CONTENTS

xi	Acknowledgments	
xiii	List of Acronyms	
1	Introduction	
11	THE BIRTH OF FEMINISM	
51	2 THE WOMAN'S PARTY	
83	3 VOLUNTARIST POLITICS	

4 EQUAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC ROLES 115 5 MODERN TIMES 143

6 THE ENEMY OF SOCIETY 175

7 PROFESSIONALISM AND FEMINISM 213

8 IN VOLUNTARY CONFLICT 241

Conclusion 269

List of Abbreviations Used in Notes 285

Notes 287

Index 367

INDEX

Addams, Jane, 33, 40, 94, 102, 139–40, 148, 149, 258 Advertising, 145, 146, 163, 170–74,

34on.47

American Association of University Women (AAUW), 80, 92, 94, 182, 227, 231, 234-35, 257-58, 265

American Birth Control League, 68, 91 American War Mothers, 93, 255-57

Ames, Jessie Daniel, 95

Anderson, Mary, 99, 111, 128, 258; opposition to ERA, 124–29 passim, 330n.42; definition of feminism, 134–35; view of married women wage-earners, 137–40, 202–04

Anthony, Katherine, 47, 140, 180, 290n.56 Anthony, Susan B., 13, 18, 54, 67 Anti-feminism, 9, 44, 61, 134–35, 230,

232, 271-73, 279

Anti-suffragist reasoning, 13, 44, 61
Associations, women's voluntary, 22–23, 85–97, 241; patriotic, 93–94, 250–51, 255–59; for international peace, 94–95, 243–51 passim, 254–60 passim; membership of, 97; and lobbying, 97–99, 231, 265; among professionals, 230–31; conflict among, 255–66 passim. See also individual organizations

Austin, Mary: quoted, 18-19, 20, 44

Beard, Mary Ritter, 5, 37, 120, 280, 303n.11; in CU, 53, 54, 55, 56
Bellanca, Dorothy Jacobs, 236
Belmont, Alva (Mrs. O. H. P.), 27, 33, 65, 259; in CU, 55–56; financial support to NWP, 75, 78, 128, 311n.42; and Doris Stevens, 78, 263, 277
Bennett, Josephine, 65, 70, 73
Birth control, 46, 47, 48, 59; and NWP, 68, 70; movement in 1920s, 90–91; use of, 165–67

Birth rate, 165–66, 338n.35 Black, Ruby, 208, 231 Black women, 9; and woman suffrage, 31–32; and NWP, 68–70, 71–72, 308n.30, 309n.31; voluntary associations of, 87, 88, 92–93; and voting, 103, 104, 318n.30; Southern households of, 145; in labor force, 204; segregation protested at NCW, 256

Blair, Emily Newell, 11, 280
Blatch, Harriot Stanton: as suffragist
leader, 24-25, 36, 57, 65-66; view of
sex-based legislation, 121, 123, 129, 140;
in WCPA, 251-52

Boeckel, Florence Brewer, 66, 245, 246, 263

Bolshevik Revolution, 60, 63, 66, 73 Bureau of Vocational Information (BVI), 180, 187–88, 194, 226, 233 Burns, Lucy, 53, 67 Byrns, Elinor, 37, 38, 61, 65, 248, 358n.19

Cable Act, 98–99, 265
Careers for women, 154, 179; in connection with marriage, 192–211, 342n.8
Casey, Josephine, 56, 126, 325n.15
Catt, Carrie Chapman, 57, 85, 86, 100, 112, 123, 251, 272, 275; defines feminism, 14, 276; stance as suffrage leader,

as peace advocate, 61, 244, 258, 259; and NCCCW, 94–95, 257–58, 359n.25 Childrearing, 165, 167–71, 188, 197–99 Children's Bureau, U.S., 112, 168, 202, 204, 238

26-27, 28, 30, 58, 60-61, 122, 305n.17;

Christman, Elisabeth, 127, 128, 137 College: attendance by women, 22, 40, 148, 297n.46; students and woman suffrage, 32–33; summer schools for workers, 89; women students' outlooks, 148– 49, 181; careers subsequent to, 195–96, 208–09, 344n.22; women faculty members, 215, 218, 221–22, 223, 227–28, 231, 234–35

Committee of 48, 64–65, 251, 305n.20 Communist Party, 74, 260, 282 Conference on Progressive Political Action (CPPA), 251–52 Congressional Union (CU), 27, 53–59, 100, 112, 302n.8. See also National Woman's Party; Woman's Party

Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 94, 255-59, 261 De Beauvoir, Simone, 5, 276 De Ford, Miriam Allen, 42-43, 281-82

Democratic Party, 54, 58, 86, 102, 110, 111, 142, 252, 253

Dennett, Mary Ware, 68, 90-91 Disarmament advocacy, 243-47, 251-52, 254; in NWP, 70, 244-45. See also Peace advocacy

Dock, Lavinia, 25, 55, 75, 129, 262 Domestic work, 41, 118–19, 131, 132, 146, 163–65, 187–89, 196–97, 210–11, 224, 331n.2; by husbands, 192, 194–95,

Dorr, Rheta Childe, 24, 27, 38–39, 46, 47,

Doty, Madeline, 25, 72, 158

Eastman, Crystal: on Feminism, 38, 48, 117, 155, 180; and CU, 53, 55; and National Labor Party, 64; agenda for NWP, 67, 70–73

Economic independence (concept of): linked to feminism, 7, 8, 40–41, 118–19, 134, 138–39, 179–80, 185, 204, 206; and motherhood endowment, 46–47; linked to ballot, 117, 185–86; proposed for married women, 179–85; and marriage contract, 185–91; and career/marriage advocacy, 201–04; views of U.S. Woman's Bureau on, 206–07

Employment, women's gainful: changes in, 22–24, 117–19, 129–34, 147–48, 349n.4; connections with ballot, 24–25, 31, 34, 117; linked to feminism, 40–42, 119–20, 134; as alternative to home occupation, 41–42, 118; criticized, 48–49, 154; and home economics, 163–65; and parent education, 170; combined with marriage, 180–211; in professional fields, 217–39. See also Professionals, female; Wage-earning women; White-collar workers

Equal rights (concept of): nineteenthcentury views on, 19, 20; as argument for woman suffrage, 21, 30; defined by Feminists, 37–38; NWP views of, 74, 80–81, 120–26, 134–42 passim

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 119–20; early drafts of, 120–26; opposition to, 122–24, 126–29, 134–42 passim; NWP justification for, 125–26, 136–42 passim Equality between the sexes, 4, 6, 19–20

Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, 24–25

Equality of opportunity (concept of), 125, 275-76

Family: size, 145-46, 165-66; wage, 191, 207; life and women's careers, 191-211. See also Childrearing; Households; Marriage

Feickert, Lillian, 86-87, 109

Female sexuality: 1910s spokeswomen on, 42-48 passim, 150-52; 1920s youth and, 148-52; in 1920s psychology, 153-55; in companionate marriage, 156-59; lesbianism and, 158-62

Femininity, 153-54, 160-61

Feminism: as movement in 1910s, 3, 37-45, 49-50; historiography on, 3-4; concepts of sex equality in, 4, 6, 75-76; paradoxes of, 4-5, 8, 10, 48-50, 75-81 (in NWP), 142, 276-79, 282-83; working definition of, 4-5, 8-10; element of sex-consciousness in, 5, 9, 39, 276-83; 1910s definitions of, 6, 7-8, 13-16, 34-38, 48-49, 296n.40; French origins of word, 14-15, 289n.4; linked to socialism, 35, 61, 64, 73, 113-14, 260-61; economic aspects of, 40-42, 117-20, 179-81, 191-211; linked to sex rights, 41-49; right-wing attacks on, 44, 61, 250-51, 258-61, 263; NWP definitions of, 75-77, 80-81, 134-35, 138-39; women's voluntary associations and, 96-97, 242-44, 259-61; ERA opponents' detraction of, 134-35, 139-40; rhetoric adopted by advertisers, 173-74; and childrearing, 198-99; women's professional employment and, 213-15, 224-26, 230-39, 276; peace advocacy and, 243-47

Feminist Alliance, the, 13, 37, 81 Field, Sara Bard, 36, 44, 45, 56, 70

General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), 23, 80, 87, 97, 123, 142, 248, 265; and woman suffrage, 32–33; and peace advocacy, 248–49, 258; and Prohibition, 264

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 14, 38, 66, 150, 251, 274; defines Feminism, 37, 48–49; as critic of sexuo-economic relation, 41–42, 119, 168, 181, 189, 199, 272; legacy, 163, 164, 192

Great Depression: and labor legislation, 141-42; child guidance during, 169; and advertising revenues, 170-71; and married women's employment, 209-10; and women professional workers, 224-25

Gruenberg, Sidonie, 170, 200, 287n.1

Hale, Ruth, 75, 179, 251, 252 Hamilton, Alice, 94, 127, 128 Harding, Warren G., 120, 245, 250 Heterodoxy, 38-39, 155, 158, 274 Heterosexual intimacy: 1910s Feminist views on, 41-49, 150-52; double standard of morality in, 42, 151; outside of marriage, 42-43, 46-47, 149-50, 152; and 1920s youth, 148-52, 156-59; in companionate marriage, 156-59 Hill, Elsie, 65, 72, 73, 75 Hilles, Florence Bayard, 74, 245 Hinkle, Beatrice, 155, 280 Hollingworth, Leta Stetter, 38, 158, 277 Home economics, women professionals in, 162-65, 170, 203, 222, 227 Hooker, Edith Houghton, 75, 76 Households: boarders and lodgers in, 131, 145; rural, 145; urban, 145-47, 162-63 Howe, Marie Jenny, 13, 38, 39, 274 Howes, Ethel Puffer, 192, 202-04

Immigrant women, 23, 30–31, 99, 103, 132, 141 Individualism, 6, 8, 39, 201–02, 280–82 Industrial workers, 63, 130–41 passim; in garment industry, 23–24, 31; and woman suffrage, 25–31; and YWCA, 88–89; summer schools for, 89, 141; and voting, 105. See also Employment,

Hughes, Charles Evans, 13, 58, 113

Husbands. See Marriage

women's gainful; Wage-earning women Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests, 202-04

International Council of Women, 256–57 International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), 25, 26

Irwin, Inez Haynes Gillmore, 27, 38, 56, 85, 155

Kelley, Florence: and NWP, 67, 71, 123–24, 308n.30, 309n.36; as reform leader, 87, 98, 100, 259
Kellogg-Briand Pact, 79, 265
Kent, Elizabeth, 58–59, 66
Key, Ellen, 46–49, 152
Kirchwey, Freda, 71, 73, 113, 154, 251

Labor legislation, sex-based: in conflict with ERA, 120–29; 134–42; supported by trade unionists, 126–28

La Follette, Belle Case, 70, 71, 245

La Follette, Robert, 251–52

La Follette, Suzanne, 102, 190, 271

Lathrop, Julia, 98, 204

Laughlin, Gail, 121–22, 124

Lawyers, women, 189, 217–18, 219, 224,

226, 229-30, 232, 233, 234, 343n.20, 352n.32, 353n.34

League of Women Voters (LwV), animosity to NWP, 67, 122; program, 86, 122; criticized, 106–07, 108; support for sexbased labor legislation, 123–24, 126–29, 141–42; and peace advocacy, 244, 245, 257–58

Lesbianism: in Heterodoxy, 45, 158; perceptions of, 158–62, 279; in practice,

161-62

Lewis, Dora, 53, 68, 74, 120, 124, 250, 300n.1

Lobbying: by women's voluntary associations, 97–99, 109, 114, 265 Lucy Stone League, 78, 179

Marriage: Feminist views of, 41–42, 43–44; citizenship and, 98–99, 265, 361n.39; rates of, 147–48; age at, 147; sex in, 149, 156–58, 191; companionate model of, 156–59, 191; paid employment for women and, 180–211; husbands' role in, 185–86, 194–95, 196, 198, 203, 206–07; law of, 185–91 passim; job discrimination on basis of, 189–90, 193, 209–10; wife's service in, 185–91, 342n.13

Married women's earnings statues, 186–87, 342n.13

(,)4211.13

Married women's property acts, 186
Martin, Anne, 29, 70, 72, 121, 139,
275; president of Woman's Party, 54;
senatorial candidate, 65, 107, 253; on
women in politics, 107–08, 253; critic of
women's magazines, 175

women's magazines, 175
Masculinity, 19, 153–54
Mathews, Burnita Shelton, 75, 79
Men: as Feminists, 5, 13, 38, 296n.40; in partisan politics, 100–11 passim, 114; as trade unionists, 126–29, 236–37; as husbands, 185–87, 191, 194–96, 197; household work of, 194–95, 197; as professional workers, 215, 223, 234–35

Milholland, Inez, 42, 222, 298n.53,

335n.22

Militance, in woman suffrage movement: in England and Europe, 25–26, 35–36, 292n.22, 295n.38; in U.S., 27–29, 292n.23; by CU, 53–55; by NWP, 59–62, 304n.16

Military services, U.S.: for preparedness, 247; oppose disarmament advocacy, 247-50, 254-55

Motherhood: endowment, 46–47, 70; Ellen Key's views on, 46–49; and labor legislation, 128–29, 137–41; and wage-

Motherhood (continued)
earning, 138, 202-04; tensions surrounding, 165, 168-71, 197-99; and careers for women, 184, 196-204

National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), 18, 23, 24, 28–29, 60, 86, 123; and CU, 53–54; animosity to NWP, 67–68, 122. See also Woman suffrage

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 35, 68, 69, 93

National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW), 23, 31, 68, 69, 92–93 National Association Opposed to Woman

Suffrage, 61, 106, 250

National Colored Parent-Teachers Association, 87

National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (NCCCW), 94–95, 257–58, 265

National Congress of Parents and Teacher Associations (PTA), 87, 94, 248-49 National Consumers' League (NCL), 23.

87–88, 97, 121, 204

National Council for Prevention of War (NCPW), 246, 248

National Council of Catholic Women, 92, 140-41

National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), 93

National Council of Women (NCW), 255-

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (NFBPW), 80, 94, 121; founding and program, 89– 90; types of members, 89–90, 160–61, 315n.8, 336n.27; peace advocacy, 97, 245; support for ERA, 142

National Woman's Party (NWP), 112, 179, 231, 238, 243, 251, 254, 265, 277; militant tactics of, 59-60, 61-62; and pacifism, 61, 72; and socialism, 61, 73-74, 310n.41; left-wing members' political activities, 64-66, 251-53, 357n.17; transition after Nineteenth Amendment, 66-77; 1921 Convention, 67-72; on birth control, 63, 70; and black women's voting rights, 68-70, 71-72, 308n.30, n. 31; and disarmament, 70, 244-45, 248; membership figures, 72, 301n.5, 311n.43; definitions of feminism, 75-78, 80-81; radical elitism, 76-79; conception of equal rights, 80-81; and ERA, 80-81, 120-29, 134-42; endorsement of Republican Party, 261-62

National Women's Trade Union League. See Women's Trade Union League Natural rights (concept of), 16–17, 117. See also Equal rights (concept of); Equality between the sexes; Woman's

Newman, Pauline, 88, 127, 128, 137 Newspaperwomen, 210, 226 Nineteenth Amendment, 61, 62, 98, 204n.17. See also Woman suffrage

Ovington, Mary White, 35, 69

Pankhurst, Emmeline, 25–26, 27 Parent education, 91–92, 168–80 Parents' Magazine, 91, 170–71, 199 Park, Alice, 66, 72, 74, 243, 362n.2 Park, Maud Wood, 97, 99, 109, 112, 122, 123–24, 307n.26

Parsons, Alice Beal, 191–92, 248, 271
Partisan politics, women in, 105–07, 109–
14, 266, 320–21n.35, n.38, n.39, n.40;
363n.10

Patriotic organizations, 63-64, 93-94, 249-51, 254-59

Paul, Alice, 27, 34, 120, 259; leadership in CU/NWP, 53–57 passim, 61, 67, 70, 71, 73, 75, 79–80, 261–63, 301n.5, 312–13n.50; attitudes toward blacks, 68–70, 71, 307n.28, 308n.30, n.31; and design of ERA, 120–25

Peace advocacy: during World War I, 60-61; by women in 1920s, 94-95, 243-51 passim, 254-60 passim

Phillips, Lena Madesin, 89–90, 231 Physicians, women, 218, 220, 221–24, 232–33

Pickering, Ruth, 64, 155, 251 Political office-holding: by women, 100, 103–04, 107–11 passim, 266. See also Partisan politics, women in

Professional ideology, 215–17, 230–39 Professionalization, 90–91, 101–02, 196,

Professionals, female, 127, 136, 189, 190–91; married, 188–90, 196–97, 208–09; proportions of, 217–25, 350n.6; attitudes of, 225–35, 237–39

Professionals, male, 223, 234–35, 217 Progressive-era politics, 21, 29, 101–02 Progressive Party (1924), 251–52 Progressive Union for Woman Suffrage,

15, 27 Prohibition, women as supporters of, 105,

263–65 Protestantism: relation to woman movement, 17; relation to feminism, 36, 42 Pruette, Lorine, 167, 168, 184, 192, 195 Psychology: 1920s theories of, 153-55; women in field of, 223, 280 Putnam, Mabel Raef, 72, 121

Republican Party, 58, 86, 102, 106-07, 110, 111, 142, 252, 253, 262 Rodman, Henrietta, 12, 38, 81

Sanger, Margaret, 46, 48, 59, 68, 90-91, 166-67

Schneiderman, Rose, 25, 38, 56, 65, 105, 107-08

Schoolteachers, women: marital discrimination, 188-89, 207-08; proportions of, 215, 216, 224-25

Schreiner, Olive, 41-42, 119, 180, 199, 215-16

Science, 22; in advertising, 171-72; and professionalization, 216, 234; women in, 222, 223, 228-29. See also Social science

Settlement houses, 22, 23, 24, 25, 33, 55 Sex discrimination: in party politics, 110– 13; in law, 120–126 passim; in wages, 130; in labor market, 188–89, 192, 207– 08; in professional fields, 223, 234–35. See also Equal Rights Amendment

Sex rights, 7, 8, 41–49, 148–52 Sexual division of labor, 130–42 passim;

190-95

Shaw, Anna Howard, 57, 100, 189, 301n.3 Sheppard-Towner Act, 98, 249, 250 Smith, Ethel M., 123, 127, 134 Smith, Jane Norman, 74, 120, 261–62 Social science, 91, 101, 152–54, 334n.20:

Social science, 91, 101, 152–54, 334n.20; treatment of women voters in, 102–06; model of companionate marriage, 155–58; women in, 156, 222, 223, 335n.20; and childrearing, 167–68

Social workers, women, 216, 224–25 Socialism: connected with feminism, 35, 64, 113–14; and NAWSA, 60; and World War I, 60–61, 73–74; and NWP, 61, 73, 74, 260–61; charged to peace advocates, 249–50, 255

Socialist Party, 25, 30, 39, 60, 73 Southern white women: and woman suffrage, 32; in industry, 88–89, 139, 141, 145

Spencer, Dr. Caroline, 75, 121, 124, 238 Spider Web Chart, 242, 249–50, 259 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 13, 18, 19, 24, 39, 54, 67, 125, 151

Stevens, Doris, 36, 45, 57–58, 77–79, 118, 302n.7, 336n.29; and Dudley Field Malone, 45, 64, 65, 152; and Alva Belmont, 55, 58, 65, 78, 263; on Alice Paul, 56, 79–80, 263 Symes, Lillian, 151–52

Talbert, Mary, 69, 93
Terrell, Mary Church, 68, 256, 307n.25
Thomas, M. Carey, 125, 179–80
Trade unions: women in membership, 63, 117, 291n.17; opposed to ERA, 126–29; men opposed to wives' employment, 191; for family wage, 191, 207; female leadership in, 235–37, 353n.36; formation of CPPA, 251

University and college teachers, women, 216, 218, 221–22, 223, 227–28, 231, 234–35

Vernon, Mabel, 65, 263 Voluntary Parenthood League, 68, 90-91 Vorse, Mary Heaton, 33, 36, 38, 52, 66 Voting: by women, 100, 102-07, 111-14, 318-19n.30; 319-20n.32 and table 3.1; turnout, 101-02; by wives, 183-84

Wage-earning women: and labor legislation, 121, 123, 126–29; married, 129–30, 131, 137–41, 182–83, 204–11 passim; and family support, 129–31, 204–09, 348n.47. See also Employment, women's gainful

Wages, 130–31, 133, 328n.8; for wives, 162, 186–87, 336n.29 Watson, John Broadus, 153–54, 155, 159,

169

Wells-Barnett, Ida B., 31–32, 68, 93 White, Sue Shelton, 60, 67, 111, 155, 245, 262

White-collar workers, 131-34, 327-28n.26, n.27; and woman suffrage, 31; in NFBPW, 90; married, 180-81; surveyed on marriage, 188, 343n.21; wages of, 328n.28

Wilson, President Woodrow, 54, 59, 62,

Winsor, Mary, 72, 74, 248, 263 Wisconsin Equal Rights Bill (1921): 121, 122, 124–25

Wollstonecraft, Mary, 37, 168, 296n.41 Woman movement, 3, 6–7, 16–18; contrasted with feminism, 3, 5, 15, 36, 37, 42, 96–97, 151, 277

Woman Patriot, 61, 114, 250, 259, 260-61 Woman suffrage: movement, 7, 18-19, 27-34, 37, 61, 85, 105-06, 111-12, 233, 293n.26, n.30, 317n.26; arguments for, 21, 29-30, 100, 117; CU tactics for, 53Woman Suffrage (continued)

59; NWP tactics for, 59–62. See also National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment

Woman Suffrage Party (N.Y.), 28, 33, 100, 112

Womanhood, nineteenth-century definitions of, 6, 19, 20

Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 94, 97, 123, 245, 258, 263–64, 265

Woman's Party, 54, 58-59, 107, 108, 112, 113, 303n.10. See also Congressional Union; National Woman's Party

Woman's rights: nineteenth-century tradition of, 16, 118, 178, 239, 290n.10, 295n.39. See also Equal rights (concept of); Feminism; Natural rights (concept of)

Women's Bureau, U.S., 88, 99, 137, 180, 238; opposition to ERA, 124, 126–29, 204; reports, 129–30, 206, 347n.44; view of married women wage-earners, 204–08

Women's Committee for Political Action (WCPA), 251-53

Women's Committee for World Disarmament (WCWD), 94, 244-46

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), 94, 113–14, 243, 246–50, 254–57, 260

Women's Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC), 97-99, 122, 249, 250, 257 Women's Organization for National Prohi-

bition Reform (WONPR), 263-65 Women's Peace Society, 94, 257 Women's Peace Union of the Western

Hemisphere (WPU), 94, 248, 254, 257 Women's Social and Political Union

(WSPU), 25-26, 53, 292n.22

Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), 23, 24, 34, 87–89, 97, 127, 187, 204, 262, 265; support for labor legislation, 88, 122–24; opposition to ERA, 126–29

Woodhouse, Chase Going, 163–64, 172;

208-09; 235, 354n.40

Working-class women, 23, 130-41 passim; and woman suffrage, 24, 31; and ERA, 125-26, 141. See also Wage-earning women

World War I, 59-61

Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), 162, 182, 184, 265; Industrial Clubs, 88–89; and NCCCW, 258 Younger, Maud, 34, 57, 78, 120, 124