

Equality & Hierarchy

Women's Rights

U.S History ACP

Social Studies Department

Wellesley High School

Academic Year 2013-2014

Unit 2: Equality & Hierarchy Part 2 - Women's Rights

Below are the unit questions for "Equality & Hierarchy - Part 2". These unit questions will be answered through power-points, readings we complete, videos, discussions, etc. The focus question each day will be one of the unit questions but by time period - for example, when we cover the time period known as Reconstruction, we will break it down through the unit questions listed below, after that we will do so for the Gilded Age, Progressive Era, and so on.

Essential Question

- Who has done the most to obtain equality for marginalized groups?
- What means have most effective in achieving greater legal and societal equality?

Unit Questions:

1. Who were the major civil rights leaders and groups and how did their views differ in achieving civil rights for their respective group?
2. How did civil rights movements evolve as a result of changing cultural climates?
3. How did the majority group, in an attempt to maintain power and privilege, exploit the interests and needs of marginalized groups?
4. What prevented marginalized groups from allying with each other to achieve the same goals?
5. How does the conflict between governmental policies regarding equality or hierarchy impact the people?
6. Why did the black Civil Rights Movement become the leading civil rights movement?

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Title: Legal Disabilities of Women
Author: Sarah Grimke
Year Published: 1837

Directions:

1. In the reading, highlight at least five examples of the legal disabilities of women on this and the following page.
2. On a separate sheet of paper, list the ways that women are "legally disabled". (at least 8)
3. Pick on legal disability that you think would be most harmful to the lives of women. Explain why.

Letter XII: Legal Disabilities of Women
Concord, 9th Mo., 6th, 1837
My Dear Sister,

There are few things which present greater obstacles to the improvement and elevation of woman to her appropriate sphere of usefulness and duty, than the laws which have been enacted to destroy her independence, and crush her individuality; laws which, although they are framed for her government, she has had no voice in establishing, and which rob her of some of her *essential rights*. Woman has no political existence. With the single exception of presenting a petition to the legislative body, she is a cipher in the nation; or, if not actually so in representative governments, she is only counted, like the slaves of the South, to swell the numbers of law-makers who form decrees for her government, with little reference to her benefit, except so far as her good may promote their own. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the laws respecting women on the continent of Europe, to say anything about them. But Prof. Follen, in his essay on "The Cause of Freedom in our Country," says, "Woman, though fully possessed of that rational and moral nature which is the foundation of all rights, enjoys amongst us fewer legal rights than under the civil law of continental Europe." I shall confine myself to the laws of our country. These laws bear with peculiar rigor on married women. Blackstone, in the chapter entitled "Of husband and wife," says: --

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, *the very being, or legal existence of the woman* is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband under whose wing, protection and cover she performs everything. For this reason, a man cannot grant anything to his wife, or enter into covenant with her; for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence, and to covenant with her would be to covenant with himself; and therefore it is also generally true, that all compacts made between husband and wife when single, are voided by the intermarriage. A woman indeed may be attorney for her husband, but that implies no separation from, but is rather a representation of, her love.

Here now, the very being of a woman, like that of a slave, is absorbed in her master. All contracts made with her, like those made with slaves by their owners, are a mere nullity. Our kind defenders have legislated away almost all our legal rights, and in the true spirit of such injustice and oppressions, have kept us in ignorance of those very laws by which we are governed. They have persuaded us, that we have no rights to investigate the laws, and that, if we did, we could not comprehend them; they alone are capable of understanding the mysteries of Blackstone, &c. But they are not backward to make us feel the practical operation of their power over our actions:

The husband is bound to provide his wife with necessities by law, as much as himself; and if she contracts debts for them, he is obligated to pay for them; but for anything besides necessities, he is not chargeable.

Yet a man may spend the property he has acquired by marriage at the ale-house, the gambling table, or in any other way that he pleases. Many instances of this kind have come to my knowledge; and women, who have brought their husbands handsome fortunes, have been left, in consequence of the wasteful and dissolute habits of their husbands, in straitened circumstances, and compelled to toil for the support of their families.

If the wife be indebted before marriage, the husband is bound afterwards to pay the debt; for he has adopted her and her circumstances together.

The wife's property is, I believe, equally liable for her husband's debts contracted before marriage.

If the wife be injured in her person or property, she can bring no action for redress without her husband's concurrence, and his name as well as her own: neither can she be sued, without making her husband a defendant.

This law that "a wife can bring no action," &c., is similar to the law respecting slaves: "A slave cannot bring a suit against his master, or any other person, for an injury -- his master, must bring it." So if any damages are recovered for an injury committed on a wife, the husband pockets it; in the case of the slave, the master does the same.

In criminal prosecutions, the wife may be indicted and punished separately, unless there be evidence of coercion from the fact that the offense was committed in the presence, of

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by the command of her husband. A wife is excused from punishment for theft committed in the presence, or by the command of her husband.

It would be difficult to frame a law better calculated to destroy the responsibility of woman as a moral being, or a free agent. Her husband is supposed to possess unlimited control over her; and if she can offer the flimsy excuse that he bade her steal, she may break the eighth commandment with impunity, as far as human laws are concerned.

Our law, in general, considers man and wife as one person; yet there are some instances in which she is separately considered, as inferior to him and acting by his compulsion. Therefore, all deeds executed, and are done by her during her coverture (i.e., marriage,) are void, except it be a fine, or like matter of record, in which case she must be solely and secretly examined, to learn if her act be voluntary.

Such a law speaks volumes of the abuse of that power which men have vested in their own hands; Still the private examination of a wife, to know whether she accedes to the disposition of property made by her husband is, in most cases, a mere form; a wife dares not do what will be disagreeable to one who is, in his own estimation, her superior, and who makes her feel, in the privacy of domestic life, that she has thwarted him. With respect to the nullity of deeds or acts done by a wife, I will mention one circumstance. A respectable woman borrowed of a female friend a sum of money to relieve her son from some distressing pecuniary embarrassment. Her husband was from home, and she assured the lender, that as soon as he returned, he would gratefully discharge the debt. She gave her note, and the lender, entirely ignorant of the law that a man is not obliged to discharge such a debt, actually borrowed the money, and lent it to the distressed and weeping mother. The father returned home, refused to pay the debt, and the person who had loaned the money was obligated to pay both principal and interest to the friend who lent it to her. Women should certainly know the laws by which they are governed, and from which they frequently suffer; yet they are kept in ignorance, nearly as profound, of their legal rights; and of the legislative enactments which are to regulate their actions, as slaves.

The husband, by the old law, might give his wife moderate correction, as he is to answer for her misbehavior. The law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement. The courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty, in case of any gross misbehavior.

What a mortifying proof this law affords, of the estimation in which woman is held! She is placed completely in the hands of a being subject like herself to the outbursts of passion, and therefore unworthy to be trusted with power. Perhaps I may be told respecting this law, that it is a dead letter, as I am sometimes told about the slave laws; but this is not true in either case. The slaveholder does kill his slave by moderate correction, as the law allows; and many a husband, among the poor, exercises the right given him by the law, of degrading women by personal chastisement. And among the higher ranks, if actual imprisonment is not resorted to, women are not unfrequently restrained of the liberty of going to places of worship by irreligious husbands, and of doing many other things about which, as moral and responsible beings, they should be the sole judges. Such laws remind me of the reply of some little girls at a children's meeting held recently at Ipswich. The lecturer told them that god had created four orders of beings with which he had made us acquainted through the Bible. The first was angels, the second was man, the third beasts; and now, children, what is the fourth? After a pause, several girls replied, "WOMEN."

A woman's personal property by marriage becomes absolutely her husband's, which, at his death, he may leave entirely away from her.

And further, all the avails of her labor are absolutely in the power of her husband. All that she acquires by her industry is his; so that she cannot, with her own honest earnings, become the legal purchaser of any property. If she expends her money for articles of furniture, to contribute to the comfort of her family, they are liable to be seized for her husband's debts: and I know an instance of a woman, who by labor and economy had scraped together a little maintenance for herself and a do-little husband, who was left, at his death, by virtue of his last will and testament, to be supported by charity. I knew another woman, who by great industry had acquired a little money which she deposited in a bank for safe keeping. She had saved this pittance whilst able to work, in hopes that when age or sickness disqualified her for exertion, she might have something to render life comfortable, without being a burden to her friends. Her husband, a worthless, idle man, discovered this hid treasure, drew her little stock from the bank, and expended it all in extravagance and vicious indulgence. I know of another woman, who married without the least idea that she was surrendering her rights to all her personal property. Accordingly, she went to the bank as usual to draw her dividends, and the person who paid her the money, and to whom she was personally known as the owner of the shares in that bank, remarking the change in her signature, withdrew the money, informing her that is she were married, she had no longer a right to draw her dividends without an order from her husband. It appeared that she intended having a little fund for private use, and had not even told her husband that she owned this stock, and she was not a little chagrined, when she found that it was not at her disposal. I think she was wrong to conceal the circumstances. The relation of husband and wife is too near and

Document 13: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Our Costume," *The Lily*, 4 (April 1851), p. 31.

Introduction

Elizabeth Cady Stanton did not equate wearing the reform dress to advocacy of women's rights. Rather, in the following article, she argued that the shorter skirt and "Turkish trowsers" offered women a greater freedom of movement. She urged women to ignore the comments of the "mèn and boys [who] laugh at us." Stanton and other women's rights activists eventually abandoned the freedom costume precisely because of the negative reactions of the general public.

OUR COSTUME.

Let the silk worm stay in its cocoon until its own wants compel it to throw it aside. Let every woman stay in her long petticoats, until she feels the necessity of a change; then no opposition, or trivial objections, will deter her; then she will not doubt or hesitate as to what she shall do; she will not heed the remarks of rude men and boys, and unmannerly women. Though I do not wish to convince any woman against her will, of the reasonableness of this change, yet I would answer some of the objections I have heard. Some say the Turkish costume is not graceful. Grant it. For parlor dolls, who loll on crimson velvet couches and study attitudes before tall mirrors -- for those who have no part to perform in the great drama of life, for whose heads, hearts and hands, there is no work to do, the drapery is all well; let them hang it on thick and heavy as they please; though, to the highest artistic taste the human form is most beautiful, most graceful, wholly undraped and unadorned. Are not the Graces themselves, thus represented? I have seen galleries of beautiful paintings and statuary, in the old world, but no where is the ideal female form to be found in a huge whaleboned bodice and bedraggled skirt. If the graceful is what you aim at, study the old painters and sculptors, and not Godey's Book of Fashion. But for us, commonplace, everyday, working characters, who wash and iron, bake and brew, carry water and fat babies upstairs and down, bring potatoes, apples, and pans of milk from the cellar, run our own errands, through mud or snow; shovel paths, and work in the garden; why "the drapery" is quite too much -- one might as well work with a ball and chain. Is being born a woman so criminal an offense, that we must be doomed to this everlasting bondage? "But," say some, "it is not the fashion!" Neither is it the fashion to be honest and virtuous, to lead simple, pure, and holy lives. The true, the earnest soul is always odd. Again, "some women of doubtful character, are proposing to wear the short dress." Well, have they not also worn the long one? "But the men and boys laugh at us." That is a strong reason in its favor. It is good to be laughed at; the more ridicule you encounter the better. It strengthens and develops the character to stand alone. "What will the people say?" has been a powerful weapon, in crushing many generous impulses, high resolves, and noble deeds. Women are said to have excessive love of approbation; therefore must we cultivate indifference to the opinions of others, but be ever alive to their sufferings. Let the weal and the woe of humanity be everything to us, but their praise and their blame of no account. E.C.S.

Marriage Protests

I: Radical Robert Dale Owen issued the following statement on the occasion of his 1832 wedding to Mary Jane Robinson, to protest the state of law by which women lost property and other legal rights upon marriage.

Of the unjust rights which in virtue of this ceremony an iniquitous law gives me over the person and property of another, I cannot legally, but I can morally, divest myself. And I hereby distinctly and emphatically declare that I consider myself, and earnestly desire to be considered by others, as utterly divested, now and during the rest of my life, of any such rights, the barbarous relics of a feudal, despotic system.

II: The following was signed by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell prior to their May 1, 1855 marriage. The Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who performed the marriage, not only read the statement at the ceremony, but also distributed it to other ministers as a model that he urged other couples to follow.

While acknowledging our mutual affection by publicly assuming the relationship of husband and wife, yet in justice to ourselves and a great principle, we deem it a duty to declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage, as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess. We protest especially against the laws which give to the husband:

1. The custody of the wife's person.
2. The exclusive control and guardianship of their children.
3. The sole ownership of her personal, and use of her real estate, unless previously settled upon her, or placed in the hands of trustees, as in the case of minors, lunatics, and idiots.
4. The absolute right to the product of her industry.
5. Also against laws which give to the widower so much larger and more permanent interest in the property of his deceased wife, than they give to the widow in that of the deceased husband.

6. Finally, against the whole system by which "the legal existence of the wife is suspended during marriage," so that in most States, she neither has a legal part in the choice of her residence, nor can she make a will, nor sue or be sued in her own name, nor inherit property.

We believe that personal independence and equal human rights can never be forfeited, except for crime; that marriage should be an equal and permanent partnership, and so recognized by law; that until it is so recognized, married partners should provide against the radical injustice of present laws, by every means in their power...

Questions:

1. According to these sources, what is the problem with traditional marriage?
2. What laws/restrictions do these sources protest?
3. Compare these documents to the Declaration of Sentiments. What are common themes?
4. Do these documents compare to any documents from our civil rights unit? Which ones and why?

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Questions:

1. What are the justifications on why women are not equal to men?
2. What evidence would this author have to prove his argument?

Lesson One: Analyzing Primary Sources

"Woman's Rights" (excerpt)

By Rev. John Todd D.D., (1867)

NOTE: This is an excerpt from Woman's rights by Rev. John Todd D.D., (1867) found in Votes for Women, 1848-1921.

{Excerpt Begins}

{Page no. 7}

EQUALITY OF THE SEXES.

On this question I shall waste no words. Nobody pretends that the sexes are equal in weight, in height, or in bodily strength. The bodies of the two sexes seem to have been planned for different ends. As to the mind, I have no difficulty in admitting that the mind of woman is equal to ours, nay, if you please, superior. It is quicker, more flexible, more elastic. I certainly have never seen boys learn languages or mathematics, up to a certain point, as fast or as easy as some girls.

Woman's intuitions also are far better than ours. She reads character quicker, comes to conclusions quicker, and if I must make a decision on the moment, I had much rather have the woman's decision than man's. She has intuitions given her for her own protection which we have not. She has a delicacy of taste to which we can lay no claim. "Why, then," my lady reader will say, "why can't we be independent of man?" for this is the gist of the whole subject. I reply, you can't, for two reasons; first, God never designed you should; and secondly, your own deep instincts are in the way. God never designed that woman should occupy the same sphere as man, because he has given her a physical organization so refined and delicate that it can never bear the strain which comes upon the rougher, coarser nature of man. He has hedged her in by laws which no desires or efforts can alter. We, sons of dust, move slower; we creep, where you bound to the head of the stairs at a single leap. And now bear with me, and keep good-natured, while I show you, what you, dear ladies, cannot do, and God don't ask you to do.

* 1. You cannot invent. There are all manner of inventions in our age, steam, railroads, telegraphing, machinery of all kinds, often five hundred and fifty weekly applications for patents at the Patent Office, but among them all no female applicants. You have sewing machines almost numberless, knitting machines, washing, ironing, and churning machines-but I never heard of one that was the emanation of the female mind. Did you? Why sew, or wash, or card off your fingers, rather than to invent, if this was your gift? The old spinning-wheel and the old carding apparatus have gone by, out not by woman's invention. I suppose this power was denied you, lest it should take you out of your most important sphere-as I shall show.

Using the readings "Legal Disabilities of Women" by Sarah Grimke, "Marriage Protests" by Robert Dale Owen, Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, "Our Costume" by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Reverend John Todd's "Women's Rights" fill out the following chart.

Restriction Categorize the restrictions we discussed in class - Include dates.	Justification Why can women be restricted in this way?	Give a page number from the reader as evidence for your restriction & justification.

Questions: Please write answers in notebook.

1. What document does the Declaration of Sentiments model? Why?
2. What are the injustices against women according to this document?
3. In what areas are women's rights most limited?
4. What could be the impact of the 14th and 15th amendment on women's rights?

Declaration of Sentiments from the Seneca Falls Convention-1848

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness...

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world...

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men--both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master--the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women--the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation--in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

US HISTORY

TRIAL OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 1873

* Read the following and respond to below.

Page 2, beginning: "Jury impaneled. . ." The Federal District Attorney, Crowley, describes the government's case against Anthony, arrested on a charge of "illegal voting".

Page 3, beginning: "Miss Anthony. . ." Susan B. Anthony has been convicted and is ordered to rise and is responding to Judge Hunt's question: "Has the prisoner anything to say why sentence shall not be pronounced?" (He presumably regretted asking this question, given what subsequently occurred.)

Answer the following questions:

1. What are Anthony's arguments against the verdict in her first and second statements on p. 3? What does she mean by the difference between "citizen" and "subject"?
2. What does Anthony say in her fourth statement on p. 3 (top of right hand side) that she has not had a trial by her peers? Is she correct and if so, why?
3. On the bottom of p. 3 and the top of the last page, Anthony refers to a recent law, of which she says: "Every man or woman in whose veins coursed a drop of sympathy violated that wicked law. . . and was justified in doing so." What was that law? Is she correct in saying that people were justified in violating it? Is she making a good comparison between violating that law and violating the law against women voting? Argue for or against this comparison.
4. What is the "recent amendment" to which Anthony refers in her second statement on the last page? Should this amendment guarantee women the vote? Why or why not?
5. Do you think Anthony's arguments overall are effective? Do you think she went about protesting the lack of a vote for women in an effective way?

Jury impaneled at 2:30 P. M.

Mr. CROWLEY opened the case as follows:

May it please the Court and Gentlemen of the Jury:

On the 5th of November, 1872, there was held in this State, as well as in other States of the Union, a general election for different officers, and among those, for candidates to represent several districts of this State in the Congress of the United States. The defendant, Miss Susan B. Anthony, at that time resided in the city of Rochester, in the county of Monroe, Northern District of New York, and upon the 5th day of November, 1872, she voted for a representative in the Congress of the United States, to represent the 29th Congressional District of this State, and also for a representative at large for the State of New York, to represent the State in the Congress of the United States. At that time she was a woman. I suppose there will be no question about that. The question in this case, if there be a question of fact about it at all, will, in my judgment, be rather a question of law than one of fact. I suppose that there will be no question of fact, substantially, in the case when all of the evidence is out, and it will be for you to decide under the charge of his honor, the Judge whether or not the defendant committed the offence of voting for a representative in Congress upon that occasion. We think, on the part of the Government, that there is no question about it either one way or the other, neither a question of fact, nor a question of law, and that whatever Miss Anthony's intentions may have been—whether they were good or otherwise—she did not have a right to vote upon that question, and if she did vote without having a lawful right to vote, then there is no question but what she is guilty of violating a law of the United States in that behalf enacted by the Congress of the United States.

We don't claim in this case, gentlemen, that Anthony is of that class of people who go about "peating." We don't claim that she went from place to place for the purpose of offering her vote. But we do claim that upon the 5th of November, 1872, she voted, and whether she believed that she had a right to vote or not, it being a question of law, that she is within the Statute.

UNITED STATES

CIRCUIT COURT

Northern District of New York.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

HON. WARD HUNT, Presiding.

APPEARANCES.

For the United States:

HON. RICHARD CROWLEY.

U. S. District Attorney.

For the Defendant:

HON. HENRY R. SELDEN.

JOHN VAN VOORHIS, Esq.

Tried at Canandaigua, Tuesday and Wednesday, June 17th and 18th, 1873, before Hon. Ward Hunt, and a jury.

Miss ANTHONY—Yes, your honor, I have many things to say; for in your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled under foot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights, are all alike ignored. Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject; and not only myself individually, but all of my sex are, by your honor's verdict, doomed to political subjection under this, so-called, form of government.

JUDGE HUNT—The Court cannot listen to a rehearsal of arguments the prisoner's counsel has already consumed three hours in presenting.

Miss ANTHONY—May it please your honor, I am not arguing the question, but simply stating the reasons why sentence cannot, in justice, be pronounced against me. Your denial of my citizen's right to vote, is the denial of my right of consent as one of the governed, the denial of my right of representation as one of the taxed, the denial of my right to a trial by a jury of my peers as an offender against law, therefore, the denial of my sacred rights to life, liberty, property and—

JUDGE HUNT—The Court cannot allow the prisoner to go on.

Miss ANTHONY—But your honor will not deny me this one and only poor privilege of protest against this high-handed outrage upon my citizen's rights. May it please the Court to remember that since the day of my arrest last November, this is the first time that either myself or any person of my disfranchised class has been allowed a word of defense before judge or jury--

JUDGE HUNT—The prisoner must sit down.—the Court cannot allow it.

Miss ANTHONY—All of my prosecutors, from the 8th ward corner grocery politician, who entered the complaint, to the United States Marshal, Commissioner, District Attorney, District Judge, your honor on the bench, not one is my peer, but each and all are my political sovereigns; and had your honor submitted my case to the jury, as was clearly your duty, even then I should have had just cause of protest, for not one of those men was my peer; but, native or foreign born, white or black, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, awake or asleep, sober or drunk, each and every man of them was my political superior; hence, in no sense, my peer. Even, under such circumstances, a commoner of England, tried before a jury of Lords, would have far less cause to complain than should I, a woman, tried before a jury of men. Even my counsel, the Hon. Henry R. Selden, who has argued my case so ably, so earnestly, so unanswerably before your honor, is my political sovereign. Precisely as no disfranchised person is entitled to sit upon a jury, and no woman is entitled to the franchise, so, none but a regularly admitted lawyer is allowed to practice in the courts, and no woman can gain admission to the bar—hence, jury, judge, counsel, must all be of the superior class.

JUDGE HUNT—The Court must insist—the prisoner has been tried according to the established forms of law.

Miss ANTHONY—Yes, your honor, but by forms of law all made by men, interpreted by men, administered by men, in favor of men, and against women; and hence, your honor's ordered verdict of guilty, against a United States citizen for the exercise of "*that citizen's right to vote*," simply because that citizen was a woman and not a man. But, yesterday, the same man made forms of law, declared it a crime punishable with \$1,000 fine and six months' imprisonment, for you, or me, or any of us, to give a cup of cold water, a crust

of bread, or a night's shelter to a panting fugitive as he was tracking his way to Canada. And every man or woman in whose veins coursed a drop of human sympathy violated that wicked law, reckless of consequences, and was justified in so doing. As then, the slaves who got their freedom must take it over, or under, or through the unjust forms of law, precisely so, now, must women, to get their right to a voice in this government, take it; and I have taken mine, and mean to take it at every possible opportunity.

JUDGE HUNT—The Court orders the prisoner to sit down. It will not allow another word.

MISS ANTHONY—When I was brought before your honor for trial, I hoped for a broad and liberal interpretation of the Constitution and its recent amendments, that should declare all United States citizens under its protecting ægis—that should declare equality of rights the national guarantee to all persons born or naturalized in the United States. But failing to get this justice—failing, even, to get a trial by a jury *not* of my peers—I ask not leniency at your hands—but rather the full rigors of the law.

JUDGE HUNT—The Court must insist—

(Here the prisoner sat down.)

JUDGE HUNT—The prisoner will stand up.

(Here Miss Anthony arose again.)

The sentence of the Court is that you pay a fine of one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution.

MISS ANTHONY—May it please your honor, I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. All the stock in trade I possess is a \$10,000 debt, incurred by publishing my paper—*The Revolution*—four years ago, the sole object of which was to educate all women to

do precisely as I have done, rebel against your man-made, unjust, unconstitutional forms of law, that tax, fine, imprison and hang women, while they deny them the right of representation in the government; and I shall work on with might and main to pay every dollar of that honest debt, but not a penny shall go to this unjust claim. And I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old revolutionary maxim, that "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

JUDGE HUNT—Madam, the Court will not order you committed until the fine is paid.

Speech After Being Convicted Of Voting in The 1872 Presidential Election

by Susan B. Anthony

Stump Speech delivered in all 29 postal districts of Monroe County, New York: 1872 – 1873

Sources: Ellipses indicate areas where the text has been abridged by the editors of the book, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches Ed. by Ellen C. DuBois; New York, Shoken Books : 1981, pp. 152- 165.

Friends and fellow citizens: I stand before you tonight under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus doing, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen's rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution, beyond the power of any State to deny.

The preamble of the Federal Constitution says: We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It was we, the people; not we, the white male citizens; nor we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed the Union. And we formed it, not to give the blessings of liberty, but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people - women as well as men. And it is a downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the use of the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government - the ballot.

James Madison said: Under every view of the subject, it seems indispensable that the mass of the citizens should not be without a voice in making the laws which they are to obey, and in choosing the magistrates who are to administer them . . . Let it be remembered, finally, that it has ever been the pride and the boast of America that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature.

Qualifications can be in their nature permanent or insurmountable. Sex cannot be a qualification any more than size, race, color or previous condition of servitude. A permanent or insurmountable qualification is equivalent to a deprivation of the suffrage. In other words, it is the tyranny of taxation without representation, against which our Revolutionary mothers, as well as fathers, rebelled.

It is urged that the use of the masculine pronouns *he*, *his* and *him* in all the constitutions and laws, is proof that only men were meant to be included in their provisions. If you insist on this version of the letter for the law, we shall insist that you be consistent and

accept the other horn of the dilemma, which would compel you to exempt women from taxation for the support of the government and from penalties for the violation of laws. There is no *she* or *her* or *hers* in the tax laws, and this is equally true of all the criminal laws.

For any state to make sex a qualification that must ever result in the disfranchisement of one entire half of the people, is to pass a bill of attainder, or, an ex post facto law, and is therefore a violation of the supreme law of the land. By it the blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their female posterity.

To them this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. To them this government is not a democracy. It is not a republic. It is an odious aristocracy; a hateful oligarchy of sex; the most hateful aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe; an oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor. An oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant, or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex, which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters, of every household - which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects, carries dissension, discord, and rebellion into every home of the nation.

The only question left to be settled now is: Are women persons? And I hardly believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens; and no state has a right to make any law, or to enforce any old law, that shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several states is today null and void, precisely as is every one against Negroes.

Questions: Please answer

1. How does this document compare to the Douglass document, "What is the 4th of July to a Negro?"
2. How does Susan B Anthony outline her argument?
3. Is it convincing? Why or why not?

Frederick Douglass On Woman Suffrage (1888)

Frederick Douglass was one of the few men present at the pioneer woman's rights convention held at Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848. His support of women's rights never wavered although in 1869 he publicly disagreed with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony who called for women's suffrage simultaneously with voting rights for black men, arguing that prejudice and violence against black men made their need for the franchise more pressing.

Nonetheless Douglass remained a constant champion of the right of women to vote. In April 1888, in a speech before the International Council of Women, in Washington, D.C., Douglass recalls his role at the Seneca Falls convention although he insists that women rather than men should be the primary spokespersons for the movement. Excerpts of his speech appear below.

Mrs. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: — I come to this platform with unusual diffidence. Although I have long been identified with the Woman's Suffrage movement, and have often spoken in its favor, I am somewhat at a loss to know what to say on this really great and uncommon occasion, where so much has been said.

When I look around on this assembly, and see the many able and eloquent women, full of the subject, ready to speak, and who only need the opportunity to impress this audience with their views and thrill them with "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," I do not feel like taking up more than a very small space of your time and attention, and shall not. I would not, even now, presume to speak, but for the circumstance of my early connection with the cause, and of having been called upon to do so by one whose voice in this Council we all gladly obey. There may be some well-meaning people in this audience who have never attended a woman suffrage convention, never heard a woman suffrage speech, never read a woman suffrage newspaper, and they may be surprised that those who speak here do not argue the question. It may be kind to tell them that our cause has passed beyond the period of arguing. The demand of the hour is not argument, but assertion, firm and inflexible assertion, assertion, which has more than the force of an argument. If there is any argument to be made, it must be made by opponents, not by the friends of woman suffrage. Let those who want argument examine the ground upon which they base their claim to the right to vote. They will find that there is not one reason, not one consideration, which they can urge in support of man's claim to vote, which does not equally support the right of woman to vote.

All good causes are mutually helpful. The benefits accruing from this movement for the equal rights of woman are not confined or limited to woman only. They will be shared by every effort to promote the progress and welfare of mankind everywhere and in all ages. It was an example and a prophecy of what can be accomplished against strongly opposing forces, against time-hallowed abuses, against deeply entrenched error, against worldwide usage, and against the settled judgment of mankind, by a few earnest women, clad only in the panoply of truth, and determined to live and die in what they considered a righteous cause.

The women who have thus far carried on this agitation have already embodied and illustrated Theodore Parker's three grades of human greatness. The first is greatness in executive and

administrative ability; second, greatness in the ability to organize; and, thirdly, in the ability to discover truth. Wherever these three elements of power are combined in any movement, there is a reasonable ground to believe in its final success; and these elements of power have been manifest in the women who have had the movement in hand from the beginning. They are seen in the order, which has characterized the proceedings of this Council. They are seen in the depth and are seen in the fervid eloquence and downright earnestness with which women advocate their cause. They are seen in the profound attention with which woman is heard in her own behalf. They are seen in the steady growth and onward march of the movement, and they will be seen in the final triumph of woman's cause, not only in this country, but throughout the world.

When the true causes of the antislavery causes shall be written, women will occupy a large space in its pages; for the cause of the slave has been peculiarly woman's cause. Her heart and conscience have supplied in large degree its motive and mainspring. Her skill, industry, patience and perseverance have been wonderfully manifest in every trial out. Not only did her feet run on "willing errands," and her fingers do the work, which in large degree supplied the sinews of war, but her deep moral conviction, and her tender human sensibilities, found convincing and persuasive expression by her pen and voice.

Observing woman's agency, devotion, and efficiency in leading the causes of the slave, gratitude for this high service early moved me to give favorable attention to the subject of what is called "woman's rights" and causes me to be denominated a woman's rights man. I am glad to say that I have never been ashamed to be designated. Recognizing not sex nor physical strength, but moral intelligence and the ability to discern right from wrong, good from evil and the power to choose between them, as the true basis for republican government, to which all are alike subject and all bound alike to obey, I was not long in reaching the conclusion that there was no foundation in reason or justice for woman's exclusions from the right choice in the selection of the person who should frame the law, and thus shape the destiny of the all the people, irrespective of sex.

Sources:

Frederick Douglass, Woman's Journal, April 14, 1888.

Questions: Answer on spop.

1. Why is Douglass a "woman's rights man."
2. How do his arguments parallel with Susan B Anthony?
3. Why are the causes for woman's rights and black rights linked?
4. What characteristics of women make the suitable to vote?
5. Does Douglass reinforce stereotypes of woman? Is this a good method?
6. Is Douglass convincing? Why or why not?

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Yellow Wallpaper* (1899)

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Yellow Wallpaper*, first published 1899 by Small & Maynard, Boston, MA.

It is very seldom that mere ordinary people like John and myself secure ancestral halls for the summer.

A colonial mansion, a hereditary estate, I would say a haunted house, and reach the height of romantic felicity -- but that would be asking too much of fate!

Still I will proudly declare that there is something queer about it.

Else, why should it be let so cheaply? And why have stood so long untenanted?

John laughs at me, of course, but one expects that in marriage.

John is practical in the extreme. He has no patience with faith, an intense horror of superstition, and he scoffs openly at any talk of things not to be felt and seen and put down in figures.

John is a physician, and *perhaps* -- (I would not say it to a living soul, of course, but this is dead paper and a great relief to my mind) -- *perhaps* that is one reason I do not get well faster.

You see he does not believe I am sick!

And what can one do?

If a physician of high standing, and one's own husband, assures friends and relatives that there is really nothing the matter with one but temporary nervous depression -- a slight hysterical tendency -- what is one to do?

My brother is also a physician, and also of high standing, and he says the same thing.

So I take phosphates or phosphites -- whichever it is, and tonics, and journeys, and air, and exercise, and am absolutely forbidden to "work" until I am well again.

Personally, I disagree with their ideas.

Personally, I believe that congenial work, with excitement and change, would do me good.

But what is one to do?

I did write for a while in spite of them; but it does exhaust me a good deal -- having to be too sly about it, or else meet with heavy

opposition.

I sometimes fancy that in my condition if I had less opposition and more society and stimulus -- but John says the very worst thing I can do is to think about my condition, and I confess it always makes me feel bad.

So I will let it alone and talk about the house.

The most beautiful place! It is quite alone standing well back from the road, quite three miles from the village. It makes me think of English places that you read about, for there are hedges and walls and gates that lock, and lots of separate little houses for the gardeners and people.

There is a *delicious* garden! I never saw such a garden -- large and shady, full of box-bordered paths, and lined with long grape-covered arbors with seats under them.

There were greenhouses, too, but they are all broken now.

There was some legal trouble, I believe, something about the heirs and coheirs; anyhow, the place has been empty for years.

That spoils my ghostliness, I am afraid, but I don't care -- there is something strange about the house -- I can feel it.

I even said so to John one moonlight evening but he said what I felt was a *draught*, and shut the window.

I get unreasonably angry with John sometimes. I'm sure I never used to be so sensitive. I think it is due to this nervous condition.

But John says if I feel so, I shall neglect proper self-control; so I take pains to control myself -- before him, at least, and that makes me very tired.

I don't like our room a bit. I wanted one downstairs that opened on the piazza and had roses all over the window, and such pretty old-fashioned chintz hangings! but John would not hear of it.

He said there was only one window and

not room for two beds, and no near room for him if he took another.

He is very careful and loving, and hardly lets me stir without special direction.

I have a schedule prescription for each hour in the day; he takes all care from me, and so I feel basely ungrateful not to value it more.

He said we came here solely on my account, that I was to have perfect rest and all the air I could get. "Your exercise depends on your strength, my dear," said he, "and your food somewhat on your appetite; but air you can absorb all the time. 'So we took the nursery at the top of the house.

It is a big, airy room, the whole floor nearly, with windows that look all ways, and air and sunshine galore. It was nursery first and then playroom and gymnasium, I should judge; for the windows are barred for little children, and there are rings and things in the walls.

The paint and paper look as if a boys' school had used it. It is stripped off -- the paper in great patches all around the head of my bed, about as far as I can reach, and in a great place on the other side of the room low down. I never saw a worse paper in my life.

One of those sprawling flamboyant patterns committing every artistic sin.

It is dull enough to confuse the eye in following, pronounced enough to constantly irritate and provoke study, and when you follow the lame uncertain curves for a little distance they suddenly commit suicide -- plunge off at outrageous angles, destroy themselves in unheard of contradictions.

The color is repellent, almost revolting; a smouldering unclean yellow, strangely faded by the slow-turning sunlight.

It is a dull yet lurid orange in some places, a sickly sulphur tint in others.

No wonder the children hated it! I should hate it myself if I had to live in this room long.

There comes John, and I must put this away, -- he hates to have me write a word.

We have been here two weeks, and I haven't felt like writing before, since that first

day.

I am sitting by the window now, up in this atrocious nursery, and there is nothing to hinder my writing as much as I please, save lack of strength.

John is away all day, and even some nights when his cases are serious.

I am glad my case is not serious!

But these nervous troubles are dreadfully depressing.

John does not know how much I really suffer. He knows there is no reason to suffer, and that satisfies him.

Of course it is only nervousness. It does weigh on me so not to do my duty in any way!

I meant to be such a help to John, such a real rest and comfort, and here I am a comparative burden already!

Nobody would believe what an effort it is to do what little I am able, -- to dress and entertain, and order things.

It is fortunate Mary is so good with the baby. Such a dear baby!

And yet I cannot be with him, it makes me so nervous.

I suppose John never was nervous in his life. He laughs at me so about this wall-paper!

At first he meant to repaper the room, but afterwards he said that I was letting it get the better of me, and that nothing was worse for a nervous patient than to give way to such fancies.

He said that after the wall-paper was changed it would be the heavy bedstead, and then the barred windows, and then that gate at the head of the stairs, and so on.

"You know the place is doing you good," he said, "and really, dear, I don't care to renovate the house just for a three months' rental."

"Then do let us go downstairs," I said, "there are such pretty rooms there."

Then he took me in his arms and called me a blessed little goose, and said he would go down to the cellar, if I wished, and have it whitewashed into the bargain.

But he is right enough about the beds and windows and things.

It is an airy and comfortable room as any one need wish, and, of course, I would not be so silly as to make him uncomfortable just for a whim.

I'm really getting quite fond of the big room, all but that horrid paper.

Out of one window I can see the garden, those mysterious deepshaded arbors, the riotous old-fashioned flowers, and bushes and gnarly trees.

Out of another I get a lovely view of the bay and a little private wharf belonging to the estate. There is a beautiful shaded lane that runs down there from the house. I always fancy I see people walking in these numerous paths and arbors, but John has cautioned me not to give way to fancy in the least. He says that with my imaginative power and habit of story-making, a nervous weakness like mine is sure to lead to all manner of excited fancies, and that I ought to use my will and good sense to check the tendency. So I try.

I think sometimes that if I were only well enough to write a little it would relieve the press of ideas and rest me.

But I find I get pretty tired when I try.

It is so discouraging not to have any advice and companionship about my work. When I get really well, John says we will ask Cousin Henry and Julia down for a long visit; but he says he would as soon put fireworks in my pillow-case as to let me have those stimulating people about now.

I wish I could get well faster.

But I must not think about that. This paper looks to me as if it knew what a vicious influence it had!

There is a recurrent spot where the pattern lolls like a broken neck and two bulbous eyes stare at you upside down.

I get positively angry with the impertinence of it and the everlastingness. Up and down and sideways they crawl, and those absurd, unblinking eyes are everywhere. There is one place where two breaths didn't match, and the eyes go all up and down the line, one a little higher than the other.

I never saw so much expression in an inanimate thing before, and we all know how much expression they have! I used to lie awake as a child and get more entertainment and terror out of blank walls and plain furniture than most children could find in a toy-store.

I remember what a kindly wink the knobs of our big, old bureau used to have, and there was one chair that always seemed like a strong friend.

I used to feel that if any of the other things looked too fierce I could always hop into that chair and be safe.

The furniture in this room is no worse than inharmonious, however, for we had to bring it all from downstairs. I suppose when this was used as a playroom they had to take the nursery things out, and no wonder! I never saw such ravages as the children have made here.

The wall-paper, as I said before, is torn off in spots, and it sticketh closer than a brother - they must have had perseverance as well as hatred.

Then the floor is scratched and gouged and splintered, the plaster itself is dug out here and there, and this great heavy bed which is all we found in the room, looks as if it had been through the wars.

But I don't mind it a bit -- only the paper.

There comes John's sister. Such a dear girl as she is, and so careful of me! I must not let her find me writing.

She is a perfect and enthusiastic housekeeper, and hopes for no better profession. I verily believe she thinks it is the writing which made me sick!

But I can write when she is out, and see her a long way off from these windows.

There is one that commands the road, a lovely shaded winding road, and one that just looks off over the country. A lovely country, too, full of great elms and velvet meadows.

This wall-paper has a kind of sub-pattern in a, different shade, a particularly irritating one, for you can only see it in certain lights, and not clearly then.

But in the places where it isn't faded and

where the sun is just so -- I can see a strange, provoking, formless sort of figure, that seems to skulk about behind that silly and conspicuous front design.

There's sister on the stairs!

Well, the Fourth of July is over! The people are all gone and I am tired out. John thought it might do me good to see a little company, so we just had mother and Nellie and the children down for a week.

Of course I didn't do a thing. Jennie sees to everything now.

But it tired me all the same.

John says if I don't pick up faster he shall send me to Weir Mitchell in the fall.

But I don't want to go there at all. I had a friend who was in his hands once, and she says he is just like John and my brother, only more so!

Besides, it is such an undertaking to go so far.

I don't feel as if it was worth while to turn my hand over for anything, and I'm getting dreadfully fretful and querulous.

I cry at nothing, and cry most of the time.

Of course I don't when John is here, or anybody else, but when I am alone.

And I am alone a good deal just now.

John is kept in town very often by serious cases, and Jennie is good and lets me alone when I want her to.

So I walk a little in the garden or down that lovely lane, sit on the porch under the roses, and lie down up here a good deal.

I'm getting really fond of the room in spite of the wall-paper. Perhaps *because* of the wall-paper.

It dwells in my mind so!

I lie here on this great immovable bed -- it is nailed down, I believe -- and follow that pattern about by the hour. It is as good as gymnastics, I assure you. I start, we'll say, at the bottom, down in the corner over there where it has not been touched, and I determine for the thousandth time that I *will* follow that pointless pattern to some sort of a conclusion.

I know a little of the principle of design,

and I know this thing was not arranged on any laws of radiation, or alternation, or repetition, or symmetry, or anything else that I ever heard of.

It is repeated, of course, by the breadths, but not otherwise.

Looked at in one way each breadth stands alone, the bloated curves and flourishes -- a kind of "debased Romanesque" with *delirium tremens* -- go waddling up and down in isolated columns of fatuity.

But, on the other hand, they connect diagonally, and the sprawling outlines run off in great slanting waves of optic horror, like a lot of wallowing seaweeds in full chase.

The whole thing goes horizontally, too, at least it seems so, and I exhaust myself in trying to distinguish the order of its going in that direction.

They have used a horizontal breadth for a frieze, and that adds wonderfully to the confusion.

There is one end of the room where it is almost intact, and there, when the crosslights fade and the low sun shines directly upon it, I can almost fancy radiation after all, -- the interminable grotesques seem to form around a common centre and rush off in headlong plunges of equal distraction.

It makes me tired to follow it. I will take a nap I guess.

I don't know why I should write this.

I don't want to.

I don't feel able. And I know John would think it absurd. But I must say what I feel and think in some way -- it is such a relief!

But the effort is getting to be greater than the relief.

Half the time now I am awfully lazy, and lie down ever so much.

John says I mustn't lose my strength, and has me take cod liver oil and lots of tonics and things, to say nothing of ale and wine and rare meat.

Dear John! He loves me very dearly, and hates to have me sick. I tried to have a real earnest reasonable talk with him the other day,

and tell him how I wish he would let me go and make a visit to Cousin Henry and Julia.

But he said I wasn't able to go, nor able to stand it after I got there; and I did not make out a very good case for myself, for I was crying before I had finished.

It is getting to be a great effort for me to think straight. Just this nervous weakness I suppose.

And dear John gathered me up in his arms, and just carried me upstairs and laid me on the bed, and sat by me and read to me till it tired my head.

He said I was his darling and his comfort and all he had, and that I must take care of myself for his sake, and keep well.

He says no one but myself can help me out of it, that I must use my will and self-control and not let any silly fancies run away with me.

There's one comfort, the baby is well and happy, and does not have to occupy this nursery with the horrid wall-paper.

If we had not used it, that blessed child would have! What a fortunate escape! Why, I wouldn't have a child of mine, an impressionable little thing, live in such a room for-wards.

I never thought of it before, but it is lucky that John kept me here, after all, I can stand it so much easier than a baby, you see.

Of course I never mention it to them any more -- I am too wise, -- but I keep watch of it all the same.

There are things in that paper that nobody knows but me, or ever will.

Behind that outside pattern the dim shapes get clearer every day.

It is always the same shape, only very numerous.

And it is like a woman stooping down and creeping about behind that pattern. I don't like it a bit. I wonder -- I begin to think -- I wish John would take me away from here!

It is so hard to talk with John about my case, because he is so wise, and because he loves me so.

But I tried it last night.

It was moonlight. The moon shines in all around just as the sun does.

I hate to see it sometimes, it creeps so slowly, and always comes in by one window or another.

John was asleep and I hated to waken him, so I kept still and watched the moonlight on that undulating wall-paper till I felt creepy.

The faint figure behind seemed to shake the pattern, just as if she wanted to get out.

I got up softly and went to feel and see if the paper *did* move, and when I came back John was awake.

"What is it, little girl?" he said. "Don't go walking about like that -- you'll get cold."

I thought it was a good time to talk, so I told him that I really was not gaining here, and that I wished he would take me away.

"Why darling!" said he, "our lease will be up in three weeks, and I can't see how to leave before."

"The repairs are not done at home, and I cannot possibly leave town just now. Of course if you were in any danger, I could and would, but you really are better, dear, whether you can see it or not. I am a doctor, dear, and I know. You are gaining flesh and color, your appetite is better, I feel really much easier about you."

"I don't weigh a bit more," said I, "nor as much; and my appetite may be better in the evening when you are here, but it is worse in the morning when you are away!"

"Bless her little heart!" said he with a big hug, "she shall be as sick as she pleases! But now let's improve the shining hours by going to sleep, and talk about it in the morning!"

"And you won't go away?" I asked gloomily.

"Why, how can I, dear? It is only three weeks more and then we will take a nice little trip of a few days while Jennie is getting the house ready. Really dear you are better!"

"Better in body perhaps --" I began, and stopped short, for he sat up straight and looked at me with such a stern, reproachful look that I could not say another word.

"My darling," said he, "I beg of you, for

my sake and for our child's sake, as well as for your own, that you will never for one instant let that idea enter your mind! There is nothing so dangerous, so fascinating, to a temperament like yours. It is a false and foolish fancy. Can you not trust me as a physician when I tell you so?"

So of course I said no more on that score, and we went to sleep before long. He thought I was asleep first, but I wasn't, and lay there for hours trying to decide whether that front pattern and the back pattern really did move together or separately.

On a pattern like this, by daylight, there is a lack of sequence, a defiance of law, that is a constant irritant to a normal mind.

The color is hideous enough, and unreliable enough, and infuriating enough, but the pattern is torturing.

You think you have mastered it, but just as you get well underway in following, it tums a back somersault and there you are. It slaps you in the face, knocks you down, and tramples upon you. It is like a bad dream.

The outside pattern is a florid arabesque, reminding one of a fungus. If you can imagine a toadstool in joints, an interminable string of toadstools, budding and sprouting in endless convolutions -- why, that is something like it.

That is, sometimes!

There is one marked peculiarity about this paper, a thing nobody seems to notice but myself, and that is that it changes as the light changes.

When the sun shoots in through the east window -- I always watch for that first long, straight ray -- it changes so quickly that I never can quite believe it.

That is why I watch it always.

By moonlight -- the moon shines in all night when there is a moon -- I wouldn't know it was the same paper.

At night in any kind of light, in twilight, candlelight, lamplight, and worst of all by moonlight, it becomes bars! The outside pattern I mean, and the woman behind it is as plain as can be.

I didn't realize for a long time what the thing was that showed behind, that dim sub-pattern, but now I am quite sure it is a woman.

By daylight she is subdued, quiet. I fancy it is the pattern that keeps her so still. It is so puzzling. It keeps me quiet by the hour.

I lie down ever so much now. John says it is good for me, and to sleep all I can.

Indeed he started the habit by making me lie down for an hour after each meal.

It is a very bad habit I am convinced, for you see I don't sleep.

And that cultivates deceit, for I don't tell them I'm awake -- O no!

The fact is I am getting a little afraid of John.

He seems very queer sometimes, and even Jennie has an inexplicable look.

It strikes me occasionally, just as a scientific hypothesis, -- that perhaps it is the paper!

I have watched John when he did not know I was looking, and come into the room suddenly on the most innocent excuses, and I've caught him several times *looking at the paper!* And Jennie too. I caught Jennie with her hand on it once.

She didn't know I was in the room, and when I asked her in a quiet, a very quiet voice, with the most restrained manner possible, what she was doing with the paper -- she turned around as if she had been caught stealing, and looked quite angry -- asked me why I should frighten her so!

Then she said that the paper stained everything it touched, that she had found yellow smooches on all my clothes and John's, and she wished we would be more careful!

Did not that sound innocent? But I know she was studying that pattern, and I am determined that nobody shall find it out but myself!

Life is very much more exciting now than it used to be. You see I have something more to expect, to look forward to, to watch. I

really do eat better, and am more quiet than I was.

John is so pleased to see me improve! He laughed a little the other day, and said I seemed to be flourishing in spite of my wall-paper.

I turned it off with a laugh. I had no intention of telling him it was because of the wall-paper -- he would make fun of me. He might even want to take me away.

I don't want to leave now until I have found it out. There is a week more, and I think that will be enough.

I'm feeling ever so much better! I don't sleep much at night, for it is so interesting to watch developments; but I sleep a good deal in the daytime.

In the daytime it is tiresome and perplexing.

There are always new shoots on the fungus, and new shades of yellow all over it. I cannot keep count of them, though I have tried conscientiously.

It is the strangest yellow, that wall-paper! It makes me think of all the yellow things I ever saw -- not beautiful ones like buttercups, but old foul, bad yellow things.

But there is something else about that paper -- the smell! I noticed it the moment we came into the room, but with so much air and sun it was not bad. Now we have had a week of fog and rain, and whether the windows are open or not, the smell is here.

It creeps all over the house.

I find it hovering in the dining-room, skulking in the parlor, hiding in the hall, lying in wait for me on the stairs.

It gets into my hair.

Even when I go to ride, if I turn my head suddenly and surprise it -- there is that smell!

Such a peculiar odor, too! I have spent hours in trying to analyze it, to find what it smelled like.

It is not bad -- at first, and very gentle, but quite the subtlest, most enduring odor I ever met.

In this damp weather it is awful, I wake up in the night and find it hanging over me.

It used to disturb me at first. I thought seriously of burning the house -- to reach the smell.

But now I am used to it. The only thing I can think of that it is like is the *color* of the paper! A yellow smell.

There is a very funny mark on this wall, low down, near the mopboard. A streak that runs round the room. It goes behind every piece of furniture, except the bed, a long, straight, even *smooch*, as if it had been rubbed over and over.

I wonder how it was done and who did it, and what they did it for. Round and round and round -- round and round and round -- it makes me dizzy!

I really have discovered something at last.

Through watching so much at night, when it changes so, I have finally found out.

The front pattern does move -- and no wonder! The woman behind shakes it!

Sometimes I think there are a great many women behind, and sometimes only one, and she crawls around fast, and her crawling shakes it all over.

Then in the very bright spots she keeps still, and in the very shady spots she just takes hold of the bars and shakes them hard.

And she is all the time trying to climb through. But nobody could climb through that pattern -- it strangles so; I think that is why it has so many heads.

They get through, and then the pattern strangles them off and turns them upside down, and makes their eyes white!

If those heads were covered or taken off it would not be half so bad.

I think that woman gets out in the daytime!

And I'll tell you why -- privately -- I've seen her!

I can see her out of every one of my

windows!

It is the same woman, I know, for she is always creeping, and most women do not creep by daylight.

I see her on that long road under the trees, creeping along, and when a carriage comes she hides under the blackberry vines.

I don't blame her a bit. It must be very humiliating to be caught creeping by daylight!

I always lock the door when I creep by daylight. I can't do it at night, for I know John would suspect something at once.

And John is so queer now, that I don't want to irritate him. I wish he would take another room! Besides, I don't want anybody to get that woman out at night but myself.

I often wonder if I could see her out of all the windows at once.

But, turn as fast as I can, I can only see out of one at one time.

And though I always see her, she may be able to creep faster than I can turn!

I have watched her sometimes away off in the open country, creeping as fast as a cloud shadow in a high wind.

If only that top pattern could be gotten off from the under one! I mean to try it, little by little.

I have found out another funny thing, but I shan't tell it this time! It does not do to trust people too much.

There are only two more days to get this paper off, and I believe John is beginning to notice. I don't like the look in his eyes.

And I heard him ask Jennie a lot of professional questions about me. She had a very good report to give.

She said I slept a good deal in the daytime.

John knows I don't sleep very well at night, for all I'm so quiet!

He asked me all sorts of questions, too, and pretended to be very loving and kind.

As if I couldn't see through him!

Still, I don't wonder he acts so, sleeping under this paper for three months.

It only interests me, but I feel sure John and Jennie are secretly affected by it.

Hurrah! This is the last day, but it is enough. John to stay in town over night, and won't be out until this evening.

Jennie wanted to sleep with me -- the sly thing! but I told her I should undoubtedly rest better for a night all alone.

That was clever, for really I wasn't alone a bit! As soon as it was moonlight and that poor thing began to crawl and shake the pattern, I got up and ran to help her.

I pulled and she shook, I shook and she pulled, and before morning we had peeled off yards of that paper.

A strip about as high as my head and half around the room.

And then when the sun came and that awful pattern began to laugh at me, I declared I would finish it to-day!

We go away to-morrow, and they are moving all my furniture down again to leave things as they were before.

Jennie looked at the wall in amazement, but I told her merrily that I did it out of pure spite at the vicious thing.

She laughed and said she wouldn't mind doing it herself, but I must not get tired.

How she betrayed herself that time!

But I am here, and no person touches this paper but me, -- not alive!

She tried to get me out of the room -- it was too patent! But I said it was so quiet and empty and clean now that I believed I would lie down again and sleep all I could; and not to wake me even for dinner -- I would call when I woke.

So now she is gone, and the servants are gone, and the things are gone, and there is nothing left but that great bedstead nailed down, with the canvas mattress we found on it.

We shall sleep downstairs to-night, and take the boat home to-morrow.

I quite enjoy the room, now it is bare again.

How those children did tear about here!

This bedstead is fairly gnawed!

But I must get to work.

I have locked the door and thrown the
key down into the front path.

I don't want to go out, and I don't want to
have anybody come in, till John comes.

I want to astonish him.

I've got a rope up here that even Jennie
did not find. If that woman does get out, and
tries to get away, I can tie her!

But I forgot I could not reach far without
anything to stand on!

This bed will not move!

I tried to lift and push it until I was lame,
and then I got so angry I bit off a little piece at
one corner -- but it hurt my teeth.

Then I peeled off all the paper I could
reach standing on the floor. It sticks horribly
and the pattern just enjoys it! All those strangled
heads and bulbous eyes and waddling fungus
growths just shriek with derision!

I am getting angry enough to do
something desperate. To jump out of the
window would be admirable exercise, but the
bars are too strong even to try.

Besides I wouldn't do it. Of course not.
I know well enough that a step like that is
improper and might be misconstrued.

I don't like to *look* out of the windows
even -- there are so many of those creeping
women, and they creep so fast.

I wonder if they all come out of that
wall-paper as I did?

But I am securely fastened now by my
well-hidden rope -- you don't get me out in the
road there!

I suppose I shall have to get back behind
the pattern when it comes night, and that is hard!

It is so pleasant to be out in this great
room and creep around as I please!

I don't want to go outside. I won't, even
if Jennie asks me to.

For outside you have to creep on the
ground, and everything is green instead of
yellow.

But here I can creep smoothly on the
floor, and my shoulder just fits in that long

smooch around the wall, so I cannot lose my
way.

Why there's John at the door!

It is no use, young man, you can't open it!

How he does call and pound!

Now he's crying for an axe.

It would be a shame to break down that
beautiful door!

"John dear!" said I in the gentlest voice,
"the key is down by the front steps, under a
plantain leaf!"

That silenced him, for a few moments.

Then he said -- very quietly indeed,
"Open the door, my darling!"

"I can't," said I. "The key is down by the
front door under a plantain leaf!"

And then I said it again, several times,
very gently and slowly, and said it so often that
he had to go and see, and he got it of course, and
came in. He stopped short by the door.

"What is the matter?" he cried. "For
God's sake, what are you doing!"

I kept on creeping just the same, but I
looked at him over my shoulder.

"I've got out at last," said I, "in spite of
you and Jane. And I've pulled off most of the
paper, so you can't put me back!"

Now why should that man have fainted?
But he did, and right across my path by the wall,
so that I had to creep over him every time!

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Why I Wrote *The Yellow Wallpaper*" (1913)

This article originally appeared in the October 1913 issue of *The Forerunner*.

Many and many a reader has asked that. When the story first came out, in the *New England Magazine* about 1891, a Boston physician made protest in *The Transcript*. Such a story ought not to be written, he said; it was enough to drive anyone mad to read it.

Another physician, in Kansas I think, wrote to say that it was the best description of incipient insanity he had ever seen, and -- begging my pardon -- had I been there?

Now the story of the story is this:

For many years I suffered from a severe and continuous nervous breakdown tending to melancholia -- and beyond. During about the third year of this trouble I went, in devout faith and some faint stir of hope, to a noted specialist in nervous diseases, the best known in the country. This wise man put me to bed and applied the rest cure, to which a still-good physique responded so promptly that he concluded there was nothing much the matter with me, and sent me home with solemn advice to "live as domestic a life as far as possible," to "have but two hours' intellectual life a day," and "never to touch pen, brush, or pencil again" as long as I lived. This was in 1887.

I went home and obeyed those directions for some three months, and came so near the borderline of utter mental ruin that I could see over.

Then, using the remnants of intelligence that remained, and helped by a wise friend, I cast the noted specialist's advice to the winds and went to work again -- work, the normal life of every human being; work, in which is joy and growth and service, without which one is a pauper and a parasite -- ultimately recovering some measure of power.

Being naturally moved to rejoicing by this narrow escape, I wrote *The Yellow Wallpaper*, with its embellishments and additions, to carry out the ideal (I never had hallucinations or objections to my mural

decorations) and sent a copy to the physician who so nearly drove me mad. He never acknowledged it.

The little book is valued by alienists and as a good specimen of one kind of literature. It has, to my knowledge, saved one woman from a similar fate -- so terrifying her family that they let her out into normal activity and she recovered.

But the best result is this. Many years later I was told that the great specialist had admitted to friends of his that he had altered his treatment of neurasthenia since reading *The Yellow Wallpaper*.

It was not intended to drive people crazy, but to save people from being driven crazy, and it worked.

health, her beauty, and her mental vigor. Then can she be an adviser in the home, the state, the church, and the school, remaining so to-a-ripe old age.

But women can never have the opportunity, or the power, to achieve these results, except in isolated cases, till they are voters and lawmakers; and never even then, till they have had time to secure, by legislation, the equal property rights that they have earned with men from the beginning.

→ How are these tactics now + why are Open-Air Meetings they A New Suffrage Tactic successful?

Florence Luscomb

Since the mid-19th century, the suffrage movement had relied on essentially the same tactics: lobbying state and national governments for suffrage bills, organizing women's suffrage organizations on the local, state, and national level, and trying to win publicity for women's cause. But decades of such agitation had seemingly brought the movement no closer to success, so about 1909 suffrage leaders in Massachusetts and other states developed new ways to reach voters and stimulate interest in their cause. Influenced by the tactics of militant British suffragists, Massachusetts women began holding open-air meetings and selling suffrage newspapers on streetcorners like newsboys. Brazenly discarding any lingering notions of protected Victorian womanhood, suffragists took to the streets in what must have been a liberating, if somewhat unsettling, experience.

Florence Luscomb (1887-1985) was one such pioneer. She was already active in the suffrage movement when she graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a degree in architecture in 1909. For several years, she combined her architectural career with suffrage work, such as speaking at the open-air meetings described in this speech. In 1917, she took a full-time position as executive secretary of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government. For the rest of her life, she was associated with progressive causes.

Such tactics as open-air meetings helped to turn the tide in favor of suffrage. What comes through the strongest in Luscomb's 1909 speech, however, is the sense of camaraderie and shared partnership that characterized the unique political movement that was suffrage.

Right here I want to tell you what outdoor speaking is *not* like. The majority of people who have never been to our open-air meetings have already decided what they are like, down to the minutest detail as to what variety of vegetable is thrown at the speaker. Although every one knows from experience that an American woman can stand in a hall and address American men with dignity and earnestness on her part, and courtesy and interest on theirs, yet, presto, remove the roof

Source: Florence Luscomb, unpublished speech, "Our Open-Air Campaign" (1909), in Woman's Rights Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

and the same woman must become a ranting fanatic, the same men are jeering hoologans. Now I have spoken at more than a score of sky-roofed meetings this summer, to audiences varying from twenty-five to two-thousand, at mill gates and at fashionable summer resorts, but have never seen anything which would disgrace an indoor meeting.

The open-air meetings promising so well, they were continued throughout the summer. It was found best to hold two meetings in nearby towns each Saturday: one at four o'clock and the other at seven-thirty. The time and strength required were but little more than one meeting consumed, and far less than would be needed to make two separate trips. Meetings were also held on Wednesday afternoons at various beaches. This being the marketman's day off, the seashore is almost as well attended on that day as on Saturday.

From the success of these meetings around Boston Mrs. Fitzgerald¹ gradually developed the idea of sending out a party which should spend the month of August touring the State and speaking in all the more important towns. The route as laid out went westerly through the Northern towns, swung around and returned through the Southern part of the State, taking in the Marshfield and Barnstable County Fairs. We aspired to go by automobile; we went by trolley. We spoke three times a day, generally in three separate towns, except as an entire day was devoted to such cities as Fall River and New Bedford. The party was made up of four ladies—Mrs. Fitzgerald, commander-in-chief and orator-in-chief, went for the whole month, as did also Miss Edith Haynes, a Boston lawyer. For the first half of the trip Mrs. Dennett (Mary Ware Dennett) and Miss Alfretha McClure accompanied them; and for the last two weeks Miss Katherine Tyng, Radcliffe '00, and I had the pleasure of being the other two members.

The paraphernalia of the trip consisted of one large yellow banner six feet long inscribed in black, "Votes for Women," a jointed flagstaff for the same made to fold in to three pieces, and a heavy, heavy suitcase of literature and buttons. Besides this, each member had her individual suitcase, and there was a bundle of umbrellas.

Picture our party unloading from a street-car in the central square of some little country town. This in itself is a lengthy operation. Then we make for the nearest drugstore, deposit all our luggage in one corner, and to compensate for its storage all of us are in duty bound to buy sodas. We have consumed innumerable soft drinks for the sake of the cause, and have become authorities upon the drugstores of Massachusetts. While we drink the drug clerk is cross-examined as to where the best audience can be collected, time of trolleys, hotel for the night, union or non-union, what they manufacture, and a few dozen other similar things. Meanwhile, if the town is large enough for us to require a permit to speak, Mrs. Fitzgerald has interviewed the police. Our leaflets are then unpacked, our flag erected, we borrow a Moxie box from the obliging drug clerk and proceed to the busiest corner of the town square. Our chief mounts the box, the banner over her

¹Susan Walker Fitzgerald, a Bryn Mawr graduate and the wife of a wealthy Harvard-trained lawyer, was secretary of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government (BESAG).

shoulder, and starts talking to the air, three assorted dogs, six kids, and the two loafers in front of the grocery store just over the way. The rest of us give handbills to all the passersby and to all the nearby stores. Within ten minutes our audience has increased to from twenty-five to five-hundred, according to the time and place. We speak in turn for an hour or more, answer questions, sell buttons, and circulate the petition. Then we leave, generally in undignified haste, to catch our car for the next meeting. At New Bedford, all loaded down as we were, we fairly charged for a block down the middle of a street lined on either side by people waiting for their cars.

Such were the afternoon and evening meetings. The noon ones were slightly different in character. These were held at the mill gates in factory towns. If there were several mills in town, or several entrances to the same mill, our party was divided so that sometimes each of the four held an independent meeting. As the workers came out at noon we gave out the bills and announced speaking at half past. They returned early from dinner, and we had a half hour of speaking. These meetings were very interesting. The audience was there ready to be entertained, often sympathetic in advance; and I know some of us enjoyed the experience of being thrown on our own resources, with the entire subject to handle in that short time.

Ordinarily, of course, the arguments were divided up between us to prevent repetition and insure completeness.

During the speaking we circulated the petition as quietly as possible on the outskirts of the crowd. We found it best not to attempt to get many signatures during the speaking as it created too much disturbance. Whenever we had time to stop after the meeting we did canvas the audience pretty thoroughly, but this was not often. For this reason we averaged a smaller percentage of signatures on the trip than at the meetings carried on around Boston, where we were not so hurried.

The trip was by no means all hard work. The first week, while the party was passing through the Berkshires, meetings were far apart, and time for rest and meals scant. Later on, however, in the more thickly settled regions, travelling was not so hard although we never had much time to spare. The motto adopted to describe the trip was, "plain thinking, hard talking, any old kind of living." One other of our collection was, "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may," which being interpreted read, "Sit down every time you get a chance." Nevertheless it was a pleasant trip to travel in the fresh air through pleasant country and picturesque towns.

We were an inexhaustible source of wonder and interest to the small boy. He dogged our footsteps clamouring for literature; he audibly surmised whether we were Salvation Army or Anti-tuberculosis, and the climax of his joy was attained when we allowed him to carry our banner.

Our other constant admirers were the dogs. I feel hardly at home now at a meeting at which there is not at least one dog present, preferably yellow; and when there are a dozen dogs of assorted sizes, colors, and howls, oh, this is bliss! We even reveled in dog-fights; for, as our chief remarked while we were enjoying one such experience, "After all, there is nothing to draw a crowd like a dog-fight." . . .

Was our summer campaign successful? Did it pay? A few figures will answer. We have spoken to 24,900 people, and given literature to thousands of others. The expense of the trolley trip was about one hundred dollars a week, which includes fares and living expenses for four, cost of literature, press notices, and all other incidentals. We held sixty-eight meetings—fifteen of them at factories. Altogether this summer we have held 97 meetings at an average cost of \$6.62 a meeting, with an average audience of 257, and have obtained over 2000 signatures to the National Petition. I think you will agree with me that it was a splendid success.

* Annotate the reasons provided for An Anti-Suffrage Monologue suffrage.

Marie Jenny Howe

Opposition to woman suffrage was diffuse but potent. Liquor interests were afraid women would vote in prohibition, machine politicians feared women voters would turn them out of office, and manufacturers anticipated that newly enfranchised women would force protective legislation and child labor laws which would cut their profits. Conservative religious organizations like the Catholic church were hostile to larger political roles for women. Southerners feared woman suffrage might endanger white supremacy. Perhaps surprisingly, some of the most prominent "antis" were women themselves, who said they did not need or want the vote. The fact that many women, especially middle-class women, were not interested in their own suffrage was one of the most telling weapons that opponents had in their arsenal.

Anti-suffrage sentiment boiled down to the argument that voting, and by extension, exposure to the "muck and mire of politics," violated woman's essential nature, which should be confined to home, maternity, and domesticity. Women's entry into the public sphere, argued a Southern Congressional representative in a 1917 debate, would "disrupt the family, which is the unit of society, and when you disrupt the family, you destroy the home, which is the foundation of the Republic." Opponents of woman suffrage clung defiantly to traditional gender roles, despite the fact that women had already moved far beyond the confines of the home by the early 20th century. The heat of the debate was in part a reaction to how much had already changed in women's lives.

The suffragists found it fairly easy to punch holes in the often contradictory arguments put forward by the antis, as this satirical *Anti-Suffrage Monologue* by Marie Jenny Howe demonstrates. Howe is especially good at showing the contradictions of anti-suffrage propaganda by arranging her arguments in couplets: "if you don't like one you can take the other." When this pamphlet was published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1913, victory was finally beginning to seem possible.

Source: Marie Jenny Howe, *An Anti-Suffrage Monologue* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1913).

Please do not think of me as old-fashioned. I pride myself on being a modern up-to-date woman. I believe in all kinds of broad-mindedness, only I do not believe in woman suffrage because to do that would be to deny my sex.

Woman suffrage is the reform against nature. Look at these ladies sitting on the platform. Observe their physical inability, their mental disability, their spiritual instability, and general debility! Could they walk up to the ballot box, mark a ballot, and drop it in? Obviously not. Let us grant for the sake of argument that they could mark a ballot. But could they drop it in? Ah, no. All nature is against it. The laws of man cry out against it. The voice of God cries out against it—and so do I.

Enfranchisement is what makes man man. Disfranchisement is what makes woman woman. If women were enfranchised every man would be just like every woman and every woman would be just like every man. There would be no difference between them. And don't you think this would rob life of just a little of its poetry and romance?

Man must remain man. Woman must remain woman. If man goes over and tries to be like woman, if woman goes over and tries to be like man, it will become so very confusing and so difficult to explain to our children. Let us take a practical example. If a woman puts on a man's coat and trousers, takes a man's cane and hat and cigar, and goes out on the street, what will happen to her? She will be arrested and thrown into jail. Then why not stay at home?

I know you begin to see how strongly I *feel* on this subject, but I have some reasons as well. These reasons are based on logic. Of course I am not logical. I am a creature of impulse, instinct and intuition—and I glory in it. But I know that these reasons are based on logic because I have culled them from the men whom it is my privilege to know.

My first argument against suffrage is that the women would not use it if they had it. You couldn't drive them to the polls. My second argument is, if the women were enfranchised they would neglect their home, desert their families and spend all their time at the polls. You may tell me that the polls are only open once a year. But I know women. They are creatures of habit. If you let them go to the polls once a year, they will hang round the polls all the rest of the time.

I have arranged these arguments in couplets. They go together in such a way that if you don't like one you can take the other. This is my second anti-suffrage couplet. If the women were enfranchised they would vote exactly as their husbands do and only double the existing vote. Do you like that argument? If not, take this one. If the women were enfranchised they would vote against their own husbands, thus creating dissension, family quarrels, and divorce.

My third anti-suffrage couplet is—women are angels. Many men call me an angel and I have a strong instinct which tells me it is true; that is why I am an anti, because "I want to be an angel and with the angels stand." And if you don't like that argument take this one. Women are depraved. They would introduce into politics a vicious element which would ruin our national life.

Fourth anti-suffrage couplet: women cannot understand politics. Therefore there would be no use in giving women political power, because they would not know what to do with it. On the other hand, if the women were enfranchised, they

would mount rapidly into power, take all the offices from all the men, and soon we would have women governors of all our states and dozens of women acting as President of the United States.

Fifth anti-suffrage couplet: women cannot band together. They are incapable of organization. No two women can even be friends. Women are cats. On the other hand, if women were enfranchised, we would have all the women banded together on one side and all the men banded together on the other side, and there would follow a sex war which might end in bloody revolution.

Just one more of my little couplets: the ballot is greatly over-estimated. It has never done anything for anybody. Lots of men tell me this. And the corresponding argument is—the ballot is what makes man man. It is what gives him all his dignity and all of his superiority to women. Therefore if we allow women to share this privilege, how could a woman look up to her own husband? Why, there would be nothing to look up to.

I have talked to many woman suffragists and I find them very unreasonable. I say to them: "Here I am, convince me." I ask for proof. Then they proceed to tell me of Australia and Colorado and other places where women have passed excellent laws to improve the condition of working women and children. But I say, "What of it?" These are facts. I don't care about facts. I ask for proof.

Then they quote the eight million women of the United States who are now supporting themselves, and the twenty-five-thousand married women in the City of New York who are self-supporting. But I say again, what of it? These are statistics. I don't believe in statistics. Facts and statistics are things which no truly womanly woman would ever use.

I wish to prove anti-suffrage in a womanly way—that is, by personal example. This is my method of persuasion. Once I saw a woman driving a horse, and the horse ran away with her. Isn't that just like a woman? Once I read in the newspapers about a woman whose house caught on fire, and she threw the children out of the window and carried the pillows downstairs. Does that show political acumen, or does it not? Besides, look at the hats that women wear! And have you ever known a successful woman governor of a state? Or have you ever known a really truly successful woman President of the United States? Well, if they haven't doesn't that show they couldn't? As for the militant suffragettes, they are all hyenas in petticoats. Now do you want to be a hyena and wear petticoats?

Now, I think I have proved anti-suffrage; and I have done it in a womanly way—that is, without stooping to the use of a single fact or argument or a single statistic.

I am the prophet of a new idea. No one has ever thought of it or heard of it before. I well remember when this great idea first came to me. It waked me in the middle of the night with a shock that gave me a headache. This is it: woman's place is in the home. Is it not beautiful as it is new, new as it is true? Take this idea away with you. You will find it very helpful in your daily lives. You may not grasp it just at first, but you will gradually grow into understanding of it.

I know the suffragists reply that all our activities have been taken out of the home. The baking, the washing, the weaving, the spinning are all long since taken out of the home. But I say, all the more reason that something should stay in the

home. Let it be woman. Besides, think of the great modern invention, the telephone. That has been put into the home. Let woman stay at home and answer the telephone. . .

What ought these women to do with their lives? Each one ought to be devoting herself to the comfort of some man. You may say, they are not married. But I answer, let them try a little harder and they might find some kind of a man to devote themselves to. What does the Bible say on this subject? It says, "Seek and ye shall find." Besides, when I look around me at the men, I feel that God never meant us women to be too particular.

Let me speak one word to my sister women who are here today. Women, we don't need to vote in order to get our own way. Don't misunderstand me. Of course I want you to get your own way. That's what we're here for. But do it indirectly. If you want a thing, tease. If that doesn't work, nag. If that doesn't do, cry—crying always brings them around. Get what you want. Pound pillows. Make a scene. Make home a hell on earth, but do it in a womanly way. That is so much more dignified and refined than walking up to a ballot box and dropping in a piece of paper. Can't you see that?

Let us consider for a moment the effect of woman's enfranchisement on man. I think someone ought to consider the men. What makes a husband faithful and loving? The ballot, and the monopoly of that privilege. If women vote, what will become of men? They will all sink off drunk and disorderly. We antis understand men. If women were enfranchised, men would revert to their natural instincts such as regicide, matricide, patricide and race-suicide. Do you believe in race-suicide or do you not? Then, isn't it our duty to refrain from a thing that would lure men to destruction?

It comes down to this. Some one must wash the dishes. Now, would you expect man, man made in the image of God, to roll up his sleeves and wash the dishes? Why, it would be blasphemous. I know that I am but a rib and so I wash the dishes. Or I hire another rib to do it for me, which amounts to the same thing.

Let us consider the argument from the standpoint of religion. The Bible says, "Let the women keep silent in the churches." Paul says, "Let them keep their hats on for fear of the angels." My minister says, "Wives, obey your husbands." And my husband says that woman suffrage would rob the rose of its fragrance and the peach of its bloom. I think that is so sweet.

Besides did George Washington ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did the Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Hezekiah, Obadiah and Jeremiah ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Then that settles it.

I don't want to be misunderstood in my reference to woman's inability to vote. Of course she could get herself to the polls and lift a piece of paper. I don't doubt that. What I refer to is the pressure on the brain, the effect of this mental strain on woman's delicate nervous organization and on her highly wrought sensitive nature. Have you ever pictured to yourself Election Day with women voting? Can you imagine how women, having undergone this terrible ordeal, with their delicate systems all upset, will come out of the voting booths and be led

away by policemen, and put into ambulances, while they are fainting and weeping, half laughing, half crying, and having fits upon the public highway? Don't you think that if a woman is going to have a fit, it is far better for her to have it in the privacy of her own home?

And how shall I picture to you the terrors of the day after election? Divorce and death will rage unchecked, crime and contagious disease will stalk unbridled through the land. Oh, friends, on this subject I feel—I feel, so strongly that I can—not think!

A Labor Organizer Speaks Out for Suffrage

Leonora O'Reilly

Although the suffrage movement remained predominantly middle-class affair, working-class and immigrant women also found a place in its ranks, especially as the movement looked outward for new sources of support in the 20th century. (Black women, however, were not welcomed in white suffrage organizations and formed their own groups.) The testimony given by labor leader and reformer Leonora O'Reilly before a Joint Senate Committee in April 1912 effectively rebutted the criticisms that women did not want the vote or that the vote was irrelevant to the problems that working women faced in their lives. O'Reilly demolished the argument that women should stay at home by using her own experience to show that many women had no choice but to enter the work force where they worked under terrible conditions with few weapons to redress their grievances. The vote would be one such weapon.

Leonora O'Reilly (1870–1927) knew what she was talking about. She was born into an Irish family on New York's Lower East Side and had started work not at 13, as she says in her testimony, but at 11. At 16, she showed her first interest in the trade union movement by joining the Knights of Labor. It was through organizing a working women's society that she came into contact with middle-class reformers such as Mary Dreier, Margaret Dreier Robins, Lillian Wald, and Grace Dodge. At first she pursued her reform and educational activities while still working in a shirtwaist factory, but Mary Dreier's \$909 gift of a lifetime annuity freed her to devote herself full time to activism on behalf of working women, much of it through the auspices of the Women's Trade Union League. As this testimony hints, Leonora O'Reilly was a charismatic speaker; since she wrote no books and few articles, such documents are all we have to recapture her passionate commitment to labor and women.

Source: Statement of Leonora O'Reilly (1912) before Joint Congressional Session of Congress, found in Anne F. Scott and Andrew Scott, *One Half the People* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1975), pp. 126–27.

18-9 Discontented Women (1896)

Amelia Barr

The cause of woman suffrage did not enjoy universal support among women. Indeed, organized opposition groups were usually led by women. (By way of contrast, movements to expand the suffrage to include those without property, African Americans, and eighteen-year-olds met with no such organized opposition within the affected groups.) Amelia Barr (1831–1919), born in England, immigrated with her husband to the United States in 1853. Widowed, the mother of three children (her ten other children had died), she turned to writing in 1869. Over a lengthy career, she produced numerous articles, short stories, poems, and novels.

Source: Amelia Barr, "Discontented Women," *North American Review*, 162 (February 1896): 201, 205–207, 209, excerpted in Ellen Skinner, ed., *Women and the National Experience: Primary Sources in American History* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Educational, 1996), 105–106.

Discontent is a vice six thousand years old, and it will be eternal; because it is in the race. Every human being has a complaining side, but discontent is bound up in the heart of woman; it is her original sin. For if the first woman had been satisfied with her conditions, if she had not aspired to be "as gods," and hankered after unlawful knowledge, Satan would hardly have thought it worth his while to discuss her rights and wrongs with her. That unhappy controversy has never ceased; and, without reason, woman has been perpetually subject to discontent with her conditions and, according to her nature, has been moved by its influence. Some, it has made peevish, some plaintive, some ambitious, some reckless, while a noble majority have found in its very control that serene composure and cheerfulness which is granted to those who conquer, rather than to those who inherit.

Finally, women cannot get behind or beyond their nature, and their nature is to substitute sentiment for reason—a sweet and not unlovely characteristic in womanly ways and places; yet reason, on the whole, is considered a desirable necessity in politics. . . . Women may cease to be women, but they can never learn to be men and feminine softness and grace can never do the work of the virile virtues of men. Very fortunately this class of discontented women have not yet been able to endanger existing conditions by combinations analogous to trades unions; nor is it likely they ever will; because it is doubtful if women, under any circumstances, could combine at all. Certain qualities are necessary for combination, and these qualities are represented in women by their opposites. . . .

The one unanswerable excuse for woman's entrance

into active public life of any kind, is *need* and alas! need is growing daily, as marriage becomes continually rare, and more women are left adrift in the world without helpers and protectors. But this is a subject too large to enter on here, though in the beginning it sprung from discontented women, preferring the work and duties of men to their own work and duties. Have they found the battle of life any more ennobling in masculine professions, than in their old feminine household ways? Is work done in the world for strangers, any less tiresome and monotonous, than work done in the house for father and mother, husband and children? If they answer truly, they will reply "the home duties were the easiest, the safest and the happiest."

Of course all discontented women will be indignant at any criticism of their conduct. They expect every one to consider their feelings without examining their motives. Paddling in the turbid maelstrom of life, and dabbling in politics and the most unsavory social questions, they still think men, at least, ought to regard them as the Sacred Sex. But women are not sacred by grace of sex, if they voluntarily abdicate its limitations and its modesties, and make a public display of unsexed sensibilities, an unabashed familiarity with subjects they have nothing to do with. If men criticize such women with asperity it is not to be wondered at; they have so long idealized women, that they find it hard to speak moderately. They excuse them too much, or else they are too indignant at their follies, and unjust and angry in their denunciation. Women must be criticized by women; then they will hear the bare uncompromising truth, and be the better for it.

- On a SPOT
1. What is the significance of the title of Barr's article?
 2. What arguments does she advance (put forward) in opposition to women's rights, including the right to vote?

Wake, Susan: Modern American Women Boston: Mcken
Hill, 2002.



CHAPTER 5

The Final Push for Suffrage

The woman suffrage movement called on the energies and political skills of three generations of American women. Even as the movement melded into the mainstream of Progressive reform in the early 20th century, its success was never a foregone conclusion. A combination of factors, including women's patriotic contributions to the home front during World War I, helped to push the 19th Amendment over the top. On election day 1920, 26 million women were eligible to go to the polls as a result.

Dividing the suffrage movement into three distinct periods—1848–1869, 1869–1890, and 1890–1920—helps explain its shifting priorities and tactics over its more than seven decades of existence. The first period, from 1848 to 1869, began at the Seneca Falls convention, the first women's rights convention ever held in the world, where the Declaration of Sentiments included a controversial call for the ballot. Historian Ellen DuBois has pointed out how radical such a demand was in the mid-19th century, because it challenged the separation of the spheres into men's (public) and women's (private). The suffrage plank barely passed the assembled convention.

During the first 20 years of the women's rights movement, it was closely allied with abolitionism and the struggle to end slavery. Disagreements in the immediate post-Civil War period about the priorities of freed blacks versus women's rights led to a severing of this link. With the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, black people won their freedom and black men won the right to vote. As feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony pointed out, however, now that the word *male* was in the constitution as a definition of voting rights, it would take another constitutional amendment to enfranchise women.

By 1869, an independent woman suffrage movement had emerged in the United States. The period between 1869 and 1890 was not marked by any great breakthroughs for the cause. Only two territories allowed women the vote—Utah in 1869 and Wyoming in 1870. The suffrage movement on the national level split into two rival wings, mainly over whether to work on a state basis or the federal level. In 1890, the rival wings reunited as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

By 1890, the suffrage movement was on the threshold of new activism and success. In part, the movement was more palatable because it was less radical. Instead of early demands by feminists such as Stanton for divorce and women's economic emancipation, the movement leaders now stuck very closely to the sole demand of the vote. And increasingly suffragists argued for the vote not as a challenge to conventional notions about women's proper sphere, but as an extension of that sphere. Women cited their domestic orientation as the reason they needed the vote. They could do for the country what they did for their homes and families. Suffragists also played up women's supposed moral superiority. This tactic of accepting conventional views of women and exploiting them was highly successful, especially as the Progressive reform spirit gathered strength.

As late as 1910, the woman suffrage movement had won the vote in only four states, but the tide was turning. New leadership, notably the NAWSA presidency of Carrie Chapman Catt from 1915 to 1920, revitalized the movement with a winning plan. Attention-grabbing tactics, such as suffrage parades and open-air meetings, won publicity. The movement also branched out into immigrant and working-class urban communities to mobilize support. Suffragists effectively pointed out the irony of fighting to make the world safe for democracy in World War I, while the female population remained disfranchised at home. Militant tactics, such as picketing the White House and conducting hunger strikes for the cause, won support.

But probably the main reason women finally won the vote in 1920 was that it was now a far less radical demand than it had been in 1848. Try to imagine how 19th-century political history would have been revolutionized if women had actually received the vote around the time of the Civil War. Compare that to the small ripple that occurred when women were finally granted the vote in 1920. Women's roles had changed dramatically since the mid-19th century, with women actively participating in work, education, and voluntary organizations outside the home. The meaning of politics had also changed, so that the vote was less a potent symbol of political participation for men by 1920 than it had been at the height of the separate male political culture of the previous century.

Although granting the vote can be seen as a conservative measure that had little impact on women's equality, it is wrong to underestimate what the vote meant to the millions of women who campaigned so hard for its attainment. To the "new women" of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was an affront, a slap in the face, that they were not allowed this basic democratic right. Going to the polls would be confirmation of women's new roles as full citizens, the public equals of men. Of course, such sentiments were more likely held by white middle-class women, who shared most of the privileges of their class with men except the vote. But black women and working-class women also campaigned for the vote, seeing it as a tool that could be useful in broader political and economic struggles.

What made the suffrage movement so powerful was that it brought together a diverse range of individuals and organizations in a broad coalition dedicated to a common goal. To attain that goal, women's groups pioneered in innovative political tactics and legislative strategies that showed that women could work

together effectively on common causes. While we may look back at the vote and see it as a fairly minor reform, women at the time had a far different perspective.

Name:

Date:

US 32

The Women's Suffrage Movement in the Progressive Era

The Final Push for Suffrage

3 periods of the women's suffrage movement:

<u>The First 20 years: 1848-1869</u>	
<u>Independent Women's Suffrage Movement: 1869-1890</u>	
<u>New Activism & Success: 1890-1920</u>	
<u>How did women win the vote?</u>	<u>What was the impact?</u>

Suffrage Achieved...Now What?

On pgs _____ in your reader, Roosevelt describes suffrage as an empty right. Why? List 5 reasons below on why suffrage has not achieved the goals that women hoped it would.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

1920s

pgs _____

What challenges do women now face in the 1920s? (give challenge and pg number)
Think about stereotypes and rights they still want.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

1930s

pgs

Define *breadline* (it is what it sounds like):

What challenges do women face during the Great Depression?

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

1940s

pg and posters hanging around the room (walk around)

What is the role of women during WWII?

1950

pgs

Based on these pgs, have women achieved the goals of the 1890s? Why or why not?

Why?	Why not?

Evaluate: How much have women's lives changed since suffrage? (1920) What are the reasons?

10/31/2013
Leading birth control advocate Margaret Sanger launched a controversial and short-lived publication in 1914 entitled *The Woman Rebel*. Later, she established *The Birth Control Review*. Excerpts from both publications follow. They demonstrate how Sanger and fellow birth control advocates believed that contraception provided the key to women's true liberation, and perhaps the liberation of all society.

"Love and Marriage" by Emma Goldman,
The Woman Rebel, March 1914

The defenders of authority dread the advent of a free motherhood lest it rob them of their prey. Who would fight wars? Who would create wealth? Who would make the policeman, the jailer, if woman were to refuse the incriminate breeding of children? The race, the race! shouts the king, the president, the capitalist, the priest. The race must be preserved, though woman be degraded to a mere machine,-- and the marriage institution is our only safety valve against the pernicious sex-awakening of woman. But in vain these frantic efforts to maintain a state of bondage. In vain, too, the edicts of the Church, the mad attacks of rulers, in vain even the arm of the law. Woman no longer wants to be a party to the production of a race of sickly, feeble, decrepit, wretched human beings, who would neither the strength nor moral courage to throw off the yoke of poverty and slavery. Instead she desires fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice; not by compulsion, as marriage imposes. Our pseudo-moralists have yet to learn the deep sense of responsibility toward the child, that love in freedom has awakened in the breast of woman. Rather she forego forever the glory of motherhood than bring forth life in an atmosphere that breathes only destruction and death. And if she does become a mother, it is to give to the child the deepest and best her being can yield. To grow with the child is her motto; she knows but in that manner alone can she help build true motherhood and womanhood.

The movement for birth control also had a coercive, eugenicist edge, exemplified by the following essay. Excerpted from "Birth Control," by Ella K. Dearborn, *Birth Control Review*, March 1928, p. 88.

It is an injustice to both parents and child to bring an unwelcome baby into the world. Most people find life hard enough at best, without being an unwelcome child in any home, and more so in a poverty-stricken one. Some have feared that if Birth Control knowledge were given to the world, there would be no more babies, and unbridled lust become rampant.... People want homes and babies, but want them under proper conditions--the best conditions that our civilization makes possible, and restriction of propagation of the unfit is the first step in making a place for those of better birth. The 60 percent of our population who are of 13-year-old intellects breed proportionately faster than the normal 40 percent, because in them lust and nature take their course, without the restrictions of modern intelligence. From them come the vast armies of criminal and insane. Many of the 60 percent do not know enough to take proper care of themselves, much less to care for their children, even when they have enough money, if intelligently expended, for a comfortable living, and the lack of money easily pushes them into the

→ next pg.

criminal class. Our first step in racial uplift is teaching Birth Control, thus limiting the unfit. The second is eugenics--the art of breeding up; teaching those fitted to bear children how to have the best babies possible; teaching them the advantages and disadvantages of heredity and of proper care and training of the child in the right kind of home. Lack of judicious home training is a large factor in the production of criminals. Who have a right to bear children? Any couple who want them, if they are healthy, intelligent and financially able to properly care for them... Sterilize those not fitted to propagate, and teach Birth Control, which leads to sacred motherhood and welcome children, and America shall lead the world.

Margaret Sanger's comment on Women's Right to Birth Control, *Birth Control Review*, January 1928

Women's desire for freedom is born of the feminine spirit, which is the absolute, elemental inner urge of womanhood. It is the strongest force in her nature; it cannot be destroyed. The chief obstacles to the normal expression of this force are undesired pregnancy and the burden of unwanted children. Society, in dealing with the feminine spirit... can resort to violence in an effort to enslave the elemental urge of womanhood, making of woman a mere instrument of reproduction and punishing her when she revolts. Or, it can permit her to choose whether she shall become a mother and how many children she will have. It can go on crushing what is uncrushable, or it can recognize woman's claim to freedom, and cease to impose destructive barriers. If we choose the latter course we must not only remove all restrictions on the use of contraceptives, but we must legalize and encourage their use.

Questions:

1. How is birth control tied to women's rights?
2. Which author's argument do you most agree with? Why?
3. How do women tie together motherhood and society together?
4. Why is birth control a measure that people oppose in the 1920s?
5. Why does Sanger argue it is necessary?



The following article represents some typical grumbling about the new woman. Excerpted from "The New Woman" by Sheila Kaye-Smith, *Living Age*, November 5, 1929, p. 356.

Woman now has very nearly the same political and educational advantages as man, but you cannot be much impressed by the use she has made of them. Politics have surely never been more treacherous or commercial than they are in those Utopian days, when woman has the vote, and education seems to have persuaded some women to think that their highest aim in life is to produce a feeble imitation of their brothers. Marriage is going out of fashion as a vocation, and a great deal of nonsense is talked about men and women working together side by side and being independent of each other. I have even heard it said in praise of the modern woman that she does not look upon marriage as her aim in life, but looks forward to entering a profession and earning her living independently of male support.

To me this schoolgirlish contempt of natural emotions is just as bad as early Victorian prudery. If a woman does not look forward to marriage as the central hope of her life it means either that she intends to pursue her love affairs anti-socially, or, worse still, that she does not mean to have any at all....

[E]conomic reasons urge women into professions for which they are physically and temperamentally unfitted, and conditions for the male worker are made worse still by the consequent lowering of standards both in work and wages. Surely the war ought to have taught us that most professions are unsuited to women, both for physical and for temperamental reasons. They stepped into the men's places and did their best, but they were not, generally speaking, successful. Those who worked under or with women in the war can testify to the nervous instability-- showing itself in ill-temper, injustice, and petty tyranny-- to which even the most charming and capable women succumbed after long hours of taxing and responsible work. A woman's nervous energy was meant to be consumed by other things. Of course, I am not saying that all professions are unsuited to women, but in these days of her recovered freedom she has shown a strange lack of discrimination. Woman is at her best in the more decorative ways of life-- in the production and distribution of beautiful necessities, or in those professions most akin to motherhood, the care and education of children, or medical attendance of her own sex. Her brain power and nervous energy are essentially different from a man's, and she makes a mistake when she tries to use them in the same way. It is partly due to her confusion of equality with identity. To prove herself man's equal, as she always has been, she has paid him an unnecessary compliment of imitation, and she will never establish herself fully in popular opinion as his equal until she realizes that her equality lies in her difference. She is man's mate and completion, not his competitor, and her development lies along parallel, not similar, lines. If she merely tries to follow in his footsteps it will lead to much stumbling and weariness, and perhaps at last to the terrible tragedy of Eve's growing old.

10/31/2013

Women Enrolled in Institutions of Higher Education, 1870-1930

Year	Women's Colleges (thousands of students)	Coed Institutions (thousands of students)	Total (thousands of students)	Percentage of All Students Enrolled
1870	6.5	4.6	11.1	21.0%
1880	15.7	23.9	39.6	33.4
1890	16.8	39.5	56.3	33.9
1900	24.4	61.0	85.4	36.8
1910	34.1	106.5	140.6	39.6
1920	52.9	230.0	282.9	47.3
1930	82.1	398.7	480.8	43.7

Source: From Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950), p. 46.

"Women Must Learn to Play the Game as Men Do"

Eleanor Roosevelt

Originally published in The Red Book Magazine 50, no.6 (April 1928): 78-79, 141-142.

Women have been voting for ten years. But have they achieved actual political equality with men? No.

They go through the gesture of going to the polls; their votes are solicited by politicians; and they possess the external aspect of equal rights. But it is mostly a gesture without real power. With some outstanding exceptions, women who have gone into politics are refused serious consideration by the men leaders. Generally they are treated most courteously, to be sure, but what they want, what they have to say, is regarded as of little weight. In fact, they have no actual influence or say at all in the consequential councils of their parties.

In small things they are listened to; but when it comes to asking for important things they generally find they are up against a blank wall. This is true of local committees, State committees, and the national organizations of both major political parties.

From all over the United States, women of both camps have come to me and their experiences are practically the same. When meetings are to be held at which momentous matters are to be decided, the women members often are not asked. When they are notified of formal meetings where important matters are to be ratified, they generally find all these things have been planned and prepared, without consultation with them, in secret confabs of the men beforehand. If they have objections to proposed policies or candidates, they are adroitly overruled. They are not allowed to run for office to any appreciable extent and if they propose candidates of their own sex, reasons are usually found for their elimination which, while diplomatic and polite, are just pretexts nevertheless.

In those circles which decide the affairs of national politics, women have no voice or power whatever. On the national committee of each party there is a woman representative from every State, and a woman appears as vice-chairman. Before national elections they will be told to organize the women throughout the United States, and asked to help in minor ways in raising funds. But when it comes to those grave councils at which possible candidates are discussed, as well as party policies, they are rarely invited in. At the national conventions no woman has ever been asked to serve on the platform committee.

Politically, as a sex, women are generally "frozen out" from any intrinsic share of influence in their parties.

The machinery of party politics has always been in the hands of men, and still is. Our statesmen and legislators are still keeping in form as the successors of the early warriors gathering around the campfire plotting the next day's attack. Yes, they have made feints indicating they are willing to take women into the high councils of the parties. But, in fact, the women who have gone into the political game will tell you they are excluded from any actual kind of important participation. They are called upon to produce votes, but they are kept in ignorance of noteworthy plans and affairs. Their requests are seldom refused outright, but they are put off with a technique that is an art in itself. The fact is that generally women are not taken seriously. With certain exceptions, men still as a class dismiss their consequence and value in politics, cherishing the old-fashioned concept that their place is in the home. While women's votes are a factor to be counted upon, and figure largely in any impending campaign, the individual women who figure in party councils are regarded by their male confrères as having no real power back of them. And they haven't.

Men who work hard in party politics are always recognized, or taken care of in one way or another.

Women, most of whom are voluntary workers and not at all self-seeking, are generally expected to find

in their labor its own reward. When it comes to giving the offices or dealing out favors, men are always given precedence.

They will ask women to run for office now and then, sometimes because they think it politic and wise to show women how generous they are, but more often because they realize in advance their ticket cannot win in the district selected. Therefore they will put up a woman, knowing it will injure the party less to have a woman defeated, and then they can always say it was her sex that defeated her. Where victory is certain, very rarely can you get a woman nominated on the party ticket.

Of course there are women all over the United States who have been elected to high and important offices. There are three women in Congress; there have been two woman governors; and women sit in various State legislatures and hold State offices. In New York City one could cite several who have not only been elected but who have conducted themselves in office with ability and distinction. But does that indicate any equal recognition of share in political power? Infinitely more examples come to mind of women who were either denied a nomination or who were offered it only when inevitable defeat stared the party leaders in the face.

When, some years ago, it came to putting women on the Democratic State Committee in New York, only two outstanding men openly approved of the move. A number were willing, but a great many more were indifferent. Governor Smith wanted women on the committee, believing they had something to contribute, and that they should have recognition for what they could do. Quite unlike Governor Smith, many other men come to mind who hold important positions of power in New York State. They deal with the women in a spirit of most deferential courtesy; but as many of us know, they heartily dislike the idea of women mixing in politics, are antagonistic to those who are active, and can be depended upon to do all in their power to render the women's influence negative.

How many excuses haven't I heard for not giving nominations to women! "Oh, she wouldn't like the kind of work she'd have to do!" Or, "You know she wouldn't like the people she'd have to associate with—that's not a job for a nice, refined woman." Or more usually: "You see, there is so little patronage nowadays. We must give every appointment the most careful consideration. We've got to consider the good of the party." "The good of the party" eliminates women!

To many women who fought so long and so valiantly for suffrage, what has happened has been most discouraging. For one reason or another, most of the leaders who carried the early fight to success have dropped out of politics. This has been in many ways unfortunate. Among them were women with gifts of real leadership. They were exceptional and high types of women, idealists concerned in carrying a cause to victory, with no idea of personal advancement or gain. In fact, attaining the vote was only part of a program for equal rights—an external gesture toward economic independence, and social and spiritual equality with men.

When the franchise was finally achieved, their interest was not held by any ambition for political preferment or honors. To learn the intricate machinery of politics and play the men's game left them cold. The routine of political office held no appeal. One of the most prominent of those early crusaders today gives her energies to campaigning for world peace. By nature a propagandist, it would be impossible to interest her in either of the major parties. Another woman, who donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to the cause, frankly admits she has never even cast a vote. She considers the situation, with women coping with men in the leading parties, utterly hopeless. Like many others, she regards suffrage as an empty victory, equal rights a travesty, and the vote a gesture without power.

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fast and a place to sleep, say, for fifty cents. You decide to sell your only coat. You take it off and put it on your arm. The street, that has before been just a street, now becomes a mart, something entirely different. You must approach someone now and admit you are destitute and are now selling your clothes, your most intimate possessions. Everyone will watch you talking to the stranger showing him your overcoat, what a good coat it is. People will stop and watch curiously. You will be quite naked on the street. It is even harder to try to sell one's self, more humiliating. It is even humiliating to try to sell one's labor. When there is no buyer.

The thin woman opens the wire cage. There's a job for a nursemaid, she says. The old gnarled women, like old horses, know that no one will have them walk the streets with the young so they don't move. Ellen's friend gets up and goes to the window. She is unbelievably jaunty. I know she hasn't had work since last January. But she has a flare of life in her that glows like a tiny red flame and some tenacious thing, perhaps only youth, keeps it burning bright. Her legs are thin but the runs in her old stockings are neatly mended clear down her flat shank. Two bright spots of rouge conceal her pallor. A narrow belt is drawn tightly around her thin waist, her long shoulders stoop and the blades show. She runs wild as a colt hunting pleasure, hunting sustenance.

START

It's one of the great mysteries of the city where women go when they are out of work and hungry. There are not many women in the bread line. There are no flop houses for women as there are for men, where a bed can be had for a quarter, or less. You don't see women lying on the floor at the mission in the free flops. They obviously don't sleep in the jungle or under newspapers in the park. There is no law I suppose against their being in these places but the fact is they rarely are.

Yet there must be as many women out of jobs in cities and suffering extreme poverty as there are men. What happens to them? Where do they go? Try to get into the YW without any money or looking down at heel. Charities take care of very few and only those that are called "deserving." The lone girl is under suspicion by the virgin women who dispense charity.

I've lived in cities for many months broke, without help, too timid to get in bread lines. I've known many women to live like this until they simply faint on the street from privations, without saying a word to anyone. A woman will shut herself up in a room until it is taken away from her, and eat a cracker a day and be as quiet as a mouse so there are no social statistics concerning her.

I don't know why it is, but a woman will do this unless she has dependents, will go for weeks verging on starvation, crawling in some hole, going through the streets ashamed, sitting in libraries, parks, going for days without speaking to a living soul like some exiled beast, keeping the runs mended in her stockings, shut up in terror in her own misery, until she becomes too super-sensitive and timid to even ask for a job.

Bernice says even strange men she has met in the park have sometimes, that is in better days, given her a loan to pay her room rent. She has always paid them back.

In the afternoon the young girls, to forget the hunger and the deathly torture and fear of being jobless, try to pick up a man to take them to a ten-cent show. They never go to more expensive ones, but they can always find a man willing to spend a dime to have the company of a girl for the afternoon.

Sometimes a girl facing the night without shelter will approach a man for lodging. A woman always asks a man for help. Rarely another woman. I have known girls to sleep in men's rooms for the night on a pallet without molestation and be given breakfast in the morning.

It's no wonder these young girls refuse to marry, refuse to rear children. They are like certain savage tribes, who, when they have been conquered, refuse to breed.

Not one of them but looks forward to starvation for the coming winter. We are in a jungle and know it. We are beaten, entrapped. There is no way out. Even if there were a job, even if that thin acrid woman came and gave everyone in the room a job for a few days, a few hours, at thirty cents an hour, this would all be repeated tomorrow, the next day and the next.

Not one of these women but knows that despite years of labor there is only starvation, humiliation in front of them.

Mrs. Gray, sitting across from me, is a living spokesman for the futility of labor. She is a warning. Her hands are scarred with labor. Her body is a great puckered scar. She has given birth to six children, buried three, supported them all alive and dead, bearing them, burying them, feeding them. Bred in hunger they have been spare, susceptible to disease. For seven years she tried to save her boy's arm from amputation, diseased from tuberculosis of the bone. It is almost too suffocating to think of that long close horror of years of child-bearing, child-feeding, rearing, with the bare suffering of providing a meal and shelter.

Now she is fifty. Her children, economically insecure, are drifters. She never hears of them. She doesn't know if they are alive. She doesn't know if she is alive. Such subtleties of suffering are not for her. For her the brutality of hunger and cold. Not until these are done away with can those subtle feelings that make a human being be indulged.

She is lucky to have five dollars ahead of her. That is her security. She has a tumor that she will die of. She is thin as a worn dime with her tumor sticking out of her side. She is brittle and bitter. Her face is not the face of a human being. She has borne more than it is possible for a human being to bear. She is reduced to the least possible denominator of human feelings.

It is terrible to see her little bloodshot eyes like a beaten hound's, fearful in terror.

We cannot meet her eyes. When she looks at any of us we look away. She is like a woman drowning and we turn

away. We must ignore those eyes that are surely the eyes of a person drowning, doomed. She doesn't cry out. She goes down decently. And we all look away.

The young ones know though. I don't want to marry. I don't want any children. So they all say, No children. No marriage. They arm themselves alone, keep up alone. The man is helpless now. He cannot provide. If he propagates he cannot take care of his young. The means are not in his hands. So they live alone. Get what fun they can. The life risk is too horrible now. Defeat is too clearly written on it.

So we sit in this room like cattle, waiting for a nonexistent job, willing to work to the farthest atom of energy, unable to work, unable to get food and lodging, unable to bear children—here we must sit in this shame looking at the floor, worse than beasts at a slaughter.

It is appalling to think that these women sitting so listless in the room may work as hard as it is possible for a human being to work, may labor night and day, like Mrs. Gray wash streetcars from midnight to dawn and offices in the early evening, scrub for fourteen and fifteen hours a day, sleep only five hours or so, do this their whole lives, and never earn one day of security, having always before them the pit of the future. The endless labor, the bending back, the water-soaked hands; earning never more than a week's wages, never having in their hands more life than that.

It's not the suffering of birth, death, love that the young reject, but the suffering of endless labor without dream, eating the spare bread in bitterness, being a slave, without the security of a slave.

Questions

1. What aspects of "Women on the Breadlines" likely led to the criticism by editors of *New Masses*?
2. What aspects of Le Sueur's work, revealed in this piece, do you think have led to renewed interest in the writer and to the recent publication of many of her works?
3. What most strikes you about the women Le Sueur describes and their experiences? What of the men who figure in the piece?

Answer →

24-7 Birth Control in Connecticut during the Depression (1935-1939)

Hilda Crosby Standish

Connecticut's anticontraception law was highly restrictive, prohibiting the use of contraceptives. The state legislature repeatedly rejected liberalization of the law, and the state judiciary balked at liberalizing its reading of the law. Not until 1965 did the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, overturn the Connecticut law. (See text pp. 633-635; 650; also Document 20-6.)

The birth-control clinic discussed in this selection by Dr. Hilda Crosby Standish functioned from 1935 to 1939. The "Mrs. Hepburn" to whom she refers is Katharine Martha Houghton Hepburn, an activist in a range of women's causes, the wife of Dr. James N. Hepburn, and the mother of Katharine Houghton Hepburn, the celebrated actress.

Source: Interview of Dr. Hilda Crosby Standish by Carol Nichols, July 28, 1980, in Oral History Project, "The Political Activities of the First Generation of Fully Enfranchised Connecticut Women, 1920-1945," 28-38, Center for Oral History and the Women's Studies Program, University of Connecticut; excerpted in Ruth Barnes Moynihan, Cynthia Russett, and Laurie Crumacker, eds., *Second to None: A Documentary History of American Women, vol. 2: From 1865 to the Present* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 197-199. Reprinted with permission.

Standish: After I came back from China, I was very fortunate. It was at a time when the [birth control] movement in Connecticut had gotten to the point of not being able to get anywhere in the legislature. Therefore, the leaders decided that this law on the books probably would not hold

anyway, so why not open a clinic and see Mrs. Hepburn, who was the leader in the movement in Hartford, and a friend of Margaret Sanger's, decided to get a board of directors and actually open a clinic here. This was all taking place just as I came back from China. I don't remember

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HISTORY NOW

The Great Depression

Women and the Great Depression

by Susan Ware

Print this Pa

In 1933 Eleanor Roosevelt's *It's Up to the Women* exhorted American women to help pull the country through its current economic crisis, the gravest it had ever faced: "The women know that life must go on and that the needs of life must be met and it is their courage and determination which, time and again, have pulled us through worse crises than the present one." While women as a group could not end the Depression (mobilization for World War II deserves that credit), the country could never have survived the crisis without women's contributions.

"We didn't go hungry, but we lived lean." That expression sums up the experiences of many American families during the 1930s: they avoided stark deprivation but still struggled to get by. The typical woman in the 1930s had a husband who was still employed, although he had probably taken a pay cut to keep his job; if the man lost his job, the family often had enough resources to survive without going on relief or losing all its possessions. Still, Eleanor Roosevelt noted, "Practically every woman, whether she is rich or poor, is facing today a reduction of income." In 1935–1936 the median family income was \$1160, which translated into \$20–25 a week to cover all their expenses, including food, shelter, clothing, and perhaps an occasional treat like going to the movies. Women "made do" by substituting their own labor for something that previously had been bought with cash or by practicing petty economies like buying day-old bread or warming several dishes in the oven to save gas. Living so close to the edge, women prayed that no catastrophic accident or illness would swamp their tight budgets. "We had no choice," remembered one housewife. "We just did what had to be done one day at a time."



An Oklahoma migrant family in California, 1935, by Dorothea Lange. (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

In many ways men and women experienced the Depression differently. Men were socialized to think of themselves as breadwinners; when they lost their jobs or saw their incomes reduced, they felt like failures because they couldn't take care of their families. Women, on the other hand, saw their roles in the household enhanced as they juggled to make ends meet. Sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd noticed this trend in a study of Muncie, Indiana, published in 1937: "The men, cut adrift from their usual routine, lost much of their sense of time and dawdled helplessly and dully about the streets; while in the homes the women's world remained largely intact and the round of cooking, housecleaning, and mending became if anything more absorbing." To put it another way, no housewife lost her job in the Depression.

HIDE FULL ESSAY ▲

Those traditional gender roles assumed that all women were members of families with a male breadwinner at its head, but that description did not always match reality. Women who were widowed or divorced, or whose husbands had deserted them, struggled to keep their families afloat; single women had to fend for themselves. These women were truly on the margins, practically invisible. The iconic image of the Depression is "The Forgotten Man": the newly poor, downwardly mobile, unemployed worker, often standing in a breadline or selling apples on a street corner. Women who found themselves in similar dire straits rarely turned up in public spaces like breadlines or street corners; instead they often tried to cope quietly on their own. "I've lived in cities for many months broke, without help, too timid to get in breadlines," remembered the writer Meridel LeSueur. "I've known many women to live like this until they simply faint on the street from privations, without saying a word to anyone. A woman will shut herself up in a room until it is taken away from her, and eat a cracker a day and be as quiet as a mouse."

Women who sought relief or paid employment risked public scorn or worse for supposedly taking jobs and money away from more deserving men. When Norman Cousins realized that the number of gainfully employed women in 1939 roughly equaled the national unemployment total, he offered this flippant remedy: "Simply fire the women, who shouldn't be working anyway, and hire the men. Presto! No unemployment. No relief rolls. No depression." Yet this attempt to make women scapegoats for the Depression rested on shaky grounds. Many women had no choice but to work, providing the sole source of support for themselves or their families. Plus, given the segmentation of the workforce by gender, it was not so simple—or even desired—for men to move into women's jobs, as a sociologist realized: "Few of the people who opposed married women's employment seem to realize that a coal miner or steel worker cannot very well fill the jobs of nursemaids, cleaning women, or the factory and clerical jobs now filled by women." Since traditionally male fields like heavy industry and manufacturing were the hardest hit by the Depression, while clerical and sales fields populated by women were somewhat less affected, this division of labor gave women workers a slight edge. Unfortunately it came with a price: reinforcing traditional stereotypes of what constituted women's work. Still, even the terrible economic crisis could not derail the overarching twentieth-century trend of women increasingly working for pay outside the home. According to census figures, the percentage of employed women fourteen and older actually rose during the Depression from 24.3 percent in 1930 to 25.4 percent in 1940, a gain of two million jobs. Even more dramatically, the number of married women working doubled during the decade.

When talking about women as a group, it is always important to ask "which women?" when generalizations are offered. Women experienced the Depression differently based on their age, marital status, geographical location, race and ethnicity, and a host of other factors. For example, the 1930s urban housewife had access to electricity and running water, while her rural equivalent usually struggled with the burdens of domesticity without such modern conveniences. (Only one in ten farm families in 1935 had electricity.) Farm families also struggled with declining agricultural prices, foreclosures, and in the Midwest, a terrible drought that contributed to the Dust Bowl migrations of that decade.

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African Americans, long subject to discrimination and prejudice, often viewed the Depression differently from whites. Times had always been hard, and suddenly they just got a lot harder. The novelist and poet Maya Angelou, who grew up in Stamps, Arkansas, recalled, "The country had been in the throes of the Depression for two years before the Negroes in Stamps knew it. I think that everyone thought the Depression, like everything else, was for the white folks." In 1930 nine out of ten African American women worked in agriculture or domestic service, both areas hard hit by the depression. Housewives who previously hired servants began to do their own housework; sometimes white women competed for jobs previously abandoned as too undesirable to black women. In the South and West, Mexican American women on the bottom rung of the economic ladder faced similar conditions, but with an added dimension: the threat of deportation back to Mexico because of fears about competition for jobs and relief. In the depths of the Depression, perhaps one-third of the Mexican American population returned to Mexico, straining family ties and causing extreme financial hardship.

Herbert Hoover's initial response to the onset of the Depression in 1929 had been to turn to business, private charity, and state and local welfare councils to address the problem, but those resources quickly proved inadequate. When Franklin Roosevelt took office in 1933, his New Deal forged new ground in expanding the presence of the federal government in the economy and making concrete connections between federal programs and the lives of everyday citizens.

And yet women struggled to be treated as equal citizens when trying to qualify for these new federal programs. One-quarter of National Recovery Administration codes set lower minimum wages for women than men performing the same jobs, and New Deal agencies like the Civil Works Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps gave jobs almost exclusively to men. Not considered suitable for heavy construction jobs, women on relief were shunted into sewing rooms; black and Mexican American women faced racial discrimination as well. The Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Acts did not initially cover major areas of women's employment such as agricultural work or domestic service. Furthermore, social security benefits were structured around a traditional model of a male breadwinner and dependent female housewife, which disadvantaged women who didn't fit that profile and implied that women deserved economic rights only in relation to men. The Wagner Act of 1935 fueled a dramatic growth in organized labor, and woman workers participated in major CIO strikes and union organizing drives, but few women held leadership positions.

The needs of women might have been forgotten entirely were it not for the efforts of an informal network of woman administrators who held important positions in the New Deal. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, the first woman in the Cabinet, oversaw many of the social welfare initiatives and Ellen Sullivan Woodward supervised women's relief projects for the Works Progress Administration, while Molly Dewson promoted an issue-oriented reform agenda from her position at the Democratic National Committee. Their effectiveness was dramatically enhanced by access to Eleanor Roosevelt, who used her position as First Lady to advance the causes of women, blacks, and other marginalized groups. Besides serving as a symbol of public-spirited womanhood in a time of national crisis, Eleanor Roosevelt served as the conscience of the New Deal.

According to writer Caroline Bird, the Depression left "an invisible scar" on those who lived through it, including the nation's women. Forced to take on even more important roles in their homes and families, women played often unrecognized roles in helping the country through the Great Depression. Hard times worked to reinforce traditional gender roles, not subvert them. Ironically, women's Depression-era contributions and strong identification with home and family may have helped lay the foundation for the so-called feminine mystique of the 1950s.

From 1997 to 2005 Susan Ware served as editor of volume five of the biographical dictionary Notable American Women at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University. Her research interests include twentieth-century American history and the history of American women, as well as biography. She has published books on women in the New Deal and the 1930s; biographies of Molly Dewson, Amelia Earhart, and Mary Margaret McBride; and a women's history anthology.

METADATA

Era: The Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945

Sub Era: The Great Depression, The New Deal

Theme: Economics, Women's History

Curriculum Subject: Economics

Grade Level: 9, 10, 11, 12, 13+

Coverage People: Eleanor Roosevelt

DISCUSSION



Good post.

ClarkMeyer, 5/10/12

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CHAPTER 8

*Rosie the Riveter and Other
Wartime Women*

World War II had an unmistakable impact on American society. The task of fighting and winning a global war greatly accelerated the growth of the federal bureaucracy that had begun during the New Deal; federal budgets and functions never returned to their prewar levels. Nor did the United States return to its prewar stance of isolation from international relations. The war also encouraged dramatic social changes on the home front, especially an increase in mobility as people flocked to war jobs or entered the armed services. African Americans were able to lay the groundwork for the postwar civil rights revolution by equating segregation with Nazi white supremacist ideology. Most importantly, defense mobilization brought a return to prosperity after a decade of depression.

The specific impact of the wartime experience on the nation's women is less clear-cut. Some historians have argued that the war represented a major turning point for women because of their dramatic roles in the war effort, especially in defense plants. Others have focused on the persistence of sexism and discrimination against women on the job, in families, and in society as a whole. The weight of the evidence in this historical debate tilts towards analyzing women's wartime experiences in light of long-term trends of employment, demographics, and family roles, rather than seeing the war as a dramatic period of social change.

One of the difficulties of coming to an assessment of the impact of World War II on women is that the impact varies depending on which women are examined. Despite all the media attention to the "Rosie the Riveters" who took on defense jobs, the majority of American women were homemakers during the war. The war permeated every aspect of their daily life. Popular culture and advertising were saturated with patriotic war themes, especially the movies. Household management was challenging during wartime, notably coping with the high inflation rate and the shortages and rationing of most durable consumer

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goods, food, and gasoline. Women also performed volunteer services for their communities.

Many women were more directly involved in the war effort. For example, 350,000 women joined the armed services, supplying approximately 2 percent of the total fighting forces. Equally dramatic were changes for the nation's female workers. The female work force grew by 50 percent between 1940 and 1945. These war workers were drawn both from the ranks of women already working (they used the opportunity to leave such traditional female jobs as domestic and personal service for higher-paying industrial work) and new workers, including recent students and former full-time homemakers who joined the war effort for reasons both of patriotism and economics. The wartime economic and social climate was especially liberating for single women, who experienced increasing autonomy and independence in the conduct of their personal lives. Such opportunities were also an important breakthrough for black workers of both sexes, who until the war-induced labor shortage had been barred from most manufacturing and industrial jobs.

These women workers were welcomed into the work force, a stark contrast to the public disapproval that greeted women during the Depression. But much of the public support derived from the conviction that these women workers were only temporary, that they would happily trade their overalls and welding tools for aprons when the men came home from war. Women workers had other ideas. When surveyed, the vast majority wanted to keep their new jobs. In the reconversion process, women did in fact lose many of the gains made during wartime, but they did not return to the home—they just went back to the traditional kinds of female jobs they had always held. After a slight dip after the war, the percentage of women who worked began a steady climb upwards. By 1950, 28.6 percent of adult women were working (down from the wartime peak of 37 percent), comprising 30 percent of the work force. In the postwar period, women showed an increasing propensity to combine marriage and work, a trend first noticed during the Depression but vastly accelerated during wartime.

World War II left other legacies for the nation's women. Because women's work was seen as temporary, there was no underlying shift in public attitudes about women's traditional responsibilities for home and family. In fact, "the unshaken claim of family" was probably intensified by the war: after the years of home front dislocation, returning soldiers and their spouses welcomed a return to normalcy. The marriage and birth rates, which had been artificially suppressed during the Depression, had already begun to rise during the war and would shoot up soon afterwards. So did the divorce rate.

Concentrating on women's displacement from industrial jobs and the continuity of traditional attitudes about women's place leads to fairly negative assessments about the impact of the war on women's lives. Such a view, however, is too shortsighted, for it misses what the wartime experience meant

to individual women. Historian Sherna Gluck, who collected oral histories from female war workers in California, found this common thread to many women's recollections: "I never realized what I could do." Gluck posits that this increase in self-esteem and belief in women's own capabilities spilled over into more egalitarian family and marital relations in the postwar years, but was not translated into a direct challenge of the status quo in the public realm: "Changes in consciousness are not *necessarily* or *immediately* reflected in dramatic alterations in the public world. They may be very quietly played out in the private world of women, yet expressed in a fashion that can both affect future generations and eventually be expressed more openly when the social climate is right." Taking this perspective on the impact of the war on individual women's lives, World War II may turn out to have been more of a watershed for women than historians have realized.

Women in the Armed Forces

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Marion Stegeman

Of the more than fifteen million Americans who entered the armed services during World War II, approximately 350,000 were women. Like the Rosie the Riveters, women who joined the armed forces experienced new challenges, greater geographical mobility, and increased responsibility. The largest number served in the Women's Army Corps (WACS)—140,000—followed by 100,000 volunteers for the WAVES (Women Appointed for Volunteer Emergency Service) in the Navy. There were women's branches of the Marines and Coast Guard, and one thousand WASPs (Women's Airforce Service Pilots) did stateside and noncombat air duty.

Avenger Field in Sweetwater, Texas, was the place to be if you were a woman and a pilot in World War II. The letters that Marion Stegeman wrote home convey the excitement of being a WASP, a thrill that was part patriotism but mainly the sheer joy of flying. They also convey the disappointments, like a friend "washing out" (being asked to leave) or, worse, the death of classmates in training exercises. In all, thirty-eight WASPs lost their lives during the war.

Marion Stegeman had learned to fly in a Civilian Pilot Training Program while a student at the University of Georgia, from which she graduated with a degree in journalism and art in 1941. She became a WASP because she "wanted to be part of the action." After her training at Sweetwater, she was stationed at Love Field in Dallas. But, as her last letter shows, she realized that there was no future for women as pilots in the armed services and in 1944 she resigned to marry her boyfriend Ned Hodgson, a Marine stationed in Texas. After the war, they settled in Fort Worth to raise a family, both their lives dramatically and irrevocably affected by their service during World War II.

Sweetwater, Texas
April 24, 1943

Dearest Mother,

The gods must envy me! This is just too, *too* to be true. (By now you realize I had a good day as regards flying. Nothing is such a gauge to the spirits as how well or how poorly one has flown.) Where was I? Oh, yes, I'm far too happy. The law of compensation must be waiting to catch up with me somewhere. Oh, God, how I love it! Honestly, Mother, you haven't *lived* until you get way *up* there—all alone—just you and that big, beautiful plane humming, under your control. I just sit there and sing at the top of my lungs while I'm climbing up to 4,000 feet—or however high I want to go. Of course, I'm too busy to sing while in the middle of aerobatics—but you ought to hear me let loose when I'm "clearing my area" between maneuvers. (We always clear the area first to make sure there are no planes underneath or close by—safety foist!)

The only thing that I know that's going to happen that I won't like is that they are changing my instructors some day soon. Mine is going on to the B.T.'s (Basic trainers—one step ahead of primary trainers) but maybe I'll get him again when I get to the B.T.'s. Hope so! I have no idea who my new instructor will be—I hope I'll like him as much as I do this one. He'll have to be pretty good and mighty nice though, to beat Mr. Wade's time. . . .

Smackers and much love to John, Janet, Joanna and you—M.

* * *

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Dear Mom,

[Sweetwater, Texas
Late summer, 1943]

... Mother, this was to be a short letter, but now something has happened that I must tell you about.

You may just as well get used to hearing about these things, Mom, because so long as I'm in the flying racket they are bound to happen. Two of my classmates and their instructor were killed yesterday afternoon near Big Spring. ...

This is no doubt another of those undetermined causes that brings about crashes, and no one will ever know what it was. Maybe it was one of those rare structural failure cases—no one knows. It seems likely, since the instructor was in the plane—Or it could have been that the girls were changing seats in mid air and one of them could've grabbed the wheel for support, thus stalling the plane. There are endless possibilities—Most of them things that *could* have been avoided, as most crashes seem to be. ...

Don't worry about it, though, Mom, because it's very unusual for anything so mysterious to happen (especially *here*) and they're inspecting all the airplanes before we go up in them again.

As I've told you before, we *do* take chances, but they are small compared to those that thousands take every day all over the world. And we could fall down in our bathtubs at home and be killed, or get in a car and meet death. It's just not up to us to say where or when. You believe that, don't you? We'll talk about it more when I get home. ...

I love you, Marion

* * *

Tallahassee, Florida
March 30, 1944

Mother, dear:

(1) General Arnold [Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, Chief of the Army Air Forces] says openly that the Army Air Forces has more than enough pilots.

(2) There are experienced instructors now being forced into the foot army—and others out of jobs.

(3) If I go into the Army, they could chain me to a typewriter for the duration plus six months, in spite of anything they might promise.

(4) I can't see myself running around saluting and kow-towing and obeying orders from [those who] ... will really dish out the works to those of us who have been in only a year and will be mere Second Lieutenants. I can do what I'm told gracefully now only because—underneath it all—I know I don't *have* to.

Summary: All this adds up to a great deal of rationalization that has been taking place since I last saw my love. I want to marry him—now! Of course, though, I'd stay on the job indefinitely as a civilian, because I owe so much, but since the Army is forcing me to become a puppet or resign, I'm tempted to go my own way,—mine and Ned's.

I don't think the airplane will replace the man, do you?

It may be days, weeks, or months before it is necessary for me to decide. How's about a long letter of advice from you—and also please ask Aunt Helvig and Grannie what they think.

I love you, M.

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The American Experience: Rosie the Riveter

Part I:

1. What was work like for women during the Depression?
2. What was the appeal of factory jobs for women at the start of the war?
3. Throughout the video, watch the appearance of women in the factories. What types of clothes did they wear, how was their hair done, etc.?
4. How were women treated by men in the factories?
5. What role did race play in the factories? (come back to this as different stories unfold)
6. What was the tone of the woman being interviewed at the office of the Supervisor of Women's Employment? How did she speak about the women workers?
7. What dangers did women face in the factories?

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8. How did working relationships change when women joined unions?

9. How was money used as enticement to work?

10. What problems did working-women with children face? How were these problems addressed?

Use this space to write your favorite lyrics from the music played throughout the video....

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Name:

Date:

Part 2
Rosie the Riveter - film

US 32

1. What message did propaganda films send to women & soldiers?
2. In what order were workers fired at the end of WWII?
3. What was the hope of the lady in the flowered dress for postwar America?
4. What was one of the women told when she went to get a job welding at ware island?
5. Flowered dress woman: "We were no longer comrades in arms." - What did she mean?
6. According to one of the propaganda films, what trend is the most destructive to marriage?
7. What did the film say would happen to children if there mothers kept working?
8. What does the "expert" say is the "cost" of women working?

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9. Why did the woman in the polka-dot dress say "I had to get a job somehow"?

10. Why was getting a job in domestic work defeating for the African American woman?

11. Why kind of jobs were "saved" for blacks?

12. Why the flowered dress woman say she liked welding better as a job?

13. How did articles in magazines change at the end of the war?

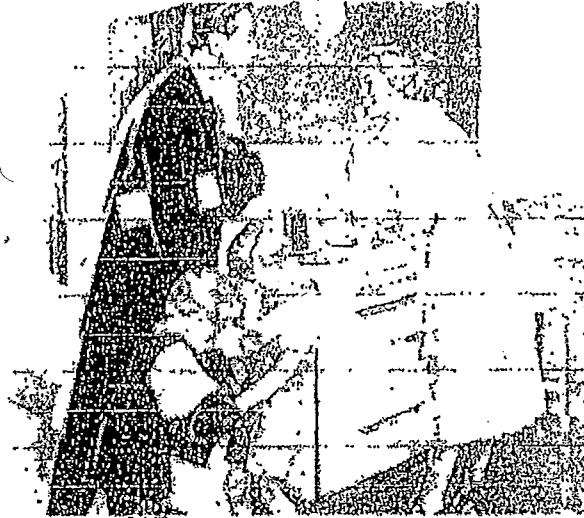
14. Why did the flowered dress woman say "we were largely a joke"?

15. What does she mean "we gave up everything for that"?

From *Housekeeping Monthly*, 13 May, 1955.

View the original article as a graphic

Note: This may actually be fake. See Snapes.



- Have dinner ready. Plan ahead, even the night before, to have a delicious meal ready on time for his return. This is a way of letting him know that you have been thinking about him and are concerned about his needs. Most men are hungry when they get home and the prospect of a good meal is part of the warm welcome needed.
- Prepare yourself. Take 15 minutes to rest so you'll be refreshed when he arrives. Touch up your make-up, put a ribbon in your hair and be fresh-looking. He has just been with a lot of work-weary people.
- Be a little gay and a little more interesting for him. His boring day may need a lift and one of your duties is to provide it.
- Clear away the clutter. Make one last trip through the main part of the house just before your husband arrives. Run a dustcloth over the tables.
- During the cooler months of the year you should prepare and light a fire for him to unwind by. Your husband will feel he has reached a haven of rest and order, and it will give you a lift too. After all, catering to his comfort will provide you with immense personal satisfaction.
- Minimize all noise. At the time of his arrival, eliminate all noise of the washer, dryer or vacuum. Encourage the children to be quiet.
- Be happy to see him.
- Greet him with a warm smile and show sincerity in your desire to please him.
- Listen to him. You may have a dozen important things to tell him, but the

moment of his arrival is not the time.. Let him talk first - remember, his topics of conversation are more important than yours.

- Don't greet him with complaints and problems.
- Don't complain if he's late for dinner or even if he stays out all night. Count this as minor compared to what he might have gone through at work.
- Make him comfortable. Have him lean back in a comfortable chair or lie him down in the bedroom. Have a cool or warm drink ready for him.
- Arrange his pillow and offer to take off his shoes. Speak in a low, soothing and pleasant voice.
- Don't ask him questions about his actions or question his judgment or integrity. Remember, he is the master of the house and as such will always exercise his will with fairness and truthfulness. You have no right to question him.
- A good wife always knows her place.

*What reason does Alice Hamilton present?

12

ALICE HAMILTON, M.D.¹

*"Why I Am against the
Equal Rights Amendment"*

Ladies' Home Journal, July 1945

We hear a good deal nowadays about the Equal Rights Amendment, which, after more than twenty years of ardent effort on the part of a group of feminists, the Woman's Party, seems to have reached a point where its passage by Congress is possible. Both parties in the last election declared themselves in favor of it, and it has been passed on favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

What is this amendment to the Constitution which may be put up to the state legislatures in the near future? It reads very simply:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Well, that sounds only fair and reasonable. No woman wants to have her rights denied or abridged. The amendment seems to open a closed door, to clear away difficulties that have been in her path. Perhaps she is working in an office where some man, not nearly so efficient and conscientious as she, has a higher place, just because he is a man. Perhaps she is a physician who, because she is a woman, cannot get on the staff of a hospital. Perhaps she is a teacher who knows that when the principal retires she would get his place if she were a man, but no matter how much she deserves it she will be by-passed and a man put in. Or perhaps she is a businesswoman like one who said to me, "Women in business are like the Red Queen in Alice; we have to run as hard as we can to keep in the same place."

¹Alice Hamilton was president of the National Consumers League, which was founded in 1899 to foster citizen participation in government and industrial decision making regarding such matters as fair labor standards and product safety. The league still exists, with headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Alice Hamilton, "Why I Am against the Equal Rights Amendment," *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1945, 23.

These women see in the amendment a means of wiping away all such sex discriminations; they see themselves placed on a real equality with men. But are these hopes justified? Will such a law do that? Will it give women more than it will take away from them? I do not think so, and I will tell you why.

No law can compel a man to employ a woman or to promote her, no law can compel a hospital to place women doctors on its staff or to admit them as interns and residents, no law can prevent an employer from passing by a competent woman and appointing a less competent man. These are matters which lie outside the domain of law; they are decided by men who are often swayed by the old prejudices, the instinctive inhibitions and compulsions which centuries have implanted in us. I do not mean that these obstacles cannot be overcome; the history of the past century shows how far the emancipation of women has advanced already, but the advance cannot be brought about by law, by compulsion. Only the slow growth of a genuine feeling of sex equality can bring it about; but surely when we see the attitude of the young generation we cannot fail to be heartened by the striking signs of increasing equality between the sexes.

It is true, as the advocates of the Equal Rights Amendment insist, that there are still in some states inequalities that can be removed by legal action, and have been in the more advanced states. To that I would answer that it is in the power of such states to follow the example of their sister states, that it is not necessary to bring about such relatively simple reforms by so cumbersome a method as an amendment to the Constitution.

But why should we—I speak as president of the National Consumers League and as a member of the National Women's Trade Union League, the League of Women Voters, the Association of University Women—why should we who call ourselves feminists oppose a measure which, even if it does not do all its proponents claim, will still help to remove women's disabilities? It is because we know that women would lose more than they would gain if at one stroke all the laws which treat women as women and not only as persons were revoked. Now to the strictly orthodox feminist, women should be treated only as persons. I remember a debate before a women's club in which I took the side opposed to the amendment and the side defending it was taken by an eager, attractive but very young woman. I argued that the laws, so general in the older countries, which provide vacation with pay for pregnant women in industry were necessary for the good of the race. She opposed it, of course, but finally gave way. "All

right," she said impatiently, "if you say 'pregnant persons' we won't object, but not 'women.'" I assured her we would be quite content with that.

This is, of course, an extreme instance of what one might call "feminist fundamentalism," and I am not suggesting that it is typical of the Woman's Party. But I do think it is typical of that group to ignore the real physical and social differences between men and women, differences which lie at the base of the laws applying only to women and not to men. The fact that these differences have often been exaggerated in the past and that nowadays we ignore many of them does not mean that we can sweep them all away and act as if that settled it. Women still have to bear the babies and still ought to rear the children, and I ask any young mother if that is not a real handicap which deserves consideration.

The proposed amendment would do away with the protection of women as homemakers and mothers; it would either make the wife equally responsible with her husband for the support of the family or it would remove responsibility from both. In such a case, which parent would be more likely to get out from under? Ask any social worker. Surely it is only common sense to hold the husband responsible for the support of his family.

And what about alimony after divorce? So far the laws relating to alimony (passed by male legislators!) have been much more favorable to women than to men; in fact, they have shown an absurdly sentimental attitude and often they have worked great injustice. But to abolish them altogether and to put the woman on an equal footing with the man would work even more injustice. Take the middle-aged woman who has no professional or industrial experience, who knows no skill but amateur housekeeping and child care. When her husband tires of her and seeks a younger mate, is she to be left penniless to find her own support? Alimony laws need strict revision, but not abolition.

The laws of property as they affect married women are too complicated to be covered in this discussion. It is quite true that in backward states such laws are unfair to women, but in most of the states they have changed with the changing times and those disabilities that still remain can be removed if ardent feminists will only carry on the sort of intensive campaign which we of the older generation devoted ourselves to, some forty to fifty years ago. They would then know exactly what they were trying to achieve, for they would be attacking a definite evil, not a system which is part evil and part good.

It is in connection with labor legislation that my opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment is strongest, for my field for thirty-five years has been the protection of working people against the harmful features of industrial work, against dangerous dusts, poisons, excessive heat and

heavy exertion, long hours, low wages. Dangerous dusts cause silicosis, followed sometimes by tuberculosis; poisons used in industry include lead, mercury, mineral acids, carbon monoxide, and a host of volatile solvents which act like ether and chloroform, only sometimes more harmfully. Our efforts have always been to protect both men and women against these dangers, but when we could not do that, when legislators were willing to protect only the women, then we took gladly what we could get.

And in some respects protection is needed more by the women. For one thing, they have the handicap of youth; and, as we all know, the younger the worker, the more susceptible to a poison and to fatigue and to the harmful effects of dangerous dusts. Men in industry are divided into the different age groups just as men are in nonindustrial work, but women in industry are massed overwhelmingly in the early age groups. This means that they are more susceptible to all the harmful elements in their work, they are less prudent than older women, they are reckless and they have the silliest ideas about food and about protection against cold and wet. Partly because they are young, partly because they draw the lowest wages, young women workers have a higher tuberculosis rate than men. Young women workers cannot stand for long hours on their feet as well as men can, nor can they lift heavy weights; older women have their special handicap, housework and the care of children added to the hours of factory work.

It is true that the Walsh-Healy Wage and Hour Law² applies to men as well as women, but it covers only those industries that enter into interstate trade, not those that are strictly within the state—restaurants, hotels, laundries, stores and the white-collar industries. For these, state laws are necessary, to prescribe a minimum wage and maximum hours. Of course it would be better to extend such laws to cover men also, but this has never been done. We should be giving up a reality for a vain hope.

We do not need, we older women, to ask what will happen if all the laws protecting workingwomen should be revoked, for we remember only too well what happened before those laws were passed. In Illinois we fought for years for a ten-hour law for women.³ I knew a young Irish

²The Walsh-Healy Wage and Hour Law (1938) established the first minimum wage (25 cents an hour), mandated time-and-a-half pay for working more than 40 hours a week, and prohibited the employment of children under 16.

³Ten-hour laws, passed in many states and upheld by the Supreme Court in the early twentieth century, usually prescribed the maximum hours women could work per day (ten in some states, twelve in others). Designed to provide protection for women not accorded to men, the laws caused divisions in the women's movement throughout the century until they were overturned by federal legislation in the 1970s.

girl in Chicago who had a job as night waitress in an all-night eating place out near the stockyards. She worked six nights a week, twelve hours a night, seventy-two hours a week, and it could have been raised to eighty-four so far as the law was concerned. There were no minimum-wage laws in 1912 when, out of five million workingwomen in the United States, half under twenty-four years of age, a million earned less than \$4.00 a week.

In those days I hated to shop in Chicago stores, for I knew so well the lot of the girls who worked in them. There was no vacation; not even in the hot summer months could the employers be persuaded to close for one week-day. It was a ten-hour day with plenty of overtime—paid for usually by a lunch—especially before Christmas; wages ran from \$2.50 to \$10.00 a week and very few ever reached that latter figure, yet a girl could not then support herself in Chicago on less than \$8.00 a week. Even to get seats for these girls meant a long fight. I remember a girl who was a worn-out, middle-aged woman at twenty-four, after ten years' work in a department store for never more than \$7.00 a week, all of which went to her widowed mother. She had had no normal girlhood, no fun ever, for her Sundays must be spent in sleep or in mending and laundering.

The women who are pushing the Equal Rights Amendment insist that to limit the hours of work for women and to insist on pauses for lunch, on separate toilets, on provision of seats—all these things handicap women in getting jobs, and that they want to be free to compete with men on equal terms. I think that is probably true of a small number of women in industry, such as linotypists on morning papers, and ticket sellers on elevated roads and subways, who are not allowed to work on the night shift. But in normal times their number is infinitesimal compared with the number of women who welcome these safeguards. Of course in wartime all restrictions are suspended in most of the states.

I can assure you that when Ohio passed laws for the protection of women workers, Ohio women did not envy the freedom of the women of Kentucky to work as long hours and for as low a wage as they pleased; Massachusetts textile workers did not move to Rhode Island to free themselves from the wages-and-hours laws; the women of the Northern States did not look with longing at the untrammelled freedom of the South. There is no articulate organization of workingwomen that favors the Equal Rights Amendment.

For more than half a century the struggle to alleviate the lot of women workers has gone on, and we can point with pride to what has been gained. Twenty-six states have minimum-wage laws, and this means that some four million women in hotels, restaurants, laundries, and so on, must be paid a decent wage. Forty-three states limit the hours which a woman may be required to work. Less essential, but still important, are the regulations which require seats—and their use—separate toilets,

time off for lunch, and so on, and these are in force in practically all states. And such laws have not limited the employment of women, handicapped them in their search for jobs; on the contrary, it is during the past twenty-five years, when these laws were passed, that the employment of women has increased steadily—not only during the war—and in just those states where labor laws are strict. All this gain would be swept away by the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment. Is it any wonder that workingwomen have dubbed it the "Unequal Rights Amendment"?

In theory, of course, women should fight for their rights as men do, but in actual fact they seldom do. Even now, in wartime, only about three million of the seventeen and a half million women wage earners belong to unions, and the majority of these are in war industries, aircraft and automotive production. When the war is over few of them will remain in those industries; they will have to go back to their old jobs, most of them in unorganized industries or with far less strong unions. Surely they will need as much protection as they did before the war.

The Equal Rights Amendment will not free women from discrimination; no laws can do that. It will not make it easier for professional women to advance, nor for workingwomen to get or to hold jobs, but it will sweep away the few measures which now make the lives of the wage-earning women less hard. It will remove from the wife and mother all consideration for her as a woman and will place her on a legal equality with her husband, an equality that is mostly imaginary, has little basis in hard fact. The legal injustices under which women in some states still suffer can be removed one by one with far less effort than was needed in earlier years, and without sacrificing what is good in order to get rid of what is bad. If women in and out of industry understood clearly what the proposed amendment would do, it could never be passed.

Source: Women's Magazines 1940-1960:
Gender Roles and the Popular Press
 Nancy A. Walker ed. Bedford/St. Martins
 Boston, 1998

Source: Women's Magazines; 1940-1960:
Gender Roles and the Popular Press
Nancy A. Walker ed, Bedford St. Martins
Boston, 1998.

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pgs. 114-116

"Are You Too Educated to Be a Mother?"

Ladies' Home Journal, June 1946

The Census Bureau recently completed a five-year survey and published these findings: A woman who has gone to college is likely—on a national average—to have a fraction more than one child; the likelihood that she will have even one child is growing slimmer. If she is a high-school graduate, chances are she will have two children. But the woman who left school in the fourth grade is almost certain to have at least four.

This difference in birth rates is probably a direct result of use or nonuse of birth control. In one representative community it was found that 80 per cent of the "well-to-do" women practiced birth control. Only 30 per cent among the "very poor" used contraceptives. Birth control,

however, is merely a *means* of expressing the desire for a small or limited family. Desire for fewer children can be traced to the high cost of education, insistence on a high standard of material living and competing interests outside the home.

The make-up of our future population is frightening to some students of the rise and fall of civilizations. At the present rates of reproduction, within three generations the woman with a bachelor degree will have *one* grandchild. Her contemporary with less than a grammar-school diploma will have *nine* grandchildren. Geneticists state flatly that "*there is danger of outright decline in the physical and mental make-up of our population. We are not reproducing the best of ourselves.*"

In the geneticist's dictionary, "the best" is not a term of social snobbery, but a matter of scientific evidence—evidence that children of college-educated parents have a higher *average* intelligence than children born into non-educated homes. Thus, our educated women, potentially mothers of children with greater native ability, are guilty of squandering their genetic inheritance. Unthinkingly they are lowering the standards of future generations.

The first ominous signs are now appearing in our public schools. In one large Eastern city, the standard I.Q. test has been arbitrarily scaled down to meet the declining quality of the students. A child who would have rated only 90 on the test ten or fifteen years ago is now graded at 100. Thus the schools are hiding unpleasant facts from wide circulation.

There may be a negative comfort in knowing that other important nations are facing the same problem. There is positive encouragement in Sweden, where the unfavorable birth ratio has been *reversed*. Women in Sweden's upper education and income brackets are now scoring the highest birth rates, while women of less education and financial resources are bearing fewer children. Sweden produced this turnaround by a two-fold program. The cost of bearing and rearing children has been reduced, through free obstetrical services, nursery schools, dental clinics for school children. For those who *do not* want children *at any cost*, birth control is available on a nation-wide basis.

Sweden wisely realized that state aids alone—no matter how generous—would not bring about any great increase in births unless there was a psychological upgrading of the value of children in family life. In our own country this change of mind would be a major factor in adjusting the downward population spiral—if we should decide to do anything about the situation. Even as a nation of avowed individualists we will have to take the future into account as well as the whim of the moment. We must learn to take our babies more seriously and less sentimentally. We

must learn that our educational opportunities are not an outright gift, to be prodigally misspent. We must learn that we are not too educated to be parents; we must learn that we are too educated *not* to be!

What is the argument presented here? Summarize the author's main point.

28-2 Help Wanted—Women (1957)

After the war, married women, especially mothers, confronted difficult questions over whether to work. All women considering work faced dilemmas relating to the job market. Consider these want ads in the light of Documents 28-6 and 28-1 and text pp. 913-915, including the *Saturday Evening Post* cover and "American Voices."

Source: Classified ads, *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, May 12, 1957, part 5, 36, 40.

Executive Secretary \$100 Week

\$100 paid weekly to the PRESIDENT'S private secretary. Your own carpeted private office. Average skills nec. as you'll be handling most of your own correspondence. Ability to deal with people important, heavy public contact work involved. FREE at CHICAGO Personnel. 6 E. Randolph [Above Walgreens.] RAndolph 6-2355.

Arrange Social Functions

Famous college fraternity needs you to take over in their beautiful new national headquarters office. Make arrangements for social functions, send invitations to members, handle enrollments and all convention plans. \$70 to start with raise in 30 days for this unusually different position. FREE at LAKE Personnel. 29 E. Madison. RAndolph 6-4650

11th Fl.

RECEPTION LITE TYPING

No exp. nec. for this front office reception position. Answer pushbutton phones, greet visitors in beautiful modern office from 9-5. Lt. typing. Sal. high. FREE at LAKE Personnel. 29 E. Madison. RAndolph 6-4650.

11th Fl.

Reservation Secretary

Lite steno desired for unique position as secretary in charge of reservations for beautiful hotel. Handle accommodations for important people in the public eye. Poise and ability to deal with people important. Extremely high starting salary. FREE at LAKE Personnel. 29 E. Madison. RAndolph 6-4650

11th Fl.

AIRLINE TICKET SALES GIRL

\$305 mo. even during 10 day training period as ticket sales girl with high paying airline. All public contact—no office skills. Single girls receive travel passes for themselves and their families. Absolutely no exp. nec. For details see

BOULEVARD
5th Floor

22 W. Madison st.
Financial 6-3780

RECEPTION WILL TEACH SWBD.

No experience or typing needed to be front office girl in well known commercial art studio. Your nice appearance, friendly manner, interest in public contact qualify. Salary open and high! Vacation this summer! Beginner qualifies. No fee at BOULEVARD 5th Floor

22 W. Madison st.
Financial 6-3780

SECRETARY

Permanent position available for girl to perform secretarial work of a varied nature. Requires person with pleasing personality, experience and ability. Modern air conditioned office located for convenient transportation.

GOSS
PRINTING PRESS CO.
5601 W. 31ST-ST.

Bishop 2-3300

Ext. 311

SECRETARY

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIR.

Must have good stenographic skills and like to do a variety of work. Age 22-30. Paid vacations, holidays, company cafeteria, and other employee benefits.

ILLINOIS TOOL WORKS
2501 N. Keeler [4200 W.]

SECRETARY

VACATION WITH PAY THIS
SUMMER!

If you're not happy where you are, but don't want to lose your vacation this summer, here's your chance. We need a secretary for a vice president of this advertising agency, one who's neat, accurate taking and transcribing heavy copy dictation on electric typewriter, who can handle details herself, keep her boss on the beam, help out elsewhere in this six-girl office. We're in a spanking new office just a few steps from Van Buren I. C. station. A happy place to work in an expanding organization. Salary starts at \$70 per week, but you must work 1 month before vacation starts. We'll test you before hiring—to start at once.

CALL MR. DEAN
Wabash 2-8056

Can the problem that has no name be somehow related to the domestic routine of the housewife? When a woman tries to put the problem into words, she often merely describes the daily life she leads. What is there in this recital of comfortable domestic detail that could possibly cause such a feeling of desperation? Is she trapped simply by the enormous demands of her role as modern housewife: wife, mistress, mother, nurse, consumer, cook, chauffeur; expert on interior decoration, child care, appliance repair, furniture refinishing, nutrition, and education? Her day is fragmented as she rushes from dishwasher to washing machine to telephone to dryer to station wagon to supermarket, and delivers Johnny to the Little League field, takes Janey to dancing class, gets the lawnmower fixed and meets the 6:45. She can never spend more than 15 minutes on any one thing; she has no time to read books, only magazines; even if she had time, she has lost the power to concentrate. At the end of the day, she is so terribly tired that sometimes her husband has to take over and put the children to bed.

This terrible tiredness took so many women to doctors in the 1950s that one decided to investigate it. He found, surprisingly, that his patients suffering from "housewife's fatigue" slept more than an adult needed to sleep—as much as ten hours a day—and that the actual energy they expended on housework

did not tax their capacity. The real problem must be something else, he decided—perhaps boredom. Some doctors told their women patients they must get out of the house for a day, treat themselves to a movie in town. . . .

It is easy to see the concrete details that trap the suburban housewife, the continual demands on her time. But the chains that bind her in her trap are chains in her own mind and spirit. They are chains made up of mistaken ideas and misinterpreted facts, of incomplete truths and unreal choices. They are not easily seen and not easily shaken off.

How can any woman see the whole truth within the bounds of her own life? How can she believe that voice inside herself, when it denies the conventional, accepted truths by which she has been living? And yet the women I have talked to, who are finally listening to that inner voice, seem in some incredible way to be groping through to a truth that has defied the experts.

I think the experts in a great many fields have been holding pieces of that truth under their microscopes for a long time without realizing it. I found pieces of it in certain new research and theoretical developments in psychological, social and biological science whose implications for women seem never to have been examined. I found many clues by talking to suburban doctors, gynecologists, obstetricians, child-guidance clinicians, pediatricians, high-school guidance counselors, college professors, marriage counselors, psychiatrists and ministers—questioning them not on their theories, but on their actual experience in treating American women. I became aware of a growing body of evidence, much of which has not been reported publicly because it does not fit current modes of thought about women—evidence which throws into question the standards of feminine normality, feminine adjustment, feminine fulfillment, and feminine maturity by which most women are still trying to live.

* * * * *

If I am right, the problem that has no name stirring in the minds of so many American women today is not a matter of loss of femininity or too much education, or the demands of domesticity. It is far more important than anyone recognizes. It is the key to these other new and old problems which have been torturing women and their husbands and children, and puzzling their doctors and educators for years. It may well be the key to our future as a nation and a culture. We can no longer ignore that voice within women that says: "I want something more than my husband and my children and my home."

Directions: The year is 1954

Imagine that you are a doctor examining your patient, a suburban housewife.

Read the article below and create a list of:

① The symptoms of this "problem" with no name.

② Your diagnosis - what exactly is the problem?

③ Prescription - what can you give your patient (or what must occur) for her to get better?

source: American Review, Cambridge MA
Zoe Todd Ed, Belnap Press, Cambridge MA
2006

GERDA LERNER

Letter to Betty Friedan

1963

Second-wave feminists said the personal was political. But the feminist historian Gerda Lerner (b. 1920) made the personal historical. Focused on the intersections of race, class, and sex discrimination, she has spent decades writing history that might authorize and emancipate women, asserting in 1994 that women were "deprived of their own history, and that held them back."

Lerner was an early voice of third-wave feminism. In a private letter to Betty Friedan, printed here, she points out that Friedan's bestselling book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), doesn't address the problems of working-class women. Friedan wrote about white suburban women and didn't acknowledge that sexism changes in combination with racism or poverty. Her book lists statistics that hide poor whites, blacks, and lesbians (60 percent of women drop out of college to marry, three in ten women dye their hair blond, fourteen million women are engaged by age seventeen). Lerner anticipates the public criticisms of later feminists, who would note that domestic drudgery continues even when middle-class women enter the workplace and hire domestic help: a female household worker was more likely to be black than white. Other feminists added that Friedan had glamorized work; many women worked out of necessity, regarding full-time homemaking as an unaffordable ideal. "She did not tell readers whether it was more fulfilling to be a maid, a babysitter, a factory worker, a clerk, or a prostitute, than to be a leisure class housewife," said bell hooks in 1984.

The Feminine Mystique claims that myths of female identity are the barrier to gender equality, and tries to restore what Friedan calls "the firm core of self or 'I.'" In her letter, Lerner explains that this idea ignores the source of working women's problems and their institutional solutions. Working-class women had taken a different path to feminism and developed a politics of community. Unionized women were vocal in the 1930s and postwar decades, demanding child care, equal pay, and an end to sexual harassment. Women in the labor movement opened doors to traditionally male trades. Lerner's work, both before and after she wrote this letter, shows how the practical became ideological, the personal became collective, and the collective changed women's history. In 2003 she helped found Historians against the War, this time making the historical political.

I have just finished reading your splendid book and want to tell you how excited and delighted I am with it. You have done a most important job which desperately needed doing. I am sure it will unsettle a great many smug certain-

ties, cause a lot of healthy doubts, and, I hope, will stir up controversy. The "experts" of the feminine mystique have had it their way for far too long . . . The more controversy the better, for the sooner people will begin to think of new solutions. You have done for women what Rachel Carson did for birds and trees . . . I have one reservation about your treatment of your subject: you address yourself solely to the problems of middle class, college-educated women. This approach was one of the shortcomings of the suffrage movement for many years and has, I believe, retarded the general advance of women. Working women, especially Negro women, labor not only under the disadvantages imposed by the feminine mystique, but under the more pressing disadvantages of economic discrimination. To leave them out of consideration of the problem or to ignore the contributions they can make toward its solution, is something we simply cannot afford to do. By their desperate need, by their numbers, by their organizational experience (if trade union members), working women are most important in reaching *institutional* solutions to the problems of women. It is my belief, that one of the most insidious results of the feminine mystique is that it led women to believe that their problems could be solved on the basis of the individual family. This is, in fact, a serious retrogression, for American women learned before the turn of the century that community solutions to their problems were more important and far-reaching than the best individual solutions. I have in mind, for a future program, not only the fine educational scheme you suggested, but a system of social reforms (daycare centers, maternity benefits, communized household services), which would bring our social services up to a standard already taken for granted in many European and Scandinavian countries.

The Rights Revolution



The nation's foreign policy problems revealed that that turbulence overseas did not end with the Vietnam War. Feminists and gay activists carried the 1960s' rights revolution into the 1970s and 1980s, demanding equal opportunities and legal protections against discrimination. These movements struck at the heart of gender identity in American society, arousing conservative fears that traditional values were disappearing. The environmental movement, seeking to reverse the toll of industrial pollution on the nation's natural habitats, had more success than the women's and gay rights movements uniting Americans around a common cause.

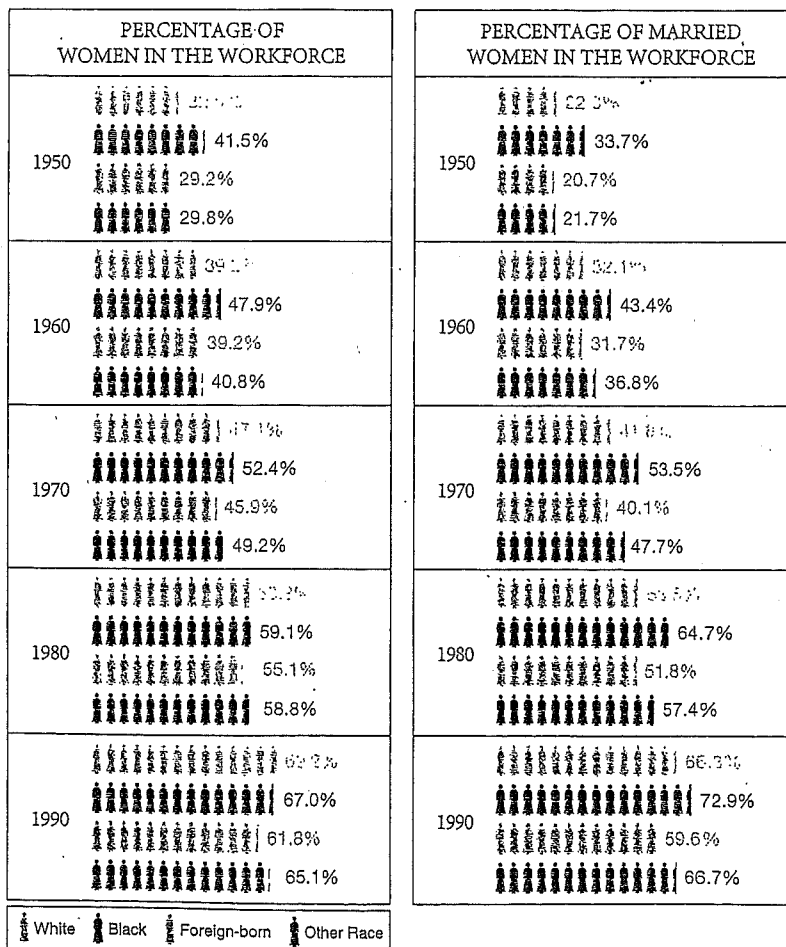
The Equal Rights Amendment and Abortion Controversies

Feminist political demands received unprecedented attention in the seventies. Hoping to eradicate gender discrimination and sexual inequality at the workplace, feminist organizations lobbied for equal pay for equal

work, ending sexual harassment, affordable day care, and paid maternity leave. These bread-and-butter issues became even more pressing as the economic downturn of the 1970s forced more women into the workplace. The chart *Women and Work, 1950–1990* (28.7) shows the steady increase in the percentage of women who worked outside the home over the second half of the twentieth century. In 1950, 32.5 percent of white women and 41.5 percent of black women worked, rising to 58.8 percent and 59.1 percent by 1980. Between 1950 and 1970 the percentage of white married women holding jobs nearly doubled from 22.3 percent to 41.8 percent, compared with 33.7 percent and 53.5 percent of black married women over the same period.

The feminist movement, however, faced considerable challenges convincing these working women that feminism provided the answer to the problems they faced balancing work and home life or advancing in the workplace. The press, one activist noted, portrayed the feminist as “a total weirdo—bra-burner, man-hater, lesbian, sickie!”—exaggerated stereotypes that threatened the movement's growth. Many women proved reluctant to publicly identify themselves as feminists even if they privately supported the women's movement goals, fearing social stigmatization as unfeminine. Divisions within the women's movement created another major obstacle. Poor minority women often saw racial and ethnic prejudice as bigger obstacles to their economic advancement than gender discrimination, and regarded white, upper-middle-class feminists with suspicion. Feminism, in the words of one black woman, was “basically a family quarrel between White women and White men.” Divisions between radicals and moderate feminists (see Chapter 27) also prevented women from speaking with one voice.

Despite negative media portrayals and problems attracting working-class women, the feminist



28.7 Women and Work, 1950–1990

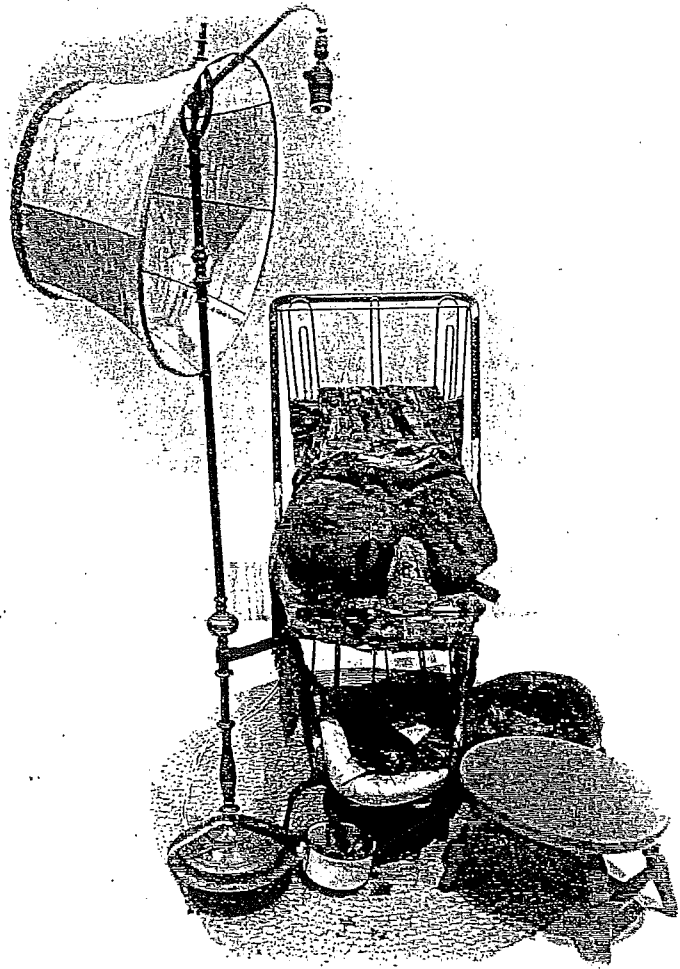
As more women entered the workforce, combating discrimination in the workplace became a major issue for the women's movement.

*How did the 2nd wave of feminism sustain both success + failure throughout this time?

movement enjoyed a wave of success in the early seventies. Cities established shelters for battered women and rape-crisis centers. Feminist campaigning led to the passage of Title IX of the 1972 Education Act, prohibiting gender discrimination in education. This law revolutionized high school and college sports by forcing administrators to create more teams and scholarships for female students. Congress also passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1972, a proposal that congressional supporters had introduced regularly since 1923 that stated, "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Within three years thirty-four of the thirty-eight states needed for ratification of the ERA had approved the measure, endorsing the feminist vision that the ERA guaranteed complete equality between women and men.

This avalanche of change outraged cultural conservatives who charged that the ERA would hasten the destruction of the American family. Phyllis Schlafly, a conservative Illinois lawyer with six children, led the anti-ERA crusade. Catapulting into the national spotlight, Schlafly helped forge the coalition among Catholics, southerners, antifeminists, religious fundamentalists, and fiscal conservatives that pushed the Republican Party to the right throughout the decade. Feminists branded Schlafly a hypocrite, pointing out that she was a well-educated woman who had enjoyed a satisfying career in Republican politics before spearheading the anti-ERA campaign. "She's an extremely liberated woman," asserted Karen DeCrow, the president of the feminist National Organization for Women. *Competing Visions: Defining the Ideal Woman* (page 860) further explores the spirited debate over female gender identity in the seventies. Schlafly's anti-feminist message resonated in the southern and mountain states, areas without strong local feminist organizations to offer a competing view of how gender discrimination adversely affected women in the workplace. In the end the anti-ERA forces prevailed. The ERA remained three states short when the deadline for approving the measure came in 1982, the first of many conservative political victories to come in the 1980s.

The rancor surrounding the issue of legalized abortion, however, soon far surpassed the barbs exchanged over the Equal Rights Amendment. Between 700,000 and 800,000 women a year sought illegal abortions, and botched procedures by incompetent practitioners working in unsanitary conditions killed 2,000–3,000 patients annually.



28.8 The Illegal Operation, 1962

Edward Kienholz's sculpture of a back-alley abortionist's office evoked pain and fear to protest the inability of women to secure a safe and legal abortion in the United States. [Source: Edward Kienholz, "The Illegal Operation". 1962. Sculptural installation of shopping cart, wooden stool, concrete, pots, blanket, hooked rug, medical equipment, polyester resin, pigment, etc. Dimensions: 59 x 48 x 54 in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Photograph © 2009 Museum Associates/LACMA]

Edward Kienholz's 1962 sculpture *The Illegal Operation* evoked the gruesomeness of visiting a back-alley abortionist (28.8). In the sculpture a lifeless, torn cushion (representing a woman's body) sits in a metallic chair above a white bowl filled with stained rags and crude kitchen utensils. The small stool in the foreground beckons viewers to take a seat and confront the realities of this secret butchery. The sculpture provoked little controversy when it appeared as part of a 1966 exhibition in Los Angeles. By then many Californians supported changing what the *Los Angeles Times* called "Our Archaic Abortion Law" that only allowed a woman to end a pregnancy if her life was in danger.

Bending to the popular will, then-California governor Ronald Reagan reluctantly signed a bipartisan-supported bill in 1967 that let women

terminate pregnancies in cases of rape and incest and fetuses with severe physical and mental defects, a decision he later called a mistake. Texas, however, still only allowed abortions if a pregnancy jeopardized a woman's life. Feminists felt that women, not male doctors, should have the right to make medical decisions about their own bodies. In 1970 Norma McCorvey, an unmarried, poor, pregnant twenty-five-year-old, sued the state of Texas under the pseudonym Jane Roe claiming that she had the right to a legal and safe abortion based on her constitutional "right to privacy." The Supreme Court dealt the feminist movement a stunning victory when it legalized abortion in its 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision. The ruling came too late for McCorvey, who gave birth to a baby girl and gave her up for adoption as the case moved through the courts.

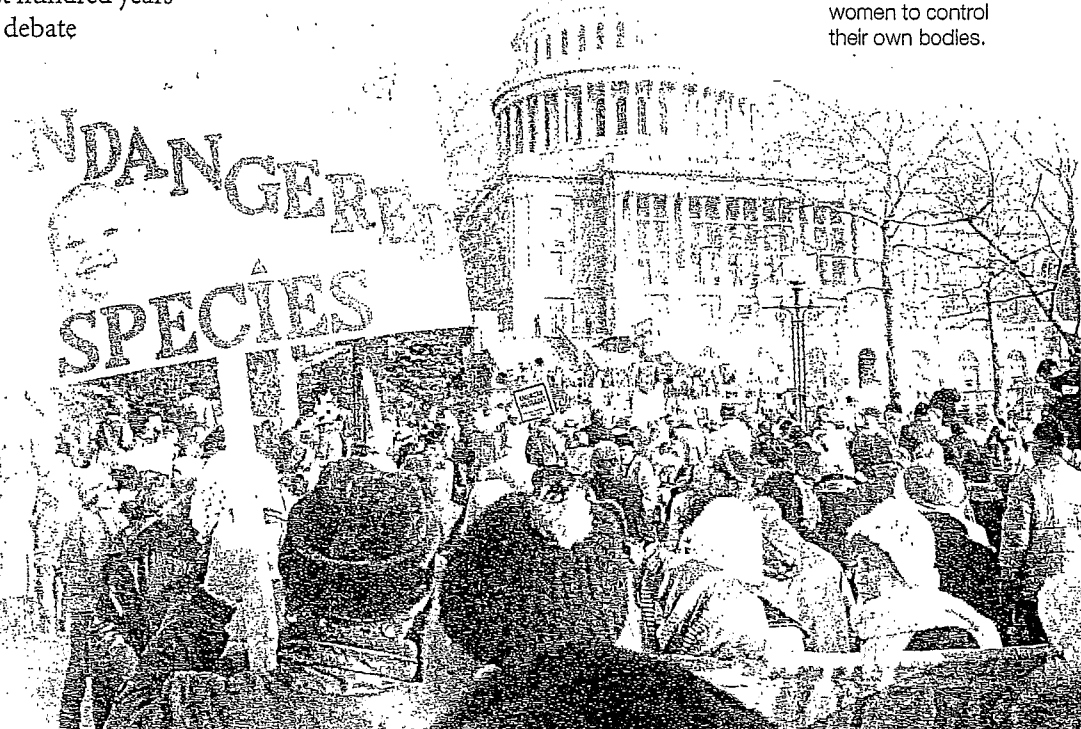
In rendering the *Roe v. Wade* decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the "right to privacy . . . is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy." The Court decision prohibited states from criminalizing abortion in the first trimester, but allowed states to regulate abortion in the second trimester and prohibit it during the third trimester when a fetus became viable. The Court, however, sidestepped a key question that would provoke much future controversy. "We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins," the Court asserted in granting women the legal right to an abortion. Critics argued that the Court had invented a right to privacy that did not exist in the Constitution. Supporters countered that court decisions over the last hundred years had firmly established this right. The debate soon seeped into national politics when the Democrats assumed the mantle of the party dedicated to maintaining a woman's right to choose an abortion and the Republicans became predominantly against the right to abortion, a position that came to be known as "pro-life."

The vocabulary embraced by each side in the abortion debate revealed competing visions of what abortion meant. Supporters of legalized abortion called themselves "pro-choice," a label encapsulating their view that abortion was a question of personal liberty. In contrast "pro-life" forces believed that human

life began at conception (not when a fetus was viable outside the womb); they therefore viewed abortion as tantamount to murder. Both sides employed the language of rights, the "rights of women" (pro-choice usage) squaring off against those of "unborn children" (pro-life term). The activist women facing off in this debate had very different life experiences and conceptions of motherhood. Pro-life activists had often built their lives around children and the home, and were outraged by their suspicion that pro-choice women had abortions "as a matter of convenience." Pro-choice activists often wanted careers as well as children and refused to allow biology to dictate their life choices.

McCorvey eventually changed her mind about abortion. Twenty years after *Roe v. Wade*, she became a born-again Christian who joined the anti-abortion crusade. Her reversal illustrated the growing momentum of the pro-life movement, which used images of children, like the one affixed to the sign of this 1979 pro-life demonstrator protesting in Washington, D.C. (23.9), to emphasize the rights of children. In the twenty-first century, the pro-life movement took advantage of new ultrasound portraits of fetuses in the womb that showed beating hearts to underscore their argument that life began at conception. Unable to overturn the *Roe* directly, pro-life activists secured a ban on federal funding for abortions. Some states also passed laws that required parental notification when minors sought abortions.

23.9 Pro-life Protest, 1979
 Pro-life demonstrators who opposed legalized abortion put the focus on the right of unborn children to have a life rather than the right of women to control their own bodies.



Roe v. Wade (1973)

Vocabulary

injunction A court order to cease or refrain from a particular action.

trimester A period of three months.

Reviewing the Case

In 1970, Jane Roe, a woman living in Dallas County, Texas, asked the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas to declare unconstitutional the Texas statutes outlawing abortion. The name *Jane Roe* was used to protect her privacy. Roe, a pregnant single woman, had hoped to terminate her pregnancy with the assistance of qualified, licensed medical personnel in the clean, safe conditions of a clinical setting. Texas laws, however, made abortion a crime except when performed to preserve the life of the mother. Roe could not afford to travel to another state for the procedure.

In her suit, Roe asked the district court not only to declare the statutes unconstitutional but also to issue an **injunction** barring the state from applying the statutes. She claimed that the Texas laws violated her constitutional rights under the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments.

The district court did declare the statutes void, saying they were vague and so broad that they infringed on Roe's constitutional rights of privacy. The court noted that the "fundamental right of single women and married persons to choose whether to have children is protected by the Ninth Amendment, through the Fourteenth Amendment. . . ." The court did not issue the injunction, however. Roe appealed the decision concerning the injunction to the U.S. Supreme Court. Henry Wade, district attorney for Dallas County, cross-appealed the decision to void the statute.

The issue before the Court: Do laws barring abortion except in cases in which the pregnant woman's life is threatened violate the privacy rights of the Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments?

The Supreme Court, in a 6-3 decision, ruled that the Texas statutes were unconstitutional because they were too broad and made no distinction between early and late abortions. It believed that Roe's privacy rights had been violated but that these rights were limited. Believing that the decision itself prohibited the Texas laws from being applied, the Court did not order an injunction.

Justice Harry Blackmun, who wrote the majority opinion, began with a lengthy review of the history of abortion legislation and attitudes toward it. He noted that restrictive state laws making abortion a crime dated mainly from the late 19th century. The conclusion of the majority of the Court was a compromise between a woman's right to privacy and the state's interest in regulating medical practice and protecting prenatal life.

Basic to the decision was the Court's view of privacy. Justice Blackmun wrote:

This right of privacy, whether it be founded in the Fourteenth Amendment's concept of personal liberty and restrictions upon state action, as we feel it is, or, as the District Court determined, in the Ninth Amendment's reservation of rights to the people, is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy. The detriment that the state [of Texas] would impose upon the pregnant woman by denying this choice altogether is apparent. . . .

We therefore conclude that the right of personal privacy includes the abortion decision, but that this right is not unqualified and must be considered against important state interests in regulation. . . .

One premise of the Texas statute was that life begins at the moment of conception. Believing that it is the duty of the state to protect life, Texas had banned abortion. The Court, however, would not take a position on

the question of when life begins. Blackmun pointed out that neither religion, medicine, nor philosophy could agree on an answer. He did review briefly what he termed "the wide divergence of thinking on this most sensitive and difficult question. . . ."

Even without answering the question of when life begins, the Court believed that the state did, at some point, have a legitimate interest in both the health of the mother and the well-being of "potential life." It therefore established time guidelines for the states, based on the concept of viability. The Court defined viability as the point at which a fetus can have "meaningful life outside the mother's womb." It divided the normal nine months of pregnancy into three **trimesters**:

For approximately the first trimester, the abortion decision is the exclusive right of the woman and her physician. From approximately the end of the first trimester, the state may, if it chooses, regulate abortions "in ways that are reasonably related to maternal health." The state may, for instance, regulate where abortions can be performed—hospitals, clinics, etc. (This second stage approximates the second trimester.)

Finally, from the point of viability (a period generally including most or all of the last trimester), the Court guidelines gave the state much more power. It could regulate and even prohibit abortion except when it was considered medically necessary to preserve the mother's life or health.

Justice William Rehnquist strongly disagreed with the decision. Writing in dissent, he said:

I have difficulty in concluding, as the Court does, that the right of "privacy" is involved in this case.

Roe v. Wade was one of the most controversial and divisive decisions ever handed down by the Supreme Court. Few other cases have generated as much emotion or action on the part of the American people. Groups for and against the right to choose abortion have solidified into powerful political forces. Both sides have demonstrated publicly. Since the *Roe* decision, some candidates for elected office have been judged on the basis of their positions on abortion. Judges appointed to the federal courts have had their positions on abortion used as the basis for challenging their qualifications. Both the Reagan and Bush administrations took positions against the right to choose and acted through executive orders and appointments to make legal abortions more difficult to obtain.

With the appointment of a number of justices by Presidents Reagan and Bush, the Supreme Court has altered its approach to the abortion question. A number of later decisions have weakened the provisions of *Roe v. Wade*, allowing state legislatures more leeway in passing restrictive statutes concerning many aspects of abortion.

Name _____ Date _____

Roe v. Wade (1973)

Elements of the Case

Directions: Fill in the appropriate information for each of the following elements of this case.

1. State the issue before the Supreme Court in this case.

2. What facts of the case were presented to the Court?

3. What was the decision of the Court? What was the rationale behind it?

4. What was the effect of the decision?

The Equal Rights Amendment Debate

Think about these interesting facts:

- No amendment has been introduced in Congress more frequently than the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).
- From its first introduction in 1923, the amendment has been sponsored in Congress several hundred times.

What is the history behind the Equal Rights Amendment, why is the proposed amendment so controversial, and why, to this day, has this amendment never been ratified by the U.S. Congress?

As you read the ERA History, answer about the following questions:

- In the very early days of the United States, what rights were women denied?
- In what ways did the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, while defining citizens as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States," actually work to deny rights to women?
- How was the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution a harsh blow to those who supported women's suffrage?
- What changes in women's lives in the early 20th century led many to fight for the right to vote?
- What types of groups opposed women's suffrage?
- How many years passed between the Seneca Falls Convention and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment?
- Even after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, why did women's rights leaders believe that an Equal Rights Amendment was necessary?

Below you will find various arguments from groups opposed to the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Write your reaction, either agreeing or disagreeing and explaining why, for each argument:

1. An Equal Rights Amendment would send women into combat.
2. An Equal Rights Amendment would deny women the financial support of their husbands.
3. An Equal Rights Amendment serves to uphold abortion rights.
4. An Equal Rights Amendment would lead to the legalization of homosexual marriages.
5. An Equal Rights Amendment would cost insurance companies money.
6. An Equal Rights Amendment goes against religion.

Now think about what you have learned about the history behind and arguments both for and against the passage of an Equal Rights Amendment. Write a short paragraph giving your opinion about whether or not this amendment should be added to the U.S. Constitution. You can earn two bonus points by posting your paragraph to your blog.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

As supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment between 1972 and 1982 lobbied, marched, rallied, petitioned, picketed, went on hunger strikes, and committed acts of civil disobedience, it is probable that many of them were not aware of their place in the long historical continuum of women's struggle for constitutional equality in the United States. From the very beginning, the inequality of men and women under the Constitution has been an issue for advocacy.

In 1776, Abigail Adams wrote to her husband John, "In the new code of laws, remember the ladies and do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands."¹ John Adams replied, "I cannot but laugh. Depend upon it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems."²

The new Constitution's promised rights were fully enjoyed only by certain white males. Women were treated according to social tradition and English common law and were denied most legal rights. In general they could not vote, own property, keep their own wages, or even have custody of their children.

19th-Century Women's Rights Struggles

The first visible public demand for equality came in 1848, at the first Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, NY. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, who had met as abolitionists working against slavery, convened a two-day meeting of 300 women and men to call for justice for women in a society where they were systematically barred from the rights and privileges of citizens. A Declaration of Sentiments and eleven other resolutions were adopted with ease, but the proposal for woman suffrage was passed only after impassioned speeches by Stanton and former slave Frederick Douglass, who called the vote the right by which all others could be secured. However, the country was far from ready to take the issue of women's rights seriously, and the call for justice was the object of much ridicule.

After the Civil War, Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Sojourner Truth fought in vain to have women included in new constitutional amendments giving rights to former slaves. The 14th Amendment defined citizens as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" and guaranteed equal protection of the laws – but in referring to the electorate, it introduced the word "male" into the Constitution for the first time. The 15th Amendment declared that "the rights of citizens . . . to vote shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" – but women of all races were still denied the ballot.

To Susan B. Anthony, the rejection of women's claim to the vote was unacceptable. In 1872, she went to the polls in Rochester, NY, and cast a ballot in the presidential election, citing her citizenship under the 14th Amendment. She was arrested, tried, convicted, and fined \$100, which she refused to pay. In 1875, the Supreme Court in *Minor v. Happersett* said that while women may be citizens, all citizens were not necessarily voters, and states were not required to allow women to vote.

Until the end of their long lives, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony campaigned for a constitutional amendment affirming that women had the right to vote, but they died in the first decade of the 20th century without ever casting a legal ballot.

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Victory for Woman Suffrage

The new century saw a profound change in the lives of women, as they joined the workforce in increasing numbers, led the movement for progressive social reform, and finally generated enough mass power to win the vote. Carrie Chapman Catt and the National American Woman Suffrage Association were a mainstream lobbying force of millions at every level of government. Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party were a small, militant group that not only lobbied but also conducted marches, political boycotts, picketing of the White House, and civil disobedience. As a result, they were attacked, arrested, imprisoned, and force-fed. But the country's conscience was stirred, and support for woman suffrage grew.

The 19th Amendment affirming women's right to vote steamrolled out of Congress in 1919, getting more than half the ratifications it needed in the first year. Then it ran into stiff opposition from states'-rights advocates, the liquor lobby, business interests against higher wages for women, and a number of women themselves, who believed claims that the amendment would threaten the family and require more of them than they felt their sex was capable of.

As the amendment approached the necessary ratification by three-quarters of the states, the threat of rescission surfaced. Finally the battle narrowed down to a six-week see-saw struggle in Tennessee. The fate of the 19th Amendment was decided by a single vote, that of 24-year-old legislator Harry Burn, who switched from "no" to "yes" in response to a letter from his mother saying, "Hurrah, and vote for suffrage!" The Secretary of State in Washington issued the 19th Amendment's proclamation immediately, before breakfast on August 26, 1920, in order to head off any final obstructionism.³

Thus mainstream and militant suffragists together finally won the first, and still the only, specific written guarantee of women's equal rights in the Constitution – the 19th Amendment, which declared, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." It had been 72 years from Seneca Falls to victory, and ironically, the most controversial resolution had been written into law first. But many laws and practices in the workplace and in society still perpetuated men's status as privileged and women's status as second-class citizens.

The Equal Rights Amendment

Freedom from legal sex discrimination, Alice Paul believed, required an Equal Rights Amendment that affirmed the equal application of the Constitution to all citizens. In 1923, in Seneca Falls for the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the 1848 Woman's Rights Convention, she introduced the "Lucretia Mott Amendment," which read: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." The amendment was introduced in every session of Congress until it passed in 1972.

Although the National Woman's Party and professional women such as Amelia Earhart supported the amendment, reformers who had worked for protective labor laws that treated women differently from men were afraid that the ERA would wipe out their progress.

In the early 1940s, the Republican Party and then the Democratic Party added support of the Equal Rights Amendment to their platforms. Alice Paul rewrote the ERA in 1943 to what is now called the "Alice Paul Amendment," reflecting the 15th and the 19th Amendments: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." But the labor movement was still committed to protective workplace laws, and social conservatives considered equal rights for women a threat to the existing power structure.

In the 1960s, over a century after the fight to end slavery fostered the first wave of the women's rights movement, the civil rights battles of the decade provided an impetus for the second wave. Women organized to demand their birthright as citizens and persons, and the Equal Rights Amendment rather than the right to vote became the central symbol of the struggle.

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Finally, organized labor and an increasingly large number of mainstream groups joined the call for the ERA, and politicians reacted to the power of organized women's voices in a way they had not done since the battle for the vote.

The Equal Rights Amendment passed the U.S. Senate and then the House of Representatives, and on March 22, 1972, the proposed 27th Amendment to the Constitution was sent to the states for ratification. But as it had done for every amendment since Prohibition (with the exception of the 19th Amendment), Congress placed a seven-year deadline on the ratification process. This time limit was placed not in the words of the ERA itself, but in the proposing clause.

Like the 19th Amendment before it, the ERA barreled out of Congress, getting 22 of the necessary 38 state ratifications in the first year. But the pace slowed as opposition began to organize – only eight ratifications in 1973, three in 1974, one in 1975, and none in 1976.

Arguments by ERA opponents such as Phyllis Schlafly, right-wing leader of the Eagle Forum/STOP ERA, played on the same fears that had generated female opposition to woman suffrage. Anti-ERA organizers claimed that the ERA would deny woman's right to be supported by her husband, privacy rights would be overturned, women would be sent into combat, and abortion rights and homosexual marriages would be upheld. Opponents surfaced from other traditional sectors as well. States'-rights advocates said the ERA was a federal power grab, and business interests such as the insurance industry opposed a measure they believed would cost them money. Opposition to the ERA was also organized by fundamentalist religious groups.

Pro-ERA advocacy was led by the National Organization for Women (NOW) and ERAmerica, a coalition of nearly 80 other mainstream organizations. However, in 1977, Indiana became the 35th and so far the last state to ratify the ERA. That year also marked the death of Alice Paul, who, like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony before her, never saw the Constitution amended to include the equality of rights she had worked for all her life.

Hopes for victory continued to dim as other states postponed consideration or defeated ratification bills. Illinois changed its rules to require a three-fifths majority to ratify an amendment, thereby ensuring that their repeated simple majority votes in favor of the ERA did not count. Other states proposed or passed rescission bills, despite legal precedent that states do not have the power to retract a ratification.

As the 1979 deadline approached, some pro-ERA groups, like the League of Women Voters, wanted to retain the eleventh-hour pressure as a political strategy. But many ERA advocates appealed to Congress for an indefinite extension of the time limit, and in July 1978, NOW coordinated a successful march of 100,000 supporters in Washington, DC. Bowing to public pressure, Congress granted an extension until June 30, 1982.

The political tide continued to turn more conservative. In 1980 the Republican Party removed ERA support from its platform, and Ronald Reagan was elected president. Although pro-ERA activities increased with massive lobbying, petitioning, countdown rallies, walkathons, fundraisers, and even the radical suffragist tactics of hunger strikes, White House picketing, and civil disobedience, ERA did not succeed in getting three more state ratifications before the deadline. The country was once more unwilling to guarantee women constitutional rights equal to those of men.

The Equal Rights Amendment was reintroduced in Congress on July 14, 1982 and has been before every session of Congress since that time. In the 107th Congress (2001 - 2002), it has been introduced as S.J.Res. 10 (chief sponsor: Sen. Edward Kennedy, MA) and H.J.Res. 40 (chief sponsor: Rep. Carolyn Maloney, NY). These bills impose no deadline on the ERA ratification process. Success in putting the ERA into the Constitution via this process would require passage by a two-thirds in each house of Congress and ratification by 38 states.

An alternative strategy for ERA ratification has arisen from the "Madison Amendment," concerning changes in Congressional pay, which was passed by Congress in 1789 and finally ratified in 1992 as the 27th Amendment.

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to the Constitution. The acceptance of an amendment after a 203-year ratification period has led some ERA supporters to propose that Congress has the power to maintain the legal viability of the ERA's existing 35 state ratifications. The legal analysis for this strategy is outlined in "The Equal Rights Amendment: Why the ERA Remains Legally Viable and Properly Before the States," an article by Allison Held, Sheryl Herndon, and Danielle Stager in the Spring 1997 issue of *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law*.

Under this rationale, it is likely that Congress could choose to legislatively adjust or repeal the existing time limit constraint on the ERA, determine whether or not state ratifications after the expiration of a time limit in a proposing clause are valid, and promulgate the ERA after the 38th state ratifies. H.Res. 98 (chief sponsor: Rep. Robert Andrews, NJ) in the 107th Congress promotes this strategy by stipulating that the House of Representatives shall take any necessary legislative action to verify the ERA's ratification when an additional three states ratify.

The Congressional Research Service analyzed this legal argument in 1996⁴ and concluded that acceptance of the Madison Amendment does have implications for the premise that ratification of the ERA by three more states could allow Congress to declare ratification accomplished. As of 2002, ratification bills testing this three-state strategy have been introduced in one or more legislative sessions in five states (Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Virginia), and supporters are seeking to move such bills in all 15 of the unratified states.⁵

In her remarks as she introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in Seneca Falls in 1923, Alice Paul sounded a call that has great poignancy and significance over 75 years later: "If we keep on this way they will be celebrating the 150th anniversary of the 1848 Convention without being much further advanced in equal rights than we are. . . . If we had not concentrated on the Federal Amendment we should be working today for suffrage. . . . We shall not be safe until the principle of equal rights is written into the framework of our government."

NOTES

¹ Letter, March 31, 1776 (in Alice S. Rossi, *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).

² Letter, April 14, 1776 (*ibid.*)

³ Carol Lynn Yellin, "Countdown in Tennessee, 1920," *American Heritage* (December 1978).

⁴ David C. Huckabee, "Equal Rights Amendment: Ratification Issues," Memorandum, March 18, 1996 (Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, DC).

⁵ Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia.

Document 30-5 provides Gloria Steinem's testimony in support of the ERA; Document 30-6 is an excerpt from Phyllis Schlafly's anti-feminist *Power of the Positive Woman*. Document 30-7 offers relevant planks from the national political party platforms of the period.

30-5 Statement in Support of the Equal Rights Amendment (1970)

Gloria Steinem

Gloria Steinem (b. 1934), a graduate of Smith College, became a journalist, gaining a measure of fame for an exposé based on her experiences as an undercover reporter posing as a Playboy Bunny. She edited *Ms.*, the most successful mass-circulation feminist publication, (see text pp. 987, 990), which made her a major figure in the feminist movement. Even before this, however, she was prominent enough to testify before a Senate subcommittee on behalf of the ERA. Mentioned in her essay are Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), a German Socialist and a collaborator of Karl Marx, and Gunnar Myrdal (1898–1987), the Swedish author of the classic *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (1944). Myrdal was also the co-winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1974.

Source: *The "Equal Rights" Amendment: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-First Congress, Second Session, on S. J. Res. 61, To Amend the Constitution so as to Provide Equal Rights for Men and Women, May 5, 6, and 7, 1970* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), 331–335 (May 6, 1970).

During 12 years of working for a living, I have experienced much of the legal and social discrimination reserved for women in this country. I have been refused service in public restaurants, ordered out of public gathering places, and turned away from apartment rentals; all for the clearly stated, sole reason that I am a woman. And all without the legal remedies available to blacks and other minorities. I have been excluded from professional groups, writing assignments on so-called "unfeminine" subjects such as politics, full participation in the Democratic Party, jury duty, and even from such small male privileges as discounts on airline fares. Most important to me, I have been denied a society in which women are encouraged, or even allowed, to think of themselves as first-class citizens and responsible human beings.

However, after 2 years of researching the status of American women, I have discovered that in reality, I am very lucky. Most women, both wage-earners and housewives, routinely suffer more humiliation and injustice than I do.

As a freelance writer, I don't work in the male-dominated hierarchy of an office. (Women, like blacks and other different minorities, do better in individual professions such as the arts, sports, or domestic work; anything in which they don't have authority over white males.) I am not

one of the millions of women who must support a family. Therefore, I haven't had to go on welfare because there are no day-care centers for my children while I work, and I haven't had to submit to the humiliating welfare inquiries about my private and sexual life, inquiries from which men are exempt. I haven't had to brave the sex bias of labor unions and employers, only to see my family subsist on a median salary 40 percent less than the male median salary.

I hope this committee will hear the personal, daily injustices suffered by many women—professionals and day laborers, women house-bound by welfare as well as by suburbia. We have all been silent for too long. But we won't be silent anymore.

The truth is that all our problems stem from the same sex based myths. We may appear before you as white radicals or the middle-aged middle class or black soul sisters, but we are all sisters in fighting against these outdated myths. Like racial myths, they have been reflected in our laws. Let me list a few.

That women are biologically inferior to men. In fact, an equally good case can be made for the reverse. Women live longer than men, even when the men are not subject to business pressures. Women survived Nazi concentration camps better, keep cooler heads in emergencies currently studied by disaster-researchers, are protected against heart attacks

by their female sex hormones, and are so much more durable at every stage of life that nature must conceive 20 to 50 percent more males in order to keep the balance going.

Man's hunting activities are forever being pointed to as tribal proof of superiority. But while he was hunting, women built houses, tilled the fields, developed animal husbandry, and perfected language. Men, being all alone in the bush, often developed into a creature as strong as women, fleet of foot, but not very bright.

However, I don't want to prove the superiority of one sex to another. That would only be repeating a male mistake. English scientists once definitively proved, after all, that the English were descended from the angels, while the Irish were descended from the apes; it was the rationale for England's domination of Ireland for more than a century. The point is that science is used to support current myth and economics almost as much as the church was.

What we do know is that the difference between two races or two sexes is much smaller than the differences to be found within each group. Therefore, in spite of the slide show on female inferiorities that I understand was shown to you yesterday, the law makes much more sense when it treats individuals, not groups bundled together by some condition of birth. . . .

Another myth, that women are already treated equally in this society. I am sure there has been ample testimony to prove that equal pay for equal work, equal chance for advancement, and equal training or encouragement is obscenely scarce in every field, even those—like food and fashion industries—that are supposedly “feminine.”

A deeper result of social and legal injustice, however, is what sociologists refer to as “Internalized Aggression.” Victims of aggression absorb the myth of their own inferiority, and come to believe that their group is in fact second class. Even when they themselves realize they are not second class, they may still think their group is, thus the tendency to be the only Jew in the club, the only black woman on the block, the only woman in the office.

Women suffer this second class treatment from the moment they are born. They are expected to be, rather than achieve, to function biologically rather than learn. A brother, whatever his intellect, is more likely to get the family's encouragement and education money, while girls are often pressured to conceal ambition and intelligence, to “Uncle Tom.”

I interviewed a New York public school teacher who told me about a black teenager's desire to be a doctor. With all the barriers in mind, she suggested kindly that he be a veterinarian instead.

The same day, a high school teacher mentioned a girl who wanted to be a doctor. The teacher said, “How about a nurse?”

Teachers, parents, and the Supreme Court may exude a protective, well-meaning rationale, but limiting the individual's ambition is doing no one a favor. Certainly not this country; it needs all the talent it can get.

Another myth, that American women hold great economic power. Fifty-one percent of all shareholders in this country are women. That is a favorite male-chauvinist statistic. However, the number of shares they hold is so small that the total is only 18 percent of all the shares. Even those holdings are often controlled by men.

Similarly, only 5 percent of all the people in the country who receive \$10,000 a year or more, earned or otherwise, are women. And that includes the famous rich widows.

The constantly repeated myth of our economic power seems less testimony to our real power than to the resentment of what little power we do have.

Another myth, that children must have full-time mothers. American mothers spend more time with their homes and children than those of any other society we know about. In the past, joint families, servants, a prevalent system in which grandparents raised the children, or family field work in the agrarian systems—all these factors contributed more to child care than the labor-saving devices of which we are so proud.

The truth is that most American children seem to be suffering from too much mother, and too little father. Part of the program of Women's Liberation is a return of fathers to their children. If laws permit women equal work and pay opportunities, men will then be relieved of their role as sole breadwinner. Fewer ulcers, fewer hours of meaningless work, equal responsibility for his own children: these are a few of the reasons that Women's Liberation is Men's Liberation too.

As for psychic health of the children, studies show that the quality of time spent by parents is more important than the quantity. The most damaged children were not those whose mothers worked, but those whose mothers preferred to work but stayed home out of the role-playing desire to be a “good mother.”

Another myth, that the women's movement is not political, won't last, or is somehow not “serious.”

When black people leave their 19th century roles, they are feared. When women dare to leave theirs, they are ridiculed. We understand this; we accept the burden of ridicule. It won't keep us quiet anymore.

Similarly, it shouldn't deceive male observers into thinking that this is somehow a joke. We are 51 percent of the population; we are essentially united on these issues across boundaries of class or race or age; and we may well end by changing this society more than the civil rights movement. That is an apt parallel. We, too, have our right wing and left wing, our separatists, gradualists, and Uncle Toms. But we are changing our own consciousness, and that of the country. Engels noted the relationship of the authoritarian, nuclear family to capitalism; the father as capitalist, the mother as means of production, and the children as labor. He said the family would change as the economic system did, and that seems to have happened, whether we want to admit it or not.

Women's bodies will no longer be owned by the state for the production of workers and soldiers; birth control and abortion are facts of everyday life. The new family is an egalitarian family.

Gunnar Myrdal noted 30 years ago the parallel between women and Negroes in this country. Both suffered from such restricting social myths as: smaller brains, passive natures, inability to govern themselves (and certainly not white men), sex objects only, childlike natures, special skills, and the like. When evaluating a general statement about women, it might be valuable to substitute "black people" for "women"—just to test the prejudice at work.

And it might be valuable to do this constitutionally as well. Neither group is going to be content as a cheap labor pool anymore. And neither is going to be content without full constitutional rights.

Finally, I would like to say one thing about this time in which I am testifying.

I had deep misgivings about discussing this topic when National Guardsmen are occupying our campuses, the country is being turned against itself in a terrible polarization, and America is enlarging an already inhuman and unjustifiable war. But it seems to me that much of the trouble in this country has to do with the "masculine mystique;" with the myth that masculinity somehow depends on the subjugation of other people. It is a bipartisan problem; both our past and current Presidents seem to be victims of this myth, and to behave accordingly.

Women are not more moral than men. We are only uncorrupted by power. But we do not want to imitate men, to join this country as it is, and I think our very participation will change it. Perhaps women elected leaders—and there will be many of them—will not be so likely to dominate black people or yellow people or men; anybody who looks different from us.

After all, we won't have our masculinity to prove.

Questions

1. What comparisons does Steinem make between women and African Americans?
2. What arguments involving the family does Steinem indicate were used by ERA opponents? What is Steinem's response to those arguments?
3. According to Steinem, in what ways are women different from men? Why is this significant?

30-6 The Power of the Positive Woman (1977)

Phyllis Schlafly

Phyllis Schlafly (b. 1924) worked her way (at night, in a wartime munitions factory) through Washington University, earned an M.A. at Radcliffe College, married, and raised six children. Involved in the Republican Party for some years, she contributed a polemical book, *A Choice, Not an Echo*, to Barry Goldwater's drive for nomination in 1964. She regained prominence in the 1970s when she founded the National Committee to Stop ERA and played an important part in defeating the amendment (while simultaneously earning her J. D. from Washington University). An excerpt from her anti-feminist book of this period follows (see text pp. 990-992).

Source: Phyllis Schlafly, *The Power of the Positive Woman* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1977), 16-19. Reprinted by permission of Phyllis Schlafly.

The women's liberationists and their dupes who try to tell us other than that the sexual drive of men and women is really the same, and that it is only societal restraints that inhibit women from an equal desire, an equal enjoyment, and an equal freedom from the consequences, are doomed to frustration forever. It just isn't so, and pretending cannot make it so. The differences are not a woman's weakness but her strength. . . .

The new generation can brag all it wants about the new liberation or the new morality, but it is still the woman who is hurt the most. The new morality isn't just a "fad"—it is a cheat and a thief. It robs the woman of her virtue, her youth, her beauty, and her love—for nothing, just nothing. It has produced a generation of young women searching for their identity, bored with sexual freedom, and despondent from the loneliness of living a life

without commitment. They have abandoned the old commandments, but they can't find any new rules that work.

The Positive Woman recognizes the fact that, when it comes to sex, women are simply not the equal of men. The sexual drive of men is much stronger than that of women. That is how the human race was designed in order that it might perpetuate itself. The other side of the coin is that it is easier for women to control their sexual appetites. A Positive Woman cannot defeat a man in a wrestling or boxing match, but she can motivate him, inspire him, encourage him, teach him, restrain him, reward him, and have power over him that he can never achieve over her with all his muscle. How or whether a Positive Woman uses her power is determined solely by the way she alone defines her goals and develops her skills.

The differences between men and women are also emotional and psychological. Without woman's innate maternal instinct, the human race would have died out centuries ago. There is nothing so helpless in all earthly life as the newborn infant. It will die within hours if not cared for. Even in the most primitive, uneducated societies, women have always cared for their newborn babies. They didn't need any schooling to teach them how. They didn't need any welfare workers to tell them it is their social obligation. Even in societies to whom such concepts as "ought," "social responsibility," and "compassion for the helpless" were unknown, mothers cared for their new babies.

Why? Because caring for a baby serves the natural maternal need of a woman. Although not nearly so total as the baby's need, the woman's need is nonetheless real.

The overriding psychological need of a woman is to love something alive. A baby fulfills this need in the lives of most women. If a baby is not available to fill that need, women search for a baby-substitute. This is the reason why women have traditionally gone into teaching and nursing careers. They are doing what comes naturally to the female psyche. The schoolchild or the patient of any age provides an outlet for a woman to express her natural maternal need.

This maternal need in women is the reason why mothers whose children have grown up and flown from the nest are sometimes cut loose from their psychological moorings. The maternal need in women can show itself in love for grandchildren, nieces, nephews, or even neighbors' children. The maternal need in some women has even manifested itself in an extraordinary affection lavished on a dog, cat, or a parakeet.

This is not to say that every woman must have a baby in order to be fulfilled. But it is to say that fulfillment for most women involves expressing their natural maternal urge by loving and caring for someone.

The women's liberation movement complains that traditional stereotyped roles assume that women are "passive" and that men are "aggressive." The anomaly is that a woman's most fundamental emotional need is not passive at all, but active. A woman naturally seeks to love affirmatively and to show that love in an active way by caring for the object of her affections.

The Positive Woman finds somebody on whom she can lavish her maternal love so that it doesn't well up inside her and cause psychological frustrations. Surely no woman is so isolated by geography or insulated by spirit that she cannot find someone worthy of her maternal love. All persons, men and women, gain by sharing something of themselves with their fellow humans, but women profit most of all because it is part of their very nature. . . .

Most women's organizations, recognizing the preference of most women to avoid hard-driving competition, handle the matter of succession of officers by the device of a nominating committee. This eliminates the unpleasantness and the tension of a competitive confrontation every year or two. Many women's organizations customarily use a prayer attributed to Mary, Queen of Scots, which is an excellent analysis by a woman of women's faults:

Keep us, O God, from pettiness; let us be large in thought, in word, in deed. Let us be done with fault-finding and leave off self-seeking. . . . Grant that we may realize it is the little things that create differences, that in the big things of life we are at one. . . .

Finally, women are different from men in dealing with the fundamentals of life itself. Men are philosophers, women are practical and 'twas ever thus. Men may philosophize about how life began and where we are heading; women are concerned about feeding the kids today. No woman would ever, as Karl Marx did, spend years reading political philosophy in the British Museum while her child starved to death. Women don't take naturally to a search for the intangible and the abstract. The Positive Woman knows who she is and where she is going, and she will reach her goal because the longest journey starts with a very practical first step.

Questions

1. Why does Schlafly refer to psychology in three instances?
2. How does Schlafly compare to reformers such as Frances Willard (Document 18-7) and Jane Addams (Document 20-5)?
3. Does Schlafly see men and women as true equals? Why or why not?

Competing Visions

DEFINING THE IDEAL WOMAN

What did it mean to be a woman? Cultural conservatives answered "wife and mother"; feminists disagreed. In 1972 journalist Gloria Steinem, founder of *Ms.*, a popular feminist magazine, argued that both women and men would be happier once freed from the straitjacket of culturally constructed gender roles. Conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly countered that gender identity was rooted in biology.

Gloria Steinem argued that women's liberation would benefit men as well as women.

I don't think most women want to pick up briefcases and march off to meaningless, depersonalized jobs.... We want to liberate men from those inhuman roles as well. We want to share the work and responsibility, and to have men share equal responsibility for the children. Probably the ultimate myth is that children must have fulltime mothers, and that liberated women make bad ones. The truth is that most American children seem to be suffering from too much mother and too little father.

Women now spend more time with their homes and families than in any other past or present society we know about. To get back to the sanity of the agrarian or joint family system, we need free universal day care. With that aid, as in Scandinavian countries, and with laws that permit women equal work and equal pay, man will be relieved of his role as sole breadwinner and stranger to his own children.

No more alimony. Fewer boring wives. Fewer childlike wives.... No more wives who fall apart with the first wrinkle because they've been taught that their total identity depends on their outsides. No more responsibility for another adult human being who has never been told she is responsible for her own life, and who sooner or later says some version of, "If I hadn't married you, I could have been a star." Women's Liberation really is Men's Liberation, too. ... Colleague marriages, such as young people have now, with both partners going to law-school or the Peace Corps together, ...

Communes; marriages that are valid for the child-rearing years only, there are many possibilities.

The point is that Women's Liberation is not destroying the American family. It is trying to build a human compassionate alternative out of its ruins.



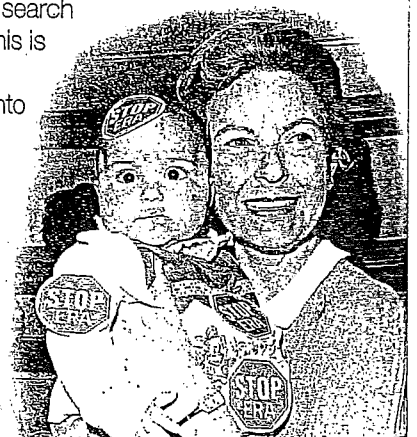
Gloria Steinem

Phyllis Schlafly claimed that the "Positive Woman" embraced her distinctly female role.

The first requirement for the acquisition of power by the Positive Woman is to understand the differences between men and women.... She rejoices in the creative capability within her body and the power potential of her mind and spirit. She understands that men and women are different, and that those very differences provide the key to her success as a person and fulfillment as a woman.

The women's liberationist, on the other hand, is imprisoned by her own negative view of herself and of her place in the world around her.... Women must be made equal to men in their ability *not* to become pregnant and *not* to be expected to care for babies they may bring into the world. This is why women's liberationists are compulsively involved in the drive to make abortion and childcare centers for all women, regardless of religion or income, both socially acceptable, and government-financed.... The Positive Woman looks upon her femaleness and her fertility as part of her purpose, her potential, and her power. She rejoices that she has a capability for creativity that men can never have ...

A Positive Woman cannot defeat a man in a wrestling match or boxing match, but she can motivate him, inspire him, encourage him, teach him, restrain him, reward him, and have power over him that he can never achieve over her with all his muscle.... The overriding psychological need of a woman is to love something alive. A baby fulfills this need in the lives of most women. If a baby is not available to fill that need, women search for a baby-substitute. This is the reason why women have traditionally gone into teaching and nursing careers. They are doing what comes naturally to the female psyche.



Phyllis Schlafly

Source: *Visions of America*

Do Steinem and Schlafly offer realistic or clichéd depictions of women's lives, or a combination of both?

29-9 Statement of Purpose (1966)

National Organization
for Women

The National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded in 1966 by a small group of women. One of the founders, Betty Friedan, had gained widespread recognition with the publication of her book *The Feminine Mystique* three years earlier. The organizers of NOW hoped the group would serve women as the NAACP had long served African Americans.

Source: Betty Friedan, *It Changed My Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), pp. 87-91. Copyright, © 1963, 1964, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1985, 1991, 1998 by Betty Friedan. Originally published by Random House, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Curtis Brown, Ltd.

We, men and women who hereby constitute ourselves as the National Organization for Women, believe that the time has come for a new movement toward true equality for all women in America, and toward a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part of the world-wide revolution of human rights now taking place within and beyond our national borders.

The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men. . . .

There is no civil rights movement to speak for women, as there has been for Negroes and other victims of discrimination. The National Organization for Women must therefore begin to speak.

WE BELIEVE that the power of American law, and the protection guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution to the civil rights of all individuals, must be effectively applied and enforced to isolate and remove patterns of sex discrimination, to ensure equality of opportunity in employment and education, and equality of civil and political rights and responsibilities on behalf of women, as well as for Negroes and other deprived groups. . . .

WE DO NOT ACCEPT the token appointment of a few women to high-level positions in government and industry as a substitute for a serious continuing effort to recruit and advance women according to their individual abilities. To this end, we urge American government and industry to mobilize the same resources of ingenuity and command with which they have solved problems of far greater difficulty than those now impeding the progress of women.

WE BELIEVE that this nation has a capacity at least as great as other nations, to innovate new social institutions which will enable women to enjoy true equality of opportunity and responsibility in society, without conflict with their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers. In such innovations, America does not lead the Western world, but lags by decades behind many European countries. We do not accept the traditional assumption that a woman has to choose between marriage and motherhood, on the one

hand, and serious participation in industry or the professions on the other. We question the present expectation that all normal women will retire from job or profession for ten or fifteen years, to devote their full time to raising children, only to reenter the job market at a relatively minor level. This in itself is a deterrent to the aspirations of women, to their acceptance into management or professional training courses, and to the very possibility of equality of opportunity or real choice, for all but a few women. Above all, we reject the assumption that these problems are the unique responsibility of each individual woman, rather than a basic social dilemma which society must solve. True equality of opportunity and freedom of choice for women requires such practical and possible innovations as a nationwide network of child-care centers, which will make it unnecessary for women to retire completely from society until their children are grown, and national programs to provide retraining for women who have chosen to care for their own children full time.

WE BELIEVE that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy—with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that, for a girl as for boy [*sic*], education can only be serious where there is expectation that it will be used in society. We believe that American educators are capable of devising means of imparting such expectations to girl students. Moreover, we consider the decline in the proportion of women receiving higher and professional education to be evidence of discrimination. This discrimination may take the form of quotas against the admission of women to colleges and professional schools; lack of encouragement by parents, counselors and educators; denial of loans or fellowships; or the traditional or arbitrary procedures in graduate and professional training geared in terms of men, which inadvertently discriminate against women. We believe that the same serious attention must be given to high school dropouts who are girls as to boys.

WE REJECT the current assumptions that a man must carry the sole burden of supporting himself, his wife, and

family, and that a woman is automatically entitled to life-long support by a man upon her marriage, or that marriage, home and family are primarily woman's world and responsibility—hers, to dominate, his to support. We believe that a true partnership between the sexes demands a different concept of marriage, an equitable sharing of the responsibilities of home and children and of the economic burdens of their support. We believe that proper recognition should be given to the economic and social value of homemaking and child care. To these ends, we will seek to open a reexamination of laws and mores governing marriage and divorce, for we believe that the current state of “half-equality” between the sexes discriminates against both men and women, and is the cause of much unnecessary hostility between the sexes.

WE BELIEVE that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens. They must refuse to be segregated on the basis of sex into separate-and-not-equal ladies' auxiliaries in the political parties; and they must demand representation according to their numbers in the regularly constituted party committees—at local, state, and national levels—and in the informal power structure, participating fully in the selection of candidates and political decision-making, and running for office themselves.

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF WOMEN, we will protest and endeavor to change the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of our major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves. We are similarly opposed to all policies and practices—in church, state, college, factory, or office—which, in the guise of protectiveness, not only deny opportunities but also foster in women self-denigration, dependence, and evasion of responsibility, undermine their confidence in their own abilities and foster contempt for women. . . .

WE BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of women by *acting* now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity—not in pleas for special privilege, nor in enmity toward men, who are also victims of the current half-equality between the sexes—but in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society.

Questions

1. What major issues does NOW identify in its statement of purpose?
2. How, according to NOW, should these issues be addressed?
3. ~~Compare and contrast NOW's statement of purpose with Mary King and Casey Hayden's "Sex and Goals" (Instructor's Resource Manual, Vol. 2, 297–298).~~

Questions for Further Thought

1. ~~Based on your reading of the text (pp. 950–961) and Documents 29-4 through 29-9, what similarities and dissimilarities do you see among these activists?~~
2. ~~What factors would you cite in seeking to explain the “wave of [racial] riots” that swept across black ghettos between 1964 and 1968?~~
3. Compare and contrast the feminist movement and the earlier woman's suffrage movement.

The Long Road Home, 1968–1975

Before the United States set out on its “long road home,” it endured a “year of shocks” in 1968, arguably as painful and difficult a year as any in the history of the republic. That year witnessed the Vietcong's Tet Offensive, the withdrawal of President Johnson from the presidential race, the anti-war Democratic presidential candidacies of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy, the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy, African American ghetto riots after the murder of Dr. King, campus

10/31/2013

	Goals	Methods	Supporting Quotation
Eleanor Roosevelt			
Betty Friedan			
NOW			
Gloria Steinem			

source: "American Radical Literature" Zoe Todd Ed.
Belnap Press, Cambridge MA 2006

RENEE FERGUSON

Women's Liberation Has a Different Meaning for Blacks

1970

"Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender," wrote the feminist author Alice Walker, explaining that "womanist" referred to a feminist of color who fought for all oppressed men and women. Professional, liberal white women championed one kind of feminism in the 1960s, but a more diverse group of women, many of whom had encountered varying degrees of sexism from black nationalists and civil rights activists, led another part of the movement. Black feminists stressed the interconnection of race, gender, and class, and challenged the assumption that black women needed white feminists to explain sexist oppression for them. Many objected that white, middle-class women presented their experiences as universal. "The oppression of women knows no ethnic or racial boundaries, true, but that does not mean it is identical within those boundaries," wrote the poet and essayist Audre Lorde in 1979. Along with the literature of Lorde and Walker, Toni Cade's *The Black Woman* (1970) and Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* (1970) were important texts of black feminism.

Black feminist groups formed in parallel with the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women (founded 1972), the Mexican American Woman's Association (also formed in 1972), and Women of All Red Nations, founded in 1974 by women's rights activists in the American Indian Movement. In 1968 Francis Beal and other members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's Women's Caucus formed the Third World Women's Alliance, the first black feminist group of second-wave feminism. In 1973, Black Women Organized for Action was founded in San Francisco, and the National Black Feminist Organization was founded in New York. The Combahee River Collective, a black lesbian feminist group, was founded in 1974.

Renee Ferguson (b. 1949), now an NBC reporter, was a *Washington Post* intern when she wrote this article in 1970 discussing the "priorities of black women versus the priorities of white women." These different priorities were evident in groups' agendas. Like the National Organization for Women (NOW), black feminist organizations worked on reproductive rights, abortion access, child care, and welfare rights. But their priorities also included protesting forced sterilization, rape, police brutality, union busting, and imperialism. Lorde explained that "for nonwhite women in this country, there [are] . . . three times the number of unnecessary enervations, hysterectomies and sterilizations as for white women; three times as many chances of being raped, murdered, or assaulted."

White feminist groups did eventually address the diversity of women's oppression. But tensions arose when NOW's white leaders declined to support Shirley Chisholm's candi-

dacy for the presidential nomination in 1972. Chisholm, the first African American woman elected to Congress, told NOW and others: "If you can't support me, get out of my way."

Further reading: Cynthia Burack, *Healing Identities* (2004); Elizabeth Spelman, *Inessential Woman* (1988).

The women's liberation movement touches some sensitive nerves among black women—but they are not always the nerves the movement seems to touch among so many whites.

At a time when some radical white feminists are striving for a different family structure, many black women are trying to stabilize their families. They are making a special effort, in a great number of cases, to assume the wife and mother role more effectively. Whether a black woman feels that she can relate to the women's liberation movement and the extent to which she is or not involved in it may well depend on her age and her experiences.

Dr. Anna Hedgeman, for instance, who takes pride in the fact that she lived in Harlem for most of the 30 years she has lived in New York, is a strong advocate of the women's liberation movement. She believes that there is no way in which black women in America are uninvolved in the movement. "We as Afro-American women have to face the problems of total discrimination in our society," Dr. Hedgeman says. "We have the extra burden of being women. But if you just review the problems that women face you need only substitute the word Afro-American people for the word women and you have the same problems—job discrimination, want ads that discriminate and false stereotypes."

On the other hand, Howard University senior and Student Association Secretary Pamela Preston doesn't think that the women's liberation movement has any meaning for black women. "As far as I'm concerned the women's liberation movement is trite, trivial and simple. It's just another white political fad," Miss Preston says. "Black people have some of the same problems that they had when they were first brought to this country. That's what we've got to deal with." If the relatively modest turnout of black women for the recent Woman's Liberation Day demonstrations is any indication of the black women's interest in the movement, then perhaps Miss Preston's attitude is indicative of the way most black women feel.

These vastly differing attitudes raise a real question about the extent to which the women's liberation movement means very much to black women. Do black women and white women have the same social, economic and political priorities and problems and how do they affect the status of the women's liberation movement in the minds of black women?

In a 1963 article which appeared in the *Washington Post*, the president of the National Council of Negro Women, Dorothy Height, said, "A Negro woman has the same kind of problems as other women, but she can't take the same things for granted. For instance, she has to raise children who seldom have the same sense of security that white children have when they see their father accepted as a successful member of the community. A Negro child's father is ignored as though he doesn't exist."

The instability of the black inner-city family has been the subject of concern and study by sociologists for years . . . Local singer Marjorie Barnes in citing the problems of the instability of black families as one of her main reasons for non-involvement in the women's liberation movement, says, "I don't think that black women can afford to be competitive with their men—especially now. Competing with them for jobs would just add to the problem that already exists. Black women have been able to find work when their husbands couldn't and have often been the head of the family not because they wanted to be but out of economic necessity. Some of those women's lib girls are asking for jobs that black men haven't been able to get." Miss Barnes adds, "Black women have the additional problem of raising their children in crime ridden neighborhoods and they've got to see to it that their children receive a decent basic education. Most black women don't have time to take up white middle class cause women's lib unless they're trying to hide from the realities of the struggle for black liberation."

During a recent interview Miss Height, who served as a member of President Kennedy's commission on the status of women and who has been working actively for women's liberation for many years, explained the lack of black involvement in the movement this way: "A few days ago we observed the fiftieth anniversary of women's suffrage, but in 1965 black women had to work for the passage of a voting rights act in order to make it possible for millions of black people to have their right to vote protected. I think that it is not that black women are not interested in the liberation of women, but many people have not recognized that everyone has to work for the liberation of black people—men and women."

Even those black women who vehemently oppose the women's liberation movement agree that some of the political and social reforms for which the movement is working and have helped achieve will help black women. They agree that abortion reform and free child care centers would be of considerable value to black women. And they acknowledge the fact that a strong woman's lobby helped pass the New York State abortion reform law, which will have a positive effect on halting the heretofore growing rate of New York hospital emergency cases of black and other minority-group women who attempt to

perform self-induced abortions. They were also unable to deny the fact that black women are the victims of stereotypes but possibly more hurtful.

When asked to describe the black stereotypical woman Miss Preston replies, "Black women are pictured by some segments of white society and even by some black men as loud, obstinate, domineering, emasculating and generally immoral—that old Sapphire image. In contrast white women are stereotyped as blue-eyed, virtuous, to-be-put-on-a-pedestal types. But I don't think it's going to take any women's liberation movement to remove those stereotypes."

Miss Height believes that the main black stereotype of black women pictures them as the domineering matriarch. "There is a complete denial by this society of the fact that since the slave ships brought the black woman to this country she has had to hold the family together," Miss Height says. "She has been forced into a position of responsibility. These stereotypes have even caused the black male to think that he is dominated. The whole culture downgrades women. White women aren't treated as real human beings. They must be subservient to the male and are at his mercy for being called either beautiful and dumb or smart and aggressive. The black woman has had to struggle against being a person of great strength. She has had to demonstrate the skill to cope with that has happened to the whole black family. Black women have had to make for themselves services that white women have been able to take for granted. We had to take care of our own teen-age mothers when white women had Florence Crittendon homes over the years. Our children had to carry the door key around their necks because there were no day care centers for black working mothers."

Another important issue of the women's liberation movement has been sexual exploitation. White women are rebelling against advertising that insults women and magazines that depict women as nonthinking, bosomy bundles of sexiness placed on earth for the benefit of the *Playboy Magazine* centerfold and the prurient interests of men. To black women, the term sexual exploitation has a completely different meaning. Dr. Hedgeman describes the sexual exploitation of black women through the mass media. "We just weren't even there. We've had the greater sexual exploitation because we were ignored. We've not been seen. It's only been in the past couple of years that even the ads recognized the fact that we use toothpaste. And since then we've been used in the same stupid ways as women have always been used. In addition to that, African American women have been sexually abused. During slavery we were chattel, breeders and often times at the mercy of slave owners. That was a form of sexual exploitation that affects us even today."

Perhaps the lack of involvement of black women in the women's liberation

movement can best be explained in terms of priorities. The priorities of black women versus the priorities of white women.

Obviously the first priority of virtually all black people is the elimination of racial prejudice in America—in effect the liberation of black people. Second in importance is the black family problem of establishing a decent way of life in America as it exists today. When racism in America is eliminated, then perhaps the black family's stability problem will disappear and more black women will be able to give first priority to the elimination of oppression because of sex.

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

For the Equal Rights Amendment

1970

In this speech, Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005) tells Congress that it is not too late to complete the Founding Fathers' unfinished work. An amendment outlawing sex discrimination was also the unfinished work of one of feminism's founding mothers: Alice Paul had first proposed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1923. Introducing it on the 75th anniversary of the 1848 Seneca Falls "Declaration of Sentiments," Paul had warned: "If we keep on this way they will be celebrating the 150th anniversary of the 1848 Convention without being much further advanced in equal rights than we are." Like advocates for the Civil Rights Act in the early 1960s, Chisholm believed equality before the law would begin a process of attitude change. Women would no longer feel inferior, and men would find it harder to perpetuate myths of male superiority. The House and Senate passed the ERA in October 1971 and March 1972, but it needed ratification by 38 states. Indiana was the 35th and last state to ratify, in 1977, the year that Paul died. The deadline for ratification passed in 1979.

Chisholm had become the first black woman in Congress in 1968. She got there, she said, in spite of two "handicaps," but called sex a worse handicap than race. She often compared feminism to the civil rights movement, noting that shame of race had become pride, and so should shame of sex. In 1972 she entered the Democratic presidential primaries, later explaining: "The next time a woman runs . . . she will be taken seriously . . . I ran because somebody had to do it first." She caused further controversy when she visited rival candidate George Wallace, a segregationist Alabama governor, in the hospital during the campaign after he was left paralyzed by an assassination attempt. When Chisholm arrived at the hospital, Wallace asked her, "What are your people going to say?" She replied, "I know what they're going to say. But I wouldn't want what happened to you to happen to anyone." Wallace cried.

Further reading: Kenneth Karst, *Belonging to America* (1989); Jane Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (1986).

Mr. Speaker, House Joint Resolution 264, before us today, which provides for equality under the law for both men and women, represents one of the most clear-cut opportunities we are likely to have to declare our faith in the principles that shaped our Constitution. It provides a legal basis for attack on the most subtle, most pervasive, and most institutionalized form of prejudice that

Women's Liberation Movement

Primary Source Packet

Directions: read each document ALONE and fill in the questions, Active reading

Think: What is the WLM? What do women want and why?

ON CELIBACY by Densmore, Dana

One hangup to liberation is a supposed "need" for sex. It is something that must be refuted, coped with, demystified, or the cause of female liberation is doomed.

Already we see girls, thoroughly liberated in their own heads, understanding their oppression with terrible clarity trying, deliberately and a trace hysterically, to make themselves attractive to men, men for whom they have no respect, men they may even hate, because of "a basic sexual-emotional need."

Sex is not essential to life, as eating is. Some people go through their whole lives without engaging in it at all, including fine, warm, happy people. It is a myth that this makes one bitter, shriveled up, twisted.

The big stigma of life-long virginity is on women anyway, created by men because woman's purpose in life is biological and if she doesn't fulfill that she's warped and unnatural and "must be all cobwebs inside."

Men are suspected at worst of being self-centered or afraid of sex, but do not carry any stigma of being unnatural. A man's life is taken as a whole on its merits. He was busy, it may be thought, dedicated, a great man who couldn't spare the time and energy for demanding relationships with women.

Everyone of us must have noticed occasions when he was very involved in something, fighting, working, thinking, writing, involved to the extent that eating was haphazard, sleeping deliberately cheated. But the first thing that goes is sex. It's inconvenient, time-consuming, energy-draining, and irrelevant.

We are programmed to crave sex. It sells/consumer goods. It gives a lift and promises a spark of individual self-assertion in a dull and routinized world. It is a means to power (the only means they have) for women.

It is also, conversely, a means of power for men, exercised over women, because her sexual desire is directed to men.

Few women are actually satisfied, of course, but they blame the particular man and nurse the myth that they can be satisfied and that this nirvana is one which a man and only a man can bring her.

Moreover, sexual freedom is the first freedom a woman is awarded and she thinks it is very important because it's all she has; compared to the dullness and restrictiveness of the rest of her life it glows very brightly.

How does the author feel about sexuality?

What is the role of woman in the world as the author sees it? How do others view the role of woman?

How does this document fit into the struggle for woman's rights?

BARBAROUS RITUALS: 84 Ways To Feminize Humans--anon

Woman is:

---kicking strongly in your mother's womb, upon which she is told, "It must be a boy, if it's so active!"

---being tagged with a pink beaded bracelet thirty seconds after you are born, and wrapped in pink blankets five minutes thereafter.

---being confined to the Doll Corner in nursery school when you are really fascinated by Tinker Toys.

---wanting to wear overalls instead of "frocks."

---learning to detest the words "dainty" and "cute. "

---being labeled a tomboy when all you wanted to do was climb that tree to look out and see a distance.

---learning to sit with your legs crossed, even when your feet can't touch the floor yet.

---hating boys--because they're allowed to do things you want to do but are forbidden to--and being told hating boys is a phase.

---learning that something you do is "naughty," but when your brother does the same thing, it's "spunky."

---wondering why your father gets mad now and then, but your mother mostly sighs a lot.

---seeing grownups chuckle when you say you want to be an engineer or doctor when you grow up--and learning to say you want to be a mommy or a nurse, instead.

---wanting to shave your legs at twelve and being agonized because your mother won't let you.

---being told nothing whatsoever about menstruation, so that you think you are bleeding to death with your first period, or:

---being told all about it in advance by kids at school who titter and make it clear the whole thing is dirty, or:

---being prepared for it by your mother, who carefully reiterates that it isn't dirty, all the while talking just above a whisper, and referring to it as the "curse," "being sick," or "falling off the roof."

---feeling proud of and disgusted by your own body, for the first, but not last, time..

---dying of shame because your mother makes you wear a "training bra," but there's nothing to train, or:

---dying of shame because your mother won't let you wear a bra and your breasts are bigger than other girls' your age and they flop when you run and you sit all the time with your arms folded over your chest.

1. List at least seven criticisms that this author has about the way girls are brought up.

2. How does this document fit into the WLM?

SEPARATE IS NEVER EQUAL: THE EXPERIENCE OF MT. LEBANON

Testimony of a High School Pitcher by Ruth Colker

Many people have finally come to recognize that physical fitness is equally important for females and males. One such group is the State Board of Education. But agreement on this one principle in no way quells the controversy regarding female participation in athletics because the question still exists of how to achieve this physical fitness. Two schools of thought exist: separate but equal programs and coeducational programs for males and females.

SCHOOL FACILITIES--Gyms: The boys have exclusive use of a double gym which is centrally located, has a seating capacity of 2400, modern electronic scoreboard, two locker rooms, whirlpool bath, and excellent lighting. The girls have exclusive use of the oldest gym, which is a single gym with a seating capacity of 800, has foldout bleachers which go against the foul lines and often interfere with play, very poor lighting, and is located at the extreme end of the building far from the parking lot. I remember spending five or ten minutes the first time I went to a girls' athletic event, trying to find the entrance to the gym. **Fields:** The boys have exclusive use of a football, soccer, and double basketball field. By contrast, the girls have to share a boys' Little League field which they must vacate by sex p. m. Since practice did not begin until 3:30 D. m. this was often an inconvenience.

Here is a comparison of the coaches' salaries for the same years experience and the percentage, girls' Of boys'.

Boys' basketball	\$1680	50%
Girls' basketball	\$840	
Boys' baseball	\$673	63%
Girls' Softball	\$421	
Boys' track	\$1121	55%
Girls' track	\$617	
Boys' swimming	\$1121	70%
Girls' swimming	\$784	

These percentage disparities are constant throughout the pay scale. And you get what you pay for. On the whole, the girls' coaching is far inferior to that of the boys'.

Personally, I played varsity fast pitch softball in eleventh and twelfth grades. In eleventh grade, the teacher who coached us was so poor that at the end of the year he did not receive tenure and was fired. Although I was the starting pitcher for the team, I received no pitching assistance and was never even told that I would be pitching until it was time for the team to go on the field. I often strained muscles because I could not adequately warm up. The next year, however, the coaching was even worse. The coach often displayed even an ignorance of the rules. The coach for the boys' intramural softball would have been willing to coach girls' varsity softball except that the salary for the intramurals was the same and it required much less work. Because of this poor coaching, no girl had an opportunity to achieve her potential as an athlete.

SCHEDULED PROGRAM TIME--Pool time: The swimming seasons for boys and girls do not overlap since most schools only have one pool. Therefore, the girls' season encompasses the first two months and the boys' the next two months. The boys, however, practice in the mornings and after school from 2:20 to 3:20 exclusively during the girls' season in September and October. When the girls, however, need to practice for the state qualifier during the boys' season, they are only given one lane for the twenty girls from

3:20 to 5:00. Competing at the state level is one of the highest goals a swimmer can reach, and it is important that she practice hard to compete at that level.

In terms of number of games played, the girls generally play less games per season than the boys. Game situations, of course, are the true tests for all athletes. This disparity is often due to the fact that there are fewer nearby schools with girls' teams than boys'. This would be eliminated if all schools were forced to offer girls equal opportunities to participate.

NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES--I have already mentioned that my school offered nine varsity sports for boys and seven for girls, but when one studies the details of their opportunities, it is clear that many more boys can and do participate than girls. For instance, the boys' track team has a no cut rule so that fifty to one hundred boys can be on the team, whereas the girls' team cuts to twenty-five girls. The boys also have a special program for freshmen in football, wrestling, and basketball, which the girls do not have. In 1973, Mt. Lebanon estimated that 470 boys participated in interscholastic athletics and only 210 girls did.

1. *What are the inequalities that exist in this school?*

2. *Why are these inequalities present?*

3. *What are the effects of these inequalities?*

4. *How does this document fit into the WLM?*

ABORTION RALLY SPEECH

I would like to address this speech, to those women, and there are few enough here, who had the guts to show up at this rally. There are many many more out there who could not make it. Many who are afraid to take a stand on an issue as important as their own self determination. Many who are terrified even to express support for a man who did more than merely support them, but a man who took the risks that they should have taken. But I didn't come to excoriate other women. For I must confess that even I after months of work in women's liberation, had my fears about coming out openly for free abortion. Before hundreds of people? Perhaps to be quoted? God, what would my father think? Let's face it. Woman is scared shitless. And she has good reason to be! She has been told to shut up and stop talking a million times. On a higher level, when she expressed concern for personal relationships she is told haughtily that she is too subjective, too

wrapped up in her own problems. If she dares to have a self, she is termed selfish, and unfeminine. If she dares to have an opinion, she is called shrewish and opinionated. She has been told to stay at home, where she belongs, and not to meddle in important affairs, to "leave the driving to us."

But despite all this, the need for an abortion frequently starts a woman thinking. And let us not kid ourselves, it is not a distant Aunt who faced this problem. We ourselves do. And if by some accident, any of you women here at the rally have avoided it, you can count yourselves lucky or bless the pill. For you know as well as I that you are the exception and not the rule. Think about your female friends. I'll bet you that those of them who have had the problem outnumber those who haven't.

So we have a young woman faced with an unwanted pregnancy, if she doesn't act fast, She knows that nothing short of a miraculous miscarriage can save her from the frightening prospect of twenty years of unprepared for childbearing, that will necessarily be, in this society, entirely on her shoulders.

In all good faith and trust she will approach her man first. Shocking what she is likely to hear, and many do, is a complete denial, something on the order of "Hell, no, it aint mine." If she's lucky, or higher class he may choose to assume some responsibility: that is, he will send her to an illegal doctor, perhaps help her to scrape together some money if she has none. Sometimes he will grudgingly even marry her, in which case she will never hear the end of it. And if she doesn't hear about it explicitly, she will have to be doubly grateful to him, reinforcing her already dependent position.

And if she is already married, and surprisingly most women in this position are, her lot is not much better. She will be stuck with the full responsibility for rearing an unwanted extra child, but to rebel against this is to face grave personal danger, financial extortion, illegal action, blame and the resulting guilt feelings.

In all these cases the woman finds that even if the man helps her, he is helping her with HER problem, not THEIR problem, that in the end she is the one who must take the risks and pay the price of their mutual relationship with blood. And the same men exclude her from the lawmaking process which decides her fate! Think about it! How many women represent you in the law-making bodies of this country? The few that there are not chosen as women, but as wives, wives of this or that man, or because of their reactionary politics. It is a grand convention of dogs deciding the fate of cats. And now the Blumenthal Bill comes around, providing loop--holes in the male law. So! Some dogs have decided that certain cats should be allowed to break their rules. Well, thanks. But, sir, we're getting tired of all this gratitude. We're tired of having to feel grateful, like house servants glad that at least they are not the field hands out there picking cotton. Who gave you lawmakers the right to make us have to feel gratitude? Those bodies belong to us. We don't have to appear in your courts proving our mental incompetence to you before we can avoid forced childbearing!

1. *Why does this author believe that abortion is necessary?*

2. *What are her criticisms of the way that unwanted pregnancies are currently handled?*

3. *What happens to married women who do not want a child?*

4. *Why can't women stand up for themselves?*
5. *What are there not as many people at the rally that there could be?*
6. *What does the author mean when she says "HER problem, not THEIR problem"?*
7. *What does this document have to do with the WLM?*

The BITCH Manifesto by Joreen

...man is defined as a human being and woman is defined as a female. Whenever she tries to behave as a human being she is accused of trying to emulate the male...--Simone de Beauvoir

BITCH is an organization which does not yet exist. The name is not an acronym. It stands for exactly what it sounds like

BITCH is composed of Bitches. There are many definitions of a bitch. The most complimentary definition is a female dog. Those definitions of bitches who are also homo sapiens are rarely as objective. They vary from person to person and depend strongly on how much of a bitch the definer considers herself. However, everyone agrees that a bitch is always a female, dog, or otherwise.

It is also generally agreed that a Bitch is aggressive, and therefore unfeminine (ahem). She may be sexy, in which case she becomes a Bitch Goddess, a special case which will not concern us here. But she is never a "true woman."

Bitches have some or all of the following characteristics.

1) Personality. Bitches are aggressive, assertive, domineering, overbearing, strong-minded, spiteful, hostile, direct, blunt, candid, obnoxious, thick-skinned, hard-headed, vicious, dogmatic, competent, competitive, pushy, loud-mouthed, independent, stubborn, demanding, manipulative, egoistic, driven, achieving, overwhelming, threatening, scary, ambitious, tough, brassy, masculine, boisterous, and turbulent. Among other things. A Bitch occupies a lot of psychological space. You always know she is around. A Bitch takes shit from no one. You may not like her, but you cannot ignore her.

2) Physical. Bitches are big, tall, strong, large, loud, brash, harsh, awkward, clumsy, sprawling, strident, ugly. Bitches move their bodies freely rather than restrain, refine and confine their motions in the proper feminine manner. They clomp up stairs, stride when they walk and don't worry about where they put their legs when they sit. They have loud voices and often use them. Bitches are not pretty.

3) Orientation. Bitches seek their identity strictly thru themselves and what they do. They are subjects, not objects. They may have a relationship with a person or organization, but

they never marry anyone or anything; man, mansion, or movement. Thus Bitches prefer to plan their own lives rather than live from day to day, action to action, or person to person. They are independent cusses and believe they are capable of doing anything they damn well want to. If something gets in their way; well, that's why they become Bitches. If they are professionally inclined, they will seek careers and have no fear of competing with anyone. If not professionally inclined, they still seek self-expression and self-actualization. Whatever they do, they want an active role and are frequently perceived as domineering. Often they do dominate other people when roles are not available to them which more creatively sublimates their energies and utilize their capabilities. More often they are accused of domineering when doing what would be considered natural by a man. A true Bitch is self-determined, but the term "bitch" is usually applied with less discrimination. It is a popular derogation to put down uppity women that was created by man and adopted by women. Like the term "rigger," "bitch" serves the social function of isolating and discrediting a class of people who do not conform to the socially accepted patterns of behavior.

BITCH does not use this word in the negative sense. A woman should be proud to declare she is a Bitch, because Bitch is Beautiful. It should be an act of affirmation by self and not negation by others. Not everyone can qualify as a Bitch. One does not have to have all of the above three qualities, but should be well possessed of at least two of them to be considered a Bitch. If a woman qualifies in all three, at least partially, she is a Bitch's Bitch. Only Superbitches qualify totally in all three categories and there are very few of those. Most don't last long in this society.

Our society has defined humanity as male, and female as something other than male. In this way, females could be human only by living vicariously thru a male. To be able to live, a woman has to agree to serve, honor, and obey a man and what she gets in exchange is at best a shadow life. Bitches refuse To serve, honor or obey anyone. They demand to be fully functioning human beings, not just shadows. They want to be both female and human. this makes them social contradictions. The mere existence of Bitches negates the idea that a woman's reality must come thru her relationship to a man and defies the belief that women are perpetual children who must always be under the guidance of another.

Therefore, if taken seriously, a Bitch is a threat to the social structures, which enslave women and the social values, which justify keeping them in their place. She is living testimony that woman's oppression does not have to be, and as such raises doubts about the validity of the whole social system. Because she is a threat she is not taken seriously. Instead, she is dismissed as a deviant. Men create a special category for her in which she is accounted at least partially human, but not really a woman. To the extent to which they relate to her a human being, they refuse to relate to her as a sexual being. Women are even more threatened because they cannot forget she is a woman. They are afraid they will identify with her too closely. She has a freedom and an independence which they envy and challenges them to forsake the security of their chains. Neither men nor women can face the reality of a Bitch because to do so would force them to face the corrupt reality of themselves. She is dangerous. So they dismiss her as a freak.

1. What is a BITCH?

2. *What is the author's argument?*
3. *How does the author define a bitch?*
4. *Why is it good to be a bitch for some people?*
5. *Why is it bad to be a bitch for some people?*
6. *What is wrong with the word bitch?*
7. *Why are bitches dismissed?*
8. *What is the role of this document in the WLM?*

Questions:

1. What are the rights that women are seeking?
2. What inequalities do women perceive?
3. Which do you see still in existence today?

30-7 Democratic and Republican National Platform Planks on the Equal Rights Amendment and Abortion (1976, 1980)

As seen earlier, conflicts over social and other issues often find expression in the national platforms of political parties. The following planks were included in the Democratic and Republican platforms of 1976 and 1980 (see text pp. 987-1001).

Sources: Donald Bruce Johnson, comp., *National Party Platforms*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), vol. 2, 1960-1976, 925-926, 976; Donald Bruce Johnson, comp., *National Party Platforms of 1980: Supplement to National Party Platforms, 1840-1976* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 60, 62, 181, 183.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (1976)

Civil and Political Rights

To achieve a just and healthy society and enhance respect and trust in our institutions, we must insure that all citizens are treated equally before the law and given the opportunity, regardless of race, color, sex, religion, age, language or national origin, to participate fully in the economic, social and political processes and to vindicate their legal and constitutional rights.

In reaffirmation of this principle, an historic commitment of the Democratic Party, we pledge vigorous federal programs and policies of compensatory opportunity to remedy for many Americans the generations of injustice and deprivation; and full funding of programs to secure the implementation and enforcement of civil rights.

We seek ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, to insure that sex discrimination in all its forms will be ended, implementation of Title IX and elimination of discrimination against women in all federal programs. . . .

We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area. . . .

REPUBLICAN PARTY (1976)

Equal Rights and Ending Discrimination

Women

Women, who comprise a numerical majority of the population, have been denied a just portion of our nation's rights and opportunities. We reaffirm our pledge to work to eliminate discrimination in all areas for reasons of race, color, national origin, age, creed or sex and to enforce vigorously laws guaranteeing women equal rights.

The Republican Party reaffirms its support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Our Party was the first national party to endorse the E.R.A. in 1940. We continue to believe its ratification is essential to insure equal rights for all Americans. In our 1972 Platform, the Repub-

lican Party recognized the great contributions women have made to society as homemakers and mothers, as contributors to the community through volunteer work, and as members of the labor force in careers. The Platform stated then, and repeats now, that the Republican Party "fully endorses the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities for women." The Equal Rights Amendment is the embodiment of this principle and therefore we support its ratification.

The question of abortion is one of the most difficult and controversial of our time. It is undoubtedly a moral and personal issue but it also involves complex questions relating to medical science and criminal justice. There are those in our Party who favor complete support for the Supreme Court decision which permits abortion on demand. There are others who share sincere convictions that the Supreme Court's decision must be changed by a constitutional amendment prohibiting all abortions. Others have yet to take a position, or they have assumed a stance somewhere in between polar positions.

We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parents' obligation and right to guide their minor children. The Republican Party favors a continuance of the public dialogue on abortion and supports the efforts of those who seek enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children. . . .

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (1980)

Ensuring Basic Rights and Liberties

Equal Rights Amendment

The Democratic Party recognizes that every issue of importance to this nation and its future concerns women as well as men. As workers and consumers, as parents and heads of households, women are vitally concerned with the economy, energy, foreign policy, and every other issue addressed in this platform. The concerns of women cannot be limited to a portion of the platform; they must be reflected in every section of our Party's policy.

There is, however, a particular concern of women which deserves special emphasis—their entitlement to full equality in our society.

Women are a majority of the population. Yet their equality is not recognized in the Constitution or enforced as the law of the land. The choices faced by women—such as whether to seek employment or work at home, what career or profession to enter, and how to combine employment and family responsibilities—continue to be circumscribed by stereotypes and prejudices. Minority women face the dual discrimination of racism and sexism.

In the 1980s, the Democratic Party commits itself to a Constitution, economy, and society open to women on an equal basis with men.

The primary route to that new horizon is ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. A Democratic Congress, working with women's leaders, labor, civil and religious organizations, first enacted ERA in Congress and later extended the deadline for ratification. Now, the Democratic Party must ensure that ERA at last becomes the 27th Amendment to the Constitution. We oppose efforts to rescind ERA in states which have already ratified the amendment, and we shall insist that past rescissions are invalid.

In view of the high priority which the Democratic Party places on ratification of the ERA, the Democratic National Committee renews its commitment not to hold national or multi-state meetings, conferences, or conventions in states which have not yet ratified the ERA. The Democratic Party shall withhold financial support and technical campaign assistance from candidates who do not support the ERA. The Democratic Party further urges all national organizations to support the boycott of the unratified states by not holding national meetings, conferences, or conventions in those states. . . .

The Democratic Party recognizes reproductive freedom as a fundamental human right. We therefore oppose government interference in the reproductive decisions of Americans, especially those government programs or legislative restrictions that deny poor Americans their right to privacy by funding or advocating one or a limited number of reproductive choices only.

Specifically, the Democratic Party opposes involuntary or uninformed sterilization for women and men, and op-

poses restrictions on funding for health services for the poor that deny poor women especially the right to exercise a constitutionally-guaranteed right to privacy. . . .

REPUBLICAN PARTY (1980)

Women's Rights

We acknowledge the legitimate efforts of those who support or oppose ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

We reaffirm our Party's historic commitment to equal rights and equality for women.

We support equal rights and equal opportunities for women, without taking away traditional rights of women such as exemption from the military draft. We support the enforcement of all equal opportunity laws and urge the elimination of discrimination against women. We oppose any move which would give the federal government more power over families.

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is now in the hands of state legislatures, and the issues of the time extension and rescission are in the courts. The states have a constitutional right to accept or reject a constitutional amendment without federal interference or pressure. At the direction of the White House, federal departments launched pressure against states which refused to ratify ERA. Regardless of one's position on ERA, we demand that this practice cease. . . .

Abortion

There can be no doubt that the question of abortion, despite the complex nature of its various issues, is ultimately concerned with equality of rights under the law. While we recognize differing views on this question among Americans in general—and in our own Party—we affirm our support of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children. We also support the Congressional efforts to restrict the use of taxpayers' dollars for abortion.

We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parents' obligation and right to guide their minor children. . . .

Questions

1. Compare and contrast the 1976 Democratic and Republican national platform planks dealing with the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and abortion. Compare and contrast the parties' 1980 platforms regarding the same issues.
2. How did the 1980 platform planks of each party echo those of four years earlier? How did they strike different notes?
3. How do you account for change and continuity, between 1976 and 1980, in the opposing parties' positions relative to the ERA and abortion?

January 8, 2008

OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

Women Are Never Front-Runners

By GLORIA STEINEM

Correction Appended

THE woman in question became a lawyer after some years as a community organizer, married a corporate lawyer and is the mother of two little girls, ages 9 and 6. Herself the daughter of a white American mother and a black African father — in this race-conscious country, she is considered black — she served as a state legislator for eight years, and became an inspirational voice for national unity.

Be honest: Do you think this is the biography of someone who could be elected to the United States Senate? After less than one term there, do you believe she could be a viable candidate to head the most powerful nation on earth?

If you answered no to either question, you're not alone. Gender is probably the most restricting force in American life, whether the question is who must be in the kitchen or who could be in the White House. This country is way down the list of countries electing women and, according to one study, it polarizes gender roles more than the average democracy.

That's why the Iowa primary was following our historical pattern of making change. Black men were given the vote a half-century before women of any race were allowed to mark a ballot, and generally have ascended to positions of power, from the military to the boardroom, before any women (with the possible exception of obedient family members in the latter).

If the lawyer described above had been just as charismatic but named, say, Achola Obama instead of Barack Obama, her goose would have been cooked long ago. Indeed, neither she nor Hillary Clinton could have used Mr. Obama's public style — or Bill Clinton's either — without being considered too emotional by Washington pundits.

So why is the sex barrier not taken as seriously as the racial one? The reasons are as pervasive as the air we breathe: because sexism is still confused with nature as racism once was; because anything that affects males is seen as more serious than anything that affects "only" the female half of the human race; because children are still raised mostly by women (to put it mildly) so men especially tend to feel they are regressing to childhood when dealing with a powerful woman; because racism stereotyped black men as more "masculine" for so long that some white men find their presence to be masculinity-affirming (as long as there aren't too many of them); and because

there is still no "right" way to be a woman in public power without being considered a you-know-what. 10/31/2013

I'm not advocating a competition for who has it toughest. The caste systems of sex and race are interdependent and can only be uprooted together. That's why Senators Clinton and Obama have to be careful not to let a healthy debate turn into the kind of hostility that the news media love. Both will need a coalition of outsiders to win a general election. The abolition and suffrage movements progressed when united and were damaged by division; we should remember that.

I'm supporting Senator Clinton because like Senator Obama she has community organizing experience, but she also has more years in the Senate, an unprecedented eight years of on-the-job training in the White House, no masculinity to prove, the potential to tap a huge reservoir of this country's talent by her example, and now even the courage to break the no-tears rule. I'm not opposing Mr. Obama; if he's the nominee, I'll volunteer. Indeed, if you look at votes during their two-year overlap in the Senate, they were the same more than 90 percent of the time. Besides, to clean up the mess left by President Bush, we may need two terms of President Clinton and two of President Obama.

But what worries me is that he is seen as unifying by his race while she is seen as divisive by her sex.

What worries me is that she is accused of "playing the gender card" when citing the old boys' club, while he is seen as unifying by citing civil rights confrontations.

What worries me is that male Iowa voters were seen as gender-free when supporting their own, while female voters were seen as biased if they did and disloyal if they didn't.

What worries me is that reporters ignore Mr. Obama's dependence on the old — for instance, the frequent campaign comparisons to John F. Kennedy — while not challenging the slander that her progressive policies are part of the Washington status quo.

What worries me is that some women, perhaps especially younger ones, hope to deny or escape the sexual caste system; thus Iowa women over 50 and 60, who disproportionately supported Senator Clinton, proved once again that women are the one group that grows more radical with age.

This country can no longer afford to choose our leaders from a talent pool limited by sex, race, money, powerful fathers and paper degrees. It's time to take equal pride in breaking all the barriers. We have to be able to say: "I'm supporting her because she'll be a great president and because she's a woman."

Cecilia Steinem is a co-founder of the Women's Media Center.

Correction: January 9, 2008

On the chart below, graph the trajectory of the women's rights movement toward gaining equality. For two of the changes in slope, explain WHY that change happens. Give details as to who, what, where, and why. An explanation is not valid if it says, "the slope goes up because women gain more rights." (that's clear from your graph).

100%

Equality

0%

1848 1868 1898 1918 1938 1968

