per se, . . . her fear was the co-optation of government by bosses who would rule through purchased votes of these enfeebled new citizens.” (p. 329) “By arguing that immigrants were not bad voters, but susceptible to influences that make them bad voters, she makes her principal distinction between the character of the vote—‘honest’ vs. ‘dishonest’—rather than the character of the voter. Although this concern was not turned into a fully reasoned position early in her career, she developed a powerful argument for nonpartisan voter education and was a guiding influence in the League of Women Voters,” he writes (p. 330).

In addition to these works by rhetorical scholars, Susan M. Marilley challenges some of the criticisms made in recent years by historians, such as Aileen Kraditor, about the women’s suffrage
movement in *Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1820-1920* (1996). “Although native-born, middle-class, white women led the struggle for woman suffrage, it is important to remember that they sought a liberal goal that was perceived as radical” (p. 2). “Moreover, to advance their cause in political environments that treated racial segregation, white supremacy, and nativist ideologies as respectable, these leaders had to promote women’s unique qualifications or the vote” (p. 2).

According to Marilley, “although native-born, white American woman suffragists were limited agents of radical reform because they were elites, they nevertheless encouraged liberal and egalitarian change, developed shrewd strategies to achieve it, and usually made strides as they corrected their mistakes.” (p. 2). “Many of the contradictions in the suffragists’ ideologies derived from the reformers practical need to appeal to diverse interests” in the long struggle for voting rights, she notes. “These reformers sought liberal goals, but it was not always possible to mobilize women, male voters, or legislators with egalitarian arguments or strategies. Deep resistance to considering women as political equals sometimes forced woman suffragists to make appeals they found personally distasteful. Thus it is necessary to distinguish appeals made to circumvent opponents’ arguments from those that represented reformers’ basic principles,” she emphasizes (p. 9).

In her study, Marilley notes that suffragist arguments did change over the course of the 100 years she studied from “negative liberal appeals against injustices to educated, middle-class, morally upstanding women” to “egalitarian arguments purged of nativism and racism” that “mobilized women and built alliances across the nation with organized labor, farmers, and other progressive organizations—alliances that enabled the passage and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment” (p. 9). She also argues that reformers “inegalitarian appeals,” which occurred primarily between 1890 and 1906, were “points of departure, not destinations” for the women’s suffrage movement. And, even while making such appeals, “suffragists preserved their liberal reputations, . . . by refusing to endorse outright ascriptive racial qualifications for the vote” (p. 14).

As for Catt, Marilley writes: “Long celebrated for her organizational genius, Catt also contributed an ideology for mobilizing traditional women that began as nativist feminism but evolved into a more tolerant feminism of personal development” (pp. 164-165). “Best known for a ‘winning plan’ that secured passage and ratification of the federal amendment between 1915 and 1920,” Catt also had significant international experiences that “prepared her for interactions with many people and organizations” (p. 164) and “led her away from Americanist and nativist appeals . . . toward a more inclusive perspective” (p. 195). Although Marilley notes nativism in two early speeches—“Subject and Sovereign” and “The American Sovereign”—given around 1893, she adds that Catt gave two Fourth of July speeches, “one as early as 1889, that celebrated freedom for all in the inclusive language of an assimilationist” (p. 167).

Marilley also notes that Catt criticized “vigorous racial assertions” made by Mississipian Belle Kearney at the NAWSA’s 1903 convention and “pleaded for mutual respect instead of competitive regional defensiveness” (p. 173). The researcher believes that Catt’s call to those at the convention “to get nearer together and to understand each other’s ideas on the race question and solve it together” suggests that Catt “considered collaboration with the southern campaigns
to be a step forward toward national reconciliation and perhaps an opportunity to encourage racial toleration in the South" (p. 173).

The ultimate success of the long struggle for women's suffrage was achieved by "making votes for women a compelling goal without diminishing the primary aims of diverse constituencies" of women and women's organizations, Marilley contends. Between 1900 and 1915, women's suffrage became a mass movement when its leaders—including Catt—"fashioned and encouraged an inclusive feminism" of personal development (p. 188) "aimed to unite women across class, region, and ethnicity" (p. 221). After women's voting rights were secured with the ratification of the 19th amendment in 1920, Catt "celebrated liberal principles in a speech that blamed the founder's toleration for slavery for both the failure of many southern states to endorse votes for women and the struggle's long duration," Marilley adds (p. 217).

The author concludes that women's suffrage leaders had to participate in a "double struggle familiar to leaders of most interest groups"—to "learn leadership skills and to recruit and keep active a core of suffragists across the nation" and "to persuade skeptical audiences that women both deserved and were qualified to vote" (p. 219). "Until they won the federal amendment, women depended upon men for every legislative advance of their cause," Marilley writes. "It is difficult to imagine just how powerless women were without the vote" (p. 221). And, although their victory "set the stage for potential uses of electoral power by women," women have continued to struggle from 1920 to the present for political inclusion as office-holders, decision-makers and policy-makers. "These struggles, most of which still remain unfinished, constitute the legacy of suffragists' liberal visions," she concludes (p. 226).

Rhetorical analyses—such as the studies undertaken by Campbell and Birdsell of Catt's and other suffragists' speeches—as well as social movement analyses such as Marilley's research help contemporary readers understand the historic texts and contexts of the long struggle for women's voting rights. Most serious scholars of women's suffrage and its leaders have noted the evolution of feminist rhetoric during the 100-year campaign as well as the social, cultural and political climate which confronted and necessarily shaped their efforts. To do otherwise ignores not only the complexities of a 100-year social movement, but also the basic tenets of academic research.

In their power point presentation, "Catt Hall: A Symbol of Exclusion" (April, 1998), the September 29 Movement cites 11 quotes from a total of 6 primary sources of speeches given or articles written by Catt as evidence of her racism, classism and xenophobia. From a scholarship perspective, it is impossible and, indeed, very troubling to characterize a speaker's entire body of rhetoric by quoting only 6 of approximately 853 available books, articles and speeches by Catt. In addition, many of the 11 quotes cited by 9/29 have been taken out of their rhetorical context.

For example, their use of two "white supremacy" quotes from Catt's "Objections to the Federal Amendment," in Woman Suffrage by Federal Constitutional Amendment (1917) demonstrates a lack of understanding of rhetorical style. According to rhetorical scholars, Catt's "Objections to the Federal Amendment" is a clear example of refutation. That is, the author lays out the positions of the opponent and enters a dialogue with the opponent with the goal of refuting their position. Thus, the primary purpose of this chapter is to overcome the opponents' (anti-
suffragists) objections to the federal amendment for woman’s suffrage, not to lay out reasons to support women’s suffrage. If we want to explore Catt’s feelings toward other races, we must look further than an article employing refutation—as it requires the author to adapt the positions of her opponent.

The “white supremacy” argument is 1 of 6 anti-suffragist arguments that Catt attempts to refute in her 3,500-word chapter. She uses several arguments to refute the anti-suffragists’ objections that a federal amendment giving women the right the vote would interfere with white supremacy. First, she points out that the effect of a federal suffrage amendment would be no different than the effect of a state amendment. Noting that suffrage will come from one of these two routes, she discounts opponents’ hopes that women will never get the vote. Second, she uses population statistics to refute the anti-suffragists’ argument that a federal woman suffrage amendment would interfere with white supremacy in the South. Here, Catt is not arguing for white supremacy. She is arguing that a federal amendment will have no effect on white supremacy.

Her comments on white supremacy are immediately followed by “If a sly dread of female supremacy is troubling the doubter he may find comfort in the rather astonishing fact that white males over 21 are in considerable excess of white females over 21 in all except Maryland and North Carolina.” (p. 77). That is, if a fear of female supremacy—rather than the loss of white supremacy—is what really troubles the objector, he need have no fear on that count either. Does this mean that Catt supports male supremacy? Of course not. She then tries to clinch her case by stating that “if the South really wants white supremacy, it will urge the enfranchisement of women.” (p. 77). Thus, she turns the argument on its head. Again, she is not arguing for white supremacy, she is using the rhetorical strategy of refutation to totally discount their objection.

In the conclusion to this chapter, Catt notes that everyone with a special interest—southerners, northerners, wets, drys, labor, the rich, Democrats, Republicans—may feel threatened by expanding the vote to women. Catt does not try to allay the fears of each objector; instead, she uses the extensive 40-line list to point out the absurdity of their fears. It is a refutation strategy known as argument by absurdity. Catt then refutes the whole by arguing that if government by “the people” is expedient, then “obviously all the people must be included. If it is not expedient,” the same standards should be applied to those “entrusted with the vote” and “those to be denied the vote.” (p. 88). “The clear thinker will arrive at the conclusion that women must be included in the electorate if our country wishes to be consistent with the principles it boasts as fundamental” (p. 89).

The four quotes cited by 9/29 from Catt’s February 11, 1904 Address to the National Suffrage Convention printed in the Woman’s Journal, on February 20, 1904 also fail to capture the full context of her remarks and their purpose. The focus of this lengthy speech is the obstacles that women face in securing suffrage. Specifically, fears about male illiteracy and political corruption (purchasable votes) were hurting the cause of women suffrage, Catt stated. Catt calls upon women to apply remedies to the political corruption and clear the way for their own enfranchisement.
In discussing male illiteracy, Catt does not focus on one race or ethnicity. She complains about all illiterate men—be they white or black, native or foreign born—having the right to vote while illiterate women are denied the vote. In fact, throughout this speech, she complains a lot about white, native-born men. And, in acknowledging concerns about the Negro and immigrant vote as being purchasable, Catt is careful to attribute the sources of such concerns as exaggeration, rumor, based on the experiences of precinct workers, or the "speedy paternal control of new voters by the party machine" (p. 61). Thus, she clearly puts the blame on the buyer rather than the seller of votes. "It is not the illiterate, the Negro, nor the newly-arrived immigrant who is blamable for the purchase of votes; it is the American; and, alas! It is the American of education and the American of means who is the guilty one" (p. 61).

The quote cited by the 9/29 as coming from Catt's *Response* given around 1916 is actually from Catt's speech, "The Crisis," one of her most important speeches. Delivered in 1916 to the NAWSA during the first full year of her second term as its president, this speech is important because it marks her public announcement of turning the group of 2 million women toward working for a federal suffrage amendment and not through states rights initiatives. As several scholars (Campbell, Marilley) have noted, Catt used this speech to raise the morale of suffragists and rally their continued hard work toward the ultimate achievement of women's voting rights.

While noting the support that women's suffrage has achieved during her 26 years of work for the campaign, she also acknowledges the forces of evil that continue to oppose voting rights for women. She voices her frustration that American women have had to beg for the vote on bended knee from man to man while no American male voter has had to pay that price. "Shall the government be less liberal with its daughters than with its sons?" She calls on American women to rise from their knees and demand a federal amendment giving them the right to vote.

The quote cited by 9/29 from Catt's 1918 Address to the U.S. Congress, also comes from her frustration that women are the last unenfranchised class of citizens in the country. Catt notes that "men of all nations and all races" have the vote, stresses the fact that the sentence—"governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"—includes women, and calls upon the country to give women the right to vote through a federal amendment.

To understand the two quotes cited by 9/29 from one of Catt's earlier speeches—Danger to our Government, given in 1894—it is important to note the context of the times surrounding this speech. Jacqueline Van Voris describes the circumstances leading to this speech in her book, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (1987). The suffragists had just lost a suffrage referendum in Kansas; the nation's financial depression was getting worse; and unemployed men, many of them foreign born, were crowding into the slums and becoming tools of white, male political bosses. In this speech to Iowa suffragists, she repeated statistics of how a blatantly sexist nation gave the vote to males, including immigrants who had been in the country for as little as three months. The second sentence of this speech makes clear what Catt believes to be a danger to the government: the buying of votes. When considered in its totality and against the context of the times, this speech is not against immigrants. It is against those who take advantage of them.

The quote cited by 9/29 from Catt's *Men, Women and War*, delivered in 1925, is misleading not only in its misrepresentation of the purpose of this anti-war speech. The quote used also
misconstrues—through the use of ellipses—Catt’s words in the passage in which it appears. The quote used is from a section of the speech in which Catt notes that two hills of ants fight; that two tribes (the Apaches and the Arapahos) do the same. The second part of the quote used by 9/29 refers to men in high places, not the Apaches and the Arapahos, as having an instinct for war. She concludes that if women have to pay for war and be the victims of it, they have a right to work for the abolishment of war.

In its presentation (April 1998), 9/29 also uses 6 quotes from 5 contemporary sources—4 books and 1 article—and a 1915 work. Most of the works cited barely mention Catt, and all of the quotes are taken out of context. For example, Catt is mentioned only on 4 pages and in 4 footnotes in one source used—Alan P. Grimes, The Puritan Ethnic and Woman Suffrage (1967). In looking at the full context of the quote used, Grimes acknowledges that nativism and racism were present throughout the country in 1914, in the arguments of suffragists and anti-suffragists.

Similarly, Catt is mentioned on only 5 pages of a 325-page book co-edited by Eva Feder Kittay and Diana T. Myers, Women and Moral Theory (1987) in a chapter on “Suffrage, Social Housekeeping, and Moralities of Caring” by Mary Fainsold Katzenstein and David D. Latit. The quote used by 9/29 is drawn from 3 separate paragraphs on 2 pages; the ellipses used give the false impression that all of the quote applies to Catt, when, in fact, most of the quote refers to suffragists in general. Within the pages from which 9/29 draws its “quote,” the authors also make these observations: “Although working-class issues were not seriously addressed by most suffragists, and although participation of working-class women in suffrage organizations was erratic, it would be wrong to see suffrage simply as the political vehicle of white middle-class women. Suffrage did, for example, lead indirectly to the participation of lower middle-class women in programs designed to assist the poor” (p. 269).

Like Marilley, these authors also call for an understanding of the suffragists’ “political position.” They note that the “reactionary dimension of the suffragist argumentation can be better understood—although not explained away—by an understanding of the suffragists’ political position. Had the suffragists been able to locate powerful allies in its claim to women’s voting rights, it might have been less readily drawn to reactionary appeals. . . . no major political party had thrown itself behind women’s enfranchisement [unlike] Negro enfranchisement [which] had been championed by a major political party. . . . As Catt too described it, the effective alliances were the ones against the suffragist cause—the alliances of the brewers interest, the workingmen, immigrants, etc.” (p. 270)

Another quote cited by 9/29 as evidence of Catt’s racism is taken from a book, Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women’s Movement, 1848-1869, by Ellen Du Bois (1978), which does not even mention Catt in its text. This is not surprising as Catt was born in 1859 and, thus, was 0-10 years old during the timeframe covered by this book. The quote cited by 9/29 refers to other suffragists, not Catt, and is not representative of the entire text.

Similarly, the quote taken by 9/29 from Birdsell’s 15-page essay on Catt (1993)—from my analysis and based on conversations with the author himself—does not capture his overall thesis.
Taken as a whole, this piece is mostly complimentary of Catt’s rhetorical style and practice as noted previously in this commentary.

Another quote cited by 9/29 comes from an article “Middle of the Road Activists: Carrie Chapman Catt and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War,” by Linda Schott, in Peace and Change, (1996). In the quote used, she criticizes the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War for not including black women at its early meetings. But, she concedes that this exclusion may have resulted from the NCCCW’s focus on groups with peace or disarmament goals. She also immediately notes that the “NCCCW did bring into the peace movement a large group of European American, middle-class women. By doing so, it educated them about international affairs and helped to expand the popular sentiment for peace that existed in the interwar period.”

Finally, 9/29 cites a quote from W.E.B. DuBois’ Disenfranchisement (1915) in its presentation “Catt Hall: A Symbol of Exclusion.” It is interesting to note that this article was published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association when Catt served as its president. When the quote is read in its full context, it is clear that DuBois considers as “dangerous” certain exclusionary arguments of some women suffragists and of “colored people” who “in arguing their own enfranchisement are willing to be counted against the enfranchisement of women or foreigners or the unfortunate.” Thus, DuBois argues against arguments of some suffragists and “colored people” that exclude other groups.

In summary, to fully understand the rhetoric of Carrie Chapman Catt—who, by her own estimates, gave more than 6,000 speeches during her 60-year rhetorical career and published numerous books and articles—and the 100-year long struggle for women’s voting rights, we must rely on more than a few quotes from a handful of resources—many of which have been taken out of context. If we do not choose to take the time to read a fuller representation of Catt’s speeches, we should rely on rhetorical and historical scholars—such as Campbell, Birdsell, and Marilley—who have conducted comprehensive studies on women’s suffrage and/or its leaders.

Moreover, members of an academic community, such as Iowa State University, must insist on nothing less than accepted standards of research and scholarship in evaluating the arguments that have been made in this debate. For the most part, the allegations against Catt have been waged through articles in the local media, rather than through scholarly research.

My reading of Carrie Chapman Catt’s speeches and articles as well as the analyses of numerous scholars who have studied her rhetoric and the women’s suffrage movement leads me to conclude that she should be honored for her lifetime of accomplishments and achievements—especially by her alma mater.
References


October 23, 1998

Daniel Pasker
Government of the Student Body
Iowa State University
Memorial Union, G43
Ames, Iowa 50011

Dear Mr. Pasker:

I am writing in response to your request for a statement from me regarding the Carrie Chapman Catt Committee’s deliberations. My position on the subject of Mrs. Catt’s place in history is well-documented in statements before the GSB and in various forums on the subject. Since others are speaking directly to that subject, I will confine my comments to some observations on the importance of Iowa State’s naming the former Old Botany building for Mrs. Catt to alumni and friends of Iowa State and to the people of Iowa with whom I worked during the four years I was Dean of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

The process of naming a building for Carrie Chapman Catt began more than 20 years ago with a GSB resolution asking for the former women’s PE building to be renamed. When the campus decided to renovate Old Botany, it was designated as the building to be named for Catt. When I arrived in July of 1993 the naming process was complete and I was charged with raising the College’s contribution to the renovation. In consultation with the Foundation, we devised a fundraising strategy that focused on educating alumni and friends of the College about the importance of Catt’s legacy and then asking them to become part of that legacy by contributing to the building renovation. We traveled the state and the U.S. with Jane Cox, who performed various versions of the Yellow Rose of Suffrage before packed houses. We recommended readings on the life of Carrie Chapman Catt and the suffrage movement, including many of the materials which the September 29th Movement later used to develop their opposing arguments.

I can only say that the result of this process was that alumni and friends across the country took ownership in the legacy of Carrie Chapman Catt and embraced the building as a symbol of that legacy. Hundreds of men and women bought bricks in the Plaza of Heroines, honoring women in their families whom they believed exemplified Catt’s legacy. At every campus event involving a Catt Hall open house, hundreds of people come to see the building and find their loved ones in the Plaza.
When the September 29th Movement began to challenge the decision to name Old Botany for Catt, letters and calls poured into my office, asking and pleading with us to not remove Catt’s name from the building. More people bought bricks, specifically indicating their continued support for the building. Students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds made a point of stopping by the office to tell us they supported keeping the building named for Catt. As you consider the position you wish to take on maintaining the name of Catt Hall, I urge you to consider the fact that, while there is a small, vocal group of opponents, there are thousands of largely silent supporters of Catt among the students, faculty, staff, alumni, and friends of Iowa State.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Elizabeth Hoffman
Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs
University of Illinois at Chicago
Dear Dan,

My name is Meron Wondwosen and I am one of the individuals that the Catt Committee contacted concerning the renaming process. I apologize for not sending a letter in but I am at law school and my life is somewhat hectic at this point.

However I am very much interested in the committee, the process and of course the outcome. I would appreciate it if you would accept a letter that I want to submit. I had written to the Daily and it is now online and here is the address.

http://www.daily.iastate.edu/volumes/Fall95/Nov-17-95/lett1.html

Once again I apologize for the delay and I hope you will accept the letter.

Sincerely,

Meron Wondwosen
More Catt chow

Meron Wondwosen
Letter to the Editor

To the Editor:

The article entitled, "The Catt is out of the Bag: Was she racist?" which appeared in the October issue of the Uhuru has been the subject of many dialogues.

Some have been positive, while others did not agree with the article. The object of the Uhuru is to be a source of information. The purpose of the article was to generate intelligent and productive conversation.

Indeed, several letters have appeared in the Daily on the matter of the dedication of Catt Hall. The discussion on the matter has already begun. Therefore, the article has accomplished one of its goals.

Many have criticized the article because they claim that it had faulty research and that the quotes were incorrectly attributed to Catt. To say this, one would assume that these individuals have researched the matter on their own.

In reality, those same individuals who criticized the article have not been able to provide proof of this alleged wrong attribution. Other individuals who have researched the matter, for example, those who wrote to the Daily, have come to the same conclusions as the article.

But perhaps many are unwilling to recognize the truth. History can be interpreted many different ways to make it fit into a particular image. But it takes more to admit a supposed heroine might have been a flawed individual.

The article was not written to minimize the efforts of Catt and her contemporaries; rather, it was to offer a different perspective. Some complained that the article was biased because it did not emphasize Catt's contributions.

The response to that is obvious. The other side of the coin: a building stands with her name and her picture plastered on the cover of the new ISU directory. Her contributions have been emphasized, and she has been canonized.
What has not been presented are all the facts. Most of the various committees were aware of the "problem," as was stated in one of the letters to the editor in the Daily; the solution was a panel discussion that did not even touch the topic.

Another person claimed that the Uhuru article was not going to stop a dedication as big and as celebrated as this one. But the article never urged halting the dedication of the building. It only provided facts; facts that were not available on the pamphlets hailing Catt's achievements.

If the reader is aware of all the facts and then chooses to participate in the events, it should be a decision that is made after careful evaluation. For some who need to "see for themselves," then they should take the initiative and research on their own and come to their own conclusions.

Some suggested that the article belonged in an opinion section so that only the author is responsible for it.

The reason why it was not done that way is because the Uhuru staff supports and stands behind all the research and writing that was done. To put a disclaimer would be to say that everyone on the staff does not agree with the article; in fact the opposite is true.

The heading "A Publication for intelligent activism" is not just a catchy slogan. It is dangerous for misinformed and uninformed people to fight against or promote a cause.

There are different ways in which the matter could have been handled. These ways would not have been as tasteful as the article was, and they would not have been as informative nor "intelligent." Inciting riots is no way to solve a problem.

The Uhuru will attempt to bring forth issues which will stimulate the reader's mind and encourage action and participation. So far the article on Catt has done both. It has sparked an interest in some and ignited the writing ingenuity in others.

A university, in fact an administration, can stand a little criticism. It's ludicrous to believe that the whole bureaucracy will come crumbling down because of one article.

The fact that some people took the article as a personal attack is unfortunate. As stated before, the goal was to inform and raise awareness about these issues.

We are all encouraged to speak our minds and fight for what we believe in. Yet if our opinions are not the "norm," then this right is snatched from us.
As a free society, one should enjoy freedom of speech and discussion. This First Amendment right should not be reserved for the powerful elite's club. Everyone should have a voice.

**Meron Wondwosen**
*Editor of the Uhuru*
Sophomore  
Political Science/French
Unsolicited Responses
Dear Matt;

I have been spending the summer here doing a lot of reading in several areas of interest to me, and have discovered another person for whom a building here at ISU is named, and who seems also to have not been very complimentary toward Blacks in some remarks made. (As has been alleged with Carrie Catt.)

It was perhaps typical of the time, and in my view, carries little weight when compared to the many positive contributions for which the name of a campus building is an appropriate honor.

I hesitate to bring this matter up, as it might be used to help the Catt dispute, or to hurt it by indicating that Catt was not the only case at ISU. Examples of comments are:

(Blacks) “are like crabs in a hamper. All lie quietly for a long time. Finally one takes a notion to move around and, growing bolder, starts to climb up the sides. Don’t worry, he’ll never get out! He struggles while the others watch him. As soon as he gets ready to put one foot over the side, all rush to pull him back. Don’t worry, he’ll never get out.”

Comments on Black attitudes, after visiting Alabama: “Here we rest. If you don’t feel like it, don’t work today. Just loaf and stay out of the rain.” They just borrowed in the spring and paid back in the fall. Few were eager to be reformed. Settlement time came a little before Christmas, and if they received any money at all it went into purchasing a few bottles of nepenthe, in the form of explosive whisky. “The white people must have infinite patience.”
“Rising or falling, I believe is practically inherent within the individual, and since races and nations are made up of individuals, they progress or are held back by the percentage of individuals who will, or will not, do the right thing.”

Blacks were too dependent and needed “to be free and independent people” and to “catch the vision” and “stop the jazz and ragtime.”

Sometimes it is better to let sleeping dogs lie, so before looking for further demeaning quotes by this individual, I would appreciate some indication whether or not your committee would find such information helpful in its present deliberations.

Sincerely,

[Signature]